

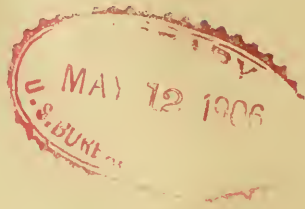


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HISTORY OF SCHOOLS FOR THE COLORED POPULATION

I. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

II. STATES.

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PART I.

HISTORY OF SCHOOLS FOR THE COLORED POPULATION IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION OF THE COLORED POPULATION.

I. Historical development of schools for the colored population in the District of Columbia.

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SCHOOLS OF THE COLORED POPULATION.

PERIOD I.—1801-1861.

The struggles of the colored people of the District of Columbia, in securing for themselves the means of education, furnish a very instructive chapter in the history of schools. Their courage and resolution were such, in the midst of their own great ignorance and strenuous opposition from without, that a permanent record becomes an act of justice to them. In the language of Jefferson to Banneker, the black astronomer, it is a publication to which their "whole color has a right for their justification against the doubts which have been entertained of them." Though poor, proscribed and unlettered, they founded, in their humble way, an institution for the education of their children within less than two years after the first school-house of whites was built in the city. The sentiment against the education of the colored classes was much less rigorous in the early history of the capital than it was a third of a century later. The free colored people were sometimes even encouraged, to a limited extent, in their efforts to pick up some fragments of knowledge. They were taught in the Sunday schools and evening schools occasionally, and respectable mulatto families were in many cases allowed to attend, with white children, the private schools and academies. There are scores of colored men and women still living in this District who are decently educated, and who never went to any but white schools. There are also white men and women still alive here, who went to school in this city and in Georgetown with colored children and felt no offence. Another fact important to be considered is that the colored people, who first settled in Washington, constituted a very superior class of their race. Many of them were favorite family servants, who came here with congressmen from the south, and with the families of other public officers, and who by long and faithful service had secured, by gift, purchase, or otherwise, their freedom. Others were superior mechanics, house servants, and enterprising in various callings, who obtained their freedom by their own persevering industry. Some, also, had received their freedom before coming to this city, and of these there was one family, to be referred to hereafter, which came from Mount Vernon. Still the number of those who could read, even of the very best class of colored people, was very small.

THE FIRST SCHOOL AND SCHOOL HOUSE.

The first school-house in this District, built expressly for the education of colored children, was erected by three men who had been born and reared as slaves in Maryland and Virginia. Their names were George Bell, Nicholas Franklin and Moses Liverpool. It was a good one-story frame building, and stood upon a lot directly opposite to and west of the house in which the mother of Daniel Carroll, of Duddington, then resided, and where the Providence Hospital now stands. It was built about the year 1807, and a school, under a white teacher, Mr. Lowe, was opened there as soon as it was finished. It was a full school, and continued several years, after which, for a time, the house was used as a dwelling. The following is a summary from the census of Washington taken in 1807, the year in which this colored school-house was built:

White males.....	2, 139		Free black females.....	153
White females.....	2, 009		Free mulatto males.....	95
Male slaves.....	409		Free mulatto females.....	120
Female slaves.....	479		Total white.....	4, 148
Male non-resident slaves.....	55		Total free colored.....	494
Female non-resident slaves.....	61		Total slaves.....	1, 004
Free black males.....	126		Total colored.....	1, 498

It is seen from these figures that when this school was put into operation there was a population of 494 souls only to represent it that being the number of free colored persons. On the

other hand, with a population of more than 4,000, the white residents had the year before built but two public school-houses for white scholars, one in the eastern and the other in the western section of the city, though there were three or four small private schools. The three men who built the school-house had at that time just emerged from the condition of slaves, and knew not a letter of the alphabet. Franklin and Liverpool were caulkers by trade, having come from the sea-coast in the lower part of Virginia, and were at work in the Navy Yard. How they secured their freedom is not clearly known, though the tradition is that Franklin, experiencing religion, was made free by his master, who was a member of the Methodist church, the discipline of which at that time admitted no slave to membership.* These two men worked at their trade all their lives, raised up their families with all the education their means would afford, and their grandchildren are now among the respectable colored people of this city.

THE BELL AND BROWNING FAMILIES.

George Bell was the leading spirit in this remarkable educational enterprise, and was conspicuous in all efforts for the benefit of his race in this community. He was the slave of Anthony Addison, who owned a large estate upon the borders of the District beyond the Eastern Branch, and his wife, Sophia Browning, belonged to the Bell family, on the Patuxent. When the commissioners were surveying the District in 1791 they received their meals from their cabin across the Eastern Branch, and the wife used often to describe the appearance of Benjamin Banneker, the celebrated mathematician and astronomer, who was one of the surveying party by invitation of the commissioners. She had a market garden and used to attend the Alexandria market every market day, though she had a family of three sons and a daughter. In this manner she saved four hundred dollars without the knowledge of her owner, who was Mrs. Rachel Pratt, (Bell,) the mother of Governor Pratt, of Maryland. This money was intrusted to a Methodist preacher, who bought the husband's freedom with it, and shortly afterwards, while the wife was dangerously sick, her freedom was bought for five pounds Maryland currency by the husband. These purchases were effected about six years before the building of the school-house. Two of the sons, born in slavery, the father purchased a few years later; the third was accidentally killed in Washington, and the daughter they could not buy, her mistress declining peremptorily to relinquish her, but making her free by her will at her decease, which occurred many years later in Georgetown. These children belonged, as did the mother, to Mrs. Pratt. The two boys were purchased "running"—while on the foot as runaways—the one for \$750 and the other for \$450. The first free-born child, widow Harriet Dunlap, a woman of much intelligence and singular clearness of memory, born in 1803, is still living and resides here, as do also Margaret, who was freed by Mrs. Pratt, and the two younger sons. The two sons that were purchased were both lost at sea. Mrs. Dunlap, and her next sister, Elizabeth, after the Bell school, as it may be called, closed, went for brief periods successively to schools taught by Henry Potter, an Englishman, by Anne Maria Hall, and Mrs. Maria Haley. There were several colored children in Mrs. Haley's school, and some complaints being made to the teacher, who was an Irish lady, the two Bell girls were sent to the school in Baltimore, taught by Rev. Daniel Coker, who subsequently, as a colored Methodist missionary, became conspicuously known throughout the Christian world by his wise and courageous work in the first emigration to Liberia. They remained at this school two years and a half, from 1812 to 1815. George Bell died in 1843, at the age of 82 years, and his wife some years later, at the age of 86. They left all their children not only with a good education but also in comfortable pecuniary circumstances. The mother was a woman of superior character, as were all the family. One sister was the wife of the late Rev. John F. Cook, and

* The Methodist Discipline as amended in 1784 prescribed among other rules the following two:

First. Every member of our Society who has slaves in his possession shall, within twelve months after notice given to him by the assistant, legally execute an instrument whereby he emancipates and sets free every slave in his possession.

Second. No person holding slaves shall in future be admitted into our Society or to the Lord's Supper, till he previously complies with these rules concerning slavery.

another was Mrs. Alethia Tanner, whose force of character and philanthropy gave her remarkable prominence here and elsewhere among her race, and commanded the respect of all who knew her. All of the Browning family belonged to Mrs. Rachel Pratt. Mrs. Tanner commenced her remarkable career by the purchase of her own freedom for \$1,400. The last payment of \$275 was made June 29, 1810, and her manumission papers from Mrs. Rachel Pratt bear date July 10, 1810. In 1826 she purchased her older sister, Laurena Cook, and five of the Cook children, four sons and a daughter. One of these sons, then sixteen years old, was afterwards known and respected for more than a quarter of a century by all classes in this community as an able and enlightened school teacher and clergyman. His name was John F. Cook. In 1828 she purchased the rest of the Cook children and their offspring as follows: Hannah and her two children, Annette and her two children, Alethia and her child, George Cook and Daniel Cook, comprising, in all, her sister with ten children and five grandchildren, paying for the sister \$800, and for the children an average of \$300 each. She also purchased the freedom of Lotty Riggs and her four children, and of John Butler, who became a useful Methodist minister; and in 1837 she purchased the freedom of Charlotte Davis, who is still living in this city. The documents showing these purchases are all preserved in the Cook family. Mrs. Tanner was alive to every wise scheme for the education and elevation of her race. It was through her efforts, combined with those of her brother in law, George Bell, that the First Bethel Church on Capitol Hill was saved for that society. When the house was put up at auction by the bank which held the notes of the society, these two individuals came forward, bid in the property, paid for it and waited for their pay till the society was able to raise the money. Mrs. Tanner, at her death in 1864, left a handsome property. Her husband died many years before, and she had no children. She was the housemaid of Mr. Jefferson during his residence at the capital, and Richard M. Johnson, who was her friend, appears as the witness to the manumission papers of Laurena Cook, her sister, and of John F. Cook, the son of Laurena, whose freedom she bought while Mr. Johnson was United States senator.

THE SCHOOL OF THE RESOLUTE BENEFICIAL SOCIETY.

After the Bell school-house had been used several years as a dwelling, it was in 1818 again taken for educational purposes, to accommodate an association organized by the leading colored men of the city, and for the specific purpose of promoting the education of their race. The courage of these poor men, nearly all of whom had but a few years previously emerged from bondage and could not read a syllable, cannot be justly estimated without recalling the fact, that at that period the free colored people were considered everywhere in the south as a nuisance, and very largely so through the north. The Savannah Republican newspaper, in 1817, in a carefully prepared article on the subject, said: "The free people of color have never conferred a single benefit on the country. They have been and are a nuisance, which we wish to get rid of as soon as possible, the filth and offal of society;" and this article was copied approvingly into leading, temperate northern journals. It will be seen from the announcement that this school was established upon the principle of receiving all colored children who should come, tuition being exacted only from such as were able to pay; that it was more nearly a free school than anything hitherto known in the city. The announcement of this school, which appeared in the columns of the Daily National Intelligencer, August 29, 1818, is full of interest. It clearly indicates, among other things, the fact that at that period there were some slave owners in this District who were recognized by the colored people as friendly to the education of their slaves; a sentiment, however, which, in the gradual prostitution of public opinion on the subject, was very thoroughly eradicated in the succeeding forty years. But what is of special significance in this remarkable paper is the humble language of apology in which it is expressed. It is plainly manifest in every sentence that an apology was deemed necessary from these poor people for presuming to do anything for opening to their offspring the gates of knowledge which had been barred to themselves. The document reads as follows:

"A School,

"Founded by an association of free people of color, of the city of Washington, called the

'Resolute Beneficial Society,' situate near the Eastern Public School and the dwelling of Mrs Fenwick, is now open for the reception of children of free people of color and others, that ladies or gentlemen may think proper to send to be instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar or other branches of education apposite to their capacities, by a steady, active and experienced teacher, whose attention is wholly devoted to the purposes described. It is presumed that free colored families will embrace the advantages thus presented to them, either by subscribing to the funds of the society or by sending their children to the school. An improvement of the intellect and morals of colored youth being the objects of this institution, the patronage of benevolent ladies and gentlemen, by donation or subscription, is humbly solicited in aid of the fund, the demands thereon being heavy and the means at present much too limited. For the satisfaction of the public, the constitution and articles of association are printed and published. And to avoid disagreeable occurrences, no writings are to be done by the teacher for a slave, neither directly nor indirectly, to serve the purpose of a slave on any account whatever. Further particulars may be known by applying to any of the undersigned officers.

"WILLIAM COSTIN, *President.*

"GEORGE HICKS, *Vice-President.*

"JAMES HARRIS, *Secretary.*

"GEORGE BELL, *Treasurer.*

"ARCHIBALD JOHNSON, *Marshal.*

"FRED. LEWIS, *Chairman of the Committee.*

"ISAAC JOHNSON, } *Committee.*

"SCIPIO BEENS, }

"N. B.—An evening school will commence on the premises on the first Monday of October, and continue throughout the season.

"The managers of Sunday schools in the eastern district are thus most dutifully informed that on Sabbath days the school-house belonging to this society, if required for the tuition of colored youth, will be uniformly at their service.

"August 29, 3t."

This school was continued several years successfully, with an ordinary attendance of fifty or sixty scholars, and often more. The first teacher was Mr. Pierpont, from Massachusetts, a relative of the poet; and after two or three years, was succeeded by John Adams, a shoemaker, who was *the first colored man who taught in this District*, and who, after leaving this school, had another, about 1822, near the Navy Department. The Bell school-house was after this period used as a dwelling by one of Bell's sons, and at his father's decease fell to his daughter Elizabeth, the wife of Basil Sims. Soon afterwards Sims and his wife both died, leaving a handsome property for their children, which, however, was totally dissipated by the executor. The Bell school-house and lot were sold for taxes; the children when coming of age vainly seeking its recovery.

MR. HENRY POTTER'S SCHOOL.

The third school for colored children in Washington was established by Mr. Henry Potter, an Englishman, who opened his school about 1809, in a brick building which then stood on the southeast corner of F and Seventh streets, opposite the block where the post office building now stands. He continued there several years and had a large school, moving subsequently to what was then known as Clark's row on Thirteenth street west, between G and H streets north.

MRS. HALL'S SCHOOL.

During this period Mrs. Anne Maria Hall started a school on Capitol Hill, between the Old Capitol and Carroll row, on First street east. After continuing there with a full school for some ten years, she moved to a building which stood on what is now the vacant portion of the Casparis House lot on A street, close to the Capitol. Some years later she went to the First Bethel church, and after a year or two she moved to a house still standing on E street north, between Eleventh and Twelfth west, and there taught many years. She was a colored woman from Prince George's county, Maryland, and had a respectable education, which she obtained at schools with white children in Alexandria. Her husband died early, leaving her with children to support, and she betook herself to the work of a teacher, which she loved, and in which, for not less than twenty-five years, she met with uniform success. Her schools were all quite large, and the many who remember her as their teacher speak of her with great respect.

MRS. MARY BILLING'S SCHOOL.

Of the early teachers of colored schools in this District there is no one whose name is mentioned with more gratitude and respect by the intelligent colored residents than that of Mrs.

Mary Billing, who established the first colored school that was gathered in Georgetown. She was an English woman; her husband, Joseph Billing, a cabinet maker, coming from England in 1800, settled with his family that year in Washington, and dying in 1807 left his wife with three children. She was well educated, a capable and good woman, and immediately commenced teaching to support her family. At first, it is believed, she was connected with the corporation school of Georgetown. It was while in a white school certainly that her attention was arrested by the wants of the colored children, whom she was accustomed to receive into her schools, till the opposition became so marked that she decided to make her school exclusively colored. She was a woman of strong religious convictions, and being English, with none of the ideas peculiar to slave society, when she saw the peculiar destitution of the colored children in the community around her, she resolved to give her life to the class who seemed most to need her services. She established a colored school about 1810, in a brick house still standing on Dunbarton street opposite the Methodist church, between Congress and High streets, remaining there till the winter of 1820-'21, when she came to Washington and opened a school in the house on H street near the Foundry church, then owned by Daniel Jones, a colored man, and still owned and occupied by a member of that family. She died in 1826 in the fiftieth year of her age. She continued her school till failing health, a year or so before her death, compelled its relinquishment. Her school was always large, it being patronized in Georgetown as well as afterwards by the best colored families of Washington, many of whom sent their children to her from Capitol Hill and the vicinity of the Navy Yard. Most of the better educated colored men and women now living, who were school children in her time, received the best portion of their education from her, and they all speak of her with a deep and tender sense of obligation. Henry Potter succeeded her in the Georgetown school, and after him Mr. Shay, an Englishman, who subsequently came to Washington and for many years had a large colored school in a brick building known as the Round Tops, in the western part of the city, near the Circle, and still later removing to the old Western Academy building, corner of I and Seventeenth streets. He was there till about 1830, when he was convicted of assisting a slave to his freedom and sent a term to the penitentiary. Mrs. Billing had a night school in which she was greatly assisted by Mr. Monroe, a government clerk and a Presbyterian elder, whose devout and benevolent character is still remembered in the churches. Mrs. Billing had scholars from Bladensburg and the surrounding country, who came into Georgetown and boarded with her and with others. About the time when Mrs. Billing relinquished her school in 1822 or 1823, what may be properly called

THE SMOTHERS SCHOOL-HOUSE

was built by Henry Smothers on the corner of Fourteenth and H streets, not far from the Treasury building. Smothers had a small dwelling-house on this corner, and built his school-house on the rear of the same lot. He had been long a pupil of Mrs. Billing, and had subsequently taught a school on Washington street, opposite the Union Hotel in Georgetown. He opened his school in Washington in the old corporation school-house, built in 1806, but some years before this period abandoned as a public school-house. It was known as the Western Academy, and is still standing and used as a school-house on the corner of I and Nineteenth streets west. When his school-house on Fourteenth and H streets was finished his school went into the new quarters. This school was very large, numbering always more than a hundred and often as high as a hundred and fifty scholars. He taught here about two years, and was succeeded by John W. Prout about the year 1825. Prout was a man of ability. In 1831, May 4, there was a meeting, says the National Intelligencer of that date, of "the colored citizens, large and very respectable, in the African Methodist Episcopal church," to consider the question of emigrating to Liberia. John W. Prout was chosen to preside over the assemblage, and the article in the Intelligencer represents him as making "a speech of decided force and well adapted to the occasion, in support of a set of resolutions which he had drafted, and which set forth views adverse to leaving the soil that had given them birth, their true and veritable home, *without the benefits of education.*" The school under Prout was governed by a board of trustees and was organized as

A FREE SCHOOL,

and so continued two or three years. The number of scholars was very large, averaging a hundred and fifty. Mrs. Anne Maria Hall was the assistant teacher. It relied mainly for support upon subscription, twelve and a half cents a month only being expected from each pupil, and this amount was not compulsory. The school was free to all colored children, without money or price, and so continued two or three years, when failing of voluntary pecuniary support (it never wanted scholars) it became a regular tuition school. The school under Mr. Prout was called the "Columbian Institute," the name being suggested by John McLeod, the famous Irish schoolmaster, who was a warm friend of this institution after visiting and commending the scholars and teachers, and who named his new building in 1835 the Columbian Academy. The days of thick darkness to the colored people were approaching. The Nat. Turner insurrection in Southampton county, Virginia, which occurred in August, 1831, spread terror everywhere in slave communities. In this district, immediately upon that terrible occurrence, the colored children, who had in very large numbers been received into Sabbath schools in the white churches, were all turned out of those schools. This event, though seeming to be a fiery affliction, proved a blessing in disguise. It aroused the energies of the colored people, taught them self-reliance, and they organized forthwith Sabbath schools of their own. It was in the Smothers' school-house that they formed their first Sunday school, about the year 1832, and here they continued their very large school for several years, the Fifteenth-street Presbyterian Church ultimately springing from the school organization. It is important to state in this connection that

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL,

always an extremely important means of education for colored people in the days of slavery, was emphatically so in the gloomy times now upon them. It was the Sabbath school that taught the great mass of the free people of color about all the school knowledge that was allowed them in those days, and hence the consternation which came upon them when they found themselves excluded from the schools of the white churches. Lindsay Muse, who has been the messenger for eighteen Secretaries of the Navy, successively, during forty years, from 1828 to the present time; John Brown; Benjamin M. McCoy; Mr. Smallwood; Mrs. Charlotte Norris, afterwards wife of Rev. Eli Nugent; and Siby McCoy are the only survivors of the resolute little band of colored men and women who gathered with and guided that Sunday school. They had, in the successor of Mr. Prout, a man after their own heart,

JOHN F. COOK,

who came into charge of this school in August, 1834, about eight years after his aunt, Alethia Tanner, had purchased his freedom. He learned the shoemaker's trade in his boyhood, and worked diligently, after the purchase of his freedom, to make some return to his aunt for the purchase money. About the time of his becoming of age he dislocated his shoulder, which compelled him to seek other employment, and in 1831, the year of his majority, he obtained the place of assistant messenger in the Land Office. Hon. John Wilson, now Third Auditor of the Treasury, was the messenger, and was Cook's firm friend till the day of his death. Cook had been a short time at school under the instruction of Smothers and Prout, but when he entered the Land Office his education was at most only the ability to stumble along a little in a primary reading book. He, however, now gave himself in all his leisure moments, early and late, to study. Mr. Wilson remembers his indefatigable application, and affirms that it was a matter of astonishment at the time, and that he has seen nothing in all his observation to surpass and scarcely to equal it. He was soon able to write a good hand, and was employed with his pen in clerical work by the sanction of the Commissioner, Elisha Hayward, who was much attached to him. Cook was now beginning to look forward to the life of a teacher, which, with the ministry, was the only work not menial in its nature then open to an educated colored man. At the end of three years he resigned his place in the Land Office, and entered upon the work which he laid down only with his life. It was then that he gave himself wholly to study and the business of education, working with all his

might; his school numbering quite a hundred scholars in the winter and a hundred and fifty in the summer. He had been in his work one year when the storm which had been, for some years, under the discussion of the slavery question, gathering over the country at large, burst upon this District.

THE SNOW RIOT,

or "Snow storm," as it has been commonly called, which occurred in September, 1835, is an event that stands vividly in the memory of all colored people who lived in this community at that time. Benjamin Snow, a smart colored man, keeping a restaurant on the corner of Pennsylvania avenue and Sixth street, was reported to have made some remark of a bravado kind derogatory to the wives of white mechanics; whereupon this class, or those assuming to represent them, made a descent upon his establishment, destroying all his effects. Snow himself, who denied using the offensive language, with difficulty escaped unharmed, through the management of white friends, taking refuge in Canada, where he still resides. The military was promptly called to the rescue, at the head of which was General Walter Jones, the eminent lawyer, who characterized the rioters, greatly to their indignation, as "a set of ragamuffins," and his action was thoroughly sanctioned by the city authorities.

At the same time also there was a fierce excitement among the mechanics at the Navy Yard, growing out of the fact that a large quantity of copper bolts being missed from the yard and found to have been carried out in the dinner pails by the hands, the commandant had forbid eating dinners in the yard. This order was interpreted as an insult to the white mechanics, and threats were made of an assault on the yard, which was put in a thorough state of defence by the commandant. The rioters swept through the city, ransacking the houses of the prominent colored men and women, ostensibly in search of anti-slavery papers and documents, the most of the gang impelled undoubtedly by hostility to the negro race and motives of plunder. Nearly all the colored school-houses were partially demolished and the furniture totally destroyed, and in several cases they were completely ruined. Some private houses were also torn down or burnt. The colored schools were nearly all broken up, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the colored churches were saved from destruction, as their Sabbath schools were regarded, and correctly regarded, as the means through which the colored people, at that time, procured much of their education.

The rioters sought, especially, for John F. Cook, who, however, had seasonably taken from the stable the horse of his friend Mr. Hayward, the Commissioner of the Land Office, an anti-slavery man, and fled precipitately from the city. They marched to his school-house, destroyed all the books and furniture and partially destroyed the building. Mrs. Smothers, who owned both the school-house and the dwelling adjoining and the lots, was sick in her house at the time, but an alderman, Mr. Edward Dyer, with great courage and nobleness of spirit, stood between the house and the mob for her protection, declaring that he would defend her house from molestation with all the means he could command. They left the house unharmed, and it is still standing on the premises. Mr. Cook went to Columbia, Pennsylvania, opened a school there, and did not venture back to his home till the autumn of 1836. At the time the riot broke out, General Jackson was absent in Virginia. He returned in the midst of the tumult, and immediately issuing orders in his bold, uncompromising manner to the authorities to see the laws respected at all events, the violence was promptly subdued. It was nevertheless a very dark time for the colored people. The timid class did not for a year or two dare to send their children to school, and the whole mass of the colored people dwelt in fear day and night. In August, 1836, Mr. Cook returned from Pennsylvania and reopened his school, which under him had, in 1834, received the name of

UNION SEMINARY.

During his year's absence he was in charge of a free colored public school in Columbia, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, which he surrendered to the care of Benjamin M. McCoy when he came back to his home, Mr. McCoy going there to fill out his engagement.

He resumed his work with broad and elevated ideas of his business. This is clearly seen

in the plan of his institution, embraced in the printed annual announcements and programmes of his annual exhibitions, copies of which have been preserved. The course of study embraced three years, and there was a male and a female department, Miss Catharine Costin at one period being in charge of the female department. Mr. Seaton, of the National Intelligencer, among other leading and enlightened citizens and public men, used to visit his school from year to year and watch its admirable working with deep and lively interest. Cook was at this period not only watching over his very large school, ranging from 100 to 150 or more pupils, but was active in the formation of the "First Colored Presbyterian church of Washington," which was organized in November, 1841, by Rev. John C. Smith, D. D., and worshipped in this school-house. He was now also giving deep study to the preparation for the ministry, upon which in fact, as a licentiate of the African Methodist Episcopal church, he had already in some degree entered. At a regular meeting of "The Presbytery of the District of Columbia," held in Alexandria, May 3, 1842, this church, now commonly called the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian church, was formally received under the care of that Presbytery, the first and still the only colored Presbyterian church in this District. Mr. Cook was elected the first pastor July 13, 1843, and preached his trial sermon before ordination on the evening of that day, in the Fourth Presbyterian church (Dr. J. C. Smith's) in this city, in the presence of a large congregation. This sermon is remembered as a manly production, delivered with great dignity and force and deeply imbued with the spirit of his work. He was ordained in the Fifteenth-street church the next evening, and continued to serve the church with eminent success till his death in 1855. Rev. John C. Smith, D. D., who had preached his ordination sermon and been the devoted friend and counsellor for nearly twenty years, preached his funeral sermon, selecting as his text, "There was a man sent from God whose name was John." There were present white as well as colored clergymen of no less than five denominations, many of the oldest and most respectable citizens, and a vast concourse of all classes, white and colored. "The Fifteenth-street church," in the words of Dr. Smith in relation to them and their first pastor, "is now a large and flourishing congregation of spiritually-minded people. They have been educated in the truth and the principles of our holy religion, and in the new present state of things the men of this church are trusted, relied on as those who fear God and keep his commandments. The church is the monument to John F. Cook, the first pastor, who was faithful in all his house, a workman who labored night and day for years, and has entered into his reward. 'Blessed are they that die in the Lord.' 'They rest from their labors and their works do follow them.'"

In 1841, when he entered, in a preliminary and informal way, upon the pastorate of the Fifteenth-street church, he seems to have attempted to turn his seminary into a high school, limited to 25 or 30 pupils, exclusively for the more advanced scholars of both sexes, and his plan of studies to that end, as seen in his prospectus, evinces broad and elevated views—a desire to aid in lifting his race to higher things in education than they had yet attempted. His plans were not put into execution, in the matter of a high school, being frustrated by the circumstance that there were so few good schools in the city for the colored people, at that period, that his old patrons would not allow him to shut off the multitude of primary scholars which were depending upon his school. His seminary, however, continued to maintain its high standard, and had an average attendance of quite 100 year after year till he surrendered up his work in death.

He raised up a large family and educated them well. The oldest of the sons, John and George, were educated at Oberlin College. The other three being young, were in school when the father died. John and George, it will be seen, succeeded their father as teachers, continuing in the business down to the present year. Of the two daughters the elder was a teacher till married in 1866, and the other is now a teacher in the public schools of this city. One son served through the war as sergeant of the 40th colored regiment, and another served in the navy.

At the death of the father, March 21, 1855, the school fell into the hands of the son, John F. Cook, who continued it till May, 1857, when it passed to a younger son, George F. T. Cook, who moved it from its old home, the Smothers House, to the basement of the Presbyterian church in the spring of 1858, and maintained it till July, 1859. John F. Cook, jr., who

had erected a new school-house on Sixteenth street, in 1862, again gathered the school which the tempests of the war had dispersed, and continued it till June, 1867, when the new order of things had opened ample school facilities throughout the city, and the teacher was called to other duties. Thus ended the school which had been first gathered by Smothers nearly 45 years before, and which, in that long period, had been continually maintained with seldom less than 100 pupils, and for the most part with 150, the only suspensions being in the year of the Snow riot and in the two years which ushered in the war.

The Smothers House, after the Cook school was removed, in 1858, was occupied for two years by a *free Catholic school*, supported by "The St. Vincent de Paul Society," a benevolent organization of colored people. It was a very large school with two departments, the boys under David Brown and the girls under Eliza Anne Cook, and averaging over 150 scholars. When this school was transferred to another house, Rev. Chauncey Leonard, a colored Baptist clergyman, now pastor of a church in Washington, and Nannie Waugh opened a school there, in 1861, that became as large as that which had preceded it in the same place. This school was broken up in 1862 by the destruction of the building at the hands of the incendiaries, who, even at that time, were inspired with all their accustomed vindictiveness towards the colored people. But this was their last heathenish jubilee, and from the ashes of many burnings imperishable liberty has sprung forth.

About the time that Smothers built his school-house, in 1823,

LOUISA PARKE COSTIN'S SCHOOL

was established in her father's house on Capitol Hill, on A street south, under the shadow of the Capitol. This Costin family came from Mount Vernon immediately after the death of Martha Washington, in 1802. The father, William Costin, who died suddenly in his bed, May 31, 1842, was twenty-four years messenger for the Bank of Washington, in this city. His death was noticed at length in the columns of the *National Intelligencer* in more than one communication at the time. The obituary notice, written under the suggestions of the bank officers, who had previously passed a resolution expressing their respect for his memory, and appropriating fifty dollars towards the funeral expenses, says: "It is due to the deceased to say that his colored skin covered a benevolent heart," concluding with this language: "The deceased raised respectably a large family of children of his own, and in the exercise of the purest benevolence took into his family and supported four orphan children. The tears of the orphan will moisten his grave, and his memory will be dear to all those—a numerous class—who have experienced his kindness;" and adding these lines:

"Honor and shame from *no condition* rise;
Act well your part—there all the honor lies."

John Quincy Adams also, a few days afterwards, in a discussion on the wrongs of slavery, alluded to the deceased in these words: "The late William Costin, though he was not white, was as much respected as any man in the District, and the large concourse of citizens that attended his remains to the grave, as well white as black, was an evidence of the manner in which he was estimated by the citizens of Washington." His portrait, taken by the direction of the bank authorities, still hangs in the directors' room, and it may also be seen in the houses of more than one of the old and prominent residents of the city.

William Costin's mother, Ann Dandridge, was the daughter of a half-breed, (Indian and colored,) her grandfather being a Cherokee chief, and her reputed father was the father of Martha Dandridge, afterwards Mrs. Custis, who, in 1759, was married to General Washington. These daughters, Ann and Martha, grew up together, on the ancestral plantations. William Costin's reputed father was white, and belonged to a prominent family in Virginia, but the mother, after his birth, married one of the Mount Vernon slaves by the name of Costin, and the son took the name of William Costin. His mother being of Indian descent, made him, under the laws of Virginia, a free born man. In 1800 he married Philadelphia Judge, (his cousin,) one of Martha Washington's slaves, at Mount Vernon, where both were born in 1780. The wife was given by Martha Washington at her decease to her granddaughter, Eliza Parke Custis, who was the wife of Thomas Law, of Washington. Soon

after William Costin and his wife came to this city the wife's freedom was secured on kind and easy terms, and the children were all born free. This is the account which William Costin and his wife and his mother, Ann Dandridge, always gave of their ancestry, and they were persons of great precision in all matters of family history, as well as of the most marked scrupulousness in their statements. Their seven children, five daughters and two sons, went to school with the white children on Capitol Hill, to Mrs. Maria Haley and other teachers. The two younger daughters, Martha and Frances, finished their education at the Colored Convent in Baltimore. Louisa Parke and Ann had passed their school days before the convent was founded. Louisa Parke Costin opened her school at nineteen years of age, continuing it with much success till her sudden death in 1831, the year in which her mother also died. When Martha returned from the Convent Seminary, a year or so later, she reopened the school, continuing it till about 1839. This school, which was maintained some 15 years, was always very full. The three surviving sisters own and reside in the house which their father built about 1812. One of these sisters married Richard Henry Fisk, a colored man of good education, who died in California, and she now has charge of the Senate ladies' reception room. Ann Costin was for several years in the family of Major Lewis, (at Woodlawn, Mount Vernon,) the nephew of Washington. Mrs. Lewis (Eleanor Custis) was the granddaughter of Martha Washington. This school was not molested by the mob of 1835, and it was always under the care of a well-bred and well-educated teacher.

THE WESLEYAN SEMINARY.

While Martha Costin was teaching, James Enoch Ambush, a colored man, had also a large school in the basement of the Israel Bethel church on Capitol Hill for a while, commencing there in April, 1833, and continuing in various places till 1843, when he built a school-house on E street south, near Tenth, island, and established what was known as "The Wesleyan Seminary," and which was successfully maintained for 32 years, till the close of August, 1865. The school-house still stands, a comfortable one-story wooden structure, with the sign "Wesleyan Seminary" over the door, as it has been there for 25 years. This was the only colored school on the island of any account for many years, and in its humble way it accomplished a great amount of good. For some years Mr. Ambush had given much study to botanic medicine, and since closing his school he has become a botanic physician. He is a man of fine sense, and without school advantages has acquired a respectable education.

FIRST SEMINARY FOR COLORED GIRLS.

The first seminary in the District of Columbia for colored girls was established in Georgetown, in 1827, under the special auspices of Father Vanlomen, a benevolent and devout Catholic priest, then pastor of the Holy Trinity Church, who not only gave this interesting enterprise his hand and his heart, but for several years himself taught a school of colored boys three days in a week, near the Georgetown College gate, in a small frame house, which was afterwards famous as the residence of the broken-hearted widow of Commodore Decatur. This female seminary was under the care of Maria Becraft, who was the most remarkable colored young woman of her time in the District, and, perhaps, of any time. Her father, William Becraft, born while his mother, a free woman, was the housekeeper of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, always had the kindest attentions of this great man, and there are now pictures, more than a century and a half old, and other valuable relics from the Carroll family now in the possession of the Becraft family, in Georgetown, which Charles Carroll of Carrollton, in his last days, presented to William Becraft as family keepsakes. William Becraft lived in Georgetown 64 years, coming there when eighteen years of age. He was for many years chief steward of Union hotel, and a remarkable man, respected and honored by everybody. When he died, the press of the District noticed, in a most prominent manner, his life and character. From one of the extended obituary notices, marked with heavy black lines, the following paragraph is copied:

"He was among the last surviving representatives of the old school of well-bred, confidential, and intelligent domestics, and was widely known at home and abroad from his connection in the company of stewards for a long series of years, and probably from its origin,

and until a recent date, with the Union hotel, Georgetown, with whose guests, for successive generations, his benevolent and venerable aspect, dignified and obliging manners, and moral excellence rendered him a general favorite."

Maria Becraft was marked from her childhood for her uncommon intelligence and refinement, and for her extraordinary piety. She was born in 1805, and first went to school for a year to Henry Potter, in Washington, about 1812, afterwards attending Mrs. Billings's school constantly till 1820. She then, at the age of 15, opened a school for girls in Dunbarton street, in Georgetown, and gave herself to the work, which she loved, with the greatest assiduity and with uniform success. In 1827, when she was twenty-two years of age, her remarkable beauty and elevation of character so much impressed Father Vanlomen, the good priest, that he took it in hand to give her a higher style of school in which to work for her sex and race, to the education of which she had now fully consecrated herself. Her school was accordingly transferred to a larger building, which still stands on Fayette street, opposite the convent, and there she opened a boarding and day school for colored girls, which she continued with great success till August, 1831, when she surrendered her little seminary into the care of one of the girls that she had trained, and in October of that year joined the convent at Baltimore as a Sister of Providence, where she was the leading teacher till she died, in December, 1833, a great loss to that young institution, which was contemplating this noble young woman as its future Mother Superior. Her seminary in Georgetown averaged from 30 to 35 pupils, and there are those living who remember the troop of girls, dressed uniformly, which was wont to follow in procession their pious and refined teacher to devotions on the sabbath at Holy Trinity Church. The school comprised girls from the best colored families of Georgetown, Washington, Alexandria, and surrounding country. The sisters of the Georgetown convent were the admirers of Miss Becraft, gave her instruction, and extended to her the most heartfelt aid and approbation in all her noble work, as they were in those days wont to do in behalf of the aspiring colored girls, who sought for education, withholding themselves from such work only when a depraved and degenerate public sentiment upon the subject of educating the colored people had compelled them to a more rigid line of demarcation between the races. Ellen Simonds and others conducted the school a few years; but with the loss of its original teacher it began to fail, and finally became extinct. Maria Becraft is remembered, wherever she was known, as a woman of the rarest sweetness and exaltation of Christian life, graceful and attractive in person and manners, gifted, well educated, and wholly devoted to doing good. Her name as a Sister of Providence was Sister Aloyons. From the origin of this convent at Baltimore there has been connected with it a female seminary, which last year was incorporated as

ST. FRANCES ACADEMY FOR COLORED GIRLS.

In this connection it is not inappropriate to give some account of this school, which has done so valuable a work for the education of the colored people of this District and the country at large. For many years it was the only colored school within the reach of the colored people of this District, in which anything was attempted beyond the rough primary training of the proniscuous school, and there are women who still live in this District and elsewhere, whose well-bred families owe their refinements largely to the culture which the mothers a quarter of a century ago, or more, received in this female seminary. It was there that many of the first well-trained colored teachers were educated for the work in this capital.

St. Frances Academy for colored girls was founded in connection with the Oblate Sisters of Providence Convent, in Baltimore, June 5, 1829, under the hearty approbation of the Most Rev. James Whitfield, D. D., the Archbishop of Baltimore at that time, and receiving the sanction of the Holy See, October 2, 1831. The convent originated with the French Fathers, who came to Baltimore from San Domingo as refugees, in the time of the revolution in that island in the latter years of last century. There were many colored Catholic refugees who came to Baltimore during that period, and the French Fathers soon opened schools there for the benefit of the refugees and other colored people. The colored women who formed the original society which founded the convent and seminary, were from San Domingo, though they had some of them, certainly, been educated in France. The schools which preceded the organiza-

tion of the convent were greatly favored by Most Rev. Ambrose Marechal, D. D., who was a French Father, and Archbishop of Baltimore from 1817 to 1828, Archbishop Whitfield being his successor. The Sisters of Providence is the name of a religious society of colored women who renounce the world to consecrate themselves to the Christian education of colored girls. The following extract from the announcement which, under the caption of "Prospectus of a School for Colored Girls under the direction of the Sisters of Providence," appeared in the columns of the daily National Intelligencer, October 25, 1831, shows the spirit in which the school originated, and at the same time shadows forth the predominating ideas pertaining to the province of the race at that period. The prospectus says:

"The object of this institute is one of great importance, greater, indeed, than might at first appear to those who would only glance at the advantages which it is calculated to directly impart to the leading portion of the human race and through it to society at large. In fact, these girls will either become mothers of families or household servants. In the first case the solid virtues, the religious and moral principles which they may have acquired in this school, will be carefully transferred as a legacy to their children. Instances of the happy influence which the example of virtuous parents has on the remotest lineage in this humble and naturally dutiful class of society are numerous. As to such as are to be employed as servants, they will be intrusted with domestic concerns and the care of young children. How important then it will be that these girls shall have imbibed religious principles and have been trained up in habits of modesty, honesty, and integrity."

It is impossible to conceive of language fuller of profound and mournful import than are these humble, timid words of this little band of colored women, who thus made known the exalted scheme to which they had given themselves. Why this tone of *apology* for embarking in as noble a service as ever entered into the plans of a company of women upon the face of the earth, the attempt to lift the veil of moral and intellectual darkness which they saw everywhere resting like death upon their sex and race?

The sisters purchased a three-story brick building on Richmond street, in which they started their work, but have since, in the admirable success of their enterprise, built large and ample structures, and their school was never in more efficient operation than at the present time. From the first it has been through all its years, almost forty in number, a well-appointed female seminary, amply supplied with cultivated and capable teachers, who have given good training in all the branches of a refined and useful education, including all that is usually taught in well regulated female seminaries. The number of Sisters connected with the convent and seminary has for very many years ranged from 30 to 35. The academy has always been well patronized, comprising girls from every part of the south as well before as since the war. The number the past year was some 170, of which about 45 were boarders, a large number being from Washington and Georgetown. Attached to the convent, also, is a free school for girls and an orphan asylum, and till last year they had for many years maintained also a school for boys. In 1862 some of these Sisters established a female seminary in Philadelphia, which has been very successful. There is also a colored female school in Washington under the care and instruction of teachers formerly attached to this sisterhood. For nearly a quarter of a century this seminary at Baltimore was the school in which the most of the colored girls of this District, who were so fortunate as to receive any of the refinements of school culture, resorted for their training from the founding of the convent down to 1852, when

MISS MYRTILLA MINER'S SEMINARY

for colored girls was initiated in Washington. This philanthropic woman was born in Brookfield, Madison county, New York, in 1815. Her parents were farmers, with small resources for the support of a large family. The children were obliged to work, and the small advantages of a common school were all the educational privileges furnished to them. Hop-raising was a feature in their farming, and this daughter was accustomed to work in the autumn, picking the hops. She was of a delicate physical organization, and suffered exceedingly all her life with spinal troubles. Being a girl of extraordinary intellectual activity, her place at home chafed her spirit. She was restless, dissatisfied with her lot, looked higher than her father, dissented from his ideas of woman's education, and, in her

desperation, when about 23 years old, wrote to Mr. Seward, then recently elected governor of her State, asking him if he could show her how it was possible for a woman in her circumstances to become a scholar; receiving from him the reply that he could not, but hoped a better day was coming, wherein woman might have a chance to be and to do to the extent of her abilities. Hearing at this time of a school at Clinton, Oneida county, New York, for young women, on the manual-labor system, she decided to go there; but her health being such as to make manual labor impossible at the time, she wrote to the principal of the Clover-street Seminary, Rochester, New York, who generously received her, taking her notes for the school bills, to be paid after completing her education. Grateful for this noble act, she afterwards sent her younger sister there to be educated, for her own associate as a teacher; and the death of this talented sister, when about to graduate and come as her assistant in Washington, fell upon her with crushing force. In the Rochester school, with Myrtilla Miner, were two free colored girls, and this association was the first circumstance to turn her thoughts to the work to which she gave her life. From Rochester she went to Mississippi, as a teacher of planters' daughters, and it was what she was compelled to see, in this situation, of the dreadful practices and conditions of slavery, that filled her soul with a pity for the colored race and a detestation of the system that bound them, which held possession of her to the last day of her life. She remained there several years, till her indignant utterances, which she would not withhold, compelled her employer, fearful of the results, to part reluctantly with a teacher whom he valued. She came home broken down with sickness, caused by the harassing sights and sounds that she had witnessed in plantation life, and while in this condition she made a solemn vow that whatever of life remained to her should be given to the work of ameliorating the condition of the colored people. Here her great work begins. She made up her mind to do something for the education of free colored girls, with the idea that through the influence of educated colored women she could lay the solid foundations for the disenthralment of their race. She selected this District for the field of her efforts, because it was the common property of the nation, and because the laws of the District gave her the right to educate *free* colored children, and she attempted to teach none others. She opened her plan to many of the leading friends of freedom, in an extensive correspondence, but found especially, at this time, a wise and warm encourager and counsellor in her scheme in William R. Smith, a Friend, of Farmington, near Rochester, New York, in whose family she was now a private teacher. Her correspondents generally gave her but little encouragement, but wished her God speed in what she should dare in the good cause. One Friend wrote her from Philadelphia, entering warmly into her scheme, but advised her to wait till funds could be collected. "I do not want the wealth of Crcesus," was her reply; and the Friend sent her \$100, and with this capital, in the autumn of 1851, she came to Washington to establish a Normal school for the education of colored girls, having associated with her Miss Anna Inman, an accomplished and benevolent lady of the Society of Friends, from Southfield, Rhode Island, who, however, after teaching a class of colored girls in French, in the house of Jonathan Jones, on the Island, through the winter, returned to New England. In the autumn of 1851 Miss Miner commenced her remarkable work here in a small room, about fourteen feet square, in the frame house then, as now, owned and occupied by Edward C. Younger, a colored man, as his dwelling, on Eleventh street, near New York avenue. With but two or three girls to open the school, she soon had a room-full, and to secure larger accommodation moved, after a couple of months, to a house on F street north, between Eighteenth and Nineteenth streets west, near the houses then occupied by William T. Carroll and Charles H. Winder. This house furnished her a very comfortable room for her school, which was composed of well-behaved girls, from the best colored families of the District. The persecution of those neighbors, however, compelled her to leave, as the colored family, who occupied the house, was threatened with confiscation, and after one month her little school found a more unmolested home in the dwelling-house of a German family on K street, near the Western market. After tarrying a few months here, she moved to L street, into a room in the building known as "The Two Sisters," then occupied by a white family. She now saw that the success of her school demanded a school-house, and in reconnoitering the ground she found a spot suiting her

ideas as to size and locality, with a house on it, and in the market at a low price. She raised the money, secured the spot, and thither, in the summer of 1851, she moved her school, where for seven years she was destined to prosecute, with the most unparalleled energy and conspicuous success, her remarkable enterprise. This lot, comprising an entire square of three acres, between Nineteenth and Twentieth streets west, N and O streets north, and New Hampshire avenue, selected under the guidance of Miss Miner, the contract being perfected through the agency of Sayles J. Bowen, Thomas Williamson, and Allen M. Gangewer, was originally conveyed in trust to Thomas Williamson and Samuel Rhoades, of the Society of Friends, in Philadelphia. It was purchased of the executors of the will of John Taylor, for \$4,000, the deed being executed June 8, 1853, the estimated value of the property now being not less than \$30,000. The money was mainly contributed by Friends, in Philadelphia, New York, and New England. Catharine Morris, a Friend, of Philadelphia, was a liberal benefactor of the enterprise, advancing Miss Miner \$2,000, with which to complete the purchase of the lot, the most, if not all which sum, it is believed, she ultimately gave to the institution; and Harriet Beecher Stowe was another generous friend, who gave her money and her heart to the support of the brave woman who had been willing to go forth alone at the call of duty. Mr. Rhoades, some years editor of the Friends' Quarterly Review, died several years ago, near Philadelphia. Mr. Williamson, a conveyancer in that city, and father of Passmore Williamson, is still living, but some years ago declined the place of trustee. The board, at the date of the act of incorporation, consisted of Benjamin Tatham, a Friend, of New York city, Mrs. Nancy M. Johnson, of Washington, and Myrtila Miner, and the transfer of the property to the incorporated body was made a few weeks prior to Miss Miner's death. This real estate, together with a fund of \$4,000 in government stocks, is now in the hands of a corporate body, under act of Congress approved March 3, 1863, and is styled "The Institution for the Education of Colored Youth in the District of Columbia." The officers of the corporation at this time are John C. Underwood, president; Francis G. Shaw, treasurer; George E. Baker, secretary; who, with Nancy M. Johnson, S. J. Bowen, Henry Addison, and Rachel Howland, constitute the executive committee. The purpose of the purchase of this property is declared, in a paper signed by Mr. Williamson and Mr. Rhoades, dated Philadelphia, June 8, 1858, to have been "*especially for the education of colored girls.*"

This paper also declares that "the grounds were purchased at the special instance of Myrtila Miner," and that "the contributions by which the original price of said lot, and also the cost of the subsequent improvements thereof, were procured chiefly by her instrumentality and labors." The idea of Miss Miner in planting a school here was to train up a class of colored girls, in the midst of slave institutions, who should show forth, in their culture and capabilities, to the country and to mankind, that the race was fit for something higher than the degradation which rested upon them. The amazing energy with which this frail woman prosecuted her work is well known to those who took knowledge of her career. She visited the colored people of her district from house to house, and breathed a new life into them pertaining to the education of their daughters. Her correspondence with the philanthropic men and women of the north was immense. She importuned congressmen, and the men who shaped public sentiment through the columns of the press, to come into her school and see her girls, and was ceaseless in her activities day and night, in every direction, to build up in dignity and refinement her seminary, and to force its merits upon public attention.

The buildings upon the lot when purchased—a small frame dwelling of two stories, not more than twenty-five by thirty-five feet in dimensions, with three small cabins on the other side of the premises—served for the seminary and the home of the teacher and her assistant. The most aspiring and decently bred colored girls of the District were gathered into the school; and the very best colored teachers in the schools of the District, at the present time, are among those who owe their education to this self-sacrificing teacher and her school. Mrs. Means, aunt of the wife of General Pierce, then President of the United States, attracted by the enthusiasm of this wonderful person, often visited her in the midst of her work with the kindest feelings, and the fact that the carriage from the Presidential mansion

was in this way frequently seen at the door of this humble institution did much to protect it from the hatred with which it was surrounded.

Mr. Seward and his family were very often seen at the school, both Mrs. Seward and her daughter, Fanny, being constant visitors; the latter, a young girl at the time, often spending a whole day there. Many other congressmen of large and generous instincts, some of them of pro-slavery party relations, went out there—all confessing their admiration of the resolute woman and her school, and this kept evil men in abeyance.

The opposition to the school throughout the District was strong and very general among the old as well as the young. Even Walter Lenox, who as mayor, when the school was first started, gave the teacher assurances of favor in her work, came out in 1857, following the prevailing current of depraved public sentiment and feeding its tide, in an elaborate article in the *National Intelligencer*, under his own signature, assailed the school in open and direct language, urging against it that it was raising the standard of education among the colored population, and distinctly declaring that the white population of the District would not be just to themselves to permit the continuance of an institution which had the temerity to extend to the colored people “a degree of instruction so far beyond their social and political condition, which condition must continue,” the article goes on to say, “in this and every other slave-holding community.” This article, though fraught with extreme ideas and to the last degree proscriptive and inflammatory, neither stirred any open violence nor deterred the courageous woman in the slightest degree from her work. When madmen went to her school-room threatening her with personal violence, she laughed them to shame; and when they threatened to burn her house, she told them that they could not stop her in that way, as another house, better than the old, would immediately rise from its ashes.

The house was set on fire in the spring of 1860, when Miss Miner was asleep in the second story alone, in the night time, but the smell of the smoke awakened her in time to save the building and herself from the flames, which were extinguished. The school girls, also, were constantly at the mercy of coarse and insulting boys along the streets, who would often gather in gangs before the gate to pursue and terrify these inoffensive children, who were striving to gather wisdom and understanding in their little sanctuary. The police took no cognizance of such brutality in those days. But their dauntless teacher, uncompromising, conscientious, and self-possessed in her aggressive work, in no manner turned from her course by this persecution, was, on the other hand, stimulated thereby to higher vigilance and energy in her great undertaking. The course of instruction in the school was indeed of a higher order than had hitherto been opened to the colored people of the District, as was denounced against the school by Walter Lenox in his newspaper attack. Lectures upon scientific and literary subjects were given by professional and literary gentlemen, who were friends to the cause. The spacious grounds afforded to each pupil an ample space for a flower bed, which she was enjoined to cultivate with her own hands and to thoroughly study. And an excellent library, a collection of paintings and engravings, the leading magazines and choice newspapers, were gathered and secured for the humble home of learning, which was all the while filled with students, the most of whom were bright, ambitious girls, composing a female colored school, which, in dignity and usefulness, has had no equal in the District since that day. It was her custom to gather in her vacations and journeys not only money, but everything else that would be of use in her school, and in this way she not only collected books, but maps, globes, philosophical and chemical and mathematical apparatus, and a great variety of things to aid in her instruction in illustrating all branches of knowledge. This collection was stored in the school building during the war, and was damaged by neglect, plundered by soldiers, and what remains is not of much value. The elegant sofa-bedstead which she used during all her years in the seminary, and which would be an interesting possession for the seminary, was sold, with her other personal effects, to Dr. Carrie Brown, (Mrs. Winslow,) of Washington, one of her bosom friends, who stood at her pillow when she died.

Her plan embraced the erection of spacious structures, upon the site which had been most admirably chosen, complete in all their appointments for the full accommodation of a school of one hundred and fifty boarding scholars. The seminary was to be a Female College,

endowed with all the powers and professorships belonging to a first-class college for the other sex. She did not contemplate its springing up into such proportions, like a mushroom, in a single night, but it was her ambition that the institution should one day attain that rank. In the midst of her anxious, incessant labors her physical system began so sensibly to fail, that in the summer of 1858, under the counsel of the friends of herself and her cause, she went north to seek health, and, as usual in all her journeys, to beg for her seminary, leaving her girls in the care of Emily Howland, a noble young woman, who came down here for the love of the cause, without money and without price, from the vicinity of Auburn, New York. In the autumn Miss Miner returned to her school; Miss Howland still continuing with her through the winter, a companion in her trials, aiding her in her duties, and consenting to take charge of the school again in the summer of 1859, while Miss Miner was on another journey for funds and health. In the autumn of that year, after returning from her journey, which was not very successful, she determined to suspend the school, and to go forth to the country with a most persistent appeal for money to erect a seminary building, as she had found it impossible to get a house of any character started with the means already in her hands. She could get no woman, whom she deemed fit to take her work, willing to continue her school, and in the spring of 1860, leasing the premises, she went north on her errand. In the ensuing year she traversed many States, but the shadow of the rebellion was on her path, and she gathered neither much money nor much strength. The war came, and in October, 1862, hoping, not vainly, for health from a sea voyage and from the Pacific climate, she sailed from New York to California. When about to return, in 1866, with vivacity of body and spirit, she was thrown from a carriage in a fearful manner; blighting all the high hopes of resuming her school under the glowing auspices she had anticipated, as she saw the rebellion and the hated system tumbling to pieces. She arrived in New York in August of that year in a most shattered condition of body, though with the fullest confidence that she should speedily be well and at her work in Washington. In the first days of December she came here in a dying condition, still resolute to resume her work; was carried to the residence of her tried friend, Mrs. Nancy M. Johnson, and on the tenth of that month, surrounded by the friends who had stood with her in other days, she put off her wasted and wearied body in the city which had witnessed her trials and her triumphs, and her remains slumber in Oak Hill cemetery.

Her seminary engaged her thoughts to the last day of her life. She said in her last hours that she had come back here to resume her work, and could not leave it thus unfinished. No marble marks the resting place of this truly wonderful woman, but her memory is certainly held precious in the hearts of her throngs of pupils, in the hearts of the colored people of this District, and of all who took knowledge of her life and who reverence the cause in which she offered herself a willing sacrifice. Her assistants in the school were Helen Moore of Washington, Margaret Clapp and Amanda Weaver of New York State, Anna H. Searing of New York State, and two of her pupils, Matilda Jones of Washington, and Emma Brown of Georgetown, both of whom, subsequently, through the influence of Miss Miner and Miss Howland, finished their education at Oberlin, and have since been most superior teachers in Washington. Most of the assistant teachers from the north were from families connected with the Society of Friends, and it has been seen that the bulk of the money came from that society. This sketch would be incomplete without a special tribute to Lydia B. Mann, sister of Horace Mann, who came here in the fall of 1856, from the Colored Female Orphan Asylum of Providence, R. I., of which she was then, as she continues to be, the admirable superintendent, and, as a pure labor of love, took care of the school in the most superior manner through the autumn and winter, while Miss Miner was north recruiting her strength and pleading for contributions. It was no holiday duty to go into that school, live in that building, and work alone with head and hands, as was done by all these refined and educated women, who stood from time to time in that humble persecuted seminary. Miss Mann is gratefully remembered by her pupils here and their friends.

Mention should also be made of Emily Howland, who stood by Miss Miner in her darkest days, and whose whole heart was with her in all her work. She is a woman of the largest and most self-sacrificing purposes, who has been and still is giving her best years, all

her powers, talents, learning, refinement, wealth, and personal toil, to the education and elevation of the colored race. While here she adopted, and subsequently educated in the best manner, one of Miss Miner's pupils, and assisted several others of her smart girls in completing their education at Oberlin. During the war she was teaching contrabands in the hospital and the camp, and is now engaged in planting a colony of colored people in Virginia with homes and a school-house of their own.

A seminary, such as was embraced in the plan of Miss Miner, is exceedingly demanded by the interests of colored female education in this District and the country at large, and any scheme by which the foundations that she laid so well may become the seat of such a school, would be heartily approved by all enlightened friends of the colored race. The trustees of the Miner property, not insensible of their responsibilities, have been carefully watching for the moment when action on their part would seem to be justified. They have repeatedly met in regard to the matter, but, in their counsels, hitherto, have deemed it wise to wait further developments. They are now about to hold another meeting, it is understood, and it is to be devoutly hoped that some plan will be adopted by which a school of a high order may be, in due time, opened for colored girls in this District, who exceedingly need the refining, womanly training of such a school.*

The original corporators of Miss Miner's Institution were Henry Addison, John C. Underwood, George C. Abbott, William H. Channing, Nancy M. Johnson, and Myrtilla Miner. The objects as expressed in the charter "are to educate and improve the moral and intellectual condition of such of the colored youth of the nation as may be placed under its care and influence."

ARABELLA JONES'S SCHOOL.

About the time that Miss Miner commenced in the northern section of Washington, Miss Arabella Jones, a colored girl, who had just returned from the St. Frances' Academy at Baltimore, opened a female school on the island, called St. Agnes' Academy. She had been educated with the greatest care at home by her father, and had, besides, the benefit of her mother's instruction, a woman of extraordinary native sense, who was for a brief time a pupil of Mrs. Billing in her early girlhood, and from her youth through many years a favorite servant in the family of John Quincy Adams, commencing when he was Secretary of State. Miss Jones had a good English education, wrote and spoke with ease and propriety the French tongue, was proficient in music and in all the useful and ornamental needle-work branches. Her father, though a poor man, had on her return from school purchased her a piano and a well-selected library, including a full set of the British poets in handsome binding, bought in London expressly to his order, among which was a specially handsome edition of Shakspeare, the favorite author of the daughter, who not only relished such works, but showed taste and talent in her own poetic effusions, which occasionally found their way into the public press. She taught with great delight and success, for several years, till better compensation was offered to her for her skill with the needle. She was a girl of decided talents, and had her high aims and education found a more fortunate field for display, she would have done more for her sex than fell to her lot to do. In 1857 she was married, and her subsequent life was clouded. She died in 1868 in the 34th year of her age, and was borne to the tomb with distinguished marks of respect without distinction of class or color. At the time of her death she had been appointed to a government clerkship.

MARY WORMLEY'S SCHOOL.

In 1830 William Wormley built a school-house for his sister Mary near the corner of Vermont avenue and I street, where the restaurant establishment owned and occupied by his brother, James Wormley, now stands. He had educated his sister expressly for a teacher, at great expense, at the Colored Female Seminary in Philadelphia, then in charge of Miss Sarah Douglass, an accomplished colored lady, who is still a teacher of note in the Philadel-

* Since the above was written, information has been received that Major General O. O. Howard has tendered to the trustees a donation of \$30,000 from the building fund of the Freedmen's Bureau, and that they will immediately proceed to erect a first-class building for a female college.

phia Colored High School. William Wormley was at that time a man of wealth. His livery stable, which occupied the place where the Owen House now stands, was one of the largest and best in the city. Miss Wormley had but just brought her school into full and successful operation when her health broke down, and she lived scarcely two years. Mr. Calvert, an English gentleman, still living in the first ward, taught a class of colored scholars in this house for a time, and James Wormley was one of the class. In the autumn of 1834 William Thomas Lee opened a school in the same place, and it was in a flourishing condition in the fall of 1835, when the Snow mob dispersed it, sacking the school-house, and partially destroying it by fire. William Wormley was at that time one of the most enterprising and influential colored men of Washington, and was the original agent of the Liberator newspaper for this District. The mob being determined to lay hold of him and Lee, they fled from the city to save their lives, returning when General Jackson, coming back from Virginia a few days after the outbreak, gave notice that the fugitives should be protected. The persecution of William Wormley was so violent and persistent that his health and spirits sank under its effects, his business was broken up, and he died a poor man, scarcely owning a shelter for his dying couch. The school-house was repaired after the riot and occupied for a time by Margaret Thompson's school, and still stands in the rear of James Wormley's restaurant. During this period, and for some years previous,

MRS. MARY WALL'S SCHOOL

was doing a great service to the colored people. Mrs. Wall, whose husband, Nicholas Wall, died some years before she came to this District, was a member of the Society of Friends, and a most benevolent, gentle, and refined woman. They were Virginians, and were reared in affluence, but reverses at last limited her means, which she had used in her prosperous days with open hand in works of benevolence and charity. In her widowhood she left her native State, and gave much of her subsequent life to the education of the colored children of this District. As early as 1824 she had a school in a house which then stood on Fifteenth street, between the residences now owned by Senator Morgan and Representative Hooper. This school-room was always crowded, and applications, by reason of limited room, were often refused. The school-room accommodated about 40 pupils. She continued her school here quite a number of years, and some of the most intelligent and enterprising colored men of Washington owe the best part of their education to this good woman, James Wormley and John Thomas Johnson being of the number. Her high breeding and culture exerted the most marked influence upon the children of poverty and ignorance whom she thus took by the hand. Many colored people of this District remember her school and her loving kindness, and bless her memory. She belonged to the class of southern people, not small in her time, who believed in the education and improvement of the colored race. William Wall, the distinguished merchant on Pennsylvania avenue, of the firm of Wall, Robinson & Co., is a son of this truly Christian lady.

BENJAMIN MCCOY'S, AND OTHER SCHOOLS.

About this time another school was opened in Georgetown, by Nancy Grant, a sister of Mrs. William Becraft, a well-educated colored woman. She was teaching as early as 1828, and had a useful school for several years. Mr. Nuthall, an Englishman, was teaching in Georgetown during this period and as late as 1833 he went to Alexandria and opened a school in that city. William Syphax among others, now resident in Washington, attended his school in Alexandria about 1833. He was a man of ability, well educated, and one of the best teachers of his time in the District. His school in Georgetown was at first in Dunbarton street, and afterward on Montgomery.

The old maxim that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church," seems to find its illustration in this history. There is no period in the annals of the country in which the fires of persecution against the education of the colored race burned more fiercely in this District and the country at large than in the five years from 1831 to 1836, and it was during this period that a larger number of respectable colored schools were established than in any other five years prior to the war. In 1833, the same year in which Ambush's school was

started, Benjamin M. McCoy, a colored man, opened a school in the northern part of the city, on L street, between Third and Fourth streets west. In 1834 he moved to Massachusetts avenue, continuing his school there till he went to Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in the autumn of 1836, to finish the engagement of Rev. John F. Cook, who came back to Washington at that time and re-opened his school. The school at Lancaster was a free public colored school, and Mr. McCoy was solicited to continue another year, but declining, came back, and in 1837 opened a school in the basement of Asbury church, which, in that room and in the house adjoining, he maintained with great success for the ensuing 12 years. Mr. McCoy was a pupil of Mrs. Billing and Henry Smothers, is a man of good sense, and his school gave a respectable rudimental education to multitudes, who remember him as a teacher with great respect. He is now a messenger in the Treasury Department. In 1833 a school was established by Fanny Hampton, in the western part of the city, on the north-west corner of K and Nineteenth streets. It was a large school, and was continued till about 1842, the teacher dying soon afterwards. She was half-sister of Lindsay Muse. Margaret Thompson succeeded her, and had a flourishing school of some 40 scholars on Twenty-sixth street, near the avenue, for several years, about 1846. She subsequently became the wife of Charles H. Middleton, and assisted in his school for a brief time. About 1830 Robert Brown commenced a small school, and continued it at intervals for many years till his death. As early as 1833, there was a school opened in a private house in the rear of Franklin row, near the location of the new Franklin school building. It was taught by a white man, Mr Talbot, and continued a year or two. Mrs. George Ford, a white teacher, a native of Virginia, kept a colored school in a brick house still standing on New Jersey Avenue between K and L streets. She taught there many years, and as early perhaps as half a century ago.

THOMAS TABBS'S SCHOOL

was an institution peculiar to itself. Mr. Tabbs belonged to a prominent Maryland family, and was bred in affluence and received a thorough and polished education. He came to Washington before the war of 1812, and resided here till his death, which occurred 10 years ago. He at once commenced teaching the colored people, and persistently continued to do so as long as he lived. He was called insane by some, but there was certainly a method in his madness. When he could find a school-room he would gather a school, but when less fortunate he would go from house to house, stopping where he could find a group of poor colored children to instruct. At one period he had the shadow of a large tree near the Masonic Lodge at the Navy Yard for his school, and it was there that Alexander Hays, afterwards a teacher in Washington, but then a slave, learned his alphabet. Mr. Tabbs must have spent nearly fifty years in this mode of life, and there are many colored people, well advanced in years, who owe their tolerable education to the instruction of this kind-hearted, singular man. At one time he had a school on A street south, between Seventh and Eighth streets east, and at another had a large school, with an assistant, in the Israel Bethel church. He was an upright man, and the colored people of the older class in the eastern section of Washington remember him with respect and gratitude.

DR. JOHN H. FLEET'S SCHOOL

was opened in 1836, on New York avenue, in a school-house which stood nearly on the spot now occupied by the Richards buildings at the corner of New York avenue and Fourteenth street. It had been previously used for a white school, taught by Mrs. McDaniel, and was subsequently again so used. Dr. Fleet was a native of Georgetown, and was greatly assisted in his education by the late Judge James Morsell, of that city, who was not only kind to this family, but was always regarded by the colored people of the District as their firm friend and protector. John H. Fleet, with his brothers and sisters, went to the Georgetown Lancasterian school, with the white children, for a long period, in their earlier school days, and subsequently to other white schools. He was also for a time a pupil of Smothers and Prout. He was possessed of a brilliant and strong intellect, inherited from his father, who was a white man of distinguished abilities. He studied medicine in Washington, in the office of Dr. Thomas

Henderson, who had resigned as assistant surgeon in the army, and was a practising physician of eminence in Washington. He also attended medical lectures at the old Medical College, corner of Tenth and E streets. It was his intention at that time to go to Liberia, and his professional education was conducted under the auspices of the Colonization Society. This, with the influence of Judge Morsell, gave him privileges never extended here to any other colored man. He decided, however, not to go to Liberia, and in 1836 opened his school. He was a refined and polished gentleman, and conceded to be the foremost colored man in culture, in intellectual force, and general influence in this District at that time. His school-house, on New York avenue, was burned by an incendiary about 1843, and his flourishing and excellent school was thus ended. For a time he subsequently taught music, in which he was very proficient; but about 1846 he opened a school on School-house hill, in the Hobbrook Military School building, near the corner of N street north and Twenty-third street west, and had a large school there till about 1851, when he relinquished the business, giving his attention henceforth exclusively to music, and with eminent success. He died in 1861. His school was very large and of a superior character. One of his daughters is now a teacher in one of the public schools. While Dr. Fleet was teaching on School-house hill,

JOHN THOMAS JOHNSON'S SCHOOL,

on Twenty-third street west, near L north, in the same neighborhood, was also in very flourishing operation. Mr. Johnson is a well-known employé at the Capitol at the present time. He was born and educated in this District, and is a man of intelligence and force of character. He was a pupil of Mrs. Wall, of whose character, as an accomplished teacher and woman, he speaks with the deepest respect. He was also a scholar in Smothers's school and in Prout's. In 1838, when the persecution of the colored people of the District was still raging, he left the city, and on his route west, in search of a more tolerant latitude, stopped at Pittsburg, Pa., where, at the suggestion of Rev. John Peck and J. B. Vashon, esq., he offered himself as a candidate for teacher of the First District school of that city. He had two white competitors. The examination before the board of school managers resulted in the declaration that he was the best qualified for the place, and he accordingly took the position, and taught with eminent success for several years, to the astonishment and admiration of all interested in the school. He finally resigned his place for a more lucrative position as a steward on a Mississippi steamer. In 1843 he came back to his native city, and started a school, as stated in the commencement of this notice, with a zeal and boldness equalled by few of the most courageous of the colored men at that time, when their school-houses were at the mercy of the mob. Shielded by no law, he built a school-house and gathered a school, which, commencing with half a dozen, soon became very large—once numbering as high as 200 and more, and averaging from 150 to 170 well-dressed and well-behaved children, many of whom, now men and women grown, are among the best colored people of this District. He continued his school down to 1849, when he relinquished a work in which he had uniformly achieved decided success. As he was about to retire from the field,

CHARLES H. MIDDLETON'S SCHOOL

was started, in the same section of the city, in a school-house which then stood near the corner of Twenty-second street west and I north, and which had been used by Henry Hardy for a white school. Though both Fleet's and Johnson's schools were in full tide of success in that vicinity he gathered a good school, and when his two competitors retired—as they both did about this time—his school absorbed a large portion of their patronage and was thronged. In 1852 he went temporarily with his school to Sixteenth street, and thence to the basement of Union Bethel church on M street, near Sixteenth, in which, during the administration of President Pierce, he had an exceedingly large and excellent school, at the same period when Miss Miner was prosecuting her signal work. Mr. Middleton, now a messenger in the Navy Department, a native of Savannah, Ga., is free-born, and received his very good education in schools in that city, sometimes with white and sometimes with colored children. When he commenced his school he had just returned from the Mexican war, and his enter-

prise is especially worthy of being made prominent, not only because of his high style as a teacher, but also because it is associated with

THE FIRST MOVEMENT FOR A FREE COLORED PUBLIC SCHOOL.

This movement originated with a city officer, Jesse E. Dow, who, in 1848 and 1849, was a leading and influential member of the common council. He encouraged Mr. Middleton to start his school, by assuring him that he would give all his influence to the establishment of free schools for colored as well as for white children, and that he had great confidence that the councils would be brought to give at least some encouragement to the enterprise. In 1850 Mr. Dow was named among the candidates for the mayoralty, and when his views in this regard were assailed by his opponents, he did not hesitate to boldly avow his opinions, and to declare that he wished no support for any office which demanded of him any modification of these convictions. The workmen fail, but the work succeeds. The name of Jesse E. Dow merits conspicuous record in this history for his bold and magnanimous action. Mr. Middleton received great assistance in building up his school from Rev. Mr. Wayman, then pastor of the Bethel church, and afterwards promoted to the bishopric. The school was surrendered finally to Rev. J. V. B. Morgan, the succeeding pastor of the church, who conducted the school as a part of the means of his livelihood.

ALEXANDER CORNISH AND OTHERS.

In the eastern section of the city, about 1840, Alexander Cornish had a school several years in his own house on D street south, between Third and Fourth east, with an average of 40 scholars. He was succeeded, about 1846, by Richard Stokes, who was a native of Chester County, Pa. His school, averaging 150 scholars, was kept in the Israel Bethel church, near the Capitol, and was continued for about six years. In 1840 there was a school opened by Margaret Hill in Georgetown, near Miss English's seminary. She taught a very good school for several years.

ALEXANDER HAYS'S SCHOOL,

was started on Ninth street west, near New York avenue. Mr. Hays was born in 1802, and belonged originally to the Fowler family in Maryland. When a boy he served for a time at the Washington Navy Yard, in the family of Captain Dove, of the navy, the father of Dr. Dove, of Washington, and it was in that family that he learned to read. Michael Tabbs had a school at that time at the Navy Yard, which he taught in the afternoons *under a large tree*, which stood near the old Masonic Hall. The colored children used to meet him there in large numbers daily, and while attending this singular school, Hays was at the same time taught by Mrs. Dove, with her children. This was half a century ago. In 1826 Hays went to live in the family of R. S. Coxe, the eminent Washington lawyer, who soon purchased him, paying Fowler \$300 for him. Mr. Coxe did this at the express solicitation of Hays, and 17 years after he gave him his freedom—in 1843. While living with Mr. Coxe he had married Matilda Davis, the daughter of John Davis, who served as steward many years in the family of Mr. Seaton, of the National Intelligencer. The wedding was at Mr. Seaton's residence, and Mr. Coxe and family were present on the occasion. In 1836 he bought the house and lot which they still own and occupy, and in 1842, the year before he was free, Hays made his last payment and the place was conveyed to his wife. She was a free woman, and had opened a school in the house in 1841. Hays had many privileges while with Mr. Coxe, and with the proceeds of his wife's school they paid the purchase money (\$550) and interest in seven years. Mr. Hays was taught reading, writing, and arithmetic by Mr. Coxe, his wife, and daughters, while a slave in their family. When the colored people were driven from the churches, in the years of the mobs, Mrs. Coxe organized a large colored Sabbath school in her own parlor, and maintained it for a long period, with the co-operation of Mr. Coxe and the daughters. Mr. Hays was a member of this school. He also attended day schools, when his work would allow of it. This was the education with which, in 1845, he ventured to take his wife's school in charge. He is a man of good sense, and his

school flourished. He put up an addition to his house, in order to make room for his increasing school, which was continued down to 1857—16 years from its opening. He had also a night school and taught music, and these two features of his school he has revived since the war. This school contained from 35 to 45 pupils. Rev. Dr. Samson, Mr. Seaton, and Mr. Cøxe often visited his school and encouraged him in his excellent work. Thomas Tabbs used also to come into his school and give him aid and advice, as also did John McLeod.

JOSEPH T. MASON'S SCHOOL, IN GEORGETOWN,

was established in 1840, in the rear of Mount Zion church, in a house near where the large free school building for colored children now stands. Mr. Mason was a scholar in Prout's school, and in that of the elder Cook. He was an admirable disciplinarian, and his school, which rarely fell below a hundred members, was conducted with more than common system and thoroughness for more than a quarter of a century, until he became insane, a year or two before the war.

THOMAS M. MASON'S SCHOOL

was commenced in 1859, in his father's house, on L near Twenty-first street west, and has continued without interruption to the present time. This school, prior to the war, averaged about 100, but during and since the war it has been about 50. He is well educated and a very excellent teacher, was a scholar under both Johnson and Fleet, and finished his education at Oberlin. His father was a cousin to Joseph T. Mason.

MR. AND MRS. FLETCHER'S SCHOOL

was opened about 1854, in the building in which Middleton first taught, on I near Twenty-second street. Mr. Fletcher was an Englishman, a well-educated gentleman, and a thorough teacher. He was induced to open the school by the importunities of some aspiring colored young men in that part of the city, who desired first-rate instruction. He soon became the object of persecution, though he was a man of courtesy and excellent character. His school-house was finally set on fire and consumed, with all its books and furniture; but the school took, as its asylum, the basement of the John Wesley Church. The churches which they had been forced to build in the days of the mobs, when they were driven from the white churches which they had aided in building, proved of immense service to them in their subsequent struggles. Mrs. Fletcher kept a variety store, which was destroyed about the time the school was opened. She then became an assistant in her husband's school, which numbered over 150 pupils. In 1858 they were driven from the city, as persecution at that time was particularly violent against all white persons who instructed the colored people. This school was conducted with great thoroughness, and had two departments, Mrs. Fletcher, who was an accomplished person, having charge of the girls in a separate room.

ELIZA ANNE COOK,

a niece of Rev. John F. Cook, and one of his pupils, who has been teaching for about 15 years, should be mentioned. She attended Miss Miner's school for a time, and was afterwards at the Baltimore convent two years. She opened a school in her mother's house, and subsequently built a small school-house on the same lot, Sixteenth street, between K and L streets. With the exception of three years, during which she was teaching in the free Catholic school opened in the Smothers' school-house in 1859, and one year in the female school in charge of the colored sisters, she has maintained her own private school from 1854 down to the present time, her number at some periods being above 60, but usually not more than 25 or 30.

MISS WASHINGTON'S SCHOOL.

In 1857 Annie E. Washington opened a select primary school in her mother's house, on K street, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets west. The mother, a widow woman, is a laundress, and by her own labor has given her children good advantages, though she had no such advantages herself. This daughter was educated chiefly under Rev. John F. Cook

and Miss Miner, with whom she was a favorite scholar. Her older sister was educated at the Baltimore convent. Annie E. Washington is a woman of native refinement, and has an excellent aptitude for teaching, as well as a good education. Her schools have always been conducted with system and superior judgment, giving universal satisfaction, the number of her pupils being limited only by the size of her room. In 1858 she moved to the basement of the Baptist church, corner of Nineteenth and I streets, to secure larger accommodations, and there she had a school of more than 60 scholars for several years.

A FREE CATHOLIC COLORED SCHOOL.

A free school was established in 1858 and maintained by the St. Vincent de Paul Society, an association of colored Catholics, in connection with the St. Matthew's church. It was organized under the direction of Father Walter and kept in the Smothers' school-house for two years, and was subsequently for one season maintained on a smaller scale in a house on L street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth streets west, till the association failed to give it the requisite pecuniary support after the war broke out. This school has already been mentioned.

OTHER SCHOOLS.

In 1843, Elizabeth Smith commenced a school for small children on the Island in Washington, and subsequently taught on Capitol hill. In 1860 she was the assistant of Rev. Wm. H. Hunter, who had a large school in Zion Wesley church, Georgetown, of which he was the pastor. She afterwards took the school into her own charge for a period and taught among the contrabands in various places during the war.

About 1850 Isabella Briscoe opened a school on Montgomery street near Mount Zion church, Georgetown. She was well educated and one of the best colored teachers in the District before the rebellion. Her school was always well patronized, and she continued teaching in the District up to 1868.

Charlotte Beams had a large school for a number of years, as early as 1850, in a building next to Galbraith chapel, I street north, between Fourth and Fifth west. It was exclusively a girl's school in its latter years. The teacher was a pupil of Enoch Ambush, who assisted her in establishing her school.

A year or two later Rev. James Shorter had a large school in the Israel Bethel church, and Miss Jackson taught another good school on Capitol Hill about the same time. The above mentioned were all colored teachers.

Among the excellent schools broken up at the opening of the war was that of Mrs. Charlotte Gordon, colored, on Eighth street, in the northern section of the city. It was in successful operation several years, and the number in attendance sometimes reached 150. Mrs. Gordon was assisted by her daughter.

In 1841 David Brown commenced teaching on D street south, between First and Second streets, island, and continued in the business till 1858, at which period he was placed in charge of the large Catholic free school, in the Smothers house, as has been stated.

CHURCHES, PAROCHIAL AND SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

No religious sect has, from the earliest history of this District, exhibited so true a Christian spirit towards the colored people as the Catholic. In Georgetown, Rev. Leonard Neale, D. D., the archbishop, who resided there at an early period, and his brother, Rev. Francis Neale, the founder and first pastor of Holy Trinity church, and Father Van Lommel, pastor of the same church in 1827, were all friends of the poor, showing no distinction on account of color. They established schools and gathered to them the ignorant and poor, both white and colored. Father Van Lommel himself taught a school in which the white and colored children were instructed together and gratuitously, in the house that Mrs. Commodore Decatur for many years afterwards occupied near the Georgetown college gate. That the Catholic church was true to the Christian doctrine of the unity of the human race and the equality of all mankind before the altar of worship, was shown in the labors of these representatives of its priesthood. In 1837, when the pro-slavery spirit was enjoying its greatest triumph in this country, Pope Gregory XVI issued his famous anti-slavery bull. He first quotes the

bull of 1537, by Paul III, addressed to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, and another, still more comprehensive, by Urban VIII, of 1636, to the collector Jurius, of the Apostolic Chamber of Portugal, "most severely castigating, by name, those who presumed to subject either East or West Indians to slavery; to sell, buy, exchange, or give them away, to separate them from their wives and children, despoil them of their goods and property, to bring or transmit them to other places, or by any means deprive them of liberty, or retain them in slavery," and then proceeds to reprobate, by "apostolical authority, all the above-described offences as utterly unworthy of the Christian name," and, "under the same authority, to rigidly prohibit and interdict all and every individual, whether ecclesiastical or laical, from presuming to defend that commerce in negro slaves," and to declare that, after mature deliberation in council of their Eminences, the Cardinals of the Holy Catholic Church, he was admonished "to invoke in the Lord all Christians, of whatever condition, that none henceforth dare to subject to slavery, unjustly persecute, or despoil of their goods, Indians, negroes, or other classes of men, or be accessories to others, or furnish them aid or assistance in so doing."

Father McElroy, now a resident of Boston, eighty-seven years old, whose life has been as full of pious and benevolent deeds as it is of years, was the assistant pastor of Holy Trinity church of Georgetown, D. C., with Father De Theux, who in 1817 succeeded Father Francis Neale. In 1818 Father McElroy established a Sunday school for colored children, and labored with the utmost devotion to gather the poor and despised children under his instruction. The school was held Sunday afternoon, and was a large and interesting institution. It continued two hours each day, and the children were taught spelling, reading, writing and christian doctrine. Young men and women of the first standing in Georgetown were the teachers, under the superintendence of Father McElroy, and the school was maintained with great efficiency for many years, especially during the service of Father McElroy, who was there five years, till he went to Frederick, Md., in 1822. There are many colored men and women still living in this District, now furrowed and gray with age, who learned to read and write in that school, including some who were slaves at the time.

The Catholic church was as free in all its privileges to the black worshipper as to the white, and in the sanctuary there was no black gallery. It was so in St. Patrick's church, in Washington, under its founder, Father Matthew of blessed memory, who had the friendship of Jefferson and other distinguished public men of his time, and who recognized the poorest and most benighted negro of his parish as inferior to none in all the privileges and duties of the church. The colored people in those days, in all the Catholic churches, not only knelt side by side with the highest personages, but the pews were also free to all. Father John Donelan, the founder of St. Matthew's church, was equally Christian in his impartiality, and this has been the general treatment which the colored people have received from the Catholic church, the cases in which a priest has attempted to make a distinction having been very few and exceptional. The older and more intelligent colored people of the District will fully sustain this statement. The Sisters of the convent in Georgetown have also trained many colored girls in the refined and solid attainments of a good education. The parochial instruction of the churches has always embraced all the children, and it is believed that St. Aloysius church, the last that was built before the war, has not been in the least behind the earlier churches in this respect. Colored people have always held pews there on the same floor with the whites, and there is a large free female colored school in the parochial school building connected with this church, in which there is also a white female school numbering some 250 pupils. The St. Mary's Catholic church at Alexandria in the earlier years manifested a similar Christian spirit, and has continued to do so. The colored people occupied the same floor with the white, and the free pews were occupied without discrimination of color.

When the colored people were excluded from all the Protestant churches of the District in the years of the mobs, the Catholic people stood firm, allowing no molestation of their colored worshippers. When the Sabbath schools for colored children were broken up in every Protestant church in the District, every Catholic church steadily retained its colored children under the usual Sunday instruction, and these schools embraced all ages, from the mere

child to the hoary head. The above brief statements will explain why the colored Catholics here organized but one Catholic church, St. Martin's, though forming a considerable part of the colored population of the District.

The Protestant churches in the District, like the Catholic, seem at first to have had no separate galleries; and children in the Sabbath school, white and colored, sat in the same room on the same seats. This was the case in the First Baptist church in Washington, which was established in 1802, but at a later day this was changed, the galleries being assigned to the colored people. But most of the Protestant churches went so far as gradually to limit them to the back seats in the galleries, which so mortified their self-respect as to drive them, in spite of their poverty, to build humble religious homes of their own. When the new Baptist church was built on Tenth street, which was afterwards sold and converted into a theatre, afterwards known as Ford's Theatre, the gallery was given to the colored people. This was satisfactory to the majority, but some of the more spirited chafed under the new arrangement. The church, and its pastor, Rev. O. B. Brown, however, treated their colored members and worshippers with Christian charity. The pastor was a large-hearted Christian minister, who knew no distinction as to the color of a person's skin at the altar of worship. When they built on Tenth street, in 1833, the colored members bought the old church, corner of Nineteenth and I streets, for a chapel, in which to hold their social meetings. Soon afterwards they employed Rev. Mr. Nickens to preach for them temporarily, which resulted in about thirty of the colored members seceding, and organizing a church by themselves. These seceding members were expelled, and, as the church property was deeded to the *members of the church*, a controversy arose as to the title to the house, which is still litigated in chancery, between the mother church and her colored offspring.

Among the Methodists an alienation of feeling grew up at an earlier date than in the other churches. As early as 1820 the colored members of the Ebenezer church, on Fourth street east, near Virginia avenue, erected a log building in that vicinity, not far from the present Odd Fellows' lodge, for their social religious meetings and Sabbath school. About the same time some of the leading members, among them George Bell and George Hicks, already mentioned, becoming dissatisfied with their treatment, withdrew and organized a church in connection with the African Methodist Episcopal church. At first they worshipped in Basil Sim's rope-walk, First street east, near Pennsylvania avenue, but subsequently in Rev. Mr. Wheat's school-house on Capitol Hill, near Virginia avenue. They finally purchased the old First Presbyterian church, at foot of Capitol Hill, now known as the "Israel Bethel African Methodist Episcopal church." Some years later other members of the old Ebenezer church not liking their confined quarters in the gallery, and otherwise discontented, purchased a lot corner of C street south and Fifth street east, built a house of worship, and were organized as the "Little Ebenezer Methodist Episcopal church." About the year 1825 a third colonization from the original Ebenezer church took place. Among other grievances, the colored members were dissatisfied with their white pastors because they declined to take the colored children in their arms when administering the rite of baptism. In 1839 this alienation grew into an open rupture, when thirteen class leaders and one exhorter left the mother church, and, after purchasing a lot on the Island, erected a house and formed a colored church, independent of the Methodist Episcopal body, under the name of the Wesley Zion church, and employed a colored preacher. Among the prominent men in this separation, still living, were Enoch Ambush, the well-known schoolmaster, and Anthony Bowen, who for many years has been an estimable employé in the Department of the Interior. Mr. Bowen has been a local preacher for forty years, and under his guidance the St. Paul's colored church on the Island was organized, at first worshipping in E street chapel.

In a volume, by Rev. Benjamin T. Tanner, entitled "An Apology for African Methodism," published in Baltimore in 1867, the statement is made that while the Presbyterians, Lutherans, Congregationalists, and others have opened their Theological schools and colleges to colored men, the Methodist Episcopal denomination has refused them admission even in cases where the colored people have aided in establishing and supporting these schools.

In this connection it may not be inappropriate to refer to the formation of the "African Methodist Episcopal church." "In November, 1787, the colored people belonging to the

Methodist Society of Philadelphia convened together in order to take into consideration the evils under which they labored, arising from the unkind treatment of their white brethren, who considered them a nuisance in the house of worship, and even pulled them off their knees while in the act of prayer and ordered them to the back seats. For these and various other acts of unchristian conduct they considered it their duty to devise a plan in order to build a house of their own, to worship God 'under their own vine and fig tree.'" The above extract is taken from the historical chapter of the "Book of Church Discipline" of the "African Methodist Episcopal church," and the chapter is signed by Bishop Wm. P. Quinn, Bishop Daniel A. Payne, Bishop Alex. W. Wayman, and Bishop Jabez P. Campbell. Among other prominent men of Philadelphia, Dr. Benjamin Rush was the friend of the colored people, and Bishop White also, who ordained one of their own number, after the order of the Protestant Episcopal church, as their pastor. In 1793 those of Methodist proclivities having concluded to build a church, Rev. Richard Allen gave them the land for the purpose, and with a few others aided them in the work. Francis Asbury, always their friend, and then bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church, officiated at the consecration, and the house was named "Bethel." Thus matters stood until 1816. During this period the colored people of Baltimore, Washington, and other places were oppressed as in Philadelphia, and in April, 1816, they called a general convention in that city, which organized the "African Methodist Episcopal Church." At the same time the first bishop was ordained, Rev. William Allen, who in the year 1799 had been ordained as preacher by Bishop Asbury of the "Methodist Episcopal church."

One of the local preachers of this church, Rev. Thos. E. Green, now connected with the "Pisgah chapel," Washington, when a child was bound out by the orphans' court to Jacob Gideon, a well-known citizen of Washington, and he expresses himself greatly indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Gideon for their kind treatment and the excellent instruction given him.

The number of colored people connected with Protestant Episcopal churches of the District has always been quite small. Christ church, Navy Yard, the oldest church of this denomination in the District, was as impartial and kind in the treatment of its colored worshippers as were the other Protestant churches in their early history. When the Sabbath school was organized the colored children were gathered into it, occupying seats upon the same floor with the white children, and this has been the usual custom of these churches. In their worship the gallery, or a portion of it, has been assigned to the colored worshippers, who, at the administration of the sacrament, are wont to descend and approach the altar when the white communicants have retired. The banishment of the colored members to the back seats at the sacramental table is not, however, peculiar to this church. The Methodist Episcopal people, even in New England, have done likewise. Not long before the war one of the most gifted colored men in the country entered the Elm street Methodist Church in New Bedford, intending to unite with the church, but what occurred while he was present made him depart without doing as he had intended. The following is his statement, [Rev. Mr. Bonney was at that time the pastor:] "After the congregation was dismissed the half dozen colored members descended from the gallery and took a seat against the wall most distant from the altar. Brother Bonney was very animated, and sung very sweetly 'Salvation, 'tis a joyful sound;' and after serving the emblems to all the 'white sheep,' raising his voice to an unnatural pitch and walking to the corner where his black sheep seemed to have been penned, he beckoned with his hand, exclaiming, 'Come forward, colored friends! Come forward! You, too, have an interest in the blood of Christ. God is no respecter of persons. Come forward and take this holy sacrament to your comfort.'"

In Georgetown there seems to have been less of Christian brotherhood in the Episcopal churches towards the colored people than in Washington. In 1821 Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D. D., and Bishop Charles P. Mac Ilvaine, both then just entered into holy orders, were in Georgetown; the former being pastor of St. John's and the latter of Christ church. These gifted and devout young men knew no distinction in their holy office founded upon the color of the skin, and did not fail to indicate their sentiments on the subject. When Mr. Tyng was invited to the pastorate of St. John's, the vestry made some repairs upon their church. The colored people, who had hitherto entered the same front door with their white brethren

and sisters in order to pass up into their gallery, were now furnished a new ingress and egress. A stairway on the outside of the church was run up to a gallery window, which was converted into a door. It is the tradition that Mr. Tyng declined to accept the arrangement on the ground that the faith, which he preached, acknowledged no back stairs to heaven for the humble poor. "The niggers' back stairs to heaven," as the stairway was called, was not used, and it is believed that the colored people entirely abandoned the church because of the project. There was a deep feeling at this period in Georgetown, growing out of this matter of the staircase and the well known views of these two pastors.

The first attempt to found a colored Episcopal church in this District was made in 1867, and the little "St. Mary's chapel" on Twenty-third street west and a small church and congregation are the results. They are not, however, furnished a pastor of their own race—it may be that they have none such in their ministry. This little band of colored people are doing well. They have a large and flourishing Sabbath school, and are using much self-denial and energy in the maintenance of the interests of education in connection with their organization. The pastor is Rev. John M. E. McKee.

The Unitarian church, founded in 1820, and also the Friends' meeting and the Universalist church, have always been opposed to slavery, and never tolerated unchristian treatment of the colored people. The first named was a New England church in its spirit and membership, as it continues to be. The Orthodox Congregational church, resuscitated after the war or near its close, was always of like spirit.

The *Sabbath school* among the colored people in those times differed from the institution as organized among the whites, as it embraced young and old, and most of the time was given not to the studying of the Bible, but to learning to read. It was the only school which, for a time, they were allowed to enter, and was consequently of vital importance in the history of their education in the District. As the distinction of color in the church grew more prominent the colored Sabbath schools seem to have gradually lost favor, till in 1835 they were swept away as by a storm. The First Presbyterian church of Washington, which then worshipped in the edifice now occupied by the colored Israel Bethel church, at the foot of Capitol Hill, opened a Sunday school for colored people in 1826, which was held regularly every Sunday evening for many years, and in it many men and women, as well as children, learned their alphabet and to read the Bible. Michael Shiner, one of the most remarkable colored men of the District, who remembers almost everything that has occurred at the Navy Yard during his service of some 60 years there, is of this number. Rev. Reuben Post, then the pastor of the church, now Dr. Sunderland's, was the leader in this Sabbath school work, and his church and society fully supported him. There was a colored Sabbath school in the City Hall for a number of years prior to 1831. The Trinity church people were worshipping there in that period, and the school is believed to have been maintained mainly through the efforts of that society. Mr. C. H. Wiltherger and his wife, themselves slave-holders, were the teachers of the school from its organization till its dispersion at the time of the Snow riot.

Christ Church, at the Navy Yard, established a Sabbath school for colored persons some years before the war of 1812. Among those most active in its organization were Rev. Andrew Hunter, the chaplain; Rev. John Chalmers, pastor of the Methodist Ebenezer church; and Mr. John Coyle, an elder in the First Presbyterian church, and a man foremost in every humane and christian work. The school was first held in Christ church, but afterwards moved to a school-house on New Jersey Avenue, used by Rev. Mr. Hunter for a day school, opened by him about the year 1810. Here it was maintained for several years. Mr. Hunter, Mrs. Chalmers, Mrs. William Dougherty, and Mrs. Henry Ingle, the mother of Mrs. Wm. H. Campbell and Mrs. Harvey Lindsley, both of Washington, were the good women who entered heart and hand into these benevolent labors. There are still living in the District colored persons who learned to read and write under their instruction.

OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS.

It has been seen that when the rebellion approached, John F. Cook, George F. T. Cook, Enoch Ambush, Miss Miner, Thomas H. Mason, Mrs. Charlotte Gordon, and the St. Vincent

de Paul Society had each a very large school in operation in Washington; Annie E. Washington had a fine select school for the younger class of pupils; Eliza J. Brooks and Elizabeth Smith had each a respectable school for primary scholars; 10 schools, with quite 1,100 scholars, in Washington. Isabella Briscoe, moreover, had quite a large school in Georgetown. In addition to these there were several small daily gatherings of children in private houses; also night schools, which were largely attended by colored men, women, and children.

In passing from the schools whose history embraces more than half a century under the old order of things, it is well to remark that the general character of both the schools and the teachers was of an inferior grade as compared with what followed, when the great band of accomplished teachers from the north came and took up the work in the District in the closing years of the war. Some of those earlier schools, however, have not been surpassed, it is believed, by any that have arisen under the new régime, and others were not much inferior to the old-fashioned district schools of the New England rural towns.*

It is worthy of observation, also, that in no case has a colored school ever failed for the want of scholars. The parents were always glad to send their children, and the children were always ready to go, even when too poor to be decently fed or clothed. When a school failed it was for want of money, and not for want of appreciation of the benefits of education. The same remarkable avidity for learning was then apparent as is now so manifest among the whole body of the colored population of this District.

The facts detailed in this narrative fully substantiate the following propositions:

First. The impression which prevails very generally that the colored people of this District before the war had no schools is unfounded and exceedingly unjust to them.

Second. Public sentiment in the earlier years of the District was not only tolerant of education among the colored people, but positively in favor of it, and it was a common thing for colored and white children to associate together in the same school.

Third. The attendance of colored children at school was as large before the war as it is now in proportion to the free colored population of the District at the respective periods.

Fourth. The colored people of the District have shown themselves capable, to a wonderful degree, of supporting and educating themselves, while at the same time contributing by taxation to the support of white schools, from which they were debarred, and that, too, when in numerous cases they had previously bought themselves and families from slavery at very great expense; their history furnishing an example of courage and success in the midst of trial and oppression scarcely equalled in the annals of mankind.

* NOTE.—Since the sketches of the early schools were written, the first prospectus of Miss Jones' school (see page 19) has come to hand, and it is given below as indicating the praiseworthy and honorable ambition of many of the colored people.

Prospectus of St. Agnes' Academy, for colored girls, under the direction of Miss Arabella C. Jones, Washington city, March 10, 1852.

The object of this academy is of great importance, particularly to those who are devoid of schools in their vicinity, and also to society at large. Here the poor are educated gratuitously, the orphans clothed, educated, and a good trade given them. Females in this age are naturally destined to become either mothers of families or household servants. As mothers, is it not necessary that they should be skilled in habits of industry and modesty, in order to transmit it to posterity? As domestics, should they not be tutored in the virtues of honesty, integrity, and sobriety? Last, though not least, many of our citizens of color are emigrating to Liberia, and it is necessary, as well-wishers of our race, that our children be well educated, in order to impart their knowledge to the illiterate. Shall we, my friends, go there to teach, or be taught? As emigrants from a land of intelligence, I answer, to teach.

TERMS:

Boarding and tuition, quarterly	\$18 in advance.
French	5 "
Music	10 "
Bedding	2 "
Use of piano	1 "

Parents who are not able to educate their children can address a letter to the proprietor. Scholars are to be provided with one-half dozen towels, all toilet articles, a napkin ring, and desert spoon.

The school is situated in a locality known as the Island. A large house in the city will be procured if duly patronized.

PERIOD II.—1861-1868.

1. CITIES OF WASHINGTON AND GEORGETOWN.

RELIEF SOCIETIES AND FIRST CONTRABAND SCHOOLS.

The first attempt to gather contrabands into schools in Washington, though not the first in the District, some schools having been opened in the county still earlier by colored teachers, was made by the *American Tract Society* of New York. Several of its agents were here early in March, 1862. Mr. N. Du Bois, a clerk in the Interior Department, who was an active man in the work, kept a careful diary of those times, from which it appears that on Sunday afternoon, March 16, 1862, a meeting of contrabands was called in Duff Green's Row, Capitol Hill, then crowded with this class of people, held as captured material of war. Rev. H. W. Pierson, for some time President of Cumberland College, Ky., as an agent of this Tract Society, called the meeting, and there were present some sixty men, women, and children, fresh from Virginia plantations, all eager to learn. Mr. Pierson taught them with printed cards, having on them verses of scripture in large letters; and, using "the word method," was very successful, they being able, to their great delight, to read a whole verse in half an hour. These meetings were followed up daily. Two or three weeks later another school was started in the basement of the colored Union Bethel church, on M street, near Fifteenth street west, by Rev. George Shearer, who had come with Mr. Pierson from the Princeton Seminary as an associate. Elizabeth Smith, who had many years maintained a colored school near this church, went to the first meeting, and attracting the notice of Mr. Shearer by her great interest in his "word method" of teaching, was at once drafted into the work as the leading teacher. The school was held in the late afternoon and in the evening, two sessions daily, and she was always there, maintaining her own day school at the same time. Dr. Lorenzo D. Johnson, then clerk in a government department, was also present before the close of the first meeting, and making known his great interest in the enterprise, was selected to superintend the work, which he did with the utmost devotion till he was appointed assistant surgeon and assigned to duty at Lincoln hospital in August, 1862, after the second battle of Bull Run. There were many in those days whose philanthropy found expression in ardent words and eloquent resolutions; but Dr. Johnson was peculiarly a man of action. This school speedily overflowed, and they went into the hall of the Bethel Society, in the rear of their church, continuing the excellent work till November, when it was found advisable to convert it into a day school with a regular teacher. This was done by transferring the scholars to the house of Elizabeth Smith, who, opening an additional room, incorporated them with her own school. Dr. Johnson paid her for the house and services fifteen dollars a quarter, while he continued to exercise authority over the school, down to June, 1863. Subsequently she received nothing, though the school was continued through the war, aided to some extent by the African Civilization Society.

The *Tract Society* had its seat of operations at Duff Green's Row till July 5, 1862, when it took up its quarters at what were then known as McLellan barracks, a group of horse-stables, with some small officers' quarters, which were roughly transformed into the homes of the contrabands with their managers and teachers. General James Wadsworth, then in command of the District, took the profoundest interest in the schools at that place, and was a very frequent visitor and their generous supporter. The camp was at a later day called Camp Barker, and is now the seat of the fine schools and industrial operations of the New England Friends' Mission, at the junction of Twelfth street west, R north, and Vermont avenue. The work here was prosecuted with great vigor and discretion, and on Thanksgiving day, 1862, they held the first public entertainment ever given by a contraband school in the District. Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas, was present, and addressed them in favor of the scheme of a colored colony in Central America, which had then recently been recommended by President Lincoln. Another remarkable occasion was when the Proclamation of Emancipation took effect, the whole congregated multitude of contrabands, young and old, awaiting upon their knees at midnight the signal of the moment between December

31, 1862, and January 1, 1863, which was to usher in their freedom! Scenes like this occurred in many other places in the District on that occasion. In June, 1863, the Tract Society divided its force, Mr. A. M. Sperry remaining in charge of the Camp Barker school; and one portion, under the charge of Rev. D. B. Nichols, going to Arlington Heights, where Freedmen's Village was then building. There they dwelt in tents, hovels, and out doors till the autumn, when they got into more comfortable quarters. It was at this village that the first thoroughly systematic and genuine contraband school was established within the sight of the national Capitol. The schools in Washington were always of a mixed character, comprising many scholars, young and old, who had long lived in the District, and who had gathered some scraps of knowledge. At Freedmen's Village a spacious school-house was erected, and in the late autumn of 1863, there was a school numbering some 250 children, all fresh from the plantations. Mr. H. E. Simmons, assisted by his wife, was the teacher, and he was a master of his business in the best sense of the term. The school attracted the attention of all really careful observers of the times in this District. Secretary Seward, with his wife and his daughter Fannie, were constant visitors there, as they had been in other years at Miss Miner's school. Mr. Seward went there with the foreign ministers and great public characters who visited the capital in those times, taking them into the school to show them a practical exemplification of the native powers of the negro in his most untutored condition. Senators and representatives also went there to see the marvellous spectacle, and those who watched the school most carefully were the most surprised, so signal were the results. This school at one time comprised some 400 contraband children, and was continued through the war, the work being turned into the hands of the American Missionary Society, 1865, and the village entirely broken up in 1868. Miss Sallie L. Daffin, a native of Philadelphia and a graduate of the "Institute for Colored Youth" of that city, a woman of superior talent, was one of the most useful teachers at the Freedmen's Village.

The National Freedmen's Relief Association, organized in Washington April 9, 1862, had two evening-schools, one at the Bethel church already noticed, and another at the Ebenezer church, under its general management and support that year. In November, 1863, they opened another day-school, in addition to that of Miss Smith's, with two teachers, and in December still another with two teachers, of whom one was colored. Mr. George T. Needham was one of the foremost in organizing and conducting both the evening and day schools at this time. This association was composed mostly of those persons resident in the District, who, realizing the great necessities developed by the war, united temporarily for the emergency, until more systematic and permanent aid could come from the north. The work they initiated was of the greatest service, and not the least portion of it was that of enlisting the sympathies of their friends in other parts of the country.

In June, 1863, *Dr. Johnson organized a school* at Lincoln hospital, seconded by Dr. Magee, the surgeon in charge. It was opened in the chapel, and Miss Laura Gates, of Pennsylvania, whose brother commanded the company of Veteran Reserves on duty there, was employed as teacher. She was allowed one ration from the hospital and \$20 a month, which monthly allowance was paid by Dr. Johnson for two months. He also procured books and clothing from northern friends and contributions to pay the teacher. Another teacher was subsequently employed. The school was for the contraband people about the hospital, and comprised all ages, numbering about 50.

The American Tract Society of Boston was represented in the year 1862 and 1863 by their agent, Rev. J. W. Alvord, who rendered an important service in furnishing the excellent school and religious books, which the society had very wisely compiled and published for schools of that class then organizing in the District. Mr. Alvord was afterwards appointed to and still holds the responsible position of general superintendent of the educational work of the Freedmen's Bureau throughout all the southern States.

THE APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY.

In the vain hope that Congress would give substantial aid to the cause, the friends of colored schools had struggled through more than two years, doing something to meet the stupendous emergency. In the first months of 1864 the extraordinary condition of things

was brought to the notice of the country through the public press. It was estimated that there were in the District and vicinity 30,000 or 40,000 colored people from the plantations, all anxious for instruction, while but 2,000 or 3,000, at most, were provided with the slightest privileges of an educational kind. A very large number of government clerks and other friends of the cause in Washington, who had been sustaining night schools through the previous year, at this time organized an "Association of Volunteer Teachers," and sent forth an appeal under its sanction, setting forth in clear and forcible language the facts in the case. This appeal, dated April 16, 1864, was written by A. E. Newton, who had been in the work as a teacher and who was destined to be an eminently wise and conspicuous leader in the great work which was then opening in the District.

RELIEF SOCIETIES CONTINUED.

The *American Missionary Association* sent its agents in the summer of 1862, but finding the Tract Society of New York on the ground in full force they retired without further demonstrations that year. In February, 1864, they sent Mr. William J. Wilson, a well known colored teacher of Brooklyn, N. Y., to enter upon the work. He immediately started a school in the hall of Asbury church. Mr. A. M. Sperry, who, assisted by Miss Georgiana Willets, had been in charge of the Tract Society's work at Camp Barker after Mr. Nichols took charge at Freedmen's Village, being, with his assistant, ordered south by the society in June, 1864, surrendered his school to Mr. Wilson, who immediately assumed charge, with his wife as assistant, continuing energetically in that work till the camp broke up in the autumn of 1866. The school was held in the chapel which the Tract Society built, and which the Missionary Association purchased at this time. It had one spacious hall and two recitation rooms, and here a school averaging at least 250 scholars was kept up for more than two years, the number sometimes reaching 400 men, women, and children. It was probably the largest school ever seen in a single room in the District, and, considering its magnitude and miscellaneous nature, was eminently successful under the vigorous and intelligent management of those teachers, but it was not possible to attain such results as were developed under the system of graded schools organized in 1865 by the Pennsylvania and New York Relief Societies under Mr. A. E. Newton. Mr. Wilson went from Camp Barker to the Third street Baptist church in the autumn of 1866, opening there a large school, which was continued for one year by his wife and daughter under the auspices of the Missionary Association, and with excellent success. In November, 1864, this society had in operation the school at Camp Barker, a large school in Georgetown, another on the Island in Washington, and a fourth in Soldiers' Free Library, embracing 11 teachers, with two evening schools, in all embracing quite 1,000 scholars. This association was organized September 2, 1849, and originated in a dissatisfaction with the neutral policy of other missionary societies on the slavery question.

The *Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association*, in response to the "teachers'" appeal, widely disseminated through the northern States, came resolutely upon the ground, and commenced operations in May, 1864, in the Union Wesley church, Twenty-third street west, and in June opened another school in the Zion Wesley church, Island, with two teachers in each, under the superintendence of Mr. Rogers, an excellent young man from Massachusetts, who died that season of typhoid fever. In the autumn they established a school in Galbraith chapel, L street between Fourth and Fifth, and still another in Georgetown in the Mount Zion church, the Miss Chamberlains taking in charge these two last-named schools. In the Mount Zion church school a second and third teacher were soon added. In December, 1864, the society bought a house and stable on L street near Nineteenth street west, and having fitted up the latter, with an industrial establishment attached, at a cost of about \$3,000, opened two schools, using the house for the teachers' home. January 1, 1865, Mr. A. E. Newton became the superintendent, also opening their schools in Alexandria, and at this time and the following winter the society did the largest work of any organization, and did not withdraw from the field until 1868. Some of the first merchants and men of wealth of Philadelphia were at the bottom of these operations, among whom may be mentioned J. Miller McKim, an old anti-slavery man; the brothers Marmaduke Cope and Francis R. Cope, Friends, well known for their works of benevolence. The president of the society was

Stephen Caldwell, at that period acting as president of the United States revenue commission. The secretary was James Rhoads, also conspicuous in many of the best efforts to improve the African race.

The Philadelphia Friends' Freedmen's Relief Association was here with like spirit in the same month, starting their first school in Union Wesley church, Twenty-third street west. They soon bought a lot on Nineteenth street near the boundary, and built a large school-house, costing \$6,000, which before winter was filled with scholars under an admirable corps of teachers. The location, however, did not prove to be a favorable one, and in 1866 the lot and house were sold and the school given up.

The African Civilization Society was also at work in the early summer, opening a school in the hall of the Union Bethel church, on M street near Fifteenth street. In 1865 and 1866 Rev. Benjamin W. Arnett, colored and a native of Pennsylvania, conducted a large school supported by this society.

The Reformed Presbyterian Mission, in the course of the same summer, purchased a tract of land on First street west between N and O, (Island,) and erected sixteen dwellings, with a chapel for religious and educational purposes. This location was in the extreme southern section of the city, where the colored population was large and mostly made up of contrabands, as it still continues to be. A large school was soon organized under the direction of Rev. J. Bayliss, who was succeeded by Rev. J. M. Armour. In the early part of 1867 Rev. J. M. Johnston was made superintendent, and in the autumn of that year the school was removed to a barrack building on Sixth street west near M street south. It is divided into four departments, with nearly 200 scholars, under the care of excellent teachers—Miss Sarah E. Moore, of East Craftsbury, Vermont; Miss Helen M. Johnston, Miss Kate E. Trumbull, and Miss Eunice A. Jameson, of Logan county, Ohio. Miss Moore entered upon the work in 1865, the others in 1867. Religious services and a large Sabbath school, under eight teachers, are held on Sundays. Nearly all the families represented in the school belonged to the slave population of Virginia, and the improvement that has been wrought in both children and parents by the persevering labors of this mission forms one of the most interesting and encouraging chapters in the educational work in the District.

The Old School Presbyterian Mission in 1864 opened a school in Georgetown, in the basement of the Presbyterian church on Bridge street, and another in Lincoln Hospital chapel, east of the Capitol. These were flourishing and useful schools, and were continued until February, 1867. The first superintendent was Rev. Mr. Aiken, who was succeeded by Dr. John A. E. Walk. Among the teachers in the Georgetown school was Miss Emma L. Crane, now in charge of the grammar school in the Brick school-house, Island.

In May, 1864, there were in operation 12 day schools, with 25 teachers and about 1,300 scholars; also, 36 night schools, with 36 teachers and about 1,350 scholars. The night schools were generally continued with interest through the year, though some of those depending on volunteer teachers expired from neglect. The Volunteer Association of Teachers did good service, but was disbanded in the spring of 1865. (This association was made up mostly of department clerks, and was quite distinct from that organized afterwards among the regular teachers of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria.) The night teachers were paid \$10 a month through private contributions. In the autumn of 1864, and through the winter, aid came with great generosity from the north.

The New York Freedmen's Relief Association was actively engaged in the work in 1864 with a vigor not inferior to that of any other organization in the field. For three years their schools were widely known for the large and generous scale on which they were operated, and for their excellent character. Their M street school, as it was called, comprising from eight to ten departments, with an average attendance of over six hundred scholars, and directed by Mr. A. E. Newton, excited the deepest interest among all who were observant friends of the cause in those years. One of the first teachers sent by this association was Rev. B. W. Pond, of Maine, who opened a school early in the summer of 1864 in the basement of Asbury church, Eleventh and K streets. This was a pay school, a small charge for tuition being made, but many who were unable to meet this expense were admitted. In the following winter two portable houses were sent from Boston by the association, into which the school

was moved after their erection on M street near Massachusetts avenue. In 1865 Mr. Pond was sent by the association to North Carolina as superintendent of their operations there, and he was succeeded by Miss Julia A. Lord, who was at that time teaching in the Lincoln Institute, on the Island. When the hospital barracks, near by, at the corner of M and Fourteenth streets, were taken by the association, Miss Lord was placed in charge of the grammar school, and the portable buildings were used for the large infant department. The grammar school furnished to the Howard University, when its preparatory department was opened in May, 1867, a larger number of scholars than any other school in the city. Of that department Miss Lord is now one of the principals.

The New England Freedmen's Aid Commission, supported by the Baptists of Boston, established the "Boston School," so called, corner of Nineteenth and I streets, in September, 1864. In November, 1864, this school was graded, Miss R. S. Capron, of Massachusetts, being its principal till the ensuing January, when Miss Lucy A. Flagg, a young lady of much talent and remarkable capability in her work, succeeded to the place, continuing there till her health failed in 1866. In the spring of that year the school was transferred to the American Baptist Home Missionary Society of Boston, and by them organized as a Normal school, and still later converted into "The Wayland Theological Seminary." The above Commission was a different organization from the New England Freedmen's Aid Society.

The New England Freedmen's Aid Society did an excellent work in taking charge of the first colored public school ever opened in the District, and at that time the only one. It was opened March 1, 1864, in the colored Ebenezer church, Capitol Hill, but in May, 1865, was removed to the school building erected for them on C street. They added two teachers and two schools, supporting the four teachers and filling the house with scholars, the average attendance being over 300. The first teachers were Miss Emma V. Brown, colored, one of Miss Miner's favorite scholars and also her assistant, and Miss Frances W. Perkins, of New Haven, Connecticut. Miss Brown was afterwards placed by the trustees in charge of the O street grammar school, which she conducted in a most praiseworthy manner, until failing health, last year, compelled her to resign. As is hereafter mentioned in connection with the history of the public schools, Miss Perkins was instrumental in obtaining funds for erecting this building, the first public school house in the District.

The New England Friends' Mission also came in 1864, and still continues its very excellent work. In the autumn of that year they purchased a large tract of land on Thirteenth street between R and S north, built a store, and furnished goods at cost to the colored people. In the following winter they opened schools in the government buildings, which were turned over to them, teaching a large school of women to sew and the children to braid straw. A day school was organized in the autumn of 1865, and in the winter a second was opened, the two comprising some 150 children, with two teachers. In 1866 and 1867 there were five teachers, with two hundred scholars. At the present time this school is arranged in four departments, under the care of Miss H. S. Macomber, of New Bedford, Massachusetts, a lady of cultivation, and an admirable principal, with four excellent assistants, all ladies of refinement—Miss Mary C. Lawton and Miss Susan H. Pierce, of New Bedford; Miss Mary E. Oliver and Miss Mary E. Gove, of Lynn, Massachusetts. The important work of visiting the colored families and children at their homes is committed to Miss Sarah E. Wall, of Worcester, Massachusetts, who has labored here assiduously for five years for the good of the colored people. She is also in charge of the sewing department, an important branch of the industrial work. The school now numbers more than 250, and is full to overflowing, rendering it necessary to refuse many applications almost daily. A flourishing Sabbath school has also been maintained from the beginning, averaging about 150 scholars, with ten or twelve teachers. In 1865 more land was purchased and several houses erected, which were sold on easy terms, as intended, to industrious colored families, the monthly rent being credited as purchase money. The school is supported by the New England Friends' yearly meeting, and in an unobtrusive and judicious manner is accomplishing great and permanent good. Among its generous and active supporters from the first has been Hon. Joseph Grinnell, of New Bedford, who often comes to visit it, giving his personal attention to its support and management. The Trustees of the public schools have aided this school so far as to

furnish fuel the past year. From the organization of the school in October, 1865, to June, 1867, Richard Battey, from Blackstone, Mass., was the superintendent; since which time Mr. and Mrs. John C. Gove, from Lynn, Mass., have had the general management. About two-thirds of the scholars are boys.

"*The Washington Christian Union*," an organization of this city, now actively engaged in educational work among the colored people, originated in or grew out of the "Young Men's Unitarian Association, which was formed February 3, 1866, its object being general missionary and christian work among the needy of all classes. Early in 1867, as members of other denominations had for some time been their co-workers and given substantial aid, and also for the purpose of extending their work and making it more effective, it was judged advisable to adopt a new name for the Association, and invite the co-operation of all Christian and benevolent people. At the same time the pressing necessities existing among the freedmen in the District claimed all the resources and enlisted the sympathies of the "Union." Accordingly, on the 2d of May of that year, (1867,) a night school especially for adult colored persons, at first consisting of 15 scholars, but the number soon ranging from 100 to 150, was opened at the Lincoln Institute, or E street chapel, on the Island, and was conducted by volunteer teachers. In the autumn the Trustees of colored public schools gave them the use of two rooms in the new brick school-house corner of Ninth and E streets, into which they moved about November 1, the rent of the Lincoln Institute having been paid by the "Freedmen's Bureau." The school is still continued at the same place with gratifying success, though the number of scholars has somewhat decreased. Mr. W. H. Treadway, of the Treasury Department, has had the immediate charge of the school, aided by other members of the "Union."

The first superintendent appointed by the "Christian Union" was Mr. W. A. White,—but he was soon succeeded by Mr. J. R. Fletcher, of the Treasury Department, who was then conducting an independent night school and a Sabbath school, in the Free Library building, Judiciary Square. In the autumn Mr. Fletcher was made and still continues General Superintendent of all the educational work of the society, and in January, 1868, his night school was formally included in its operations.

Another night school has just been opened (January, 1869,) in the O street colored school-house, which numbers over 200 scholars of all ages, children, parents, and grandparents seated together learning to read and write. The president of the Union, Mr. James M. Blanchard, late of the Patent Office, has charge of this school, assisted by nine or ten excellent teachers.

These night schools have done and are doing a very important work, most of those attending them being intelligent and ambitious adult scholars, who are unable to attend the day schools. All the labor of instruction and of general management has been done from the first by volunteer, unpaid teachers. The officers of the society are, James M. Blanchard, President; John E. Mason and J. M. Jayne, Vice-Presidents; F. S. Nichols, Secretary; W. H. Treadway, Corresponding Secretary.

The Universalists of Maine.—One of the best day schools in the District, though continued for less than two years, was that in the Lincoln Institute in 1867 and 1868, taught by *Miss Julia C. Chase*, of South Livermore, Maine, and supported by the *Universalists* of that State. The school numbered about 50, and perhaps in no school in the District have the scholars been more attached to their teacher or made more rapid progress. *Miss Chase* came in March, 1866, teaching through the remainder of that school year in the school of the New York Freedmen's Association, in the Capitol Hill barracks. In the following winter she opened her own school on the Island, and taught until June, 1868. Her success, like that of *Miss Elwell* in the Fourteenth street school, shows how much good can be accomplished by one faithful teacher. The Lincoln Institute building, or E street chapel, was built in 1858 by what is now known as the St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal church, which in 1862 moved into their new edifice on E street between Ninth and Tenth streets.

Miss Elwell's school.—Among the teachers of the *New York Freedmen's Relief Association* school on M street, corner of Fourteenth street, in 1865 and 1866, was *Miss Rebecca R. Elwell*, of Hartford, Connecticut. In the autumn of 1867 she was engaged by the *Hartford*

Relief Society, and opened a school in Carroll Hall, on Fourteenth street near Pennsylvania avenue. The next year she moved down Fourteenth street nearer the canal, in the section known as "Murder Bay," where she still remains. Her school room is in a small Baptist church, and, without an assistant, she has charge of about 70 colored children, most of them belonging to the poorest classes, and gathered from the hovels and by-ways of the city. Among the benevolent operations of the District, there is no one demanding more self-denying labor than this; but in the remarkable love of the scholars for their teacher, as well as in their improvement, she finds a rich reward. Her records show many rare cases of faithful attendance and good conduct, and the desire for knowledge among these more unfortunate colored children is fully equal to that shown among the more favored. Several of the boys, from ten to twelve years of age, have been marked only once or twice for either absence or tardiness during a whole year, and even those resulting sometimes from sickness. This school was last year organized as one of the public schools, the Trustees providing furniture, books, fuel, &c., but the salary is still paid by the Hartford Relief Society. Miss Elwell commenced her benevolent work early in 1865, in connection with the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, on the Island.

The Associations maintained through the school year 1864-'65, in the two cities, 27 day schools, comprising 3,588 scholars under the charge of 64 teachers, and 18 night schools with 1,020 scholars and 46 teachers. Nearly all the Societies continued their labors during the two following years, and two additional Societies joined in the work.

The following tables give the names of most if not all of the Associations, and the extent of their operations. The numbers given are in some cases only general estimates or averages, but are based on trustworthy information, and even where the fullest records are preserved there were necessarily great fluctuations from month to month:

Schools of the Relief Societies, May, 1864.

	Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.
National Freedmen's Relief Association, District of Columbia	5	11	500
American Tract Society, N. Y.	1	2	100
African Civilization Society	1	2	100
Reformed Presbyterian Mission, (one night school)	2	4	200
Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association	1	2	150
Philadelphia Friends' Freedmen's Relief Association	1	2	150
Dr. L. D. Johnson, (one night school)	2	2	100
Trustees of Colored Public schools	1	2	100
Volunteer Teachers' Association, (night schools)	12	34	1,250
Total	26	61	2,650

Day Schools, 1864-'65.

	Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.
Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association	6	14	816
New York Freedmen's Relief Association.....	5	9	450
American Missionary Association, New York	4	11	732
Philadelphia Friends' Freedmen's Relief Association.....	2	6	360
African Civilization Society, New York	2	3	180
Old School Presbyterian Mission	2	5	350
Reformed Presbyterian Mission, Pittsburg.....	1	4	200
New England Freedmen's Aid Commission, Boston.....	2	4	160
New England Freedmen's Aid Society, Boston, [took charge of public school]	3	4	200
American Free Baptist Mission Society, New York.....	1	1	80
Private school, Miss Goodenow, Maine	1	1	60
Total	29	62	3,588

Night Schools, 1864-'65.

	Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.
Volunteer Teachers' Association	10	22	500
Old School Presbyterian	2	7	100
American Missionary Association	4	8	270
Soldiers' Free Library	1	6	100
Reformed Presbyterian Mission.....	1	3	50
Total	18	46	1,020

During the above school year of 1864-'65, there were also in operation six private colored schools taught by colored teachers, with an average attendance of 340 scholars. It has been stated that the American Tract Society, N. Y., partially in the autumn of 1863 and finally in 1864, withdrew from their extended field of operations in Washington that they might concentrate their force at the Freedmen's Village, Arlington, where the need of humane and christian work was so great.

Day Schools, May, 1865. (Near Washington.)

	Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.
American Tract Society at Freedmen's Village	1	3	242
Miss Emily Howland, near Arlington	1	1	100
Miss Atkinson, at Camp Wadsworth	1	1	50
Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association at Alexandria	1	3	180
New England Freedmen's Aid Society	1	3	170
New York Freedmen's Relief Society	2	4	240
Government Superintendent of Freedmen.....	3	10	269
Reformed Presbyterian Mission, Xenia, Ohio.....	1	5	240
Private Colored Schools.....	8	12	600
Total	19	42	2,091

Day Schools, 1865-'66.

	Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.
Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, Philadelphia.....	9	17	853
New York Freedmen's Relief Association, New York.....	8	12	604
American Missionary Association, New York.....	8	11	594
American Baptist Home Missionary Society, New York	3	7	284
Philadelphia Friends' Freedmen's Relief Association.....	2	6	376
New England Freedmen's Aid Society.....	4	4	315
New England Friends' Mission.....	2	3	180
Old School Presbyterian Mission, Pittsburg.....	2	5	373
Reformed Presbyterian Mission.....	1	3	186
African Civilization Society, New York.....	2	2	168
Bangor Freedmen's Relief Associaton.....	1	1	52
Total	42	71	3,930

In May, 1865, the Volunteer Teachers' Association was disbanded, and their ten *Night Schools*, with 625 scholars, were continued by the teachers of the day schools.

Day Schools, 1866-1867.

In the autumn of 1866 there was a consolidation of the three Relief and Aid Societies of New York, Pennsylvania, and New England, for the purpose of more systematic operations. They had their headquarters at New York city, with branch offices at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. In 1866-'67 the records show as follows:

	Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.
New York Branch Freedmen's Union Commission	15	17	1,041
Pennsylvania Branch Freedmen's Union Commission	15	17	849
New England Branch Freedmen's Union Commission	4	4	217
American Missionary Association	8	9	507
American Baptist Home Missionary Society	3	6	101
New England Friends' Mission	2	5	267
Reformed Presbyterian Mission	5	5	297
Bangor Freedmen's Aid Society	1	1	74
Theological Institute and University, Rev. Dr. Turney	2	5	75
St. Martin's Church, colored, Catholic	2	4	350
Trustees of Colored Schools	5	7	450
Total	62	80	4,228

In the autumn of 1867, these aid organizations nearly all concluded to withdraw from the field, upon the supposition that the Trustees of colored schools were able to fully assume their work. Mr. A. E. Newton, who had been for three years in the work, persistently urged otherwise, and the New York and Pennsylvania "branches," of which he had been the superintendent, consented to return each 8 teachers; the New England Friends, 5; the Reformed Presbyterian Mission, 2; the Hartford, the Bangor, and the Holliston, Mass. Associations each, 1; the Universalists of Maine, 1; the New England F. A. Commission and the Rochester Anti-Slavery Society, each a teacher of sewing. Total, 29. In February, 1867, there was 24 night schools in successful operation.

The following is a general estimate of the expenditures of the leading benevolent agencies:

Pennsylvania F. R. Association, (Pa. branch committee)	\$32,500
New York F. R. Association, (N. Y. branch committee)	24,000
New England F. A. Society, (N. E. branch committee)	6,000
American Missionary Association	14,500
Philadelphia Friends	13,500
New England Friends	7,000
Reformed Presbyterian Mission	11,500
O. S. Presbyterian Mission	6,500
American Baptist Home Missionary Society, (including N. E. F. A. Commission)	8,000
African Civilization Society	3,000
American Free Baptist Mission	1,000
National F. R. Association, D. C. (contributed from the north)	1,500
American Tract Society	1,000
Miscellaneous contributions	5,000
Total Northern aid in the four years	135,000

This estimate, made by superintendent Newton, a man of great precision, does not embrace the very extensive donations of books, school furniture, and clothing. The expenditure was divided in the several years about as follows: 1863-4, \$8,500; 1864-5, \$39,000; 1865-6, \$35,500; 1866-7, \$35,000; 1867-8, \$17,000. Total, \$135,000. Add to this amount \$25,000 contributed in books, school furniture, and clothing, which is undoubtedly an under estimate, and there is the sum of \$160,000 which was, with open hands and hearts, poured into the noble and triumphant work of these years by the patriotic North, and that too while the same agencies were extending their beneficence in almost all parts of the south.

The character of the teachers sent into this work by these benevolent agencies was of the highest order, a large proportion of them young women of solid and refined culture, apt to teach, experienced in the vocation, and all deeply interested in the self-denying labor. Mr. Newton was the leading spirit, and was admirably fitted for the position. While a clerk in the Quartermaster's office he commenced his work as the teacher of a night-school. In January, 1866, he was appointed superintendent by the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, subsequently receiving the same appointment from the New York Freedmen's Relief Association. Having resigned his clerkship, he gave himself wholly to the schools of these and other societies till, in the autumn of 1867, he was also made superintendent of the colored public schools by the trustees, fulfilling all these arduous and complicated trusts with extraordinary efficiency—giving place to a new superintendent, appointed by the trustees last year. The teachers in November, 1865, were organized into an association for the purpose of securing more system and harmonious action. This association met monthly, and the whole body of teachers—nearly all females—were invariably present, and their meetings were continued for two years, accomplishing a vast amount of good. The first teacher who had great success in bringing order out of chaos was Miss Lucy A. Flagg, of Massachusetts, who made the Boston school, corner of 19th and I street, in 1865, a model of order and thoroughness. The New York school, at the junction of 14th and M streets, was however the first of these schools in establishing something like a graded system in the true sense of the term. This school not only had better buildings than the Boston school, but it also had Mr. Newton from the first to the last as its special superintendent. In Miss Julia A. Lord, the principal of its highest department, it had also a teacher eminently fitted for her place, as in fact were all the other nine teachers during those years. Nor should the name of Eliza A. Chamberlain, of Massachusetts, be omitted, who came here in 1866 and entered into the work in Georgetown with the greatest zeal. Her superior qualifications find an ample witness in the school in which she still continues to act as principal in that city.

THE COLORED ORPHANS' HOME.

This is one of the most interesting and useful institutions of an educational nature connected with the colored people that has been established in this District. Its origin was singular. Late in the autumn of 1862, the contraband families, which had gathered in great numbers in the contraband camps of Washington, were transferred to Arlington Heights by order of the War Office. The order, which was to transfer all the *families*, was executed, leaving some 40 or 50 orphan children, belonging to *no family*, in the abandoned camps in utter desolation. This contraband camp was subsequently called Camp Barker, and was on the north side of the city, between Twelfth and Thirteenth streets. The ground is now occupied by the New England Friends' school. The benevolent women of the city immediately made these poor outcasts temporarily comfortable in the old camp, and went resolutely to work to provide for them a Christian home. They formed an association, and fed, clothed, sheltered, taught them, and ultimately built an asylum for them and other colored orphans. The original meeting was at the rooms of Mrs. James W. Grimes, January 31, 1863. Mrs. B. F. Wade, Mrs. James Harlan, Mrs. S. C. Pomeroy, Mrs. Henry Wilson, Mrs. A. H. Gibbons, Mrs. Daniel Breed, and Mrs. J. F. Potter, were present. Mrs. Pomeroy was selected to preside, and they proceeded directly to the work of establishing "an Asylum for aged and destitute Colored Refugees and Colored Orphans," of which classes there were multitudes then "collected in the contraband camps in and around Washington." The next meeting was at the residence of Sayles J. Bowen, February 5, when articles of association, presented by

Mrs. Gibbons, of New York, were adopted, and an organization effected, with the following officers: Mrs. Pomeroy, president; Mrs. Grimes, vice-president; Mrs. Mary E. Webster, of Connecticut, treasurer; Mrs. Daniel Breed, secretary. The association was incorporated by Act of Congress approved February 16, 1863; and on the same day an organization, under the charter, was effected at the residence of Daniel Breed; the officers above named as chosen under the temporary organization being all re-elected, together with the following board of managers: Mrs. Henry Wilson and Miss A. M. Hooper, Massachusetts; Mrs. Harriet Underhill, Mrs. Lonisa Howells, Mrs. W. R. Johnson, Miss Mary A. Donaldson, and Mrs. Rufus Leighton, of Washington; and Miss Emily Howland, of New York. Since then the successive boards of officers have been as follows:

1864.—Mrs. T. D. Eliot, president; Mrs. A. M. Gangewer, vice-president; Mrs. W. R. Johnson, treasurer; Miss Emily Howland, secretary. Executive committee: Mrs. Henry Wilson, Mrs. A. H. Gibbons, Miss M. A. Donaldson, Mrs. L. Howells, Mrs. G. E. Baker, Mrs. Samuel Wilkinson, Miss Anna M. Hooper, Mrs. C. C. Leighton, Mrs. F. T. Brown. Trustees: Sayles J. Bowen, A. M. Gangewer, George E. Baker.

1865.—Miss Margaret Robinson, president; Mrs. M. C. Hart, vice-president; Mrs. Germond Crandell, treasurer; Mrs. W. L. Nicholson, secretary. Executive committee: Mrs. Jas. M. Blanchard, Mrs. H. Underhill, Mrs. Geo. W. McLellan, Mrs. S. P. Bliss, Miss S. P. Searle, Miss Eliza Heacock, Mrs. Geo. B. Whiting, Mrs. Chas. Faxon, Mrs. Stephen D. Charles. Trustees: Geo. E. Baker, A. M. Gangewer, John Joliffe.

1866.—Mrs. B. F. Wade, president; Mrs. Geo. W. McLellan, vice-president; Mrs. Germond Crandell, treasurer; Miss Eliza Heacock, secretary. Executive committee: Mrs. S. C. Pomeroy, Mrs. Lyman Trumbull, Mrs. Susan Wilson, Mrs. Gen. O. O. Howard, Mrs. H. Underhill, Mrs. D. N. Cooley, Miss Louise S. Swan, Miss D. P. Baker, Mrs. Dr. Parker. Trustees: A. M. Gangewer, S. J. Bowen, Charles King.

1867.—Mrs. B. F. Wade, president; Mrs. Geo. W. McLellan, vice-president; Mrs. Germond Crandell, treasurer; Miss Eliza Heacock, secretary. Executive committee: Mrs. S. C. Pomeroy, Mrs. Lyman Trumbull, Mrs. W. F. Nelson, Mrs. Gen. O. O. Howard, Mrs. H. Underhill; Miss S. G. Searle, Miss L. S. Swan, Mrs. J. M. Blanchard, Mrs. R. M. Bigelow.

1868.—Mrs. S. C. Pomeroy, president; Mrs. Geo. W. McLellan, vice-president; Mrs. Germond Crandell, treasurer; Miss Eliza Heacock, secretary. Executive committee: Mrs. Gen. O. O. Howard, Mrs. Oakes Ames, Mrs. R. M. Bigelow, Mrs. H. Underhill, Mrs. W. F. Nelson, Mrs. H. E. Paine, Miss Louise S. Swan, Miss Sarah P. Searle, Mrs. J. M. Blanchard. Trustees: Sayles J. Bowen, Charles King, Geo. W. McLellan.

1869.—Mrs. S. C. Pomeroy, president; Mrs. George W. McLellan, vice-president; Mrs. Germond Crandell, treasurer; Mrs. Hiram Pitts, secretary. Executive committee: Mrs. Gen. O. O. Howard, Mrs. Rev. Sella Martin, Mrs. R. M. Bigelow, Mrs. Harriet Underhill, Mrs. W. F. Nelson, Miss Susan Walker, Miss Louise S. Swan, Mrs. W. F. Bascom, Mrs. J. Blanchard. Trustees: Sayles J. Bowen, Charles King, George W. McLellan.

The first donations to the association were received in April, 1863—\$100 from James Arnold, of New Bedford, and \$50 from Emily Howland, whose generosity had been for many years well-nigh omnipresent where money and work were demanded in behalf of the neglected race. The National Freedmen's Relief Association soon after gave the association \$1,000. At a meeting of the executive committee or board of managers, May 8th, action was taken to secure a building, a committee being raised for that duty, and Daniel Breed was solicited to examine the title to a certain residence on Georgetown Heights; and on June 2 he reported to a meeting of the executive board that it stood in the name of Richard S. Cox, who had at the opening of the rebellion abandoned his property in Georgetown, gone to Virginia, and as a major in the confederate service taken up arms against the Union under circumstances peculiarly disgraceful and aggravating, being without the excuse of State allegiance urged by so many. This action was suggested by the Secretary of War, who, when the association called on him for a house in which to take care of these children, directed them to look up some place abandoned by those who had gone into the rebellion. Through the efforts of the society an order was at once issued by the Secretary of War, which on the 1st day of June placed the association in possession of a spacious residence of some dozen rooms, well furnished, with about 80 acres of land, including an excellent orchard. Mrs. Pomeroy, who was authorized to take possession of the premises by the Secretary of War, being sick upon what proved her death-bed, Mrs. Daniel Breed, the secretary, was deputed to act in her place in assuming the possession. Accordingly, she and her husband, Dr. Breed, entered the premises and made them their temporary quarters during the gathering in of the

children and the organization of the institution. The house was occupied by a brother-in-law of R. S. Cox when seized by the military authorities. On the arrival of Dr. and Mrs. Breed the guard withdrew, and without human protection they safely passed the first night, though in imminent danger not only of violence but of their lives.

Soon after moving into their Home, a frame building was put up for a kitchen and cook-room, at a cost of \$150, the work being done by "contraband carpenters;" and in the autumn of 1863 a laundry was built, and the carriage house fixed up for a dormitory. In the spring of 1866 water was introduced into the premises from the reservoir, which contributed much to the health of the inmates, who had previously suffered severely from diseases produced by want of cleanliness and proper sleeping apartments. The new buildings, which had been erected by the Freedmen's Bureau, were at this time ready for occupation, and had been furnished with a good supply of bedsteads from the Office of Medical Stores of the War Department. New clothing was also furnished, and a thorough system instituted in everything, the excellent results of which were soon manifest in the condition of the children. Rations and a surgeon had been furnished, by the order of the Secretary of War, from February, 1864, down to the summer of 1865, and was continued through the month of May by the influence of Senator Pomeroy. In June, the attention of General O. O. Howard was called to the Home, who sent an inspector to examine the institution. The report was of the most commendatory nature, and the rations were continued through his orders, the association offering to receive any children the Bureau might intrust to them.

It was at this period that the association began to anticipate disturbance from R. S. Cox, who, having returned from the confederate army, was appealing to the President for pardon and the consequent restoration of the property then held by the Home. In July, 1865, Cox addressed a letter to the association, offering them \$1,000 to vacate the premises, which proposition was declined. At this time the Attorney General assured the association that no pardon would be granted to Cox until an arrangement satisfactory to them should be effected. It was deemed advisable at that time to present a concise and exact statement showing the aggravated nature of Cox's disloyalty, and to present the same to the President, which was accordingly done. The paper was prepared in the form of a protest against the restoration of the property, and the main facts presented were these: That in 1851 Cox was a clerk in the Paymaster General's office, and, refusing to take the oath of allegiance, without resigning went south and served in the rebel army, with the rank of major, till the surrender of Lee. Cox held the commission of colonel of the 8th regiment of the District militia when he went south, having been placed at the head of that regiment by Floyd, just before the inauguration of President Lincoln, in place of Colonel Cruikshank, a man of undoubted loyalty and capability. In September, 1865, the Attorney General, Mr. Speed, issued an order for the process of confiscation, in the case of Cox, to proceed; and the association employed counsel to assist in the prosecution. It became evident, however, in the course of the winter of 1865, that Cox was receiving encouragement from the administration, and the earnest women interested in this Asylum resolved to go in person to the President, and present a statement of the strong claims of their Institution for protection in the possession of the property abandoned by its disloyal owner under circumstances which seemed to them to place him beyond the reach of all wise executive clemency. On the day fixed for the interview an assemblage of nearly a hundred ladies of the first social and intellectual standing in the National Capital gathered at the Executive mansion. The Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, who believed in the righteousness of their purpose and who was an efficient friend of the Asylum in many emergencies, was present to give the ladies an introduction to the President. Mrs. Senator Trumbull was selected to make the appeal, and she performed the duty with remarkable clearness and force of statement and striking dignity of manner. She began by affirming that "treason is the greatest crime known to the law, and should be made odious," adroitly weaving her argument from the language in which the President had put himself on record so abundantly both in his own State and after becoming the Chief Magistrate of the country. After receiving a courteous but indefinite reply, the ladies withdrew, fully satisfied that an unconditional pardon would be granted to Cox. In the object sought and in the

circumstances of the occasion, the delegation was one of the most remarkable that ever presented a petition at the Presidential mansion, and loyal men and women will long believe that it was deference to traitors which withheld a compliance with the request of the petitioners. In the summer the Attorney General signified to the association that he was in favor of pardoning Cox. It is due to Mr. Speed to say that, in taking this ground, he assigned as his reason that the class of rebels to which Cox belonged had been embraced in the President's scheme, and that he could see no just reason for making this an exceptional case. In June the pardon was granted, and on August 17 General Howard informed the association that the President had requested him to procure a place for the orphans, in order to restore the estate to Cox.

The association went immediately to the preparation of a new Home. They bought a valuable tract, consisting of five lots on the extension of Eighth street, in Washington, just beyond the boundary, paying \$2,500 for the property; and the Freedmen's Bureau, under the guidance of General O. O. Howard, proceeded without delay to build a spacious, well planned, two-story frame structure for the Home. Congress, October 2, 1866, appropriated \$5,000 for the use of the association, and from this sum they paid for the land. On the 6th of November, when the time given to move by the President had expired, the Secretary of War, seeing that the new Home was yet untenable, assumed the authority to say that they should not be disturbed for another month. On the 7th of December Cox went to the Home, with officers, took off the doors and hinges, and removed all the furniture, rendering it unsafe and impossible for the occupants to remain. General Howard in this emergency offered to furnish them such quarters as could be found till the new Home was completed, but the association decided to move at once to the unfinished house. Cox laid claim to the frame building which had been built by the association, but the question was promptly settled by General Howard, who sent a sufficient force to remove it rapidly from the premises. Cox subsequently brought an action against the association for damages, in the sum of \$10,000, although the association had expended \$3,000 in improving the property, these improvements including the introduction of water into the buildings. The suit, however, was dropped. In the summer of 1867 the Bureau finished the house, which makes a very excellent Home. The grounds were, during the same period, terraced, and a fine lot for a garden separately enclosed, in which are raised sufficient vegetables for the family during the summer. The parlor was handsomely furnished last year by the exertions of Mrs. Madison, an efficient and benevolent colored woman of Washington, who gathered the money for the purpose among her friends. The haste with which the association was compelled to take its children to the new unfinished home in December, 1865, caused some unusual sickness, and, it was believed, hastened death in several cases. With this exception health has prevailed in the Asylum to an uncommon degree.

The Home is governed by a matron, who is subject to the direction of an executive committee, from whom she holds her office. The first matron was Mrs. Hull, chosen June 2, 1863, the day after the Home was moved to Georgetown, her service continuing only to the 25th of July following, when Miss Page, of Washington, took the place in the emergency. Miss Wilbur, of Rochester, was immediately elected; but declining, the office was filled by Miss Jeannette Jackson, who, assuming charge September 18, 1863, was exceedingly successful. The association, when, by reason of ill health, she resigned, January 27, 1864, expressed their deep sense of her superior work in a formal resolution of the executive board. It being at that time deemed desirable to have a man and wife in charge, Mr. J. B. Walt and wife were elected to the duties. They served acceptably for several months, resigning the charge to Mrs. Lucy L. Coleman, in the summer of 1864. In September, 1864, Mrs. Coleman resigned, and was succeeded by Miss Read, who also resigned January 16, 1865, Mrs. C. J. B. Nichols, of Connecticut, being elected as matron on the same day. Mrs. Nichols continued in charge with much capacity and success till, called to other duties, she resigned February 6, 1866. Her successor was Miss Eunice L. Strong, of Ohio, who filled the arduous place from February, 1866, to October, 1868, with the greatest fidelity and good judgment, her resignation causing universal regret among the friends of the asylum.

She was succeeded by Mrs. Olive Freeman, who is managing the affairs of the institution with much wisdom and success at the present time.

No assistant matron was employed in the Home till the Educational Commission of Boston, in May, 1864, kindly volunteered to send Mrs. Carr to the institution for that duty. Mrs. Carr remained in the Home in various duties till February, 1866. In this period Miss Seymour served for a time as assistant matron, resigning in June, 1866, by reason of ill health. Subsequently Mrs. Songers, of New York, was filling that position, and in 1867 she was in charge of the industrial school. In June, 1866, the Young Ladies' Christian Union, of Worcester, Massachusetts, sent Miss Hattie Stickney, of New Hampshire, to the Home as assistant matron, and still continue to support her in that position, which she fills with the highest success and approbation.

The Providence Colored Orphan Asylum in April, 1863, offered to adopt into their asylum in Rhode Island 12 colored children--orphans desired--which proposition was accepted, the children being sent as soon as suitable selections could be made.

The school was organized early in June, 1863, as soon as the children were gathered into their home on Georgetown Heights, and it has been continued till now with the utmost efficiency and success. Miss Emma Brown, a very capable colored young lady of Georgetown, took charge of the school when it was first organized, and continued there with admirable success during all her summer vacation, she being at that time a teacher in one of the Washington free schools. Miss Maria R. Mann succeeded her in September, 1863, remaining till January 11, 1865. During her service much exertion was used to secure a good school-house, the school at first being held in the parlor, and subsequently in a very inconvenient temporary structure. In the autumn of 1863 Miss Mann visited Boston under the sanction of the asylum, and in its service received from Boston friends \$600 in money, besides many school-books, maps, cards, and some school charts. She also purchased about 30 second-hand school desks at \$2 50 each. The school-room at Georgetown, as already stated, was always inconvenient, small, and exposed to interruptions by persons passing through the house.

In December, 1863, the school numbered 22 children, and in the beginning of January, 1864, there were 37 scholars, at which time the asylum, which had now been at Georgetown six months, contained two aged women and 62 children. In May succeeding there were but 40 children, ranging from one year or less to twelve years of age, quite one-third being at that time, as previously, below the school age. The temporary buildings in the form of barracks--dining room, laundry, school-room, and dormitory--had been completed when the new year, 1864, opened. It is proper to state that when Miss Maria R. Mann's connection with the school was dissolved, in January, 1865, she deemed it just to withhold from the Home the funds and property which she had collected in Boston and elsewhere for school purposes, including a portable school-house sent from Boston, which had been for some months stored in Washington. In this action she was sustained by her friends who had contributed largely to the funds.

Miss Mann was succeeded temporarily by Miss Harding and Mrs. Carr, but in February the Freedmen's Aid Society of Worcester, Massachusetts, through the kind offices of Mrs. A. P. Earle of that city, sent Miss Sarah Robinson as a teacher, paying her salary. Under her care the school was maintained in its excellent condition and numbered at that period 46 scholars.

At the close of the summer term, June, 1865, Miss Robinson was compelled to relinquish her work by reason of ill health, much to the regret of the asylum. At the opening of the autumn term, however, the institution had the excellent fortune to secure the services of Miss Susan Towle, of Bangor, Maine. The Bangor Freedmen's Aid Association, learning that Miss Towle was giving her services, and thinking it unjust for her to do so, offered to pay her a salary, which they still continue to do.

The number of boys in the Home at the close of 1866 was 42, the number of girls 34; the number of children received during the year 1867 was 168, and the number remaining at the close of the year was 87. At the close of the year 1868 there were 89 inmates, (boys 53, girls 27, aged women 9,) some 25 being below school age. This is, without any excep-

tion, one of the best conducted and most admirable colored schools within the District. The school-room is spacious, handsomely supplied with furniture, convenient, cheerful in its appearance, in a healthy location, and the scholars, some 50 or 60 in number, progressing with uncommon rapidity. There is an industrial department connected with the school, in which the children are taught sewing, knitting, and straw-braiding, the large children being also each day employed in the labors of the household.

The institution is not limited to receiving orphan children, but also offers a home to destitute children at the request of the parents, on their making a written surrender of their claim; also on the request of one parent, in case of gross neglect or habitual drunkenness on the part of the other. The trustees are also authorized to bind out such children as may be deemed capable of learning trades, or of becoming useful in other occupations. The school is so divided that each child who is old enough attends the school daily. During the last year the school, in all its branches, has been managed by Miss Towle.

This institution has struggled hard to maintain its work and build a Home for a class whose claims upon the benevolent are very great. The women who have engaged in this noble work cannot all be mentioned in this condensed history. Many of them are seen in the lists of the officers, nearly all of whom were active, though some of the most efficient of the band do not appear in those lists. It will be deemed only a meed of justice, however, to mention Miss Eliza Heacock, of Philadelphia, whose unremitting work for several years as secretary is recognized by all who are familiar with the history of the association. Her fidelity in the preservation of the records, which in the struggles through which the Asylum has passed has been neither a small nor unimportant duty, extended to many other labors, contributing to the welfare, pecuniarily and otherwise, of the institution.

The Society of Friends in various States deserve to be mentioned for their large contributions in money and in laborers. Of those who started the institution none were more laborious and effective than Mrs. S. C. Pomeroy, Mrs. John F. Potter, Mrs. Daniel Breed, and Mrs. Lyman Trumbull, all of whom have passed to their reward, their mantles falling, it can be truly said, upon those who are still carrying onward wisely and well this elevated Christian enterprise.

The Freedmen's Bureau has been the arm of strength to the association in every emergency, and what these children of desolation are to do when the rations of the Bureau cease does not yet appear, though it is not to be doubted that they and their Home will be maintained by the government and by the fostering hands of humane men and women.

It was feared that the aid from the Freedmen's Bureau would be withdrawn January 1, 1869, under the limitations fixed by act of Congress to take effect at that date in the powers and work of the Bureau; but this misfortune has been for a time deferred by the action of the Commissioner in annexing the Home to the freedmen's hospital of the District, "so far as may be necessary for providing medical attendance, medicine, and rations for the inmates." At no distant day, however, the association will have to depend entirely on private benefactors.

Though attention has been almost exclusively directed to this Asylum as a home for the orphan, there have been aged and infirm women in its care from the first month of its existence, a very few in the first years, not usually in any period numbering above a dozen at a time.

Both Mrs. Potter and Mrs. Pomeroy died in 1863, the first year of the association. The annual report says:

"There were with us in the beginning two leading minds, especially distinguished by unselfish devotion to this holy cause; Mrs. Potter, of Wisconsin, and Mrs. Pomeroy, of Kansas, two of the originators of this enterprise, have passed from works to reward. Mrs. Potter left us early, but not until the good work had felt the impetus of her earnest spirit. The loss of our president, Mrs. Pomeroy, we have great reason to deplore. The Home has been justly called her monument. Declining the rest and change she needed, she remained with us during the summer's heat to aid in our work, still laboring with us even when life was waning, and her parting spirit sent us back a blessing with the prophet words, 'the Home will succeed.' We remember her words: 'Tis for a race, for millions we are working; let us forget ourselves.'"

In 1866 the association "sustained the loss of another of its original projectors and most earnest friends," Mrs. Guelima Breed, of Washington. The annual report further adds:

"After a life of active usefulness in various departments, and many years of heroic and unflagging devotion to the cause of the oppressed and downtrodden, she was called to her reward. In the day when the record of those who have ministered unto Christ in the person of his needy ones shall be made up, many a sable son and daughter of Ethiopia will rise up and call her blessed."

Last year (1868) the association was again called to mourn over the death of a distinguished member, Mrs. Trumbull. The report continues:

"During the past year one of the earliest and warmest friends of the association, Mrs. Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois, has been called to her heavenly home. Although some months previous to her decease she had withdrawn from our membership, we knew that it was not from want of sympathy with our cause, but that her position as president of another and equally important charity claimed all the attention that her delicate health permitted her to bestow. As a beloved and valued officer of the association, and a liberal contributor to its funds, a friend wise in counsel, gentle and lovely in spirit, her name will ever be held in grateful remembrance by those who had the pleasure of being connected with her in this work of labor and love. 'The sacred memory of the just shall flourish though they sleep in dust.'"

MISS WASHINGTON AND MISS JONES.

Miss Washington's excellent school has already been referred to under Period I. Subsequently she moved to a house on L street near her mother's, remaining there till 1861, when she opened a school in the hall over the feed store of Alfred Jones, in company with Matilda Jones, a daughter of the owner of the building. Miss Jones was one of the most talented of Miss Miner's scholars, and was her assistant in 1859. She went to Oberlin through Miss Miner's influence. They continued the school with eminent success three years, averaging more than a hundred scholars through that period. In the spring of 1864 Miss Jones went back to Oberlin to finish her studies, and Miss Washington went in September to the Baptist church corner of Nineteenth and I streets, to take charge of the Boston School when it was first opened. When, afterwards, this school was under the charge of Miss Capron and Miss Flagg, Miss Washington became an assistant under these white teachers, and Miss Jones, returning in 1865 from Oberlin, joined the school as associate with Miss Washington, the three ladies making a corps of teachers not surpassed by any other in the District. Miss Jones became subsequently the wife of Rev. S. W. Madden, pastor of the First Baptist church in Alexandria. When the Boston School was disbanded in 1867, Miss Washington became connected with the public schools, in which she is still doing admirable service as a teacher.

ST. ALOYSIUS' SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

There are in the District but five colored schools exclusively for girls. Mrs. Ellen B. Wood came here from Philadelphia, where she had been teaching many years, and started a school in 1863 on Fifteenth street, opposite Scott square, in the western part of the city; moving to E street north, between First and Second streets west, in 1864, and thence to the corner of Third street west and G street north in 1837. The school has now taken up its home in two very good rooms, recently finished for the purpose, in the Parochial School building connected with St. Aloysius church, under the auspices of which the school is now conducted. Mrs. Wood was born in Hayti, but coming early to Philadelphia was educated with white children in that city, excepting in French, which she learned in a colored school under a Haytian teacher. She taught a mixed colored and white school in Camden, New Jersey, for a period, and afterwards built up a large colored school in Philadelphia, which numbered a hundred pupils, when it was surrendered into the hands of the Sisters of Providence in 1862. Her work in Washington has grown from a few pupils into a large school with two departments, the average number being about 80 girls. The assistant, Elizabeth Brown, a native of Philadelphia, was educated at the convent in Baltimore, where she spent five years at St. Frances Academy. She is well-educated, and competent to teach Latin, French, and music, as well as the primary branches. This school is free to all who are unable to pay.

SAINT MARTIN'S SCHOOLS.

St. Martin's school for girls is under the charge of two teachers from Baltimore. The principal, Mary S. Noel, was a member of the sisterhood of the Baltimore convent, but has been detached to engage in teaching. The assistant, Miss Julia Smith, was educated at the St. Frances Academy. St. Martin's school was established in the summer of 1866 through the exertions of Rev. Charles T. White, D. D., pastor of St. Matthew's church, and is not yet fully systematised. The female academy, which is designed to be a seminary of the higher grade, has hitherto, for want of accommodations, been conducted in connection with the parochial female school of St. Martin's (colored) church. It is now in contemplation to have them separated. These schools at present occupy a large building at the junction of L street north and Vermont avenue; the academy comprising at the present time more than 40 and the parochial school 45 pupils. There is also an academy for boys and a parochial school for boys, each numbering about 30 scholars. The principal is Mr. John McCosker, who was educated at the Georgetown College. A small night school for adults is also kept up.

MISS MANN'S SCHOOL.

After Miss Mann gave up the charge of the Orphan Asylum school in Georgetown, in January, 1865, she established a private school, near the corner of 17th and M streets, for older colored children of both sexes, intending to give it the character of a Normal school, as far as the material of the school would allow. In the summer of 1867, however, the Trustees arranged with Miss Mann to connect the school with the public schools of the District, giving it the rank of a high school. It now numbers about fifty scholars, those more advanced being sent to it both from Georgetown and Washington. It has been conducted with system, thoroughness, and energy, and there are several girls of the school, who will soon be fitted to act as teachers. At the opening of the year 1869, its connection with the public schools was dissolved by the action of the Trustees, and it is therefore at present a private and independent school.

J. R. FLETCHER'S SCHOOLS.

In the spring of 1864 Mr. J. M. Perkins started an evening school and a Sabbath school in the Soldiers' Free Library building in Judiciary Square; both which passed into the hands of Mr. J. R. Fletcher, of the Treasury Department, in the following autumn. Mr. Fletcher is an enthusiastic and thorough teacher, and familiar with the best methods of the Massachusetts schools. Under his excellent management the schools rapidly increased, and soon reached their present numbers, about 75 in the evening school and 110 in the Sabbath school; three-fourths of whom were slaves before the war. The free contributions from the scholars have paid for a part of the expenses, and he has been aided in part by one or two Aid Societies and by his personal friends, in addition to what he himself has expended. For example, the American Tract Society of Boston furnished the fuel during the first winter and the American Missionary Association the second winter, and the Unitarian Church has made some contributions. Teachers of different denominations have aided him, as he desired to make it a *union* and unsectarian work. In January, 1868, Mr. Fletcher having previously been made general Superintendent of the schools under the direction of the "Washington Christian Union," his night school was included in their work, they assuming the responsibility of making up any deficit that might arise in the support of the school. It has been his aim to draw to the school older and more advanced pupils, and he has recently organized an adult class of 25 scholars in the hope, eventually, of establishing a thorough Normal course, and fitting such a class, or a portion of them, to be useful and well informed teachers—at present one of the most important objects in the education of the colored people. The Sabbath school is one of the most flourishing and best organized in the District, and is quite independent of any aid or church society. It is called the "Puritan Free Mission Sabbath School."

JOSEPH AMBUSH'S AND OTHER SCHOOLS.

Joseph Ambush, a colored man, free born, opened a school in 1862, July 1, on New York avenue between Fourth and Fifth streets, which soon averaged, during a part of the year,

75 scholars, and now averages nearly that number. Mr. Ambush's father was a slave. He himself attended John F. Cook's school, and for many years was a servant in the family of Commissary General George Gibson, in whose family he received a good deal of instruction. In 1867 he moved his school to the school room connected with Asbury church, corner of Eleventh and K streets. More than half the scholars belong to contraband families, most of them quite poor, but they all appear very well, and the school is well conducted. Mr. Ambush is a nephew of Enoch Ambush, already mentioned. He speaks of General Gibson and his family as being very kind to him, and always ready to aid him in his efforts to get an education.

Mrs. C. W. Grove, in 1863, came from New York city and opened a private school on I street between Nineteenth and Twentieth streets. In the following summer she was employed by the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Aid Society in their school in Galbraith chapel, where she remained until June, 1867, when she was engaged by the Trustees of the colored public schools, at first teaching in the school on Twenty-fourth and F streets, and afterwards in the M street school. About the last of December, 1868, her connection with the public school ceased by order of the Trustees, and she soon opened a private school on Twenty-third street near the Circle.

Mrs. Louisa Ricks, who came to Washington from Texas, opened a school for girls about two years ago in the barrack building on I street near Seventeenth street west. She is assisted by Miss Eva Dickinson from Connecticut, who teaches music on the piano, the school being provided with a good instrument. The scholars number about 50, and 16 are taking music lessons.

January 4, 1869, Rev. Chauncey Leonard, pastor of the Second Baptist church, (colored,) opened a day school at the corner of Third and G streets, and has an average attendance of fifty-five scholars of both sexes, with one assistant teacher. Most of the scholars pay a small tuition fee, but the receipts do not cover the expenses of the school, and the balance is paid by Rev. Mr. Leonard, in addition to his services as teacher.

COLFAX INDUSTRIAL MISSION.

This institution owes its origin to an unpretending association of the teachers of the Sabbath school at Wisewell barracks, which held its first meeting November 7, 1867, at those barracks, on the corner 7th and O streets. The Sabbath school was organized by these teachers in the autumn of 1866, the American Tract Society having discontinued its work at that place in the previous spring. The Sabbath school was under the superintendence of John A. Cole, and still remains under his supervision. The leading purpose of the teachers was to maintain an Industrial school, which had been supported by the Tract Society. On the 20th of May, 1868, with the plan of securing a more permanent place for their school, they adopted a constitution and entered into a full organization, with the following officers: John A. Cole, President; Charles H. Bliss, Vice President; S. C. Hotchkiss, treasurer; Miss J. M. Alvord, secretary; John A. Cole, Rev. G. A. Hall, Samuel Barron, John H. Cook, Charles H. Bliss, trustees. The committee who prepared the constitution consisted of E. Whittlesey, Charles H. Bliss, Rev. J. W. Alvord. At the same meeting a committee, consisting of Mr. Alvord, Rev. John Kimball, and Mr. Wolcott, was appointed to make inquiries and report as to a lot upon which to build a house. They reported, at a meeting, May 9th, 1868, that a suitable lot had been found, and that the American Missionary association would furnish the requisite funds for its purchase. The lot, about one hundred feet square, on the corner of R and Eleventh streets, was purchased for \$2,500, and the Missionary Association furnished \$1,600 in part payment. Messrs. Cole, Bliss, and Barron were added to the committee, and they were now recognized as the building committee.

The edifice, which was opened with the new year, is about 45 by 95 feet, two stories, and is composed of the same material as the Howard University. It was erected by the Freedmen's bureau and when completed will have cost about \$20,000. The lower story consists of one school room capable of seating eight or nine hundred persons, with two recitation

rooms, the upper story comprising a large industrial room, and some eight or ten smaller rooms for various kinds of industrial employment.

The Sunday school of this Association has an average attendance of more than six hundred scholars of all ages, and the industrial school, held every Saturday, averages about 200 girls, who are taught various kinds of work upon cloth, as well as useful occupations connected with house-keeping. These schools are in the care of an association of ladies with the following officers: Mrs. C. P. Bliss, President; Mrs. E. W. Robinson, Vice President; Miss Ella Cole, treasurer, Miss J. M. Alvord, secretary. These schools were moved to the new building on new year's day, 1869, and the American Missionary Association took it in charge, furnishing a missionary, Rev. G. N. Marden, of Orland, Maine, who conducts the benevolent work. The Colored Mechanic's Association is to have its headquarters here, and besides the schools and Sunday worship, there are to be lectures upon useful subjects. Miss Ella Cole, formerly of the Christian Commission, is at present in the service of the Missionary association. A night school has been organized, and is attended by over 200 scholars, who pay a small tuition fee, 25 cents a month. The Trustees propose to establish an Industrial school for boys, with shops and utensils for teaching useful trades; also a school for adult women. Mr. John A. Cole is the present Superintendent of the Institution. The Executive Committee consists of the Trustees, with eight others, E. Whittlesey, Rev. J. W. Alvord, Rev. John Kimball, Rev. G. N. Marden, S. C. Hotchkiss, A. S. Pratt, A. P. Eastman, Warren Brown. Steps have been taken to secure a charter for the institution.

MISS WALKER'S INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.

Among the Industrial schools for the freedmen, that of Miss Susan Walker is a prominent and very useful one. Though strictly outside the city limits, it may very properly be included among the schools of Washington. Miss Walker is a cousin of Rev. James Walker, D. D., for many years president of Harvard College, and a sister of Judge Walker, the late eminent lawyer and jurist of Cincinnati, and at one time a partner of Chief Justice Chase. On the breaking out of the war she devoted herself to the welfare of the soldiers in hospitals and to the freedmen, being one of the first who in 1862 went to Port Royal for the relief of the freedmen, who had gathered there in great numbers and were in a suffering condition. In 1865 she was urged, and in September was formally appointed, to organize an industrial school among the freedmen at Campbell barracks, near the terminus of the Seventh street railroad. December the school was opened in one of the barrack buildings, and soon Miss Walker had under training, six hours a day, about 70 scholars, mostly women, who were taught various kinds of plain sewing, she preparing the work for them, cutting the garments, &c., in the evening. As these women could not afford to take the time even for instruction, unless receiving some remuneration, Miss Walker adopted the plan of paying them proportionately from the articles of clothing made. In September of the next year, 1866, a regiment of cavalry took up its quarters near her school, causing her great annoyance and much anxiety, as well as disturbing the school work. The officer in command gave her assurance of the fullest protection, but the soldiers finally broke into the school-house, and destroyed or took away private property and private papers, a summary way of declaring their creed on the subject of educating contrabands. In November the school was removed to Wisewell barracks, and speedily reorganized with an increase of scholars. The general plan and purpose of Miss Walker in this most unpretentious but most useful work are best seen in the following extract from her report of 1866 and 1867: "During the session of three months instruction and employment were given to 315 women and 12 men and boys; 819 garments, consisting of every variety of clothing for men, women, and children, were made in the school. The Bureau furnished material for 70 pairs of pants, 60 pairs of drawers, and 57 shirts, for the making of which \$60 were received. The surgeon-in-chief of the Bureau paid from eight to ten rations per month for work done for the hospital. These rations were divided as part payment among the women, who during the winter desired food rather than clothing; 600 garments were also given as additional payment. Service places in and around Washington were found for 100 women, and 30 others were provided with employment out of the District. The Bureau provides school room and fuel. The teacher gives her time and service, and

provides material from such sources as she can command. The results of the two years are most gratifying. With few exceptions the women had but recently exchanged the shovel and the hoe for the needle and thimble. They had not ventured to use the scissors. In a few weeks, however, they have learned to cut and make a variety of garments. During the first school year ten freedwomen, 'field hands' in slavery, cut and made, economically and neatly, 300 pairs of men's pants. Others have learned to do fine sewing, and have made fine linen shirts in the best manner. To-day a woman came to thank me for teaching her, as she now earns \$3 a week with her needle. She prefers it to the shovel. The school was commenced with the desire that, if possible, no money should be expended for teaching. With the exception of one month, during which a refugee from New Orleans was placed in the school as an assistant, the teaching and charge of the school has been a free gift, gladly offered. As fast as women learn to be useful they are required to teach others. The purpose of the school is to *help the freedwomen to help themselves*. It is not so much to furnish employment and do a large quantity of work, as to teach them how to do well whatever they undertake. The object is to aid them to become self-supporting and independent; to encourage in them habits of industry, economy, and cleanliness; to elevate them in character and condition; and to inspire an ambition for self-improvement." In August, 1867, Miss Walker, to secure a permanent location for her school, bought a lot near the spot where she first opened it, and on this lot the Bureau erected a commodious building, to which the school was moved in April, 1868. It is situated near the base of the ridge of land on which the Howard University is built. In the first four months of that year, while still at Wisewell barracks, 1,745 garments were made specially for the Bureau, which supplied the material. During the last year Miss Walker has given one hour a day to instructing a portion of the scholars in reading and writing. The importance of this and every well-managed industrial school, in advancing the best interests of the freedmen, can hardly be over-estimated. Mrs. Doolittle, wife of Prof. M. H. Doolittle, of the Naval Observatory, established and carried on in Georgetown in 1865-'66 a large and very successful industrial school for freedwomen, giving instruction to 120, mostly adults, and there are others who have done and are doing much good in this important department of benevolent work.

THE TWO NATIONAL THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTES AND UNIVERSITIES.

The first attempt to organize an institution to train colored men for the ministry was commenced in January, 1865, by Rev. Edmund Turney, D.D., a Calvinistic Baptist clergyman of some eminence in the denomination. Dr. Turney came here in that month, and through his activity a meeting was held in the First Baptist Church, on the first day of February, to discuss the subject, and at an adjourned meeting on the 13th of the same month the plan of a seminary, under the name of the "National Theological Institute for Colored Ministers," was completed, and Dr. Turney was elected president. It was chartered by Congress, under that name, May 10, 1866; and by an amendatory act, March 2, 1867, the institution was expanded into a University, embracing in its designs of culture "others than those connected with the Christian ministry." This enlargement produced a rupture in the association. The Boston Baptist people, mostly clergymen, wished the institution to be confined exclusively to the education of ministers and teachers, and a portion of the executive committee of the corporation, claiming to be the executive board, and acting in harmony with the Boston friends, met at Newark, New Jersey, in May, 1867, and by formal vote resolved to hold the new powers "in abeyance," to transfer the "institute" and the seat of its operations from Washington to Boston, which transfer in a circular they subsequently announced had been done. The portion of the executive committee in favor of the "university" plan resisted the Newark movement, and carrying the question to the Court of this District were fully sustained by its decisions in their resistance, the Court deciding that the corporation by the terms of its charter, must reside here, and ordering the funds of the corporation, which had been transferred to Boston, to be returned. The decision of the Court is as follows:

"The corporate functions of said corporation were, by said act, intended to be exercised in said District, and that the books, funds, and assets of said corporation should be within the jurisdiction of this Court," and it ordered that "the defendants, or such of them as hold

or have control of said books, funds, and assets beyond said jurisdiction, return the same to the said jurisdiction, to the end that the same may be subject to the further order of this Court," May 26, 1868. The Court has no knowledge at this time, January, 1869, that the order has been obeyed.

In March, 1867, the Freedmen's Bureau turned over to the institution ten thousand dollars from the refugees and freedmen's fund, under the act of Congress authorizing the Bureau to assist in the establishment of institutions of learning for the benefit of the colored people. It is understood, however, that the Bureau took the ground that it was authorized so to do under the amendment, which transformed the institution from a Theological Seminary into a school of general culture. This donation is the bone of contention between these two rival parties, who are aiming at the same beneficent object.

Meanwhile the Boston section of the double-headed University, which, like Dr. Turney's, claims to be "The National Theological Institute and University," completed their organization. This new school was put into operation last autumn, under the instruction of Rev. G. M. P. King, a young man of excellent qualities, from the State of Maine, and, with a female assistant, he has now in his school upwards of 40 men, ranging from 18 years of age up to 45, and a small class of girls who are preparing to become teachers. The Soldiers' Free Library Building, on Judiciary Square, is their school house, and a large barrack building on I street, near Seventeenth, is the home of the young men—serving for dormitories and study rooms, with cooking quarters and dining hall attached—all fitted up in a comfortable manner, capable of accommodating 35 students. Sixteen are studying for the ministry.

The first two years of Dr. Turney's work in this District attracted much attention, and the success with which he trained his theological class received the marked commendation of all friends of the cause here and elsewhere. His operations, down to March 1, 1867, gave the Boston friends special satisfaction, as appears from the very high encomiums which were at that period accorded to him by nearly all the leading Baptist clergymen of Boston and vicinity, in a circular issued by the managers of the enterprise. Dr. Turney's University scheme embraces the plan of a central school in the District of Columbia, with subordinate institutions of a normal, preparatory, and industrial character, established at desirable points throughout the south. During his first year his work here included a series of night-schools for men and women, who were intending to teach or preach, and this work he prosecuted with great assiduity, showing faith in his cause and in the mode chosen to promote it. In March, 1868, his second year, he opened a day school in a large building on Louisiana avenue, near Seventh street, and continued it till September, 1867, when it was removed to a spacious government structure, corner of Twenty-second street west and I north, where it has been to the present time. This school was large, some 45 in number, at its opening, and has so continued. About thirty-five young men are pursuing Theological studies. The system of subordinate schools in the region bordering upon the city and District has been maintained from the beginning with persistency, and his friends here and abroad are firm in his support. This University is the first one, designed specifically for freedmen, ever incorporated in the country. In August, 1867, he published a plan of a "Female Collegiate Institute," with a full board of instruction. Dr. Turney has an evening school in his school building of about 30 scholars, not including theological students, and in February, 1869, he opened another evening school in the Fifth Colored Baptist church on Vermont avenue, commencing with 30 men, many of whom had been his pupils. This school is under his personal instruction. In the same building a school for colored women, now numbering 25 scholars, is held two afternoons a week, under the management of Dr. Turney, but taught by Miss Lavinia Warner, colored. On Capitol Hill he has established an afternoon school, numbering about 25 scholars, including some of his theological students, one of whom, Washington Waller, has the personal charge of the school, which is taught five afternoons in the week. This same teacher has an evening school of about 15 scholars in the small colored Baptist church on Fourteenth street, at "Murder Bay." John Johnson, another of Dr. Turney's scholars, has a small evening school in the Pennsylvania Friend's building, on Nineteenth street west, near the boundary. Dr. Turney has also a school five evenings in the week at Freedmen's Village, Arlington, under his direction. Robert S. Laws, a scholar in the Wayland Theological Seminary and who preaches at Arlington, has the

supervision of this school, which averages about 100 scholars. Mrs. Ellen Reeves, sister of Mr. W. Syphax, is the teacher. This is the only school now at Arlington, but a day school is about to be started under the direction of Dr. Turney, with Miss Julia Howard, a white teacher from Boston, as the instructor. In organizing and encouraging these night and afternoon schools, Dr. Turney has been doing a very useful work.

WAYLAND THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

This institution had its origin in the "Boston School," which was established in the basement of the First Colored Baptist Church, corner of Nineteenth and I streets, in September, 1864, by the New England Freedmen's Aid Commission, an association of prominent benevolent persons of the Baptist denomination in Boston, and is not to be confounded with the New England Freedmen's Aid Society. The seminary was eminently successful, being very fortunate in its teacher, Lucy A. Flagg, and her assistants. Early in 1866 the above named Aid Commission arranged with the American Baptist Home Missionary Society to take the school, and in May the Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau offered that society a large government building for its use. The offer was accepted; a fine lot adjoining the church was purchased by the society; the barrack structure was transferred to the lot by the Bureau, and the school opened in the autumn as a Normal School. In July, 1867, it was converted into a Theological Seminary proper, under the remarkably judicious charge of Reverend S. B. Gregory, President, assisted by Mrs. S. B. Gregory and Miss Sarah Utley, all from New York State, and it has been doing a work, for the past two years, of great value to the cause, securing the respect of all who have enjoyed or observed its mode of instruction. The present number of students is about 36.

When the American Baptist Home Missionary Society was putting the Wayland School into operation in the spring of 1866, the managers of the "National Institute and University" solicited the society to assume the charge of the University, and make Dr. Turney president. The proposition was accepted by the society, but Dr. Turney declined to co-operate with the Home Missionary Society. This is believed to be a correct statement of the very unfortunate course of events which have resulted in the establishment in Washington of three separate Theological schools, under the auspices of one religious denomination. It should be stated however, that "The Wayland Seminary" is not identified with the very unfortunate alienation.

THE HOWARD UNIVERSITY.

The originators of this institution were a small band of men earnestly enlisted in the work of elevating the colored race. They were all northern men, and nearly all of them connected with the New Congregational Church and Society of Washington. The credit of originating the scheme belongs to Reverend B. F. Morris, of Cincinnati, Ohio, who was at that time in government employment in the District, and who subsequently, in a fit of melancholy, committed suicide at Springfield, Ohio. Mr. Morris was the son of Thomas Morris, one of the early anti-slavery men, a native of Virginia, who, while a senator in Congress from Ohio, from 1833 to 1839, was one of the bold, able, and foremost champions of freedom. Isaac N. Morris, a member of the House of Representatives from Illinois, during the thirty-fifth and the thirty-sixth Congress, and Jonathan D. Morris, who was a member of the thirty-first Congress from Ohio, are sons of Thomas Morris. Reverend B. F. Morris possessed a mind of remarkable originality, and was a man of generous and philanthropic sentiments. His original idea was to found an institution to train colored men for teachers and preachers. He presented his plan to his pastor, Reverend Charles B. Boynton, D. D., who entered cordially into the scheme, and subsequently to other friends. At this time Mr. H. A. Brewster also was considering a plan for a missionary association, with the same object in view, and how the project of the latter was turned to the purposes of the former, appears in the proceedings of the preliminary meetings, of which the following is a condensed history:

On the 20th of November, 1866, the first meeting was held, which initiated this great educational enterprise, and was suggested at a prayer meeting of the Congregational church held in the Columbia College Law Building, at which time Mr. Brewster made remarks on

the importance of doing something for the education of the colored race. Some twenty persons were present, nearly all members of the newly organized Congregational church, and in sympathy with Mr. Morris, who had come to the meeting to assist in turning the work in that direction. The record of this meeting says: "By invitation of H. A. Brewster a meeting was held at his house for the purpose of considering missionary interests as related to the prerogatives and responsibilities of the First Congregational church, and, if found expedient, to devise ways and means for the promotion of the same." Reverend Charles B. Boynton, D. D., after opening the meeting with prayer, called upon Reverend Benjamin F. Morris, who set forth his plan of a theological seminary, having in view the training of colored men for the ministry, Mr. Brewster having previously explained the purpose of the meeting. The views of Mr. Morris, which he stated to be "the result of reflection and consultation with other brethren," were unanimously accepted, the name of "Howard Theological Seminary" being adopted for the institution, and the following officers elected: Chairman of meeting, H. A. Brewster; Secretary, E. M. Cushman; Trustees of seminary, O. O. Howard, C. B. Boynton, D. B. Nichols, B. F. Morris, H. A. Brewster, H. Barber, J. B. Hutchinson, R. H. Stevens, Henry Wilson, Samuel C. Pomeroy, B. C. Cook; committee on organization, C. B. Boynton, B. F. Morris, D. B. Nichols. In the course of the meeting, General Howard offered to build a seminary structure from the educational funds of the Freedmen's Bureau if the association would furnish a lot: and Mr. Brewster thereupon gave his verbal guarantee that the lot should be secured. At the second meeting, December 6, the report of the committee on organization was submitted by Mr. Nichols, and on his motion the name of the seminary was changed to that of "The Howard Normal and Theological Institute for the education of Teachers and Preachers." This change of name originated with Senator S. C. Pomeroy, who urged the establishment of a Normal Department, which appears to have especially contributed to the change of plan from a school of Theology to that of a school of general learning. Senator Pomeroy urged, among other arguments in favor of the normal feature, that it would place the seminary in a position to share in the bounty which Congress was destined, as he believed, to bestow for the encouragement of this class of professional schools. This was apparently the controlling idea in his mind in suggesting the expansion of the plan. Mr. Nichols seems to have been the foremost to favor Mr. Pomeroy's views; and it should be added that the motions in the meeting pertaining to the name of the institution in all its modifications, including its final and permanent form, are to be mainly accredited to him. It should still further be stated that in his report on organization, presented at this meeting, Mr. Nichols used the term "collegiate" in the name which he proposed for the institution, though nothing appears indicating the idea of any distinct enlargement of the range of culture beyond what had been previously contemplated. The suggestions of Senator Pomeroy seem to have so modified the views of all the others that the report of Mr. Nichols did not assume any formal importance in the organization of the institution, though it embodied some excellent features, which were adopted. Prof. Silas L. Loomis, M. D., now connected with the Medical department of the University, who was present at the second meeting, urged the establishment of a department to train the students in letter writing, and suggested a professorship of Belles Lettres to that end. He also suggested, in connection with a plan of medical instruction, the name of Howard to be applied to the institution. The fact seems to be that both the name and the plan were gradually developed in the general discussion at the meetings and elsewhere, and that neither the one nor the other originated with any one individual. The original purpose was to build a school essentially Congregational in its character, and exclusively under the control and guidance of the Washington Congregational church, and much resistance was encountered, as the plan developed, by those who became the advocates of an expanded scheme. Senators S. C. Pomeroy and Henry Wilson seem to have been among the most judicious and influential actors and counsellors in the whole task.

The following committees were then elected: Finance, J. B. Johnson, H. A. Brewster, W. G. Finney; building and grounds, O. O. Howard, S. C. Pomeroy, H. Barber—S. L. Loomis being added at the next meeting; library, D. B. Nichols, B. F. Morris, E. Ketchum. At the third meeting, December 18, the various committees reported; that upon building and

grounds being authorized to purchase the property near the terminus of the Seventh street railroad, as proposed. A committee, consisting of Senator Wilson, Senator Pomeroy, and Hon. B. C. Cooke, was chosen to obtain a charter. The Board of Trustees was increased to 15 by the addition of W. F. Bascom, C. H. Howard, E. H. Robinson, and E. M. Cushman, a still further increase being made at the next meeting by the addition of S. L. Loomis, J. B. Johnson, and W. G. Finney. At the fourth meeting, January 8, 1867, the following officers were elected: C. B. Boynton, President Board of Trustees; H. A. Brewster, Vice President; E. M. Cushman, Secretary; J. B. Hutchinson, Treasurer; D. B. Nichols, Superintendent of institution and Librarian. At this meeting, after remarks by C. H. Howard, C. B. Boynton, and H. A. Brewster, on the subject of the name of the institution, on motion of D. B. Nichols, seconded by Dr. Boynton, who urged with much earnestness the propriety of sending down the name of Howard to the coming centuries in connection with the institution, the name was again changed to that of "The Howard University," under which it was chartered. Measures were also adopted looking to the organization of a Medical and Law department.

At the second meeting of the Board of Trustees the establishment of an Agricultural department was a topic of discussion. General O. O. Howard introduced the matter of the "Miner Institution," which incorporated and holding property in the city of Washington, has in view purposes cognate to those of the Howard University, and suggested the leasing of the property of that institution at six per cent. per annum upon the purchase price. At this meeting, in connection with the report of S. L. Loomis, embracing a plan of a Medical department, and on motion of D. B. Nichols it was made a condition of eligibility to a place in the board of instruction in the University that the candidate "furnish satisfactory evidence of Christian character." This provision was subsequently struck out and the following substituted: "Resolved, That every person elected to any position in the Howard University shall be a member of some Evangelical church," a change which, it is understood, the Trustees have determined to modify.

At the sixth meeting, being the third of the Board of Trustees, Dr. Boynton presented the outlines of the charter of the Michigan University as a basis for that of the Howard University. General O. O. Howard then presented the bill which Senator Wilson had introduced into the United States Senate to incorporate the Howard University; General O. O. Howard and Senator Wilson being appointed a committee to revise and present it in its revised form to Congress. The question whether provision by the charter should be made for the admission of females, was freely and with lively interest discussed at this time, the prevailing sentiment being that no distinction should be made. General O. O. Howard was among those not favoring the admission of females. It was also voted to lease the property purchased by the bounty funds at \$1,200 per annum, lease to date from January 26, 1867; and that a Normal and Preparatory school be forthwith opened.

The original purpose in founding this Institution was to educate the colored race exclusively; to train men for preachers, teachers and missionaries, both in this country and in Africa. This was distinctly set forth in the plan of organization, as reported by Reverend D. B. Nichols at an early preliminary meeting. Senator Pomeroy and Dr. Boynton took ground in favor of the expanded scheme as embodied in the charter, which was drafted by Dr. Boynton, and which extends the privileges of the institution to both sexes and all colors. It has already been stated that General Howard was averse to this feature, which contemplated the union of the sexes and colors in the school, and so expressed himself at the time the provisions of the charter were discussed. It is an interesting fact to observe that while Oberlin College embarked on its work as a school for white scholars, and was changed to embrace colored, the Howard University started as exclusively a colored school, and was soon enlarged, and opened its door to all. It is perhaps hardly necessary to add that General O. O. Howard has been from the beginning, through all its stages, the great sustaining pillar of the enterprise.

Subjoined is the charter as it was passed by Congress and sanctioned by the President, March 2, 1867:

“ACT to incorporate the Howard University.

“*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled*, That there be established, and is hereby established, in the District of Columbia, a University for the education of youth in the liberal arts and sciences, under the name, style, and title of ‘The Howard University.’

“*SEC. 2. And be it further enacted*, That Samuel C. Pomeroy, Charles B. Boynton, Oliver O. Howard, Burton C. Cook, Charles H. Howard, James B. Hutchinson, Henry A. Brewster, Benjamin F. Morris, Danforth B. Nichols, William G. Finney, Roswell H. Stevens, E. M. Cushman, Hiram Barber, E. W. Robinson, W. F. Bascom, J. B. Johnson, and Silas L. Loomis be, and they are hereby declared to be a body politic and corporate, with perpetual succession in deed or in law, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, by the name, style, and title of “The Howard University,” by which name and title they and their successors shall be competent at law and in equity to take to themselves and their successors, for the use of said University, any estate whatsoever in any message, lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, chattels, moneys, and other effects, by gift, devise, grant, donation, bargain, sale, conveyance, assurance, or will; and the same to grant, bargain, sell, transfer, assign, convey, assure, demise, declare to use and farm let, and to place out on interest, for the use of said University, in such manner as to them or a majority of them shall be deemed most beneficial to said institution; and to receive the same, their rents, issues and profits, income and interest, and to apply the same for the proper use and benefit of said University; and by the same name to sue and be sued, to plead and be pleaded in any court of law and equity, in all manner of suits, actions, and proceedings whatsoever, and generally, by and in the same name, to do and transact all and every the business touching or concerning the premises: *Provided*, That the same do not exceed the value of fifty thousand dollars annual net income over and above and exclusive of the receipts for the education and support of the students of said University.

“*SEC. 3. And be it further enacted*, That the first meeting of said corporators shall be holden at the time and place at which a majority of the persons herein above named shall assemble for that purpose; and six day’s notice shall be given each of said corporators, at which meeting said corporators may enact by-laws, not inconsistent with the laws of the United States, regulating the government of the corporation.

“*SEC. 4. And be it further enacted*, That the government of the University shall be vested in a Board of Trustees of not less than thirteen members, who shall be elected by the corporators at their first meeting. Said Board of Trustees shall have perpetual succession in deed or in law, and in them shall be vested the power hereinbefore granted to the corporation. They shall adopt a common seal, which they may alter at pleasure, under and by which all deeds, diplomas, and acts of the University shall pass and be authenticated. They shall elect a President, Secretary, and a Treasurer. The treasurer shall give such bonds as the Board of Trustees may direct. The said Board shall also appoint the professors and tutors, prescribing the number, and determining the amount of their respective salaries. They shall also appoint such other officers, agents, or employés as the wants of the University may from time to time demand, in all cases fixing their compensation. All meetings of said Board may be called in such manner as the Trustees shall prescribe, and nine of them so assembled shall constitute a quorum to do business, and a less number may adjourn from time to time.

“*SEC. 5. And be it further enacted*, That the University shall consist of the following departments, and such others as the Board of Trustees may establish: First, Normal; second, Collegiate; third, Theological; fourth, Law; fifth, Medicine; sixth, Agricultural.

“*SEC. 6. And be it further enacted*, That the immediate government of the several departments, subject to the control of the Trustees, shall be intrusted to their respective faculties; but the Trustees shall regulate the course of instruction, prescribe, with the advice of the professors, the necessary text-books, confer such degrees and grant such diplomas as are usually conferred and granted in other universities.

“*SEC. 7. And be it further enacted*, That the Board of Trustees shall have the power to remove any professor or tutor, or other officer connected with the institution, when in their judgment the interests of the University shall require it.

“*SEC. 8. And be it further enacted*, That the Board of Trustees shall make an annual report, making an exhibit of the affairs of the University.

“*SEC. 9. And be it further enacted*, That no misnomer of the said corporation shall defeat or annul any donation, gift, grant, devise, or bequest to or from the said corporation.

“*SEC. 10. And be it further enacted*, That the said corporation shall not employ its funds or income, or any part thereof, in banking operations, or for any purpose or object other than those expressed in the first section of this act; and that nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to prevent Congress from altering, amending, or repealing the same.

“Approved March 2, 1867.”

The corporators held a meeting March 19, 1863, and organized in the choice of a Board of Trustees, President, Secretary, and Treasurer, and a committee to prepare a code of by-laws—the executive committee, under the by-laws, being chosen at a subsequent meeting, May 6, 1867. This committee originally consisted of Charles B. Boynton, D. D., President of the

University and *ex officio* chairman; O. O. Howard, William F. Bascom, and E. W. Robinson; and to them were confided the supervision of the building operations and financial affairs of the corporation.

The following is a list of the trustees and other officers of the institution, together with dates of their election :

Trustees.—Hon. Samuel C. Pomeroy, United States senator from Kansas, March 19, 1867; Rev. Charles B. Boynton, D. D., Chaplain of the House of Representatives, and pastor of First Congregational church, Washington, D. C., March 19, 1867; Major General Oliver O. Howard, United States army, March 19, 1867; Hon. Burton C. Cook, member, from Illinois, of the United States House of Representatives, March 19, 1867; Brigadier General Charles H. Howard, United States volunteers, March 19, 1867; J. B. Hutchinson, esq., March 19, 1867; Henry A. Brewster, esq., March 19, 1867; Rev. Benjamin F. Morris, March 19, 1867; Rev. Danforth B. Nichols, March 19, 1867; William G. Finney, esq., March 19, 1867; Roswell H. Stevens, esq., March 19, 1867; E. M. Cushman, esq., March 19, 1867; Dr. Hiram Barber, March 19, 1867; Rev. E. W. Robinson, March 19, 1867; William F. Bascom, esq., March 19, 1867; James B. Johnson, esq., March 19, 1867; Dr. Silas L. Loomis, March 19, 1867; General George W. Balloch, March 19, 1867; Rev. Henry Highland Garnett, late pastor of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian church, of colored people, Washington, D. C., April 8, 1867; Rev. Byron Sunderland, D. D., pastor of the First Presbyterian church, Washington, D. C., April 22, 1867; Rev. D. W. Anderson, pastor First Baptist church, of colored people, Washington, D. C., April 6, 1868; Judge Hugh L. Bond, Baltimore, May 4, 1868; Rev. J. W. Alvord, May 4, 1868.

Trustees resigned.—Rev. Charles B. Boynton, D. D., January 11, 1868; J. B. Hutchinson, esq., March 2, 1868; E. M. Cushman, esq., March 2, 1868.

Trustee deceased.—Rev. Benjamin F. Morris, June 28, 1867.

Presidents of the University.—Rev. Charles B. Boynton, D. D., March 19, 1867; resigned and ceased to act as Trustee, August 27, 1867; Rev. Byron Sunderland, D. D., August 27, 1867.

Secretaries of the Board.—E. M. Cushman, esq., March 19, 1867; resignation accepted December 20, 1867; E. W. Robinson, elected December 29, 1867.

Treasurer of the Board.—General George W. Balloch, March 19, 1867.

Collegiate Department.—General Eliphalet Whittlesey, Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-lettres, September 21, 1868; William F. Bascom, A. M., Professor of Greek and Latin, September 22, 1868.

Law Department.—Hon. A. G. Riddle, December 29, 1868; John M. Langston, esq., Professor, October 12, 1868.

Medical Department.—The President, *ex-officio* chairman; Silas L. Loomis, M. D., Dean; Joseph Taber Johnson, M. D., Secretary and Treasurer. Faculty.—Silas L. Loomis, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Toxicology, May 4, 1868; Robert Reyburn, M. D., Professor of Anatomy, May 4, 1868; Joseph Taber Johnson, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics, May 4, 1868; Lafayette C. Loomis, M. D., Professor of Physiology and Microscopy, September 21, 1868; Alexander T. Augusta, M. B., Demonstrator of Anatomy, September 21, 1868.

Standing Committee on Agriculture.—D. B. Nichols, October 12, 1868; J. W. Alvord, October 12, 1868; General George W. Balloch, October 12, 1868.

This committee was appointed with a view to the improvement of the university reservation, to the employment of students who may desire by labor to defray in part their expenses, and to the ultimate complete organization of the Agricultural Department. The need of an Education Society, to give aid to deserving and indigent youth—especially colored youth, who are almost without exception poor—is felt by the Board; but for the present the subject of aiding students, particularly by providing them labor, is referred to this committee.

Librarian.—Danforth B. Nichols, April 8, 1867.

Preparatory and Normal Department.—Principals.—E. F. Williams, from May 2, 1867; John H. Combs, September 10, 1867; A. L. Barber, April 13, 1868. Female Principal, Miss Julia A. Lord, June 25, 1867.

At the late meeting, December 29, 1868, the board elected Brigadier General Charles H. Howard to the chair of modern languages, which he declined, and at the same time a committee was chosen with the purpose in view to secure, if possible, the services of Major General O. O. Howard as President of the University. It should be here stated that the Presidency of the Board of Trustees and the Presidency of the University, originally constituting a single office, have been separated.

The University site.—The site for the university was purchased by the trustees of John A. Smith, for \$147,500. The price was originally fixed at \$150,000, the number of acres being by estimate 150. Thomas Coyle, however, holding the right by lease to take sand from the

hill for a term of years, the owner of the land, after a protracted negotiation, finally made the proposition to deduct \$2,500 from the price on account of the encumbrance, and this offer was accepted. The deed was made April 23, 1866, but was not finally executed and delivered till May 25, ensuing. The Trustees subsequently paid Thomas Coyle \$5,000 for a surrender of his lease. The terms of the purchase were \$20,000 cash, the balance payable in 10 equal annual instalments, and the interest on the whole unpaid principal payable semi-annually. Originally, 50 acres were appropriated for university grounds. Subsequently 10 acres were added, and still later an additional 10 acres for the park was set aside, making in all, in round numbers, 70 acres. The remaining 80 acres were laid off in lots, and mostly sold, making it certain that their proceeds will pay the entire original purchase.

The University buildings.—These buildings consist of a spacious university edifice proper four stories high, imposing in external appearance, commodious in its internal plan, and standing upon a commanding and handsome as well as healthy location, looking down upon the city and a broad expanse of the country, including many miles of the winding Potomac. There is also an ample dormitory, capable of accommodating the teachers and 300 scholars with board and lodging; three stories and basement, with every appointment belonging to a first-class structure for such purpose. A very large and commodious medical building is erecting on the premises, three stories in height, and corresponding in architecture and appearance with the other structures. The Normal and Preparatory department moved into the apartments in the University building, designed for that purpose, early in November last, and the teachers and students entered the dormitory with the opening of the new year of 1869. In the appendix will be found a note upon the material of which the buildings are made.

The cost of the university structure and dormitory, when fully completed, will be quite \$100,000. The Freedmen's Bureau is building these, as also the medical building, in pursuance of an act of Congress approved March 2, 1868, authorizing the Bureau thus to aid the cause of education for the freedmen and refugees' fund, the aid in this case being justified by the fact that the University is intended to embrace within its benefits the children of freedmen and refugees. "The refugees' and freedmen's fund" embraces all moneys belonging to the government which come into the custody of the Bureau through the incidents of the war, comprising among other items those arising from rents, fines, and sales of old property. The name is used to distinguish it from the regular appropriation. Other fine school structures, similar to these university buildings, though not in any case on so large a scale, have been erected at important points in the south from the same funds. These buildings are held in the actual or constructive possession of the government, to await the direction of Congress, the expectation being that the Commissioner will be ordered to surrender them as the property of the associations upon whose lands they stand, with the limitation that they are to be forever used for educational purposes. Where the principle of the common law is restrained by no statute, it is clear that the government has no valid claim upon these buildings, as they become a part of the realty.

Normal and Preparatory Department.—This department was opened on the second day of May, 1867, in a comfortable building which, with three acres of land, had been purchased by the authorities of the Freedmen's Bureau, by deed dated December 21, 1866, for the sum of \$12,000. The funds used in this purchase consisted of the retained bounty which accumulated under an order of Major General B. F. Butler, issued in 1864, at the period when State agents from the north were enlisting colored soldiers in his department in Virginia and North Carolina during the war. The purpose of the order was to save for these enlisted soldiers and their families a portion—one-third—of the large State bounty which they were receiving and wasting in dissipation. When General Howard took charge of freedmen's affairs, this retained fund, then in the hands of numerous officers, was immediately ordered into the custody of the Bureau, to be held for the benefit of the colored race, and subject to the call of legal claimants. This building and land were purchased with money from this fund, and has been rented since January 1, 1867, to the Howard University at \$1,200 per annum. The most of this retained bounty, which, when called into the possession of the Bureau, amounted to some \$150,000, has since been paid to the legal claimants, reducing the amount in August

last to about \$30,000; and if the portion invested in this property shall ever be legally claimed it will be at once refunded, the investment being exceedingly judicious in a pecuniary as well as in every other point of view. This money is not in any sense public funds, and is not so regarded at the Treasury Department. It is simply money belonging to colored soldiers, held in trust, subject to their call; and its investment in a mode not only to return fair interest but also to aid in educating the colored race, can be deemed by just men only in the light of a wise and beneficent disposition of the matter on the part of General O. O. Howard. The house was well repaired by the Bureau, and since the school has vacated the premises they have been occupied by the Medical Department.

The Normal and Preparatory Department has been eminently successful. It opened with five scholars in May, 1867, and so rapidly increased in numbers that it became necessary to employ a second teacher, the first quarter closing with an excellent school, the whole number for the period on the register being 83, of whom 26 were females, not including a night school of 11 scholars, under a good teacher. At the close of the first quarter the principal, Rev. Edward F. Williams, a graduate of Yale College and Princeton Theological Seminary, who had given the very highest satisfaction, resigned, in order to embark in his profession, and was succeeded by John H. Combs, A. M., a graduate of Williams College, who served from October, 1867, till April, 1868, when he gave place to A. L. Barber, a graduate of Oberlin, and a gentleman eminently adequate to the position. Miss Julia A. Lord, of Portland, Maine, the female principal, has continued to serve in this position, with the same superior efficiency which distinguished her labors in the colored grammar school of Washington, from which she was called to this place. The total number of students for the year ending in June, 1868, was 127, and the exercises of the first anniversary fully satisfied the expectations of the most sanguine friends. The fall term of 1868 proved still more satisfactory, commencing with more than 60 scholars and the number soon reaching 110, most of whom are pay scholars. Of the whole number only 12 are white. The school, since taking possession of its new and very handsome and commodious quarters in the university building, has put on new strength, and an assistant teacher, a colored young man of good qualifications, has been added to the corps of instruction. The large classes in grammar, philosophy, arithmetic, algebra, and other advanced English branches, as well as the three classes in Latin, numbering in all about 30, and a small class in Greek, progress with as much rapidity and thoroughness as do scholars in the same branches in other schools of this advanced grade, and this statement is based upon extensive personal knowledge of this as well as other schools of the higher class in the District. Tuition is free to such as cannot afford to pay.

The Medical Department.—The Medical Department was organized by the election of three members of its faculty in the early part of May, 1868, and in the month of September a fourth professorship was filled. The list of the university officers and faculties, to be found on a previous page, furnishes the facts in these cases. In September, also, Dr. Alexander T. Augusta, a distinguished colored physician of Washington, was elected as Demonstrator of Anatomy. Dr. Augusta is a gentleman of decided abilities, and is thoroughly educated in his profession. He is a native of Norfolk, Virginia, free-born, and served his apprenticeship as a barber in that city, subsequently working as a journeyman at his trade. In his boyhood he learned by stealth to read a little, and subsequently acquired, while working at his trade, some additional knowledge. At a later period he read medicine for a time in the office of a respectable physician in Philadelphia, but he could get no access to the medical college of that city by reason of his color. He went to California to get money to prosecute his purpose, and was highly successful. On his return he made another effort to find entrance to a Medical College, and was repulsed both in Philadelphia and in Chicago. He finally went to the University of Toronto, and was cordially welcomed to the Medical College of that very distinguished institution, second to no university in British America, and after some half a dozen years of laborious academic, classical as well as professional study he received the degree of Bachelor of Medicine, with the full honors of the college. During the war he was a surgeon in the army, and while stationed at Savannah, Georgia, in charge of a hospital in that city, he was repeatedly associated in professional relations with medical gentlemen of the first eminence in that city, who treated him with uniform courtesy. They often

came to his hospital to observe cases interesting to the profession, and to join with him in uncommon surgical operations; facts honorable alike to both parties. Dr. Augusta is the only colored gentleman connected with the medical faculty, so far as it has yet been organized, and for this reason, as well as for the essential interest which marks his career, reference is here made to him. It is a suggestive fact that after such struggles to gain access to a medical school for his own culture, he should thus be called as a teacher in the first school of medical science founded for his race in America.

The first session of this Department was inaugurated in a lecture by Professor L. C. Loomis, which, in order to accommodate the very large audience certain to be called forth on the novel occasion, was delivered in the audience room of the new Congregational church. The session was announced to open on the 28th of October, but arrangements were not complete for the lecture till the succeeding week, and it was delivered November 4, 1868. Since that date the course of lectures has proceeded regularly, three each day of the week, distributed among the six members of the faculty. The class numbered six in December, and a considerable accession was expected with the beginning of the winter session, at the opening of the new year. The college is at present occupying the large building on Seventh street, recently vacated by the Normal and Preparatory Department when that school took up its permanent residence in the university edifice. This is a temporary arrangement, for two or three months only, while the very spacious and handsome medical college structure near that location is finishing. On the same square two large edifices are nearly completed, into which the Freedmen's general hospital—Campbell hospital, as it is commonly called—comprising several hundred patients, is to be transferred, from the old barrack buildings situated in that immediate vicinity. This hospital, which is freely open to the medical students of the college for purposes of instruction, contributes vastly to the value of the course of instruction.

The present course of lectures embraces in its plan Chemistry, Anatomy, *Materia Medica*, Physiology, and clinical lectures upon operative Surgery—the four main fundamental branches of medicine—and an attendance upon the course, together with study and recitations under a respectable practising physician during the entire year, will be regarded by the University as equivalent to one year in the Medical College. Very superior and ample chemical apparatus, and a complete cabinet of *Materia Medica* have recently been received.

Other Departments.—The Trustees appointed a committee, June 25, 1867, to report a plan for the organization of a Theological Department, but no action has yet been made public. Initiatory steps were also taken toward establishing a Law Department, and, in October last, John M. Langston, a graduate of Oberlin, a colored gentleman of superior attainments, was elected professor. December 30, 1868, the trustees publicly announced that the Department was organized, and a regular course of lectures would commence January 4, 1869, the faculty to consist of Professor Langston and Hon. A. G. Riddle, an eminent lawyer of Washington, and formerly a member of Congress from Ohio. On the evening of March 31, 1869, the first session of this Department closed with public exercises, in which the class of 15 colored and one white student all participated. The essays and discussions showed much study and thought, and were highly respectable as literary productions, most favorably impressing all who heard them. These students represent nearly a dozen States, and several are liberally educated. They all showed a manly grappling with their work, and the professors have ample reason to be satisfied with the opening term.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND EARLIEST LEGISLATION FOR THE CRISIS.

The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia took effect on the 16th of April, 1862, and on the 21st of May, a little more than a month later, Congress, believing that with their freedom the subjects of slavery must be educated for their new condition, passed an Act requiring "ten per centum of taxes collected from persons of color in Washington and Georgetown to be set apart for the purpose of initiating a system of primary schools for the education of colored children" residing in these cities. This Act made the boards of Trustees of the two cities the custodians, in their respective cities, of the funds arising both from this tax and from contributions, the two species of funds however to be kept separate. The special friends of

colored schools in the District, entertaining solicitude as to the execution of this law in good faith by the Trustees of the public schools, communicated their apprehensions to the friends of the cause in Congress, and on the 11th of July ensuing Congress passed another Act, under which the work of establishing colored schools was confided to a "Board of Trustees for Colored Schools for Washington and Georgetown." This board, consisting of three members, is appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, the term of one member expiring annually. The members of the first board, who held the office by the terms of the law one, two, and three years, respectively, were Daniel Breed, Zenas C. Robbins, and S. J. Bowen. Under this Act the municipal authorities of the two cities accredited to the colored school fund for the first two years as follows:

	1862.	1863.	Total.
In Washington	\$256 25	\$410 89	\$667 14
In Georgetown.....		69 72	69 72
Total for the two cities			736 86

In 1862 no separate registry was kept of the taxes of colored people in either city, and the sum accredited for that year in Washington was a rough estimate. In 1863 there was a separate registration, but the friends of the colored schools regarded it as incomplete, and the fund not at all equal to what was justly due, as they had confidently expected full \$3,000 annually.

The Act of 1862 thus proving a failure, another Act was passed and approved June 25, 1864, repealing the ten per centum clause of the Act of 1862 and providing, instead of that feature, that such a proportion of all the school funds raised in Washington and Georgetown should be set apart for colored schools as the number of colored children might bear to the whole number of children, taking the last reported census of children *between the ages of six and seventeen* as the basis of the calculation. It was also provided that the moneys accruing from fines, penalties, and forfeitures under United States laws in the District should be apportioned for school purposes in the same manner. This Act was also, like the other, construed by the municipal authorities in such manner as to deprive the colored schools of a large portion of the funds which the friends of those schools believed the act intended to give them. On the 23d of July, 1866, Congress further enacted that the previous Act should "be so construed as to require the cities of Washington and Georgetown to pay over to the Trustees of the colored schools of said cities such a proportionate part of all moneys received or expended for school or educational purposes in said cities, including the cost of sites, buildings, improvements, furniture, and books, and all other expenditures on account of schools, as the colored children, between the ages of six and seventeen years in the respective cities, bear to the whole number of children, white and colored, between the same ages; that the money shall be considered due and payable to said Trustees on the first day of October of each year; and if not then paid over to them, interest at the rate of ten per centum per annum on the amount unpaid may be demanded and collected." This Act seems to have accomplished the purpose for which it was designed, the funds which it brought into the hands of the Trustees in 1867 enabling them to inaugurate something in the nature of a system of public colored schools in the two cities. The main object of the bill was to provide for the establishment of primary free schools throughout the county of Washington, in the District, outside of the two cities. It was prepared by Senator Patterson, of New Hampshire, at that time a member of the House, and it was a section incorporated in it pertaining to the division of the school money in the cities of Washington and Georgetown that first effectually placed in the hands of the colored people the funds that belonged to them. To Senator Patterson belongs the honor of obtaining this meed of justice for this long abused class.

THE FIRST PUBLIC COLORED SCHOOL

in the District of Columbia was opened on the 1st of March, 1864, in the Ebenezer Church, the original colored church of Washington—the earliest sanctuary of their religion thus becoming the earliest home of their free public school. Miss Emma V. Brown, of Georgetown, an educated, capable colored girl, was appointed the teacher, at a salary of \$400, and Miss Frances W. Perkins, a generous, spirited young woman, from New Haven, Connecticut, went into the work with Miss Brown, at first without compensation, though she was soon supported by the New England Freedmen's Aid Society of Boston. The school commencing with 40 scholars, rose immediately to more than 160, and the house was soon so thronged that many applicants were daily refused. It was through the exertions of this volunteer teacher, Miss Perkins, that in 1865

FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOL-HOUSE FOR COLORED CHILDREN.

in the District was built. Through her solicitations, in the summer of 1864 and while at work in the Ebenezer Church, a woman of large benevolence in New Haven, Connecticut, Mrs. ——— Parker, placed at her disposal \$1,000, to aid in building a house for this school. The Trustees, encouraged by this donation, gathered what they could from other sources, and after securing with some difficulty a lot, 42 by 120 feet, for the purpose, on C street south, between Second and Third streets, Capitol Hill, erected in the winter a frame building, 42 feet square, two stories, and two school-rooms on each floor. The school was moved into it May 1, 1865, on which occasion there were formal dedication exercises, an address being delivered by Rev. Henry Highland Garnet, D. D., then pastor of the Fifteenth street Presbyterian Church, now president of Avery College, Allegheny City, Pennsylvania.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS CONTINUED.

These schools, which began in the Ebenezer church in a sing'e room, with two teachers, in March, 1864, and in the spring of 1865 moved into the first school house built for public schools in the District, were increased by the Aid Societies to four schools and as many teachers in 1866, and to five schools with seven teachers by the Trustees in the summer of 1867. In the autumn of the last named year the Trustees commenced their school year with 31 teachers, four more being soon added, making for nearly the whole of that year 35 teachers, while through the winter and spring months the number was 41, the Aid Societies furnishing at the same time 28, making a total of 69 teachers. The average number through the school year of 1867-'68, was 61.

The largest number of public schools sustained by the Trustees in the school year of 1867-'68, was 41; average number 39; largest number by other parties 25; average number 21; largest number of scholars belonging to the schools in any month, (February,) 2,969; average number belonging to the schools from November 1 to June 30, 2,826; average attendance for the same period, 2,523; per cent. of average attendance in all schools for the year, 89. In these statistics the schools of the Trustees and of the societies are combined, as they were all under the control of Mr. Newton and all subjected to the same regulations. It will be seen that the attendance, considering the material, was very excellent, and such was the case during all the years of his superintendence. The following figures are important in this connection:

Total colored population in Washington, November, 1867.....	31,937
Total colored population in Georgetown, November, 1867.....	3,284
Total.....	<u>35,221</u>
Increase since 1860 in Washington.....	20,954
Increase in Georgetown since 1860.....	1,349
Total.....	<u>22,303</u>
Number of colored children between the ages of 6 and 17, in Washington.....	8,401
Number of colored children between the ages of 6 and 17, in Georgetown.....	894
Total.....	<u>9,295</u>

It thus appears that the largest number of scholars in school in any month last year was much less than one third the number of colored children in the District between the ages of 6 and 17, and when it is considered that very many above 17 years of age are embraced in the number in school, it seems safe to say that not more than one third of the children within the specified ages were at any time last year attending school, including both public and private. It may be added that the records of the present year present a still more painful condition of things growing out of the withdrawal of nearly all foreign aid.

Recapitulation of Census returns.

The following statement shows the movement of the population of the District, including the town and county of Alexandria before their retrocession to Virginia.

Year.	Whites.	Free colored.	Slaves.	Total.
1800.....	10,066	783	3,244	14,093
1810.....	16,079	2,549	5,395	24,023
1820.....	22,614	4,048	6,377	33,029
1830.....	27,563	6,152	6,119	39,836
1840.....	30,657	8,361	4,696	43,912
1850.....	37,941	10,059	3,637	51,687
1860.....	60,761	11,131	3,185	75,086
1867.....	88,327	38,663	.....	126,990

As Alexandria, with the other portion of the District as originally constituted south of the Potomac, was retroceded to Virginia in 1846, the population of the retroceded territory in 1850 is subjoined, also the population of the cities of Washington and Georgetown separately for 1850 and 1860.

	White.	Free colored.	Slaves.	Total.
1850.				
Alexandria.....	7,209	1,413	1,382	10,004
Washington.....	29,730	8,158	2,113	40,001
Georgetown.....	6,080	1,561	725	8,366
Remainder of District.....	2,131	340	849	3,320
1860.				
Washington.....	50,139	9,209	1,774	61,122
Georgetown.....	6,793	1,358	577	8,733
Remainder of District.....	3,827	554	834	5,225

It will be seen from the above figures that the free colored population of the two cities in 1860 was 10,567, and as in that year there were full 1,200 colored children in the schools of the cities, it follows that there was about one child in school to nine of the free colored population. In 1867, the colored population of the two cities was 35,221. With the same proportion of children in school as in 1860, there would be with this population, about 3,900 under instruction, which is very nearly the number now in the schools of the cities. This shows that the facilities for instruction are about the same now for the colored children as before the war. The school-houses and methods of instruction, however, are now much better than in 1860, but the proportion of children actually reached by the privileges seems to be without enlargement.

SCHOOL PROPERTY BELONGING TO TRUSTEES OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The schools, when the Northern societies came here during the war, were at first held in the basements and lecture halls of colored churches. A few school-houses were soon built in a temporary way, and as the war drew near its end the barrack buildings were liberally turned over by the government for such use, and these buildings still constitute the largest portion of the school accommodations. These school rooms were rough and inconvenient, and still continue to be so. The houses built last year are, however, furnished with modern school furniture, as were a few of the old buildings previously, and these are quite commodious and comfortable. The following is a general description of the school property belonging to the trustees of colored schools at this time:

District 1.—Square 182, M street, near 17th. Land about 22,800 feet. Temporary frame building, 48x72 feet two stories; 8 rooms, 444 seats.

District 2.—Square 511, O street, between 4th and 5th. Land about 8,640 feet. Brick school-house 45x88 feet, two stories; eight rooms each 22x38 feet; 444 seats.

District 2.—Square 935, corner 12th street east and D north. Land about 10,000 feet; donated by government. Frame building, four rooms; would seat 200 scholars.

District 3.—Square 762, C street south, between 2d and 3d streets east. Land about 6,300 feet; frame building, four rooms, 200 seats.

District 4.—Square 412, corner 9th and E streets south. Land about 8,000 feet; brick house, same as in district two.

District 4.—Square 663, Delaware avenue, between H and I streets south. Land about 7,550 feet; temporary frame building belonging to government, two rooms, would seat 200 scholars.

District 5.—Georgetown, east street. Land about 5,800 feet; frame building; two stories, eight rooms, 444 seats; bad location: the best that could be obtained for the purpose when bought.

The two brick houses (the one in district 2, and the other in district 4) were built last year, the contract price being some \$7,200 each, and when furnished and ready for occupation cost each not far from \$9,000. Erected in haste they are not what, with more time, the authorities would have made them. Besides the above specified lots and buildings, the Trustees are erecting a four-story brick edifice which they have appropriately named "The Stevens School-House," in honor of Thaddeus Stevens, of Penn. The name was suggested by Mr. William Syphax, then chairman of the board, in the following resolution, offered by him September 4, 1868: "*Resolved*, That the New school-house on Twenty-first street be called the 'Stevens School-house' in honor of the late Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, the champion of free schools for all." The building is located in square 72, 21st street, between K and L, on a lot embracing about 11,765 feet. House 48x88 feet; 12 rooms with the one story for a hall, or 16 rooms without hall, each room seating 60 scholars. The original plan was to make the lower story a hall, to be let for public purposes, but it is believed that the Trustees will decide to use this very desirable part of the building for school purposes, which will accord with the law governing the use of the school funds. The cost of the house, finished and furnished, including lot, will probably be about \$35,000. The house, furniture, and lot in Georgetown may be estimated at \$5,000; the house, furniture, and lot on M street at \$4,000; and the house, furniture, and lot on C street, Capitol Hill, at \$3,500.

TRUSTEES OF THE COLORED SCHOOLS.

The following shows the names of those who have served as Trustees together with the period of their service. The act of Congress establishing the board, provides that they shall be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. The original board was appointed July 1, 1862, consisting of S. J. Bowen, Daniel Breed, and Zenas C. Robbins. Mr. Bowen served two terms of three years each, and was succeeded last year (1868) by William Syphax, a well-known and intelligent colored citizen of Washington, who is doing his work with fidelity and excellent judgment as chairman of the board. He was born at Arlington, on the estate of Mr. Custis, who manumitted the mother and family when this son was a child, giving them a house and small tract of land on the border of the estate, which was confirmed to them by the Thirty-ninth Congress. Mr. Breed served two terms, the first being a term of one year, and was succeeded by Albert G. Hull, the present City Collector, whose term ex-

pires in 1869. Mr. Robbins served one term of two years and was succeeded in the next term of three years by Rufus Laten, resigned, Stephen J. W. Tabor, resigned, J. McClary Perkins, removed, and G. E. Baker, who completed the term. Alfred Jones, a prominent colored merchant of Washington, was appointed in 1867, his term expiring in 1870, and is the treasurer of the board.

THE TEACHERS.

The Trustees at this time, January, 1869, report fifty schools in successful operation, forty-three in Washington and seven in Georgetown. The superintendent, Mr. George F. T. Cook, had been ten years the teacher of a large colored private school in Washington when appointed to his new position, and is well educated. The schools are all in charge of female teachers, fifty in number, of whom twenty-five are white and twenty-five colored. The majority of the white teachers have been in these schools from the beginning of the new order of things, in 1865, and are remarkably capable and efficient. There are also some very superior colored teachers. Without in any degree disparaging others, mention may properly be made of Miss Sarah L. Iredell, who has charge of the school in what is known as the brick school house on the Island, (Washington.) She was educated at the Institute for colored youth in Philadelphia, where she graduated with the highest honors. The character of her scholarship is by no means ordinary or superficial, as the classical course of that excellent Institution includes the reading of Virgil's *Aeneid*, the Odes of Horace, Cicero's Orations, the Greek Testament, and Xenophon's *Anabasis*.

Among the superior colored teachers, the name of Miss Emma Brown may be given. She has already been mentioned in connection with the Georgetown schools, and was educated at Oberlin. There are also other colored teachers, educated at the above-named places, or at the Baltimore convent, or elsewhere, who, in ability and attainment, are quite equal to holding important positions in their profession. Eighteen of the colored teachers are natives of this District, the others being from the north, as also are all the white teachers. Sixty scholars are assigned to each teacher under the regulations of the Board of Trustees, but in some localities this number is exceeded. The school rolls now show an average of about fifty-five to each school, making a total of about 2,750 on the rolls, with an average attendance of about 2,500. There are eight schools in each of the three large school-houses and in the new building, the Stevens school house, there will be twelve. December 1, 1868, was the time fixed for the completion of the Stevens school house, but at this date, January, 1869, much remains to be done, and owing to want of funds, the Trustees have been obliged to suspend some portions of the work. This is greatly to be regretted, as the building is so much needed. If opened at the time expected, every room would have been at once occupied, to the great benefit of those schools and scholars for whom it is intended.* The teacher in each of these buildings, who has the care of the highest school, has also the special direction of all the schools in the building. The pay of the teachers is fixed at \$50 per month, with \$8 per month additional for those who are in charge of the large buildings. The Trustees, conceding this compensation to be inadequate to secure and retain first-rate teachers, hope ere long to be able to make it larger.

It should be especially stated that the Trustees have made it a principle in selecting teachers, to seek for those having the best qualifications, without regard to color, subjecting all alike to a rigid examination. In a circular issued September 10, 1868, the Trustees say:

"It is our determination to elevate the character of the schools by insisting on a high standard of qualifications in the teachers. This can be done only by employing the best teachers that our money will procure, irrespective of color. While we think it right to give preference in our schools to colored teachers, *their qualifications being equal*, yet we deem it a violation of our official oath to employ inferior teachers when superior ones can be had for the same money. It is no discredit to admit that the number of colored teachers, at least in this District, who can compete successfully with those of the hitherto more favored class, especially those from the northern States, is at present small. When our young men and women shall have enjoyed equal advantages for a sufficient length of time, we may expect this will be changed. The present duty of the Trustees plainly is to employ the best teachers who offer themselves.

* NOTE.—Since the above was in type this school-house has been completed and opened.

“The children of the people of color, for the most part, can attend school for but a few years, when they must seek employment by which to obtain a livelihood; it is, therefore, of the highest importance that they should make the most of their brief time in school. They should have the best of teachers and the best methods. The methods of teaching have, within the past few years, been as much improved as have those of travel by the introduction of steam. Teachers, who may have the same amount of learning, differ greatly in their ability to teach and train young minds. A skilful teacher, using the best modern methods, will accomplish more in one year, and do it far better, than a poor teacher will accomplish in three years. We deem it, therefore, little short of a *crime* against those for whose education we are made responsible to knowingly employ inferior teachers when better ones can be had, however worthy and deserving the former may be in other respects.”

CHARACTER OF THE SCHOOLS.

Of these public schools, five are classified as grammar schools. There was some extravagance in the representations which attended the earlier efforts in the contraband schools. The avidity for instruction and the advancement made by these wild children from the plantations filled the northern teachers, who engaged in the interesting work of first gathering them into places of instruction, with so much astonishment and enthusiasm that in the novel and exciting work unreasonable expectations were in some degree indulged. There were also many children of the District who mingled in those early free schools, who had already been rudely taught some of the first elements. The teachers, not knowing that there were many of this class in the District, oftentimes supposed that the children learned under their instruction what in fact they had learned before. With these considerations fully in view, however, it may still be justly affirmed that the progress of these colored children has been equally as rapid as that of the white. They seem to succeed in mathematics and other studies, which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty, quite as well as do the children of the lower classes among the white population, and the schools in all the grades justify the best hopes which have been cherished by their friends, furnishing abundant grounds for faith in the capacity of the race to rise to the highest range of intellectual culture, and most certainly of faith in their capacity to become sufficiently intelligent to discharge well the prerogatives of good citizens. The whole body of white teachers, who have taught colored children in this District, since the war, are unanimous in the opinion that the black children learn just as rapidly and thoroughly as do children of any other color. Thoughtful, fair minded men and women, who have carefully watched these schools are compelled, no matter what their prepossessions, to corroborate this judgment of the teachers. These statements are made with deliberation, and are authorized by the result of very large personal observation of the schools, as well as large personal acquaintance with the teachers, on the part of the person who makes them. These facts impose upon the country an imperative and stupendous work. They show that we have a million of colored children, almost entirely untaught, yet capable, and intensely eager to learn. These children must be educated or the country can scarcely stand. How can you build the house of which you have never laid the foundation. Take no timely precaution against the contagion to which youth is exposed, and no future care will cure the malady. Emphatically is this the case with these children, who have come up out of servitude and are subjected to the most untoward home influences. They will soon be out of the reach of a teacher. Once they are grown they will never submit again to become children. So sensible of this were the wise Lacedemonians that when they were required to give fifty children as hostages they chose rather to give fifty of the most eminent men in the State, whose principles were already formed, than children to whom the want of early instruction would be a loss entirely irreparable. It would be, according to the beautiful expression of Pericles, like cutting off the season of spring altogether from the year.

SCHOOL FUNDS AND THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

It has been seen in these pages that much assistance, both in money and material, and in many forms has been contributed to the work of colored education in the District by the Freedmen's Bureau. In the annual reports of the Bureau these contributions to the cause are designated as derived from funds bearing different names, and as the nature of these

funds is not well understood a concise statement of their origin may be found useful in this connection.

Refugees and Freedmen's Fund.—When the war closed there were found large sums of money in the hands of various military officers, the accumulations resulting from incidents of the conflict. When the Freedmen's Bureau was organized these funds were all called into the custody of its accounting officer, and to distinguish them from those derived from the regular appropriations by Congress for the support of the Bureau, are described by the Commission as the Refugees and Freedmen's funds, derived from miscellaneous sources. The chief of these sources were the tax on cotton, wages retained from the freedmen employed by the government during the war, for the relief of destitute freedmen's families, fines in the provost courts, taxes levied upon the planters and men of wealth in New Orleans, and other parts of Louisiana, for the support of colored schools, proceeds of confiscated property, marriage certificates, and contracts. During the first year after the war closed a considerable amount was received from the produce of farms and other abandoned lands, from rents of buildings and lands held as abandoned, in all amounting to nearly a million of dollars. The taxes upon cotton, wages of Freedmen withheld, fines in provost courts, and donations above specified, and moneys from sales of confiscated property, marriage certificates, and contracts, are generalized in the reports as the Freedmen's fund, but are all embraced under the name of Refugees and Freedmen's fund. This fund, which has been constantly receiving additions, from the miscellaneous sources, as well as suffering depletions from its donations, was reduced in August last to about \$16,000. In the general appropriation act, approved March 2, 1867, is the following clause: "Provided, That the Commissioner be hereby authorised to apply any balance on hand at this date, of the Refugees and Freedmen's fund, accounted for in his last annual report, to aid educational institutions actually incorporated for loyal refugees and freedmen." Under this provision contributions have been made to such institutions in this District, as follows:

The Howard University, Congregationalist, \$25,000; National Theological Institute University, Baptist, \$10,600; St. Martin's Female Academy, Catholic, \$2,000.

Retained Bounty Fund.—This is a fund which accumulated under an order of Major General B. F. Butler, issued in 1864, while he was in command of the department embracing a portion of Virginia and North Carolina. It was an order fraught with wisdom. This department was, at the time, thronged with State agents, offering very large bounties for contraband recruits to fill the State quotas. This order required the State agent or other person not enlisting recruits under the direct orders of the War Department, to pay one third of the bounty, in case of each recruit, into the hands of the superintendent of recruiting, and that, in default of such payment, the recruit should have his papers so certified that he could not be counted in any State quota. The object was to save the money for the benefit of the recruit and his family. When General Howard came to take charge of the Bureau, he very discreetly ordered all the fund, which was then scattered in the hands of many officers, into the custody of the Bureau. It amounted at that time to \$115,236 49, and was embraced under the general name of Refugees and Freedmen's fund, but as it is in no sense public money, but essentially funds belonging to individuals, held in trust by the government, it has been kept separate and paid over to the legal claimants as fast as found. The balance still unclaimed, at the close of August last, was \$24,963 83. The Bureau has used \$12,000 of this unclaimed sum in the purchase of the building in which the preparatory department of the Howard University was at first held, and in which the medical department is now temporarily located. It is leased to the University at an annual rent of ten per cent on its cost, thus aiding the cause of the colored race, at the same time that a liberal interest is accumulating on the fund. The property has largely enhanced in value since the purchase.

School Fund.—This has been treated as a local fund by the Bureau, each assistant committee man expending it in the district in which it may have accrued. It is derived from a provision in the act of Congress of July 16, 1866, which declares that "the commissioner shall have power to seize, hold, lease or sell all buildings and tenements, and any lands appertaining to the same, or otherwise formerly held under color of title by the late so-called confederate states and not heretofore disposed of by the United States, and buildings or

lands held in trust for the same by any person or persons, and to use the same, or appropriate the proceeds derived therefrom, to the education of the freed people." Nothing has been received from this source in this District, and nothing expended.

The General appropriation.—The act of March 2, 1867, appropriated "for buildings for schools and asylums, including construction, rental, and repairs, five hundred thousand dollars." It is from this appropriation that the assistance in erecting houses has been extended in various ways to the Trustees of Public Colored Schools of the District, and to nearly all the private enterprises in the District looking to the education of the colored people. Among the donations to the public schools of the District were two sums of twenty-five hundred dollars each, given in aid of the two branch school buildings erected in Washington in the autumn of 1867. Liberal assistance has also been given these schools in the form of lumber and old barrack buildings. From this appropriation also the Howard University buildings are erecting, and the Colfax Industrial building, and aid has been given to nearly all the schools of the District which have the education of the colored people specially in view.

LEGISLATION 1868-'69.

In the early part of July, 1868, some of the friends of education in Washington conceiving it to be for the interest of the schools to have them all, both white and colored, under the supervision of a single board of trustees, proposed to the Committee on the District in the Senate to transfer all the duties of the trustees of colored schools in Washington and Georgetown to the trustees of white schools, abolishing the board of trustees of colored schools, but leaving the schools themselves without any change in relations and condition. The members of the committee in the Senate understanding from the representations that this plan was in accordance with the wishes of the leading colored people of the two cities, through Mr. Patterson, of New Hampshire, presented to the Senate July 3d the following bill, which was passed without discussion or dissent:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the several acts of Congress authorizing the appointment and defining the duties of a board of trustees of colored schools in the cities of Washington and Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, be, and the same are hereby, so modified as to transfer all the duties heretofore imposed by said acts on said trustees of colored schools to the trustees of public schools in said cities. All laws and parts of laws inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed."

It should be stated in justice to Mr. Patterson that he had nothing to do with the matter in committee, and presented the bill under the suggestions of the other members of the committee who more especially had the matter in charge. When this action of the Senate was announced the colored people specially interested in the schools went immediately to the Committee on the District in the House and made their remonstrance against the measure, and the bill, sent to the Committee on the District in the House, lay there till February last, the colored people, and in fact most of those originally proposing the measure to the Senate, supposing, as it appears, that it would receive no further attention. It was, however, February, 1869, reported to the House, and passed, as in the Senate, without debate or opposition. Its passage, however, created great excitement among the colored people of the District, the great mass of whom seemed to be utterly opposed to the measure. They held a public meeting and took formal action expressive of their views, and on the succeeding Sabbath the matter was presented in all the colored churches of the two cities, an overwhelming majority being found unqualifiedly opposed to the act. At the public meeting above referred to, held in the Israel Bethel church February 9, 1869, at which Mr. John F. Cook presided, the following resolutions were passed:

"Whereas by an act of Congress of May 21, 1862, provision was made for initiating a system of primary schools for the education of colored children in the cities of Washington and Georgetown, and the execution of the law was committed to the boards of trustees of public schools; and whereas by said boards positively refusing said executive trust, it was made necessary that Congress, by another act July 11, 1862, should place the execution of the law in charge of a separate board of three trustees of colored schools, to be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior; and whereas that officer, in such appointments, has rendered perfect satisfaction to us as a people, and we have been generally satisfied with the faithfulness of said trustees of colored schools in the discharge of this trust; and whereas the act

recently passed by Congress transferring this duty from the trustees of colored schools to the trustees of public schools, thus subjecting it to the chances of being again refused, or at least being negligently or indifferently executed by persons whose positions are held by tenure of local politics and the prejudices consequent thereunto: Therefore,

“*Resolved*, That we, the colored citizens of Washington and Georgetown, D. C., deeply regret the action of Congress in making this transfer of the schools for colored children to the trustees of public schools until some more perfect system can be established in the District of Columbia.”

“*Resolved*, That we, the colored citizens of Washington and Georgetown, District of Columbia, do hereby tender our thanks to Messrs. Albert G. Hall, Alfred Jones, and William Syphax, trustees of our schools, for the faithful performance of the trust committed to them, and do assure them of our hearty co-operation in all their efforts to promote the educational interests of our children.”

The above resolutions were passed by almost a unanimous vote. The only opposition made to the action was based upon the idea that it was indiscreet for the colored people to array themselves against the action of Congress, which was controlled in its measures by the friends of the colored race. The measure in itself was not defended at all. Similar resolutions were adopted at crowded meetings held at the Nineteenth street Baptist church, at Asbury chapel, Union Bethel church, the Third Baptist church, the Ebenezer church, and other churches. The last meeting was held at the Fifteenth street Presbyterian church to take final action on the matter. The pastor, Rev. J. Stella Martin, addressed the congregation, and the following resolution was adopted, but one person voting in the negative:

“*Resolved*, That we are in favor of free schools and equal school rights, under a school system embracing white and colored children, and therefore we deprecate any legislation that does not abolish *in toto* the present system, built upon distinctions of race and color. We especially deprecate the bill transferring the powers from the board for colored schools, because it leaves it optional with the board to be appointed under that bill, should it become a law, to continue colored schools; and also because the apportionment of the proposed board will be controlled by local politics, which one year may put in our friends, and the next year our enemies, which last, having the power of keeping up distractions in schools, gives every reason to believe they will use that power. We therefore petition Congress most respectfully to reserve all legislation on the subject till such time as they can pass a bill which will make us in the matter of school rights equal with all others *before the law*; that we may not be dependent upon personal favor in a matter so vital, nor exposed to political hostility in circumstances where we are powerless.”

On the 13th of February, 1869, the President returned the bill without his signature, with his reasons as follows:

“The accompanying paper (preamble and resolutions of the colored people on the subject) exhibits the fact that the legislation which the bill proposes is contrary to the wishes of the colored residents of Washington and Georgetown, and that they prefer that the schools for their children should be under the management of trustees selected by the Secretary of the Interior, whose term of office is for four years, rather than subject to the control of bodies whose tenure of office, depending merely upon political considerations, may be annually affected by the elections which take place in the two cities.

“The colored people of Washington and Georgetown are at present not represented by a person of their own race in either of the boards of trustees of public schools appointed by the municipal authorities. Of the three trustees, however, who, under the act of July 11, 1862, compose the board of trustees of the schools for colored children, two are persons of color. The resolutions transmitted herewith show that they have performed their trust in a manner entirely satisfactory to the colored people of the two cities, and no good reason is known to the Executive why the duties which now devolve upon them should be transferred as proposed in the bill.

“With these brief suggestions, the bill is respectfully returned, and the consideration of Congress invited to the accompanying preamble and resolutions.

“ANDREW JOHNSON.

“WASHINGTON, D. C., February 13, 1869.”

With the facts which had been disclosed in relation to this matter in view, Congress declined to act further upon the measure, and thus it ended.

SUMMARY.

Private and incorporated educational institutions for colored persons, Washington and Georgetown, January, 1869.

Name.	Location.	Sex.	Scholars.
Howard University, Normal and Preparatory Department.	Seventh street and boundary.	Mixed.	112
Howard University Law school.	.....	Males	16
Howard University Medical school.	.....	Males	8
Howard University Collegiate Department.	.....	Male	1
Wayland Theological Seminary	Nineteenth and I streets.	Males	35
National Theological Institute and University, Rev. E. Turney, D. D.	I street, near Twenty-third.	Males	45
National Theological Institute and University, Rev. G. M. P. King.	Judiciary Square	Mixed	50
New England Friends' Mission school.	Thirteenth street west, and S.	Mixed	250
Colfax Industrial school.	R and Eleventh streets	Girls	200
Miss Walker's Industrial School	Near boundary, Fifth street	Women	70
Orphan Asylum school	Eighth street, near boundary	Mixed	55
St. Aloysius's Parochial school	First street, between I and K.	Girls	80
St. Martin's Academy	Vermont Avenue and L street.	Girls	40
St. Martin's Parochial school	Vermont Avenue and L street.	Girls	45
St. Martin's Academy	Fifteenth street, bet. L and M.	Boys	30
St. Martin's Parochial school	Fifteenth street, bet. L and M.	Boys	30
Reformed Presbyterian Mission school	Sixth street west near M south.	Mixed.	200
Miss Maria R. Mann's school	Seventeenth and M streets	Mixed.	50
Miss E. A. Cook's school	Sixteenth street, bet. K and L.	Mixed.	30
Thomas H. Mason's school	L street, near Twenty-first west.	Mixed.	50
Joseph Ambush's school.	Eleventh and K streets.	Mixed.	65
Mrs. C. W. Grove's school	Twenty-third street and Circle.	Girls	20
Mrs. Louisa Ricks's school	I street, near Seventeenth.	Girls	50
Rev. E. Turney's school—Miss L. Warner, teacher.	Baptist Church, Vt. Avenue.	Women	25
Rev. E. Turney's school—W. Waller, teacher.	Fourth street east, near D south.	Mixed.	15
Rev. Chauncey Leonard's school.	Third and G streets	Mixed.	55
Total	.....	.....	1,638
NIGHT SCHOOLS.			
Colfax Industrial school	R and Eleventh streets.	Mixed	212
Washington Christian Union	G street, bet. Fourth and Fifth.	Mixed.	200
Washington Christian Union	E street, Island	Mixed.	50
J. R. Fletcher's school, (Washington Christian Union)	Judiciary Square	Mixed.	75
Rev. E. Turney's school	I street, near Twenty-third.	Men	30
Rev. E. Turney's school.	Baptist Church, Vt. Avenue.	Men	30
Rev. E. Turney's school—W. Waller, teacher.	Baptist Church, Fourteenth st.	Men	15
Rev. E. Turney's school—John Johnson, teacher	Nineteenth st. west, near b'dry.	Men	20
Rev. E. Turney's school—Mrs. Ellen Reeves, teacher	Arlington*	Mixed.	100
St. Martin's school	Fifteenth street, bet. L and M.	Males	15
Rev. Chauncey Leonard	Corner Third and G streets	Mixed.	25
Henry Thorps	Near Navy Department.	Males	20
Total	.....	.....	792

* Not in the District.

Colored Public Schools, Washington and Georgetown, January, 1869.

Location.	Buildings, property of—	No. of rooms.	No. of teachers.	Grade.					Average attendance.
				Primary.	Secondary.	Intermediate.	Grammar.	Mixed.	
M street, near Seventeenth street	Trustees	8	8	2	2	2	1	1	400
Corner Seventeenth and I streets	Government.	4	3	1	1	1	.....	.....	162
Corner Twenty-fourth and F streets	Government	4	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....	100
Fourteenth street, near canal	Rel. denomination	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	70
Corner Thirteenth and S streets	N. E. Friends	4	5	2	1	1	.....	1	220
L street, near Sixteenth street	Private	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50
O street, between Fourth and Fifth streets	Trustees	8	8	3	2	2	1	.....	400
C street south, near Second street east	Trustees	4	4	1	1	1	1	.....	220
Corner D street north and Twelfth street east.	Government	4	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	60
Corner E street south and Ninth street west.	Trustees	8	8	3	2	2	1	.....	400
Delaware Avenue, H and I streets south.	Trustees	2	2	1	.....	.....	.....	1	100
Georgetown, East street	Trustees	8	7	2	2	1	1	.....	350
Total	.....	56	50	18	12	10	5	4	2,532

Teachers of Colored Public Schools.

Names.	White.	Colored.	Location of schools.	State.	Began teaching in the District.
Miss Sarah G. Brown	1		M street, near Seventeenth street..	Massachusetts ...	1867
Mrs. Anna P. Spencer		1	do	New Jersey	1868
Miss M. E. Brooks		1	do	Maryland	1868
Miss Helen A. Simmons	1		do	Connecticut	1865
Mrs. M. C. Hart	1		do	Massachusetts	1868
Miss Mary E. Garrett		1	do	Dist. Columbia	1868
Miss Laura V. Fisher		1	do	do	1867
Miss Abby S. Simmons	1		do	Connecticut	1865
Miss Annie E. Washington		1	Corner Seventeenth and F streets ..	Dist. Columbia	1857
Miss C. A. Jones		1	do	do	1867
Miss Lucy A. Barbour		1	do	do	1867
Miss Mary F. Kiger		1	Corner Twenty-fourth and F sts ..	do	1867
Miss G. I. Fleet		1	do	do	1867
Miss R. H. Elwell	1		Fourteenth street, near canal	Connecticut	1865
Miss H. S. Macomber	1		Corner Thirtieth and S streets	Massachusetts	1867
Miss Mary E. Oliver	1		do	do	1867
Miss Mary E. Gove	1		do	do	1866
Miss Mary C. Laaton	1		do	do	1868
Miss S. H. Pierce	1		do	do	1867
Mrs. Nancy Warrick*		1	L street, near Sixteenth street	Dist. Columbia	1861
Miss Emma J. Hutchins	1		O st., bet. Fourth and Fifth sts ..	New Hampshire	1868
Miss Laura W. Stebbins	1		do	Massachusetts	1864
Mrs. E. H. Disbrow	1		do	do	1866
Miss C. F. Withington	1		do	Dist. Columbia	1868
Miss Annie L. Foote		1	do	do	1867
Miss Annie M. Wilson		1	do	New York	1868
Miss Maria A. Dorster		1	do	Massachusetts	1865
Miss Rachel J. Cook		1	do	Dist. Columbia	1867
Miss K. G. Crane	1		C st. south, near Second st. east ..	Maine	1865
Miss Sarah Purvis		1	do	Pennsylvania	1868
Miss Christiana Nichols		1	do	Dist. Columbia	1868
Miss Helen M. Gordon		1	do	Massachusetts	1865
Miss Grace A. Dyson		1	Cor. D st. north and Twelfth st. east.	Dist. Columbia	1867
Miss E. L. Crane	1		Cor. E st. north and Ninth st. west.	Vermont	1865
Miss Sarah L. Iredell		1	do	Pennsylvania	1868
Miss M. R. Nason	1		do	Massachusetts	1867
Miss Emma Prentiss	1		do	Ohio	1868
Mrs. E. J. Brooks		1	do	Dist. Columbia	1867
Miss G. Withington		1	do	Massachusetts	1867
Miss Mary R. Goines		1	do	Dist. Columbia	1867
Miss Mary E. Reed		1	do	do	1868
Miss Eliza G. Randall	1		Delaware av., near H st. south	Vermont	1867
Miss Anna V. Tompkins		1	do	Dist. Columbia	1868
Miss E. A. Chamberlain	1		East street, Georgetown	Massachusetts	1864
Miss P. T. Chamberlain	1		do	do	1864
Miss C. W. Moore	1		do	New Jersey	1864
Miss Julia Lockett		1	do	Canada	1868
Miss Mary A. Conkley		1	do	Dist. Columbia	1868
Miss Sophia P. Parsons	1		do	New York	1865
Miss Martha C. Simms		1	do	Dist. Columbia	1868
Total	25	25			

* Mrs. Warrick, an excellent colored teacher, has been already mentioned under her maiden name of Nancy Waugh, as teacher with Rev. Chauncey Leonard in the Smother's school-house, at the time it was destroyed by incendiaries in 1863. Soon after that event she opened a private school in the Nineteenth-street Baptist church, subsequently removing it to L street, near Sixteenth street, where she continues to teach, having from 40 to 50 scholars. During most of the present school year, 1868-69, her school-house has been used by the Trustees of the colored public schools, as they were needing more room, and she was also employed by them to conduct the school. In April, 1869, she resumed her private school.

2. COLORED SCHOOLS OF WASHINGTON COUNTY.

LEGISLATION—1856, 1862.

The earliest attempt to establish a system of free schools in the District outside the cities was embraced in an Act of Congress approved August 11, 1856. This Act, however, was not to become valid unless approved by "a vote of the majority of those persons residing and paying taxes within the limits of the District in which the poll is opened," the act providing for the division of the territory into seven school districts. The result was the rejection of the act in every district. The women, who were entitled to the franchise under the act, generally voting, it is believed, with the majority. The 36th section provided that "those who are for this act shall write on their ballots 'school,' and those opposed 'no school.'" It resulted that those who wrote "no school" had it all their own way, and as this was the first experiment in giving the franchise to women by Congress the result is the more curious. Mr. De Vere Burr, of district 5, was one of the commissioners under the law of 1856 and a warm friend of the cause. In that district three women voted, Mrs. Ann McDaniel, a large tax payer, who voted "school," and Mrs. Emily Beall and Mrs. Washington Berry, who voted "no school."

Thus the matter rested till March 19, 1862, when Mr. Grimes, chairman of the District committee of the Senate, introduced into that body a copy of the act of 1856, with the section making it optional with the voters of the districts to accept its provisions omitted. It was referred to the District committee, who made no changes in its provisions, except such as restricted the taxation exclusively to property owned by white people. This exemption was not a new proposition in the Senate, as the same principle was asserted in a bill for the encouragement of free schools in Washington, which passed the Senate in May, 1858, but which went to the House District Committee, and was there buried. It proposed in substance to create a new school fund amounting to \$50,000 from the fines and forfeitures in the District, and to pay annually from the United States treasury to the support of the schools of the city as much as the city raised for the same purpose annually, not exceeding \$20,000 a year. When this bill was reported to the Senate by Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, chairman of the District Committee, Mr. John P. Hale, May 15, 1858, moved an additional section in amendment as follows: "*And be it further enacted, That all taxes levied on the estates of colored persons in the city of Washington shall be devoted to the support of schools for the education of colored children, under the direction of the government of the city.*" In offering the amendment Mr. Hale, in terms of conciliation, but of melancholy significance, appealed to the reason and humanity of the party then reigning in that body as follows:

"I desire to state that several of these individuals have spoken of it to me as a case of extreme hardship that the colored population here are taxed for the support of schools—and it forms no inconsiderable amount of the taxes contributed—and whilst they are compelled to pay taxes, their children have not the slightest benefit of the schools. I do not propose to establish any mixed schools or anything else, but to donate the taxes collected from this class to the education of their own children under the direction of the city government, and it seems to me to be a matter of such plain justice that it will hardly be denied. *They are an oppressed and degraded people*, and I think it hardly comports with the magnanimity of their superiors to collect their money and to use it to educate their own children. I hope that this proposition will commend itself to the chairman (Mr. Albert G. Brown, of Mississippi) of the District Committee."

Senator Brown, with large and enlightened ideas pertaining to free schools for his own race, was not willing to give the slightest aid, even indirectly, to encourage free schools for the colored race. "The city authorities have never made provision for the education of colored people," said he, "and I do not believe they ever will." He would not consent to tax the colored people to aid in their enlightenment, but would exempt their property from taxation for support of education. Mr. Hale, anxious to secure any relief, however small, the dominant power would give, immediately offered the following modification of his amendment, which was accepted without debate:

"SECTION —. *And be it further enacted, That the estates of colored persons in the District*

of Columbia shall be entirely exempted from all taxes levied for schools and school-houses in the District."

The Act of May 20, 1862, which, as has been stated, was copied mainly from the act of August 11, 1856, embraced amendments confining the taxation for white schools and school-houses to property belonging to white persons, in accordance with Mr. Hale's amendment, though confined to the territory outside the cities. This bill, referred to the District Committee March 19, 1862, was reported March 24 by the chairman, Mr. Grimes, with the modifications above indicated, and when the bill was under discussion in final debate, April 4, he offered as an amendment the following, which was adopted as the thirty-fifth section of the act:

"SECTION 35. *And be it further enacted*, That the said levy court may, in its discretion, and if it shall be deemed by said court best for the interest and welfare of the colored people residing in such county, levy an annual tax of one-eighth of one per cent. on all the taxable property in said county outside the limits of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, owned by persons of color, for the purpose of initiating a system of education of colored children in said county, which tax shall be collected in the same manner as the tax named in section thirteen of this act. And it shall be the duty of the trustees elected under section nine to provide suitable and convenient rooms for holding schools for colored children, to employ teachers therefor, and to appropriate the proceeds of said tax to the payment of teachers' wages, rent of school rooms, and other necessary expenses pertaining to said schools; to exercise a general supervision over them, to establish proper discipline, and to endeavor to promote a full, equal, and useful instruction of the colored children in said county. It shall be lawful for such trustees to impose a tax of not more than fifty cents per month on the parent or guardian of each child attending such schools, to be applied to the payment of the expenses of the school of which such child shall be an attendant, and in the exercise of this power the trustees may from time to time discontinue the payment altogether, or may graduate the tax according to the ability of the child and the wants of the school. And said trustees are authorized to receive any donations or contributions that may be made for the benefit of said schools by persons disposed to aid in the elevation of the colored population in the District of Columbia, and to apply the same in such manner as in their opinion shall be best calculated to effect the object of the donors, said trustees being required to account for all funds received by them, and to report to the commissioners in accordance with the provisions of section twenty-two of this act."

The Act was entitled, "An Act to provide for the public instruction of youth in primary schools throughout the county of Washington, in the District of Columbia, without the limits of the cities of Washington and Georgetown," the same as the act of 1856. Both acts provided for the appointment of "seven intelligent inhabitants of the said county," outside the cities, by the levy court as school commissioners, and for the division by them of the territory under their jurisdiction into seven school districts, which districts were empowered to raise money by taxation to build school-houses and supply furniture. The levy court was required annually to impose a tax of one-eighth of one per cent. on all the assessable property in said territory "owned by white persons." The individual districts were enjoined to choose three district trustees to manage the district affairs, and a district collector. In case any district should persist in disregarding the requirements of the Act, the money annually raised by the assessment of the levy court, of which one-seventh belonged to each district, was to be held two years from the refractory districts, and then to be divided equally among the districts which had complied with the conditions of the Act. It was soon found that this legislation was so imperfect that little would be accomplished under it for white schools, while for the creation of a system of public schools for the colored people it would contribute no real assistance at all. It failed to benefit the colored people because it did not embrace in its provisions the principle vital to the free school system—that the taxable property of the State should provide for the education of all the children of the State without regard to the individuals to whom the property may belong, the children of poverty and of affluence standing on an absolute equality in all the rights and the privileges of the schools. The Act of 1862 was based upon ideas wholly averse to this theory. The Act of 1856 contemplated only the white race. The Act of 1862 embraced in its provisions both the white and the colored races, but in providing for the separate assessment of the property belonging to the two races it ceased to be a *common school* law in any just sense of the term. The provision in the amendment introduced by Mr. Grimes authorizing the commissioners in their discretion to fix a limited tuition to be paid in the colored schools by such as were able to pay, and

which was also embraced in a section of the bill pertaining to white schools, was another feature tending directly to foster the idea of caste and to degrade the free school system in the public estimation. It was a feature, moreover, which had been tried in the white public schools of Washington for the first third of a century of their history, and repudiated as a calamitous experiment years before the passage of this act. The commissioners early saw that the act was exceedingly defective. At a special meeting of the board February 14, 1863, Dr. C. H. Nichols, the president of the board, after stating that in his judgment the existing law could not be made effectual in the erection of the school-houses essential to the establishment of the schools contemplated in the act, presented the draught of a bill which he had prepared as a substitute for the existing act, to be put into the hands of the District Committee. The bill was read section by section and approved by the members present at that meeting. In May, 1863, Dr. Nichols retired from the board, but his bill seems to have been placed in the hands of the District Committee of the Senate. On the 28th of January, 1864, at a meeting of the board, Mr. S. P. Brown, from the committee on the school act, reported a new bill, which had been prepared by Mr. C. H. Wiltberger. February 1, 1864, this bill was taken up, and, after discussion, adopted with some amendments, and the committee instructed to place it in the hands of the Senate District Committee.

THE ACT OF 1864.

This act, which is the existing school law for the whole District, originated in a bill brought into the Senate December 21, 1863, and one of the two bills already mentioned as in the hands of the District Committee. On the 9th of February, 1864, Mr. Grimes submitted the Wiltberger bill, with some modifications, as a substitute for the bill No. 26, already before the Senate, and on February 18 it was discussed at some length in the Senate and passed without any opposition, the only controversy being upon the expediency of allowing the commissioners \$4 per day for actual service as was provided in the bill, the provision being finally by general assent discarded. The bill went to the House February 19, was referred to the District Committee February 26, and was reported back to the House April 28 by Hon. James W. Patterson, then chairman of the District Committee of that body, with amendments, constituting substantially a new bill. On the 8th of June, when the Senate bill came up in the House, Mr. Patterson moved the adoption of his bill in the way of a substitute for that of the Senate, and said:

“As this bill has not been printed, perhaps I ought to say a word in explanation, especially as it is an important bill for the District. It will be observed by comparing the Senate bill (No. 26) with the substitute reported by the House Committee that there are several minor amendments, some of them intended to perfect the bill, and others designed to bring it into complete conformity with the best results of the experience in those States where systems of education have been most liberally and successfully sustained. In the 20th section we have endeavored to give efficiency to the system by requiring all penalties and forfeitures imposed for violation of the laws of the United States to be paid into the hands of certain officers, who are made the custodians of this fund and are required to expend it for school purposes. But the most important feature of the amendment is to be found in the 17th and 18th sections, and in the proviso to the 19th section, which provides for separate schools for the colored children of the District. To accomplish this we have provided that such a proportion of the entire school fund shall be set apart for this purpose as the number of colored children, *between the ages of six and seventeen*, bears to the whole number of children in the District. These are the principal points of difference between the Senate bill and the substitute reported by the Committee for the District of Columbia. I may say that the committee were unanimous in their approval of these provisions, and I trust that that foreshadows the unanimity in the House. We may have differences of opinion in regard to the policy to be pursued in respect to slavery, but we all concur in this, that we have been brought to a juncture in our national affairs in which four millions of a degraded race, lying below the average civilization of the age and depressed by an almost universal prejudice, are to be set free in our midst. The question now is, what is our first duty in regard to them? I think there can be no

difference of opinion on this, that it is our duty to give to this people the means of education, that they may be prepared for all the privileges which we may desire to give them hereafter."

The bill was adopted without opposition June 8, 1864. The following are the sections to which Mr. Patterson called attention, and which constitute the only legislation of solid substance ever enacted by Congress for the establishment of colored schools in the District, embracing in their provisions the cities as well as "the county parts:"

"SECTION 17. It shall be the duty of the said commissioners to provide suitable and convenient houses or rooms for holding schools for colored children; to employ and examine teachers therefor, and to appropriate a proportion of the school funds, to be determined by the numbers of white and colored children between the ages of six and seventeen years, to the payment of teachers' wages, to the building or renting of school-rooms, and other necessary expenses pertaining to said schools; to exercise a general supervision over them, to establish proper discipline, and endeavor to promote a thorough, equitable, and practical education of colored children in said county. It shall be lawful for said commissioners to impose a tax of not more than fifty cents per month for each child on the parents or guardians of children attending said schools, to be applied to the payment of the expenses of the school of which said child shall be an attendant; and in the exercise of this power the commissioners may, from time to time, discontinue the payment altogether, or may graduate the tax according to the ability of said tax-payers and the wants of the school: *Provided*. That no child shall be excluded from such school on account of the inability of the parent or guardian to pay said tax. And said commissioners are authorized to receive any donations or contributions that may be made for the benefit of said schools by persons disposed to aid in the elevation of the colored population in the District of Columbia, and to supply the same in such manner as in their opinion shall be best calculated to effect the objects of the donors, said commissioners being required to account for all funds received by them, and to report to the levy court in accordance with the provisions of section nine of this act.

"SEC. 18. The first section of the act of Congress entitled 'An act providing for the education of colored children in the cities of Washington and Georgetown, District of Columbia, and for other purposes,' be and the same is hereby repealed; and that from and after the passage of this act it shall be the duty of the municipal authorities of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, to set apart each year from the whole fund received from all sources by such authorities, applicable under existing provisions of law to purposes of education, such proportionate part thereof as the number of colored children between *the ages of six and seventeen years* in the respective cities bear to the whole number thereof, for the purpose of establishing and sustaining public schools in said cities for the education of colored children; that the said proportion shall be ascertained by the last reported census of the population of said cities made prior to said appointment, and shall be regulated at all times thereby; and that the said fund shall be paid to the trustees appointed under the act of Congress approved July eleven, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, entitled 'An act relating to schools for the education of colored children in the cities of Washington and Georgetown, in the District of Columbia,' to be disbursed by them in accordance with the provisions of said act.

"SEC. 19. One-fourth part of all the moneys now in the hands of the marshal of the District of Columbia, or of any other officer of said District, which have accrued from fines, penalties, and forfeitures imposed for the violations of the laws of the United States within said District, shall be by such officer or officers paid to the 'board of commissioners of primary schools of Washington county, District of Columbia,' one-fourth part to the mayor of the city of Georgetown, and the remaining two-fourths thereof to the mayor of the city of Washington; the said sums, so paid to the said commissioners and the said mayors, to constitute in their hands funds for the support of primary schools within the said county and public schools in said cities in the proportions aforesaid. And it shall be the duty of said marshal and other officers to pay over every three months, from and after the passage of this act, all money coming into their hands in the manner aforesaid, to the said board of commissioners of primary schools and to the said mayors, in the proportions aforesaid, for the use of the said primary and public schools, any law to the contrary notwithstanding: *Provided*, That the funds thus obtained for educational purposes shall be applied to the education of both white and colored children, in the proportion of the numbers of each between the ages of *six and seventeen years* as determined by the latest census report that shall have been made prior to such appointment; and the mayors of the aforesaid cities of Georgetown and Washington are hereby authorized and instructed to pay over such part thereof as may be applicable, under the provisions of this section and the proviso thereto, to the education of colored children in the aforesaid cities, to the trustees appointed under the act of July eleventh, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, entitled 'An act relating to schools for the education of colored children in the cities of Georgetown and Washington, in the District of Columbia,' to be used for the education of colored children according to the provisions of law; and the aforesaid officers failing to pay over the moneys as aforesaid shall be liable to the penalty imposed by the second section of the act of Congress approved July twelfth, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, entitled 'An act to provide for the payment of fines and penalties collected

by and paid the justices of the peace in the District of Columbia under the acts of Congress approved the third and fifth of August, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, and for other purposes.'"

THE SCHOOL FUNDS.

The act of 1864, as the bill came from the hands of Mr. Patterson and became a law, embraces the true ideas of the free school system as enunciated with such terseness and force by Mr. Grimes and Mr. Morrill. Under its operations the friends of common schools were now inspired with new energy, and the colored schools were now immediately brought into consideration as an established fact in the county. The provision authorizing the commissioners to impose a tuition upon children whose parents might be able to pay is retained in the law of 1866, and must have found place in Mr. Patterson's very excellent bill through inadvertence in the collating of the various bills which came before him.

The old board of commissioners and its officers were continued under the new law, and some of the members took hold of the work imposed upon them with much energy and public spirit, while others seem to have done nothing. There was soon disclosed in the board a decided difference of opinion as to the interpretation of the act. Some members of the board understood it to provide for the division only of that portion of the school fund derived from fines and forfeitures between the white and colored schools according to the number of white and colored scholars, while that portion derived from taxation was to be divided exclusively among the white schools. Other members believed that the entire fund should be divided between the white and colored schools. At a meeting of the board December 15, 1864, Commissioner Wiltberger proposed the issue of an order directing the funds derived from taxation to be used exclusively for white schools. Pending the discussion on this question, Mr. Miller offered the following :

"*Resolved*, That this board take a vote to determine whether the colored schools are entitled to a proportion of the school fund arising from taxes under the law of Congress approved June 25, 1864."

The result of the vote was, two yeas—George Mathiot and David Miller; three nays—C. H. Wiltberger, B. W. Keyser, and B. T. Swart. The resolution offered by Mr. Wiltberger, to the effect that the fines should be divided according to the number of scholars between the white and colored schools, and that the money from taxation should be used exclusively for the white schools, was then adopted. At the next meeting of the board, February 2, 1865, Mr. Miller offered a resolution affirming the following opinion of the levy court, dated January 9, 1865:

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this court the school commissioners of the county of Washington, District of Columbia, are required by the act of Congress approved July 25, 1864, to appropriate the money derived from all sources, and constituting the school fund for the support of schools for white and colored children residing in said county in the proportion that said white and colored children between the ages of six and seventeen years have to each other in numbers according to the last census."

Of the four commissioners present at this meeting, Messrs. Miller and Mathiot voted in the affirmative, and Messrs. Swart and Wiltberger in the negative. Mr. Wiltberger, on the other hand, produced a written opinion from Joseph H. Bradley, sr., arguing at some length that the terms of the act confined the distribution of the funds for the benefit of colored schools exclusively to that portion derived from the fines, penalties, and forfeitures. Meanwhile the levy court took more distinct action, declaring to the board in a resolution that any distribution of the funds which did not give the colored schools the same share of the moneys accruing from taxation that was conceded by the board to them from the fines, penalties, and forfeitures would be deemed by the court an unlawful distribution. Soon after this action of the levy court the board, at a meeting April 20, 1865, on motion of Mr. Wiltberger, voted, without dissent, to divide the school money as instructed by the levy court from and after July 1, 1864, and this decision was executed.

In the work of 1864 and 1865, under the new act, the commissioners became sufficiently acquainted with the magnitude of the enterprise to be made sensible that the funds accruing under the provisions of that act were entirely inadequate to the demands of the cause. For white schools a house had been built in district No. 2 in 1864; a house in No. 1 and in No. 6

in 1865, while for the colored schools the commissioners had attempted nothing in the matter of building houses at all. Although at first the white people were to a very large extent opposed to schools and school-houses, and hostile to the school act, there were always some sterling friends of the cause in every district, while, under the operations of the schools for two or three years, many others had become friendly to the free school system. The colored people, who were originally unanimous for the schools, had year after year grown more and more anxious and restless in their destitution. Under the pressure upon them, the commissioners at a meeting May 3, 1866, appointed a committee to present their case to Congress. The committee reported June 7, 1866, that they had waited on Mr. Grimes, chairman of the District committee, who gave them no encouragement. They asked for (\$5,000) five thousand dollars, and in the civil appropriation bill approved July 28, 1866, the sum of (\$10,000) ten thousand dollars was appropriated "for the payment in part for the purchase of sites and the erection of school-houses in the county of Washington, in the District of Columbia." This money, which had mostly come into the hands of the commissioners late in the autumn of 1866, the last requisition being received by them in February, 1867, was nearly all expended for school-houses in 1866. At a meeting of the board January 3, 1867, it was voted to divide the appropriation between the white and colored schools according to the number of scholars, as it had been decided to divide the other funds. They assumed that this required one-third to be set aside for colored schools—the number of children five years old and under twenty, white, 1,203; colored, 574, being the basis of distribution. This appropriation, it would appear from the records, was not divided by the commissioners as it came into their possession, the portion belonging to each class being kept by itself with its accruing interest, but was used in common, no account being taken of the periods in which the disbursements for the white and the colored schools were made, and the same has been the rule with the rest of the school funds. Otherwise the application of the funds seem to have been justly made upon the basis above stated. The resolution approved March 29, 1867, requiring a new enumeration of the children of the District, was enacted specifically to place the colored people in a more equitable position in the distribution of the school funds than they occupied under the census of 1860. This census was completed on the 11th of November, 1867, and the school act of November 25, 1864, had provided that in the division of school funds the proportion should "be ascertained by the last reported census," prior to the distribution. Inasmuch, therefore, as there was no specific distribution, the expenditures being made from a fund in common, it would only be just, in making up the final settlement of the account between the two classes of schools when the building operations, still incomplete, shall be finished, to give the colored people the benefit of the new census.

Two school-houses for colored schools were built in 1866 and two in 1867, and in the spring of 1868 the commissioners found their treasury again empty, with their schools well filled with children and more houses imperatively demanded. At a meeting of the board February 6, 1868, a motion was made to close all the schools at the end of the month. This was amended, making it conform to the terms of a resolution passed August 1, 1867, providing for their close April 1, 1868, but allowing the teachers who desired to continue, taking their chances for pay when there should be funds in the treasury, and the motion was in this form passed, six in the affirmative and one in the negative. Soon after this time another application was made to Congress for relief, and with the prospect of success the schools were continued, and maintained through that school year without any foreign aid, the teachers being generally promptly paid. On the 20th of July, 1868, Congress made a second appropriation of (\$10,000) ten thousand dollars "for the purchasing of suitable sites for the erection of additional school-houses, and for the maintenance of schools in the county of Washington, outside of the limits of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, the same to be expended under the direction of the levy court of the county of Washington, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior." This appropriation has been about three-fourths expended—\$4,000 to pay teachers and \$2,728 50 for a colored school-house in district 7, and several hundred dollars on the colored school-house in district 1. The levy court approved of the above use of the \$4,000, with the understanding that it should be refunded, and they increased the tax from $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 7-20 in order to meet the emergency.

The District of Columbia contains about fifty-two square miles exclusive of the bed of the Potomac, the westerly boundary of the District being the Virginia shore of the river at low water mark. The two cities contain less than fifteen square miles. This gives at least thirty-seven square miles in the county outside the cities. The school districts vary in size, ranging in area from about four to six square miles, the smallest of the seven being No. 3, the others being each from about four and a half to about five and a half square miles in area. The school-house in district No. 1 is some two and a half miles, and in No. 2 less than that distance, beyond the limits of Georgetown, and in the other districts the houses range from a mile and a quarter to double that distance from the limits of Washington, around the borders of which they are ranged. There has been no change in the division into school districts, originally fixed in 1862, except a small alteration early made in the line between No. 6 and No. 7. The division of the county is based upon the plan made in the act of 1856, the language of which act has been successively copied into the two subsequent acts. The population has not only very largely increased since that date, but it has also been entirely revolutionized as to its chief localities. Another consideration, and that which especially concerns the subject in hand, is the fact that the division in 1856 was made by Congress with exclusive reference to the *white* population. In any subsequent legislation the particulars here suggested should be carefully considered. The decennial census soon to be taken, it is to be hoped, will furnish a detailed enumeration of the population, the children of the prescribed school age, the area and the taxable property of each of the school districts, as well as like facts in detail pertaining to Washington and Georgetown. The census report of 1860 does not give the area of the District of Columbia, and no census since the retrocession of Alexandria has given it correctly. In the census of 1860 the enumeration of the population is quinquennial, and consequently the number of children between 5 and 20 instead of 6 and 18 years of age was assumed as the basis of calculation in the division of the fund distributed prior to the census of November, 1867, and this basis is still adhered to, but there can be no doubt whatever that all moneys accruing to the school fund subsequent to the census of November 11, 1867, including the \$10,000 given by Congress, should be divided on the basis of that census, which gives a percentage in the county of Washington of 38.89 in the place of 32.35 under the census of 1860.

Census returns, November 11, 1867.

Corporations, &c.	School districts.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Between 6 and 17 years.			School age percentage.	
					White.	Colored.	Total.	White.	Colored.
Between Potomac and Rock Creek.	1, 2.	1, 516	538	2, 054	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Between Rock Creek and Eastern Branch.	3, 4, 5.	2, 441	1, 299	3, 740	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Between Eastern Branch and Maryland line.	6, 7.	1, 746	1, 605	3, 351	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total county of Washington.	.....	5, 703	3, 442	9, 145	1, 494	951	2, 445	61.10+	38.89+
Washington city.....	.....	74, 115	31, 937	106, 052	17, 801	8, 401	26, 202	67.94+	32.05+
Georgetown.....	.....	8, 509	3, 284	11, 793	2, 152	894	3, 046	70.65+	29.34+
Total in District.....	.....	88, 327	38, 663	126, 990	21, 447	10, 246	31, 693	.....	.....

Census returns, 1860.

Corporations, &c.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Between 5 and 20 years.		Total.	Per cent. of those between 5 and 20 years.	
				White.	Colored.		White.	Colored.
County of Washington.....	3,827	1,398	5,225	1,203	574	1,777	67.64+	32.35+
City of Washington.....	50,139	10,983	61,122	16,079	4,011	20,093	80.02+	19.97+
Georgetown.....	6,798	1,935	8,733	2,307	702	3,009	76.66+	23.33+
Total in District.....	60,764	14,316	75,080	19,589	5,290	24,879	.....	.....

Population by single years, between 6 and 17, (school age.)—Census returns, Nov. 11, 1867.

Corporations, &c.	6.			7.			8.			9.		
	White.	Colored.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.
Washington.....	1,579	513	2,092	1,709	626	2,335	1,758	699	2,457	1,588	601	2,189
Georgetown.....	213	58	271	188	58	246	198	61	259	195	69	264
County.....	124	79	203	126	90	216	135	103	238	106	79	185
Total District.....	1,916	650	2,566	2,023	774	2,797	2,091	863	2,954	1,889	749	2,638

Corporations, &c.	10.			11.			12.			13.		
	White.	Colored.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.
Washington.....	1,709	805	2,514	1,369	623	1,992	1,423	902	2,325	1,347	736	2,083
Georgetown.....	169	89	258	175	66	241	186	91	277	176	86	262
County.....	129	105	234	110	54	164	135	104	239	116	73	189
Total District.....	2,007	999	3,006	1,654	743	2,397	1,744	1,097	2,841	1,639	895	2,534

Corporations, &c.	14.			15.			16.			17.			General total.
	White.	Colored.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	
Washington....	1,356	781	2,137	1,311	716	2,027	1,372	765	2,137	1,280	634	1,914	26,202
Georgetown....	169	76	245	163	83	246	169	89	258	151	68	219	3,046
County.....	136	77	213	143	70	213	128	61	189	106	56	162	2,445
Total District.	1,661	934	2,595	1,617	869	2,486	1,669	915	2,584	1,537	758	2,295	31,693

MRS. CARROLL'S SCHOOL, (DISTRICT NO. 6.)

The first colored school in the District, outside of the limits of the two cities, was established by Mrs. David Carroll in August, 1861, and it was the first established in the District specially intended for educating slave children. The earliest contraband school opened in Washington was not started till the spring of 1862. David Carroll was one of the founders of the colored Presbyterian church of Washington, an original elder in the church, a man of property and superior character. This family went out to the farm-house belonging to Mr. Cornelius T. Boyle, beyond Benning's bridge, across the Eastern Branch, and took up their residence, shortly after the first battle of Bull Run, with a view of buying the farm. The next Sabbath after they became occupants of the premises, Rev. Selby B. Scaggs, a white Methodist preacher and a farmer in that neighborhood, locked up the chapel in which he was wont to preach, and when the people came to the church they found him patrolling, key in hand, in front of the house, and declaring that he would have no more praying for the President and the success of the Union arms on his premises. It appeared that the pious officers and soldiers from the neighboring forts had taken part in the Sabbath services and given this offence to the pastor. In this emergency the colored people were invited to hold their services and Sabbath school at the Boyle farm-house on that day. They did so, and David Carroll addressed them, urging the building of a church in which the prayer for the Union would be justified. John Payne, a colored farmer, offered a lot on his farm, and contributions to start the building operations were gathered, to the amount of fifty dollars, on the spot. They also fixed upon a neighboring grove for a temporary place of worship, and a stand and seats were erected there in camp-meeting style the ensuing week. The next Sunday Rev. Mr. Simpson, a private in company F, of the 10th New York heavy artillery, on duty at Fort Meigs, preached the inauguration sermon in the grove; also the dedication sermon in their new house just three months from that day. Mr. Deane, a white resident, kindly allowed the colored people to take all the timber for the church from his woodland, which had been prostrated by military orders. The weather on every Sunday of the three months was fair, and this is recounted by these people as a special providence to them. The Sunday school, which had been maintained with the greatest interest at the Boyle farm-house, was moved into the new house with the transfer of the meeting from the grove, and from that time the house has been crowded with scholars, old and young, many of them coming five or six miles to enjoy the weekly privileges. The first teachers were mostly Christian soldiers from the forts, but those who were the early scholars have now the entire management of the school, including the superintendent, John H. Jackson, son of Rev. Nathaniel Jackson, an intelligent colored preacher, who owns a place in that neighborhood and was one of the leaders in building the house, which they named Jones Chapel, in honor of another colored preacher who owns a small farm in that vicinity, and who is widely known in the District as a venerable and industrious man. Most of the early scholars have become members of this church. It is worthy of remark that this colored church and school, which have done so much good to these down-trodden people, were organized and for a time maintained upon the premises of one of the most extreme and uncompromising men who plotted treason in this District before the war and went foremost into the rebellion, serving as surgeon in the rebel army through the conflict. The books for the Sabbath school were at first procured by contributions taken up in the church and school, but afterwards, Mrs. Carroll, who at first had the entire charge of the school, procured them from the managers of the Soldiers' Free Library in Washington. The officers and soldiers contributed generously and gave great encouragement to the work in all its stages.

The day school.—Mrs. Carroll opened a day school in the Boyle house with twenty children the same week in which she started the Sunday school. The number rapidly increased to double that number, and as the colored people from the Maryland plantations pressed inside the District the school filled nearly the whole house, numbering at some periods nearly or quite a hundred. Mrs. Carroll's daughter by a former husband, Miss Rebecca T. Gordon, was assistant in the school, which was continued with undiminished success till April, 1865. Mr. Carroll having died the previous year, the family returned to their house in Washington.

The school was then taken in charge by Miss Ellen M. Jackson, the daughter of Rev. Nathaniel Jackson, and transferred to her father's house. She was soon, however, compelled by failing health to suspend her work, and died in that summer. There was no day school, therefore, through the summer and autumn, but in January, 1866, Mr. A. E. Newton, the superintendent of the schools in Washington and Georgetown, visited that locality and promptly established a school in the Jones Chapel, employing Frederick A. Lawton, a white man from the north, as the teacher. There was at this time more open hostility to colored schools than had been manifested during the war when the military forces held control. No white family in the neighborhood would board a teacher of a colored school at this time, and there was no colored family in suitable condition to receive a boarder. Mr. Lawton found a home with Mr. Tabor, a Union man, who had fled from Virginia with his wife and built a rough shelter in a forest a mile from the chapel. Mr. Tabor, a native of New York State, was a man of intelligence who had seen better fortunes, and his wife was a woman of refinement. They had lost everything, and purchasing a piece of land here they were living in such a shanty as they were able to build in their poverty. Mr. Lawton and the family suffered with cold the first winter, but the house was improved in the summer, and he lived with them during the two years in which he taught the school. Mr. Lawton was supported the first year wholly by an association of Universalists of Auburn, New York, through the New York Freedmen's Relief Association, and in part by the same association the second year, 1867-'68, the commissioners of primary schools assuming most of his support in the latter named school year. His school during the two years averaged at different periods from 40 to 60 scholars. Mr. Lawton was elected teacher by the school commissioners August 16, 1866, but as the pay, \$37 50 per month, voted by the school board April 5, 1866, to all teachers, male and female, of colored schools, was so manifestly inadequate, Mr. Newton, in order to retain his services and to continue the school with efficiency, added \$10 per month from the funds of the association.

Mrs. Carroll, well known as one of the capable colored teachers of Washington for twenty-five years, under the name of Charlotte Gordon, was born and grew to womanhood a slave in Alexandria. Her owner, Mrs. Mary Fletcher, a good woman, believed in educating her servants and practiced her faith. She sent this child, Charlotte Pankus, to the best schools accessible to colored children in that city from the earliest school age. Sylvia Morris, Alfred Parry, and Joseph Ferrell were the excellent colored teachers whose schools she attended. Ferrell, of whom mention has been elsewhere made as a man of remarkable abilities, was sent to the penitentiary accused of furnishing passes to his enslaved brethren who run for freedom. He was sentenced for a term of seven years, and coming out at the end of this term, was immediately seized on a second accusation and sentenced to a second term of five years. Charlotte Pankus, with others of his old scholars, was in the court-house in Alexandria when Thompson Mason, whose slaves were "caught running" with the forged passes, made his violent and vindictive argument for the second conviction. Ferrell subsequently had a school in Washington, and died here some years ago, persisting on his death-bed that he was innocent of the offence. This girl attended also for nearly two years an admirable school for colored girls which was maintained in Alexandria by the Sisters of Charity, who at the same period had a large boarding school for white girls in that city. Sisters Agnes Annina and Mary Frances are remembered by her as the teachers of the colored school. Miss Edmunds, who had a boarding school in the city at that period, and Benjamin Hallowell, the eminent Quaker schoolmaster, both befriended her, the latter named teacher instructing her in Latin, of which she acquired some knowledge. She began to teach when a mere girl in Alexandria, and had a school there at the time of the Snow riot in Washington in 1835. Some years later her owner, with the desire to make her free, sent her to Washington without registration in order that she might acquire her freedom by the operation of the registry law, and she was in Washington when Alexandria was retroceded in 1846. Before this period she married Wm. H. Gordon, who a few years later went to California and died there, leaving her with a family of small children, whom she raised in a respectable manner by her industry and intelligence as a teacher. Her first school in Washington was in a house on I near Eleventh street, west, where she taught six years, with an average of

some forty scholars. From this place she moved her school to New York avenue, near Thirteenth street, into one of the houses of the locality known in that day as "Cover Tan Yard," where she had an average of about fifty scholars for five or six years, till about 1858, when she moved to Eighth between N and O streets, in the northern section of the city—a location then known as "Nigger Hill," at that time and now the centre of a large colored population. Her school here was very large, and in 1860 she occupied two adjoining small brick buildings, which were filled with scholars, her daughter being assistant. She established also a Sabbath school in connection with this school, and several white ladies took great interest in its progress, giving their personal aid as teachers and contributing to secure books. Among the most devoted friends of the school was Mrs. Mitchell, a Virginia lady, who gave her warm friendship to the work as a teacher from the beginning to the end of the school, which continued several years. Mrs. Mitchell is still a resident of Washington, an inmate of the family of her son-in-law, H. M. Binckley, esq., the Assistant Attorney General under the late administration. The day school was crowded when the war broke out, and was dispersed in the spring of 1861 when the soldiers began to throng the city, the small children, of which the school was mostly composed, being intimidated by the tramp of the armies. She had on her list at that time nearly a hundred and fifty scholars. This school was only briefly alluded to in the notices of schools in operation in the District, given in the previous pages. In 1861 she was married to Mr. Carroll, and the work which she did in the cause of enlightening her race during the war was perhaps the most useful of her life. David Carroll was born a slave, owned by Charles Carroll, of Carrolltown, but was early put to a trade and manumitted.

THE SCHOOLS, SCHOOL LOTS, AND SCHOOL-HOUSES.

District No. 1—Tenallytown.—At a meeting of the Board May 3, 1866, the commissioner of this district, R. W. Carter, a distinguished merchant of Washington, was instructed to hire a house at a rent not exceeding \$5 per month. Nothing seems to have been further done, from the records, till April 4, 1867, when Mr. J. S. Lloyd was chosen teacher, whose first monthly report, June, 1867, shows six boys and seven girls on his list. He taught 13 months at \$45 per month, and is now under the new schedule receiving \$50. He is an efficient teacher, his school numbering about 40, with an average attendance of 24 scholars. Mr. Carter first came into the Board in April, 1866, and was elected president of the Board in the ensuing July, a position which with great public spirit and efficiency he still holds. He had recently purchased a country seat at Tenallytown, and entered into the objects of the Board with great interest, determined to secure for that community what they had hitherto not enjoyed—free schools. The project required courage. Among the mass of the white community there was no desire for schools of any kind, while the very few who felt the need of educational facilities generally regarded it vain to attempt anything of the kind in that population. The result has been the establishment of two admirable schools, one white and the other colored. A colored Methodist church has been formed, with a flourishing Sabbath school; also, a Catholic church. The colored school-house was built in the summer of 1867, and Mr. Carter has watched the school in all its stages with a generous fidelity that has left nothing to be desired. Public sentiment, which, not friendly to white schools three years ago, was extremely hostile to the education of the colored people, has been revolutionized, and schools of both classes are now approved by all, the opposition being very limited and emanating mostly from a vulgar class.

District No. 2.—It has already been stated that action was taken to buy a school lot in this district, which lies between district No. 1 and Rock Creek, at a meeting of the Board November 30, 1865. At a subsequent meeting, February 1, 1866, it was voted to hire a house at a rent of \$4 per month, and the commissioner immediately opened a school, with Mary Boffey as teacher, who commencing with six boys and three girls in March, 1866, soon had a room full. She continued in the school seven months at \$37 50 per month, and nine months at \$45, the new building, costing \$660 exclusive of fencing and stone, being completed in this period. She was succeeded by the present efficient teacher, Mr. B. M. Martin, who taught 13 months at \$45 per month, which has been this year increased to \$50; though it should be noted that in excluding the vacation this increase of the monthly pay is really a

reduction of the annual compensation. This school has averaged under the present teacher about 26 scholars, with 62 names on the roll.

District No. 3.—In this district the first movement for a school originated in the meeting of the Board May 3, 1866, which authorized the commissioner of the district to hire a house for a colored school at a rent not exceeding \$7 per month. Mr. Carpenter, the commissioner, immediately rented a barrack building, and opened a school the week in which it was authorized. He employed Harvey Smith, who commenced in May with two boys and six girls, and taught four months at \$37 50 a month, 22 months at \$45, and has the regular pay of \$50 this year. The school-house of the same plan and cost of that in district No. 2 was finished in the summer of 1866, and was well filled with scholars. At the present time the average attendance is about 30, as it was through last year, with 56 names on the roll. When the school was first organized there was the same prevailing hostility to the work in this as in the two districts west of Rock Creek. It was impossible to purchase a school lot of a white man in the district. The lot was purchased of a colored man. In this district the records of the Board show complaints from Francis Hamilton, a teacher of a colored school in June, 1867, that the white scholars of that district were insolent and abusive to the inoffending children of the colored school. There was also a complaint of the same character preferred to the Board at that meeting from J. H. Voorhees, the teacher of the colored school of the adjoining district, No. 4, against the white school of his district. These disgraceful persecutions, however, have mostly ceased, and higher, more generous, and enlightened ideas are prevailing. Mr. Carpenter has done much to inculcate correct views, and has given great satisfaction as a commissioner.

District No. 4—Soldiers' Home.—At a meeting of the Board April 26, 1866, Henry Queen, then and now the commissioner of the district, was authorized to hire a house at \$7 a month, provide benches, and employ a teacher for a colored school; and Mr. A. Bolton opened a school, numbering at first 10 scholars, five boys and five girls, May 1, 1866, teaching four months at \$37 50 per month and one month at \$45. He died in October, and was succeeded by J. H. Voorhees, who still is giving much satisfaction in the school. He taught 20 months at \$45 and now receives \$50. The school has numbered about 70 the last two years, with an average attendance of 23 scholars. The school-house, of same pattern and cost of those in districts 2 and 3, was built in 1867 on a lot purchased of Mary Walker in April of that year. It is located near the Soldiers' Home, and in the vicinity of the residence of C. H. Wiltberger, who was commissioner from 1862 to 1866, and who has devoted great attention to the schools, both white and colored, in his district and in the county. Public sentiment in this district was originally more enlightened and tolerant of education among the colored people than in the districts already noticed, and at the present time there seems to be a spirit of kindness prevalent toward its colored school. Its progress is the cause of satisfaction and not of offence to the white population. Mr. Wiltberger has been the secretary of the Board of commissioners from its organization in 1862 to the present time, and the facts in this chapter pertaining to the work which has been done under the operations of the successive school acts have been drawn in a very large measure from the remarkably careful and laborious record which he has preserved. Very rarely absent from a meeting of the Board, he has kept an account of every important transaction, the value of which to the cause of common schools in the county it is scarcely possible to overestimate. Nor is this all the valuable work he has done. He has annually compiled from the monthly returns of the teachers a careful summary of the facts communicated in those returns, and has preserved copies of them, while the original papers transmitted to the levy court are not to be found. While a majority of the persons who have successively been appointed commissioners seem to have totally neglected the duties of the office, Mr. Wiltberger has been vigilant and unwearied in his exertions to awaken the people of his own school district to a just appreciation of the school system, and has given cordial support to the education of the colored people, although he originally dissented from the views of the levy court as to the meaning of the school act touching the distribution of the school funds.

District No. 5.—In this district no colored school has been established. The colored population is so scattered that the commissioners have not deemed it discreet either to open a

school or to build a house. At a meeting of the Board January 3, 1867, a committee, consisting of David Miller and John E. Chappel, was authorized to select a site for a house, but after looking the matter carefully over it is understood that they declined to proceed, doubting the expediency of building a house under the circumstances. In 1868 further action was taken, and at a meeting of the Board July 2, 1868, it was voted to condemn a certain lot which had been selected and could not be amicably purchased. This order, however, was not carried out, mainly because of the violent hostility among the white residents of the district to colored schools, and therefore no lot has yet been selected. This district extends along the westerly side of the Eastern Branch.

District No. 6.—The colored school which was established in 1861 in the limits of this district, which lies upon the easterly side of the Eastern Branch, has been fully sketched down to the period when it was assumed by the commissioner under the caption of "Charlotte Carroll's school." At a meeting of the Board January 18, 1866, the school at Jones's chapel was accepted as a public school, and the wages of the teacher, Frederick A. Lawton, fixed at \$37 50 per month. At a previous meeting, January 4, 1866, it had been voted to pay Mr. Lawton the above specified wages under the condition that the house should be furnished with no expense to the commissioners. The report of the school for that month showed an average attendance of 26 boys and 16 girls. The Board, October 4, 1866, authorized the purchase of a lot for a school-house in this district at the rate of \$200 per acre, and the commissioner purchased half an acre of Jacob Paine, a colored man owning a small farm in that district. The house was completed late in the autumn of 1866. Mr. Lawton taught eight months at \$37 50 per month, and a year at \$45. L. H. Smith, a son of the teacher in district No. 3, succeeded Mr. Lawton, teaching 10 months at \$45, and is still in the school giving good satisfaction under the prescribed pay of the present year. The whole number of scholars enrolled the year ending July 15, 1868, was 103, with an average attendance through the year of 36. The school-house is 20 feet by 40 feet in dimensions. Mr. W. B. Lacey, the present commissioner, is an active and efficient officer.

District 7, No. 1—Good Hope schools.—The second effort to start schools in the county for the colored people was made in the Good Hope church, on the east side of the Eastern Branch, a mile or more from the Navy Yard bridge. Mr. G. F. Needham, a clerk in the Post Office Department, went over there early in the spring of 1864 and aided Miss Eliza H. Stanton, of Virginia, who had been sent into this field as a teacher by the New York National Freedmen's Relief Association, in organizing a school in that chapel, a comfortable brick church built by the African Methodist people before the war. Miss Stanton had a large school, and managed it with energy and success, receiving for her services \$30 per month, barely enough to pay her board and lodging. The opposition to the work at that time in that vicinity was exceedingly bitter. No white family would receive this refined woman into their house, and the colored people were too poor and shelterless in their condition to do so. She was compelled to walk into the city, which broke down her physical powers in the course of the summer, compelling her to disband her school. An illustration of the prevailing temper at that period is found in the following reply which was made to Miss Stanton's application for board by a family still living in that neighborhood: "If you are mean enough to teach niggers, you may eat and sleep with them." The family has learned wisdom since then, and would feel mortified now, as they should feel, to see their names in this connection.

In the autumn of 1865, shortly after Miss Stanton relinquished her work, Mr. A. E. Newton, the superintendent of the schools of the relief societies in the cities of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, took measures to revive her school, employing Mr. Addison Wheeler, of Connecticut, as teacher, who began his labors in a night and day school in the winter of 1865-'66. Mr. Wheeler at first found quarters with a lieutenant stationed at Fort Wagner, in the vicinity, and Mr. Newton secured an order from the War Office when the fort was abandoned which resulted in the transfer of the officers' small barrack building to the Good Hope church lot. It was turned over to the control of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the colored men each gave one day with all the teams they owned for its removal. The Bureau gave some assistance and Mr. Newton paid \$20. In this house Mr. Wheeler lived alone for some time, cooking his own food, till he found good board at the table of a colored man by

the name of Payne in the neighborhood. The school was continued by Mr. Wheeler, with some interruptions caused by ill-health, through the year, and when the present remarkably superior teacher, Rev. J. S. Dore, came upon the ground in the spring of 1866 to engage with him in the work the school numbered about 60 scholars.

This new teacher has done his work with such extraordinary wisdom and energy, through evil report and through good, that his name merits a prominent place in this record. Mr. Dore, a native of Maine and a student in Waterville College in that State, at the opening of the war early embarked as a private soldier in the contest; subsequently becoming chaplain of the 6th New Hampshire veteran volunteers, continuing in that capacity through the war. Sent into this educational work by the Freedmen's Relief Association of Portland, Maine, he reached Washington early in April, 1866, and at once commenced a new era at the Good Hope school. In less than one month after entering upon his duties the school was increased from 60 to 145, and the school district No. 7 had been canvassed by him, disclosing the fact that it contained upwards of 300 children of the lawful school age. A night school was at the same time opened, meeting five nights a week, and soon numbering 90 men and women. A very large Sabbath school was also organized, the first ever held in the place, and is still with unabated efficiency maintained, with a Sabbath school library of several hundred volumes. At the close of the term, July 15, 1866, Mr. Wheeler retired, leaving the whole work in the hands of Mr. Dore. During the vacation of six weeks, Mr. Dore having entered into contract with the owner of an unfinished building to complete it for its use a year, vacated the small barrack building, which was fitted up for a school-room. Mr. Newton at the same time obtained permission of the War Office to take possession of a hospital structure at Fort Baker, and the Bureau moved it to the Good Hope chapel lot near the other barrack building, and converted it into two coarse but comparatively comfortable school-rooms, provision being thus secured for the schools without resorting to the chapel.

The first help from the School Commissioners is indicated by the following action of the Board at their regular meeting May 18, 1865: "Commissioner John Fox, of the 7th district, submitted to the board a monthly report (April) of a colored school in the 7th district taught by Addison Wheeler, and asked that said school be recognized by this Board and money appropriated, payable out of the colored fund, for the support of said school; when, on motion of Commissioner David Miller, (district No. 6,) it was resolved that the sum of \$25 per month be fixed as the pay of Mr. Addison Wheeler as teacher of the school for colored children in the 7th district, and that the sum of \$50 per annum be appropriated for rent of house, (Good Hope chapel,) payable quarterly." Pursuant of this resolution, on the 2d day of November, the Board voted to pay the first half year's salary (\$150) to Mr. Wheeler and \$25 for rent of the chapel, constituting the first money voted by the Board for the support of colored schools. At the examination of Mr. Dore's school July 15, 1866, two of the commissioners were present for the first time in any colored school, and the results so impressed them that at the next meeting of the Board, August 16, upon the representation of these members, Mr. Dore was elected teacher of the colored school in district No. 7 at a salary of \$450, the same as was paid to the female teachers, while at that date the salary for male teachers in the white schools was \$750. On the 1st of September, however, the Board raised the salary of male teachers of white schools to \$900, and of female teachers in either white or colored to \$540, male teachers of colored schools ranking in salary with the women. Mr. Dore was at this time offered the white school at Unfountown, in the adjoining district, No. 6, at \$900, but preferred to remain in the Good Hope school. The New York branch of the National Freedmen's Aid Commission made his salary up to \$600.

The Good Hope school opened September 1, 1866, with three teachers and three departments. Miss Jennie S. Palmer, of Cooperstown, New York, and Miss Leah Wither, of Abbott, Maine, (now Mrs. J. S. Dore,) both supported by the New York branch of the National Freedmen's Aid Commission, being Mr. Dore's assistants. These teachers carried their schools, which were always full, through the year with a systematic intelligence and fidelity that commanded the respect of opponents and attracted the admiration of friends. In addition to the large and flourishing night and Sabbath schools, a sewing school was maintained through the year, the term closing with an examination of remarkable excellence

July 15, 1867. At a meeting of the Board September 3, 1867, it was voted to raise the salary of Mr. Dore to \$600, in consideration, as the resolution set forth, that his school was extraordinary in size, having numbered in the past season more than three hundred scholars. The next school year opened September 1, 1867, with Miss Flora A. Leland, of Ashland, Massachusetts, in place of Miss Jennie S. Palmer, resigned. Miss Leland, who proved to be a most superior teacher, as her school at Barry farm now abundantly testifies, was employed by the school commissioners at a salary of \$450, and Mr. Dore's salary was increased to \$900 by a contribution of \$300 from the New York branch of the Freedmen's Union Commission.

The Good Hope school took possession of the new two story school house, built for that purpose the past season, on the 22d of March, 1869. This house stands upon a spacious lot some fifty rods from the Good Hope chapel, and in one of the most commanding and delightful places in that region of the county. The house is about 26 by 38 feet on the ground, and is well finished inside and out. It is to be regretted that the commissioners allowed so good a house to be furnished with such very poorly shaped and made pine furniture. Such desks and seats are not evidence of enlightened ideas, and it is safe to say do not meet the full approbation of all the commissioners. The school rooms, about 25 feet square, are much too small for the number of desks placed in them, and it is unfortunate that at least one-third of the dozen feet used for ante-rooms was not embraced in the school rooms. The house, however, is a credit to the district, and is probably the best that has been built by the commissioners. This school is intended to accommodate some of the scholars in district No. 6, who reside near it. It is but just to make special mention of Dr. W. W. Godding, of the Insane Asylum, who, as commissioner for district No. 7, has made the cause of the schools, both white and colored, a labor of love. In full sympathy with the teachers and all friends of the colored schools, he has for years been their wise and enlightened counsellor and friend in all their trials and triumphs. The lot on which the house is built was sold to the commissioners by Mr. Dore, the teacher, near whose residence it stands. The school numbers about a hundred, nearly equally divided between Mr. Dore and Mrs. Dore, the assistant, filling the two school rooms quite full. The work which has been done in this district by these teachers at Good Hope and at Barry farm is very marvellous. The people upon whom they have wrought, the ignorant and despised from the plantations, to a very large extent have been clothed with new life under their ministrations. When the Good Hope school was founded it was as rare to find a colored person in the region who could read as it is now to find one who cannot read. Nearly all the old people as well as the young have learned to read, at least enough to use the Testament. Industry prevails, and there are but two or three recipients of the public charity in the whole neighborhood at the present time.

District 7, No. 2—The Howard schools.—The Barry farm, comprising about 375 acres, adjoining the estate of the St. Elizabeth Insane Asylum, south of the Eastern Branch, was purchased in the early part of 1868, by the Freedmen's Bureau. It was divided into house lots of one acre each and offered to the freedmen at cost, the Bureau furnishing each lot owner a portion of the lumber for a house. The payment for the lot was to be made within two years, and in equal monthly instalments, with an express stipulation that the lot is forfeited by failure to comply with these terms. The estate was purchased with funds which the Freedmen's Bureau, in pursuance of an act of Congress, March 2, 1867, deposited in the hands of three trustees for that purpose. The object of establishing such a fund was, as expressed in the special order of the Bureau, "to relieve the immediate necessities of a class of poor colored people in the District of Columbia by rental of land by sale, with deferred payments, or in such other way as their trustees judgment shall direct for this purpose, provided all proceeds, interest, or moneys received from rental or sale over and above necessary expenses shall be annually transferred" to said institutions.

The trustees are O. O. Howard, John R. Elvans, and S. C. Pomeroy, and they paid for the farm \$52,000. The estate made 359 lots, of which 300 had been sold prior to October, 1868, and 40 of these had been forfeited. The lumber for 185 houses had been at that date issued by the Bureau and the most of the dwellings built. The enterprise, designed to stimulate these poor people with courage and industrious habits, has proved eminently successful. The Freedmen have entered with great ambition into the idea of securing a home,

and have formed on this farm an enterprising, industrious village. They have built a Baptist church, and have purchased the lot upon which they are about to build a Methodist church. They also bought one of the acre lots upon which the Bureau erected in the closing months of 1867, a large one story school house, at a cost of some \$1,500, about 75 feet long and 25 wide, comprising two excellent school rooms and capable of accommodating sixty scholars, with the requisite ante-rooms. There is also a flourishing night school in operation, for some time under the instruction of Charles Douglass, a son of Frederick Douglass. The proceeds of this property are to go ultimately to the colored schools of the District, of Virginia, and of North Carolina, one third part to each.

The Howard school at Barry farm, in Uniontown, or, as the place has been recently named, Anacostia, was opened January 1, 1868. Mr. Dore at this time consolidated his three schools at Good Hope into two, and leaving them in care of Mrs. Dore and Miss Leland, went down to "Anacostia" and organized the Howard school in the new house, remaining there through the month. On the first of February Miss Leland took charge of the Howard school, which soon numbered some 90 scholars, and Mr. Dore resumed the care of his Good Hope schools. Good Hope and the Howard schools are perhaps a little more than a mile apart. Miss Leland is a most superior teacher. Her large room has always been full and her school is one of the best in the District of Columbia. The children, nearly all from the plantations a few years ago, are clad with care, many of them nicely dressed, and there is a neatness and order about the school which, combined with the brightness and correctness apparent in the recitations, makes it a school meriting this special notice.

On the 20th of April, 1868, a primary school was organized in the other room of the Howard school-house, and Miss F. E. Hall employed as teacher by the Pennsylvania branch of the Freedmen's Relief Commission at \$40 per month. Both the departments were crowded through the season. Miss Hall commenced with 40 and closed the school year July 30, 1868, with 60 scholars. When the new school year opened in September, 1868, Miss Leland's room was at once filled, and as the Aid Society had withdrawn its assistance and the commissioners could not assume another teacher, more than half the children at Barry farm were shut from the school room, which they would gladly fill. In this emergency, through the intervention of Rev. John Kimball of the Bureau, the Pennsylvania Relief Commission was induced to appropriate \$20 a month to this school for another year. Miss Hall, interested in the school and the industrial scheme of the Barry farm, on learning these facts came back from Auburn and re-opened the school December 21, 1868, and both these schools have thus been maintained through the winter. The colored population of this place is increasing, and it is a matter of serious consideration how their educational wants are to be met the ensuing year when the small foreign aid now received will be certainly withdrawn. The uniformity of attendance in both branches of this admirable school is remarkable, showing unmistakably the deep interest which these humble people indulge in their privileges.

It has been seen that in all the districts except the fifth the colored people have been furnished respectable school privileges. The school-houses in the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th districts are frame buildings, one story, about 24 by 30 feet in dimensions, well finished and alike. The house in the 6th district is 20 by 40 feet, and the Good Hope house in the 7th district, has been stated, is 25 by 33 feet and two stories. The furniture in them all is of pine, manufactured by a carpenter of the county. The school lots have been fenced in a respectable manner and outhouses built. Most well-informed friends of these schools will regret that better houses have not been built, and certainly that better furniture has not been purchased.

The Board paid the rent of Good Hope church, at \$7 per month, for Addison Wheeler's school, commencing May 1, 1865, and continuing until November, when the houses from the Bureau were ready, and this was all that was done in that school year towards providing school-houses for colored schools, except an appropriation of \$69 to plaster one of the rooms at Good Hope and \$39 for furniture. The next action was at a meeting after the new school year opened, November 30, 1865, when it was voted to authorize "the commissioner of the 2d district to purchase a lot of half an acre for the purpose of erecting a school-house thereon for a colored school, the sum to be paid for the lot not to exceed \$80." In accordance with

this action a lot was bought of John Mayer January 4, 1866, and December 6, ensuing, \$960 was voted for building the school-house. In this same district a lot comprising one acre was purchased for a white school, under a vote of the board August 20, 1865, for \$150, and November 9 following \$1,080 was appropriated for the house, and \$216 80 April 5, 1866, for furniture, \$600 being voted the next year to build a vestibule and \$340 for fencing. This district seems to be a fair example of the discrimination between the two classes which prevails in the county pertaining to the school lots and houses. The rule has been to buy an acre for a white and half an acre for a colored school lot, and to expend several hundred dollars more for a white than for a colored school-house. In district No. 4 the house for the colored school cost \$960, but that for the white school cost \$1,570, and this is about the ratio on which expenditures have generally been made.

Rev. John Kimball was present at the meeting of the Board April 5, 1866, and in behalf of the Freedmen's Bureau proposed to aid the commissioners in securing some of the barrack buildings at the dismantled forts in the county for colored school-houses. The Board thankfully accepted the proposition, and at once voted to use \$125 for securing materials in this way for each district in which a house was needed. Mr. Kimball failed to secure the buildings, but offered to contribute \$25 for each house that the commissioners would purchase at the auction sale of these government buildings. This suggestion was not adopted, though the purchase at least of one of the buildings at Fort Stevens was pressed upon them with much solicitude. Mr. Kimball, a native of New England, having served through the war as a chaplain, came to this District as superintendent of schools, at the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau, for the territory comprising the District of Columbia, Maryland, and West Virginia, the State of Delaware having been subsequently added. This responsible place he has filled with a vigor and sagacity that have commanded universal commendation. In Washington and Georgetown he was the cordial and wise colaborer of Mr. A. E. Newton in laying the foundations of the free schools, which are doing such a wonderful work for the colored people in those cities at the present time, and this brief tribute is the least that can be said of his beneficent labors in this incidental notice.

COMPENSATION OF TEACHERS.

It has been seen that in the first aid extended to the colored schools by the commissioners Addison Wheeler, a white man from Connecticut, was in 1865 paid \$25 per month as a teacher. The commissioners, at a meeting January 4, 1866, voted to authorize the commissioner in district No. 4 to pay a teacher \$60 per month to instruct a white school and to pay \$37 50 to a teacher of a colored school, "provided the commissioner is satisfied of the competency of the teacher and that the use of a building be obtained without cost to the Board." If the competency of the teacher were to be estimated by the price fixed for his services, the Board might well have raised the doubt suggested in their proviso. April 5, 1866, on motion of R. W. Carter, the Board fixed the pay of all female teachers at \$37 50. August 16, 1866, the pay of all female teachers and of all male teachers of colored schools was raised to \$45 per month. September 6, 1866, the pay of male teachers of white schools was increased from \$62 50 to \$75 per month, commencing September 1, 1866. The pay of assistant teachers was fixed at \$35 per month. This rate of compensation was continued through the school year ending in July, 1867.

At a meeting of the Board August 1, 1867, B. D. Carpenter, the commissioner of district No. 3, presented a proposition, which was laid on the table, "to pay the male teachers of the colored schools the same salary as we pay the male teachers of the white schools;" his resolution going on to affirm the very sensible idea that "while we require the same amount of labor and qualifications we feel" (or rather should feel, as the action of the Board upon the proposition shows that the majority did not, in fact, so feel,) "we cannot withhold this act of common justice." At the meeting of the Board October 3, 1867, Mr. Carpenter's resolution was taken up, and while under discussion Dr. W. W. Godding offered an amendment, fixing the pay of all male teachers at \$65 per month. Henry Queen, commissioner of district No. 4, offered also an amendment, providing for the exclusive employment of female teachers. Both motions to amend, together with the original resolution, were rejected.

In the early months of 1868 the subject of systematizing the rates of teachers' pay was much discussed. January 2, 1868, Mr. Lacey introduced the following resolution at the meeting of the board: "*Resolved*, That the wages of the teachers of white schools shall be reduced to \$60 per month, to take effect 30 days from date." And at the next meeting the resolution was referred to a special committee, who were instructed to report a graded system of wages. This committee, consisting of W. B. Lacey, L. H. Whitney, and B. D. Carpenter, reported July 2, 1868, fixing the scale as follows: Male principal of white schools, \$75; male principal of colored schools, \$60; female teachers of white and colored schools, \$50; assistant teachers, \$35; school year, nine months, from September 15 to June 15; teachers to be paid by the month and for the time of actual service only. After the appropriation of \$10,000 was made by Congress, July 20, 1868, for the aid of these schools, the proposition was introduced at a meeting of the Board August 6, 1868, to fix the vacation, as hitherto, at six weeks, commencing July 15, and to pay the above scale of wages 12 months in the year as had been the custom. The subject was referred to a select committee, who reported September 3, 1868, to pay this scale for ten months in the year. At the meeting December 3, 1868, a proposition was made to confer with the levy court, and to suggest \$65, \$60, \$50, and \$35 as the graded scale. These protracted efforts resulted in no definite action, and the teachers were paid as in the previous year. The pay the current school year, 1868-'69, is as follows: Male teachers of white schools, 75; male teachers of colored schools, \$50; female teachers, \$50; assistants, \$35. The colored school at Good Hope is an exception. The Board at a meeting September 3, 1868, voted that the pay of J. S. Dore should be "the same as in white schools for the current year." This action of the Board, however, is understood to be based upon the extraordinary services of Mr. Dore, and in no sense a recognition of equality between the teachers of white and colored schools. It should be stated that hitherto the teachers have been paid for the whole year, 12 months, not deducting the usual vacations, but this year they are to be paid only for actual service.

It is difficult to reconcile the discrimination in the remuneration of the teachers of the white and colored schools which is perceived in these details, though the present Board of commissioners in their action in many respects seem to be justly and generously disposed in the discharge of their duties towards the colored schools. It will not be disputed by any persons of enlightened views in regard to education that the colored schools demand as good qualifications and as much labor as the white of the same grade, and this is the principle affirmed in the resolution of Mr. Carpenter, which was rejected by the Board, as already stated, though it should be added, in justice to the Board, that at least three of the seven members were at that time, as they are now, in favor of Mr. Carpenter's proposition. In this connection, also, it is worthy to be stated to the credit of the Board that when Dr. Godding, June 6, 1867, moved "to expend \$200 in premiums for the schools, to be apportioned according to the number of scholars, and *the premiums to be in the white and colored schools alike*," the proposition was adopted without dissent as to the mode of distribution.

By action of the Board December 5, 1867, the teachers were allowed to dismiss their schools one day each month in order to attend the regular meetings of the Teachers' Institute. July 2, 1868, the time was limited to one day each quarter. These meetings are held at room 13 in the old National Intelligencer Building, corner of Seventh and D streets, and the use of the room is given by the Board. The Institute is left entirely to the management of the teachers, but it is required to make a report of proceedings to the Board with the names of those attending. The application for the above privilege was made by Mr. J. S. Lloyd, teacher of colored school in district No. 1, and praise is due both to him and the Board for effecting an arrangement so conducive to the prosperity of so useful an organization as the Institute.

THE COMMISSIONERS AND TRUSTEES.

The present commissioners have done much in the last two years for the colored schools, and some have been exceedingly efficient throughout their service. The fact that the act of Congress allows them no compensation should, perhaps, be suggested, when it is said that in some cases they have *done nothing*. The trustees, of whom there are two in each district, in charge of the local matters of the individual districts, are represented to be, as a general rule,

exceedingly inefficient, and in the most of the districts it is almost impossible to find good men who will consent to serve. These remarks apply to the present as well as to the past. The following are the commissioners at the present time: District No. 1, R. W. Carter, president of the board; district No. 2, B. T. Swart; district No. 3, B. D. Carpenter; district No. 4, Henry Queen; district No. 5, L. H. Whitney; district No. 6, W. B. Lacey; district No. 7, W. W. Godding. Charles H. Wiltberger, who has been the clerk of the board from its organization, receives a salary of \$300 per annum, and Nicholas Callan, who, as the clerk of the levy court, is made by the act treasurer of the school fund, receives a salary of \$100 per annum.

SUMMARY.

Colored public schools in Washington County, January, 1869.

District.	Teacher.	Opened.	Scholars.		Average attendance.		Total expenses.	
			1866-'67.	1867-'68.	1866-'67.	1867-'68.	1866-'67.	1867-'68.
1	J. S. Lloyd	June, 1867...	40	40	21	24	.....	.....
2	B. M. Martin	March, 1866..	73	68	18	26	.....	.....
3	Harvey Smith	May, 1866 ..	87	56	33	30	.....	.....
4	J. H. Voorhees	May, 1866 ..	36	70	13	23	.....	.....
5	No school.							
6	L. H. Smith	Aug., 1861...	117	103	35	36	.....	.....
7	Rev. J. S. Dore, No. 1 ..	March, 1864..	319	255	106	88	.....	.....
	Mrs. J. S. Dore							
7	Miss F. A. Leland, No. 2.	Jan., 1868 ..	.....	169	.....	80	.....	.....
	Miss F. E. Hall	April 1868 ..						
			672	761	226	306	\$9,010 60	\$5,769 93

The school in district 6, and school No. 1, district 7, (the Good Hope school,) were not established by the Trustees, but the former passed into their hands January, 1866; the latter, May, 1865. All the teachers named above are white.

School property of colored schools in Washington County, January, 1869.

District 1.—Lot $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, \$174. Frame house, \$974 77; built 1867. Furniture, \$78 50.

District 2.—Lot $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, \$95 50. Frame house, \$968; built 1866. Furniture, \$184.

District 3.—Lot $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, \$134 25. Frame house, \$971 20; built 1866. Furniture, \$52 75. Fencing, \$235.

District 4.—Lot $\frac{5}{8}$ acre, \$253 50. Frame house, \$1,101 20; built 1867. Furniture, \$256. Fencing, \$285.

District 5.—None.

District 6.—Lot $\frac{1}{10}$ acre, \$104 75. Frame house, \$1,164; built 1866. Furniture, \$175 80. Fencing, \$165.

District 7, No. 1.—Lot $\frac{3}{4}$ acre, \$300. House, \$1,978 50. Furniture, \$200. Fencing, \$275.

District 7, No. 2.—Lot owned by colored people, and building by Freedmen's Bureau.

The above figures do not include certain improvements made since the buildings were completed and occupied.

3. COLORED SCHOOLS OF ALEXANDRIA.

EARLIEST SCHOOLS.

The fact that the city of Alexandria, with the county in which it is situated, was for nearly half a century an important portion of this District, makes its history during that period important to the completion of this record. By act of Congress, February 27, 1801, it was provided that the laws of the State of Virginia as they existed at that date should "continue in force in that part of the District of Columbia which was ceded by the said State to the United States," and the same of that portion ceded in like manner by the State of Maryland. In neither of these States was there at that period any statute *forbidding the instruction of persons of color, whether bond or free*. It was not till nearly a third of a century after this period that the shocking laws utterly prohibiting the instruction of the colored classes were enacted in Virginia. It has been already remarked in other connections in these records that many of the most humane and enlightened men and women throughout the south, in the beginning of this century, like Mr. Jefferson, believed in the right of the colored people of all conditions to some education, and this affirmation finds exemplification in the history of Alexandria.

Schools for colored children seem to have been established in that city about 1809, not far from the year in which such schools were first opened in Washington and Georgetown. Perhaps the earliest was the one taught by Mrs. Cameron, a white Virginia lady, who had for some years a primary school for colored boys and girls on the corner of Duke and Fairfax streets, in the house now owned and occupied by Dr. Murphy. Mrs. Tutton, a white Virginia lady, also had a school about that period in a house on the corner of Pitt and Prince streets. Both these schools were in operation some time prior to the opening of the war of 1812. Immediately after this war

A FREE COLORED SCHOOL

was founded by an association of free colored people, who received cordial aid and encouragement from the enlightened and benevolent white people of the city. The school was held in the Washington Free School Building on Washington street, then not used for a white school, and was taught by Rev. James H. Hanson, white pastor of the Methodist Episcopal church, colored. It was conducted on the Lancaster system and averaged nearly three hundred scholars. The association was composed of the most substantial colored people of the city, and was maintained with great determination and success for a considerable period. There are colored men and women of good education still living in Alexandria who attended this school.

ALFRED H. PARRY.

born a slave in Alexandria in 1805, went to Mr. Hanson's school, and when a mere boy began himself to teach in a small way. An attempt being made to separate the mother and child by sale, the parent seized her offspring in her desperation and threw it into the Potomac, from which it was with difficulty rescued alive. The mother soon afterwards purchased both her own freedom and that of her child, the latter for \$50. Mr. Parry taught many years in Alexandria. At first he had only a small night-school, which gradually increased so much as to attract the attention of the mayor, Bernard Hooe, in 1837, who called Parry before him and declared his school to be an "unlawful assembly." In Alexandria the schools were subjected to annoyance and restraints under the provisions of the city ordinance prohibiting all assemblages, day or night, "under the pretence or pretext of a religious meeting, or for any amusement." It was this provision that Mayor Hooe read to Parry when called before him. Parry plead for his school on the ground of his well-known good character, and the mayor replied that his assent to such a school would not be given though he knew the teacher to be "as pure as the angel Gabriel." Parry, however, persisted, hired a white man to be present at his night-school, and the mayor, without assenting, endured the institution.

Parry soon opened a day-school, which was kept up through the severest period of the

persecution which followed the Nat Turner insurrection in South Hampton county and the riots in Washington and other cities, from 1831 to 1835. Here he taught until he went to Washington, in 1843—the school-house last used by him being between Duke and Wolf streets, on a hill, and known as “Mount Hope Academy.” His scholars numbered from 75 to 100, composed of both sexes. Many slave children attended his school under written permits from their owners; “I am willing that my servant, A. B., should attend the school of Alfred H. Parry,” being substantially the form of the permission which met the requisitions of the law. The owners paid the tuition. The excitement in the times of the riots does not seem to have inflamed the people of Alexandria as it did in Washington, though the colored schools and churches were all closed for a time. Mr. Parry’s wife was born at Ravensworth. Her mother, Kitty Jones, was one of the Mount Vernon servants, belonging to Washington, who made her free before the birth of the daughter, and she was brought up in the family of Jonathan Butcher, a good Quaker of Alexandria. Parry, now resides in Washington.

OTHER SCHOOLS.

Sylvia Morris, a colored woman, had a primary school for about twenty years on Washington street, in her own house, near the Lancaster school. It was at some periods quite large. She was teaching at the time of the Nat Turner insurrection, and continued her school up to the retrocession of Alexandria in 1846.

Mr. Nuthall, an Englishman, had a flourishing school for two or three years, from 1833, in the First Baptist colored church, but the opposition was so strong at that time that he discontinued it, and subsequently taught in Georgetown.

A few years before this period, about the time when General Jackson was first elected President, a white man by the name of Sargent taught on Duke street and in several other localities. Also, Joseph Ferrell, a colored man of decided abilities, had a school for some years on an alley between Duke and Prince streets. He was a baker by trade and a leading spirit among the colored people, but was sent to the penitentiary for assisting some of his race in escaping from bondage.

SABBATH SCHOOLS.

The first colored Sabbath school in Alexandria was established about 1818, in the Second Presbyterian (white) church, the Friends opening a similar school about the same time. In these schools the scholars, old and young, were taught to read. The colored people had chapels in which they held their prayer and social evening worship, but in the regular Sabbath ministrations they occupied the galleries in the white churches. Soon after the Sabbath schools were established in the white churches for the colored people they began to open them in their own chapels, the white people coming into them to assist. At the love feasts in the Methodist churches the white and colored communicants were accustomed to speak without discrimination; also at confirmation in St. Paul’s church, and it is believed in the other Episcopal churches, the bishop placed his hand alike upon the head of the black and the white communicant. At the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, however, the colored were not allowed to participate till the whites had communed, and this continues to be the custom in all the Protestant white churches.

THE RETROCESSION AND THE RESULTS.

When Alexandria city and county were retroceded to Virginia by act of Congress, July 9, 1846, Sylvia Morris’s long-established school was in a flourishing condition, and there were several smaller schools for little children taught in private houses. The hostility to the instruction of the colored people had become so strong that the children were obliged to conceal their school books on the street, and to dodge to and fro like the young partridges of the forest. But when the laws of Virginia took effect, by the ratification of the retrocession (1846) on the part of the State, matters became still worse, for the constables of the city were at once ordered to disperse every colored school, whether taught by day or night, on the week-day or on the Sabbath, and the injunction was most zealously executed. Every humble negro cabin in which it was suspected that any of these dusky children were wont

to meet for instruction was visited, and so stern and relentless was the rule that the free colored people dared only in a covert manner to teach even their own children, a colored person not being allowed to read openly in the street so much as a paragraph in a newspaper. Some used to meet in secluded places outside the city, and, with sentinels posted, hold their meetings for mutual instruction, those who could read and write a little teaching those less fortunate. In 1845 they organized a colored masonic lodge, the charter being received from the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.* The city authorities, however, forbade their meetings within the limits of the city, and they were wont to meet beyond the city, with sentinels at outposts, as in the assemblages for learning to read and write.

Thus all the education which they could give their children was such as was dispensed by stealth in dark corners, except those who were able to send their sons and daughters to Washington and elsewhere, as many, by the most extraordinary exertion, continued to do through the next 14 years. But under the iron despotism of the "Virginia black code," as will be seen hereafter, those who sought their education abroad were expatriated, for the law strictly forbade such ever to return with their intelligence to their homes under penalty of fine or stripes. Many of the free colored people fled precipitately to Washington and to the north at the time of the retrocession, and those who remained courageously struggled under their ignominious burdens, praying day and night, as they now say, for the great deliverance, which the Lord, in his own good time, has brought them.

Schools were established in Alexandria by the benevolent societies about the same period they were opened in Washington, and for the last five years the colored children of the city have had vastly better school privileges than the white—a turn in the wheel of fortune abundantly suggestive of philosophic reflection.

THE FIRST SCHOOLS FOR CONTRABANDS.

The earliest schools for contrabands in the country were opened in Alexandria, and, to the honor of the colored people be it said, were established wholly by themselves. They were private, in part pay schools, and a very large majority of the scholars, from first to last, were contrabands.

The colored schools of Alexandria under the old order of things were summarily terminated, it has been seen, when the retrocession was consummated, July 9, 1846, and henceforth, for 15 years, the colored people in that city were, so far as stern municipal law and relentless public sentiment and public officers could compass the wretched purpose, shut up to ignorance. There were, however, in that city, as elsewhere in Virginia, those who held to the faith of the Virginians of an earlier day, and who gave their servants some education.

Among the few colored girls who had grown up under such training in Alexandria was Miss Mary Chase. The family retreating with the tide of the rebellion when the ill-fated Ellsworth so bravely planted there the standard of the Union, May 24, 1861, she was left behind, and, quickly appreciating the nature of the wonderful events passing before her eyes, she courageously set to work for the good of her race. September 1 of that year (1861) she started a school called the "Columbia Street School," near Wolf street, and continued it, with much usefulness, down to 1866, when nearly all the pay schools were absorbed in the better organized free schools of the benevolent societies. Her school numbered 25 scholars June 30, 1865, and this was about her usual number, of whom quite two-thirds had been slaves.

The second contraband school was the "St. Rose Institute," a day and evening school, on West street, between King and Prince. It was established October 1, 1861, by Mrs. Jane A. Crouch and Miss Sarah A. Gray, both colored, and natives of Alexandria. It averaged about 40 scholars, nearly all having been slaves. Miss Gray was one of Miss Miner's scholars; was also at the St. Frances Academy of the Baltimore convent, and is a superior scholar as well as teacher. She afterwards assisted Rev. Mr. Robinson in his school, but is at the present time teaching a flourishing private school of her own in Alexandria, num-

*NOTE.—The first Grand Lodge among the colored people of this country was organized in Boston in 1784, under a charter received from the masons of England.

bering from 60 to 70 scholars. Her father is a well known and respected citizen of that place. Mrs. Crouch, also an excellent teacher, received a part of her education at the Baltimore convent.

The *third contraband school* was organized January 1, 1862, by Rev. C. Robinson, an able colored Baptist clergyman, subsequently assisted by the American Free Baptist Mission Society of New York, and also by the American Baptist Home Missionary Society. The school was held in a room connected with the "Second Baptist" or "Beulah" church, of which Mr. Robinson is the present pastor, and which he organized in 1863; then and now composed entirely of persons manumitted by the emancipation proclamation. Mr. Robinson was born in Brunswick, Virginia, but has no knowledge of either of his parents. He received his collegiate and theological education at the "Ashmun Institute," now the Lincoln University, (Oxford, Penn. ;) was supported by "The New Jersey Baptist State Educational Society," and was ordained in the First Baptist church at Newark. At the opening of the war he was teaching at Philadelphia, as the laws of Virginia did not permit him to return, he having left it for the purpose of getting an education. When the war swept down that barrier he at once returned, and opened his school, which he called the "First Select Colored school." The first teachers were, besides himself, Rev. G. W. Parker, Miss Amanda Borden, and Mrs. Robinson, all colored. The attendance was very large, and in 1862 the number registered was 715, though the average of regular scholars was much less. In December, 1864, the records show an average of 250. As the free schools were introduced the number necessarily diminished. In the autumn of 1865 the teachers were George H. Steemer, (colored,) Miss Martha J. Emerson, and Miss Louisa Avery, young ladies from New Hampshire and excellently fitted for their work. The next year it was made an entirely free school, and Miss Sarah A. Gray, already mentioned, Miss Lavinia Lane, and Miss Martha Winkfield were added to the corps of teachers, the average attendance being about 125. Before the close of that year the number of teachers was reduced to two, Miss Gray and Miss Clara Gowing, (colored,) Mr. Robinson not having at any time withdrawn his general superintendence of the school. In 1868 he resumed the direct charge. The number of scholars is now (January, 1869,) 100; average attendance, 90. Theological Department, 30; Normal Department, 30; Primary Department, 40. The teachers are A. Lewis, Rev. J. M. Dawson, Rev. J. Thomas, Rev. L. W. Brooks, and George H. Steemer, all colored. This school has for two years been under the auspices of a society afflicted with the ponderous title of "*The Home and Foreign Educational Missionary and Commission Society.*" From the beginning the "Beulah Normal and Theological school" has constituted one of the departments, the public examinations of which are held every summer. In the two years ending July, 1868, the above-named society had contributed to the school \$728 33. The supporters of the society are men of wealth in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, of whom the most liberal have been Hon. Wm. E. Dodge, of New York; the late J. P. Crozer, of Philadelphia; and A. H. Reese, of Chester, Pennsylvania. The society has educated eight missionaries, who are now teaching and preaching at the south, most of whom were ordained in the Beulah church. The following is a brief summary taken from the records of Mr. Robinson's school:

1862, scholars registered, Primary Department.....	700
Normal and Theological Departments.....	15
1863, scholars registered, Primary Department.....	708
Normal and Theological Departments.....	20
1864, scholars registered, Primary Department.....	558
Normal and Theological Departments.....	28
1865, scholars registered, Primary Department.....	400
Normal and Theological Departments.....	30
1866, scholars registered, Primary Department.....	380
Normal and Theological Departments.....	60
1867, scholars registered, Primary Department.....	300
Normal and Theological Departments.....	88
1868, scholars registered, Primary Department.....	40
Normal and Theological Departments.....	60

It should be mentioned that a large evening school has also been kept up from the origin of this enterprise.

The fourth contraband school in Alexandria was started in November, 1862, by Leland Warring, himself a contraband, who has since become a preacher under the instruction and by the assistance of Rev. E. Turney, D. D. At that time Warring could read and spell pretty well, and such limited knowledge as he possessed he was generously moved to impart to his brother contrabands less favored. It is an interesting fact that this school was opened in the Lancaster school-house, which was erected in Alexandria through the beneficence of Washington. This house was at the time filled with families of contrabands, and to Warring it offered a good place for beginning his work. He soon had a prosperous school of over 50 children, and continued the work in that place until the following February, 1863, when the school came under the charge of the government "superintendent of contrabands," and was moved to the "Freedmen's Home," in the barrack buildings.

The above-named four schools were wholly or in part pay schools, and started and conducted by colored persons.

The first white woman who went to Alexandria to labor for the contrabands was Miss Julia A. Wilbur, of Rochester, New York. She arrived in October, 1862, and was sent by the *Ladies' Anti-slavery Society* of that city to assist the contrabands in whatever way seemed to her best. She immediately established sewing schools or working centres, and, being a woman of fortitude and sagacity, she accomplished in many ways an immense amount of good for the poor desolate beings to whom she gave her exertions. She was supplied with money and a large amount of useful contributions, and it is the testimony of all who have known her work that it has been done in a most judicious manner. She was constantly among the schools in Alexandria, and contributed a great deal by her fine intelligence and excellent sense in giving wise direction to the efforts of the many teachers of limited education. She still continues her labors for the colored people, mostly, for the last year or two, in Washington and Georgetown. Miss Wilbur was a teacher in Rochester at the time Miss Miner was teaching in a public school in that city, about 1846.

SCHOOLS ORGANIZED IN 1863.

The first free contraband school organized in Alexandria by whites and conducted by white teachers was "The First Free Colored Mission Day School" at the "Freedmen's Home," corner of Prince and Royal streets. As has been already stated, it was composed in part of the one opened in the autumn of 1862 by Leland Warring in the Lancaster school-house. In the winter of 1862-'63 Rev. Albert Gladwin, of Connecticut, came to Alexandria under the direction of the "*American Baptist Free Mission Society*" of New York. He was quite active among the contrabands in getting them into religious meetings and into schools, some of which he started. He was not himself a teacher, nor did he work in such a manner as to win the particular respect of those who were teachers. He was a man of very limited education, but understood very well how to appropriate to his purposes the intelligence of others. Soon after arriving he was appointed "Superintendent of Contrabands" by the military authorities, and this gave him large sway among this class of poor creatures, who were at this period congregated in great numbers in that city. The school was opened February 23, 1863, and the teachers were at first Miss M. C. Owen, Miss Mary A. Collier, Miss Elmira Keltie, and Rev. Mr. Owen, all white. Mr. Gladwin was also accustomed to get the services of convalescent soldiers detailed as teachers; among whom were Corporal A. Borten, colored, and T. McKenzie Axe, who was quite prominent as an assistant. Some of the soldiers so detailed were very ignorant and some very inhuman. The number of scholars in attendance December 31, 1864, was 139, all contrabands; in June, 1865, it was 75; in March, 1866, it was 110, then in charge of Miss Owen and Lovejoy S. Owen. In April it was disbanded. Mr. Gladwin had been discharged in January, 1865.

The female teachers of this school were excellent, and Miss Mary A. Collier, who entered the school when it was started at the Freedmen's Home or Barracks, and continued till she died, in the midst of her work, in December, 1866, was a truly noble example of heroic Christian philanthropy. She was the daughter of Dr. Collier, of Chelsea, Massachusetts,

who was long the city missionary of Boston. Possessed of rare talents and the best intellectual culture, an author of repute, and reared in the tenderness of a refined home, she came into this work with all her heart, labored day and night, literally working herself to death. This is the uniform testimony of those who observed her incessant and self-sacrificing devotion. Miss Collier was sent by the American Baptist Home Missionary Society.

"*Union Town school*," corner of Union and Wolf streets, was organized May 2, 1863, under the instruction of Corporal L. A. Bearmor and Mrs. Nancy Williams, a colored woman. This was a free school. Number of scholars December 31, 1865, all contrabands, 80. In June, 1866, it was taught by Mrs. Christiana Richards, numbering 35 scholars.

The "*Primary school*," day and evening, was started September 1, 1863, on Princess, between Pitt and St. Asaph streets, by Wm. K. Harris and Richard H. Lyles, both colored. The number of scholars, all contrabands, December 31, 1866, was 77. In January, 1866, it had been changed to a "select school," and averaged about 30 scholars. In June, 1865, the number was 60, with one teacher, R. H. Lyles. This was a pay school.

"*Newtown school*," day and evening, was started at the west end of Cameron street, partly free, November 2, 1863, by two colored teachers, Anna Bell Davis and Leannah Powell, and was continued in 1865 by Miss Davis, who commenced teaching while, as a contraband, she was sheltered at the slave-pen prison, a portion of which at the beginning of the war had been transformed into a rude home for the Virginia contrabands who flocked into the city. Having acquired a little education while a slave, Miss Davis bought some books and opened a school in the prison, charging a tuition fee of 50 cents a month. Mr. Hill, a colored man, had a school of 50 scholars during a part of that year.

The *Sickles Barracks school*, a Reformed Presbyterian (Xenia, Ohio) Mission school, was organized by Rev. N. K. Crow, from Illinois, November 16, 1863, in a Methodist church, corner of Princess and Patrick streets. This church, abandoned by its congregation at the opening of the war and for some time used for hospital purposes, was now, by order of General Heintzelman, turned over to this mission for school purposes. It was subsequently purchased by the colored people for a church for \$3,000. Mr. Crow opened his school with eight scholars, and five days afterwards it numbered 120. He immediately opened an evening school of young men and women, which numbered from 90 to 130. Mr. Henry Fish, of Massachusetts, and his niece, Miss Mary Cleveland, were his first assistants; Rev. W. G. Scott, from New York, soon aiding him as teacher, and continuing in the school with great efficiency till 1868, being in charge of the operations for several years after Mr. Crow left Mr. Samuel Young, from Philadelphia, then a theological student and now a clergyman, was one of the early teachers. He was succeeded in 1864 by Mr. S. K. Stormont, who remained till June, 1866, when he and Miss Cleveland were succeeded by Miss Jemima Silliman and Miss L. Alcorn, who still continue in the schools. Miss Maggie Silliman, who came into the schools October, 1864, is also one of the admirable corps of teachers. Miss Jennette Darling, of New York city, was one of the excellent teachers in 1864 and 1865. At the close of 1864 the day school numbered about 150. The average attendance in December, 1865, was 160; in December, 1866, it was 136, and 156 in March, 1867.

June 1, 1863, a small school, day and evening, was opened at No. 81 Prince street by Charles Seals, colored, the day school numbering 20, all contrabands.

October 1, 1863, Mrs. Mary Simms, colored, started an evening school on Duke street, which in December, 1864, numbered 17 scholars, all contrabands, and, like that of Mr. Seals, a pay school.

SCHOOLS ORGANIZED IN 1864.

January 11, 1864. "*The Jacobs Free School*," corner of Pitt and Roanoke streets, supported by "*The New England Freedmen's Aid Society*."—Dr. J. R. Bigelow, surgeon in charge of contrabands in Alexandria, in his round of duty one Sunday morning, in August, 1863, visiting that particular section of the city called "Petersburg," and observing a one-legged negro standing near one of the small shanties that had been quite recently built, found on entering into conversation with him that he was a contraband shoemaker, who had built the first house in that settlement at a cost of \$39. After a short colloquy he asked the dusky

son of Crispin if he could sing. To which he replied with one of the grand old devotional hymns, which was sung in an inspiring manner. Others soon gathered, and joined as a chorus. When the singing was ended a large audience had congregated, and this homeless and almost houseless through Dr. Bigelow addressed in a brief speech, promising to come the next Sunday and again speak to them. At the third of these singular Sunday meetings, held in the open air, a contribution to build a house for a school was proposed, when a contribution was taken up for the object, resulting in the collection of \$200 on the spot, and all from contrabands. With this money they went immediately to work, and before winter had a large roughly-finished house for their school and meetings, costing \$500, and known as the "Jacobs school." It was so named in honor of Mrs. Harriet Jacobs and her daughter Louisa, who were sent from New York by the Society of Friends in that city in January, 1863. This mother and daughter, born in slavery in Edenton, North Carolina, escaped from bondage some years before the war, and a book written by the mother, and edited by Mrs. Lydia M. Child, entitled "Linda," has made their history familiar to many. They made many friends in New York and other places at the north; and among those whose cordial hospitality they enjoyed, were Mr. N. P. Willis and his family, with whom Mrs. Jacobs visited Europe. She collected some funds to aid in building and furnishing the school-house. Miss Jacobs has just been placed in charge of a school in the Stevens school-house. The first teachers were Miss Louisa Jacobs and Miss S. V. Lawton, also colored. December 31, 1864, it numbered 170 scholars, and June 30, 1865, the number was 135, nearly all contrabands. In 1865 the teachers were Mr. J. S. Banfield, (white,) Miss S. V. Lawton and her sister, Miss E. M. Lawton; in 1866 Mr. Henry T. Aborn (white) and the Miss Lawtons; in 1867 Mrs. E. P. Smith and Miss Hattie R. Smith, both white. The Miss Lawtons came from Cambridge, Massachusetts, and are well educated.

January 18. "*Freedmen's Chapel*," an evening school, corner of Pitt and Roanoke streets.—The teachers were Rev. W. M. Scott, Mary A. Collier, and Elvira Keltie, all white. Average number through the year about 150. The two Scotts, Rev. W. M. Scott and Rev. W. G. Scott, already mentioned, were able, untiring, and unselfish laborers.

April 4. *Fort William school*; day and evening; Mrs. Elmira Dean, with colored assistant, Mr. J. Hodge. Day school averaged about 40.

April 18. "*First National Freedmen's school*," under auspices of the "New York Freedmen's Relief Association; day and evening; Mr. Henry Fish, Mrs. Melissa Fish, and Miss Harriet E. Mitchel, colored. Enoch Bath was subsequently added as a teacher. First located north of Cameron, between Payne and West streets, but in 1865 on corner of Queen and Payne. December 31, 1864, day school numbered 170 scholars; attendance averaging through 1865 about 125. This was "a part pay school." Nearly all contrabands.

May 1. "*St. Patrick's school*," St. Patrick street; Miss Harriet Byron Douglass, colored; pay school; about one-third contrabands. Number of scholars December 31, 1864, 35; and June 30, 1865, 28.

June 14. "*Second National Freedmen's school*," on Wolf, between Pitt and Royal streets; Rev. M. F. Shuby and Miss Laura Phenix, both colored. It was "a part pay school" under Mr. Shuby, but free under Miss Orton. In December, 1864, this school had an average attendance of about 70 scholars, very few contrabands, which continued at about that average through 1865. In 1866 it rose to 100 in some months, but at the close of that school year, in June, the average attendance for the month was but 41. At the beginning of the next school year the school was in charge of Mr. I. C. Blanchard and Miss Carrie S. Orton; the average attendance for December, 1866, being 70. In January, 1867, this was raised to the rank of a "high school," under the charge of Miss Orton, principal, and Miss Susan Dennis, assistant, and was from first to last a higher style of colored school than had been known in Alexandria. It had an average attendance, in January, 1867, of 40 boys and 28 girls. It was now supported by the *North Shore and Portland, Maine, Aid Societies*. The school increased in numbers and in interest through the year.

September 5, 1864. "*Primary school*," on St. Asaph street, south of Gibbon. Teachers, Miss M. F. Simms and Miss M. M. Nickens, both colored. A small contraband pay school. On the same day the "*Washington street school*," No. 65 Washington street, was opened by

Miss L. V. Lewis and Miss A. M. Thompson, both colored; a pay school, numbering 70 scholars, and continuing through the year, and all contrabands. June 30, 1865, it was taught by Miss A. M. Thompson, colored, numbering 37 scholars. Rev. Leland Warring, colored, opened a small *evening pay school*, all contrabands, September 7, and September 20 Mr. G. S. Mell started the "*Home evening school*," a small pay school, mostly contrabands. Both schools held in barrack buildings. Mr. Mell subsequently started a small pay day school called the "*Washington Square school*."

Rev. Chauncey Leonard, chaplain of L'Ouverture Military Hospital, had a flourishing school there through the winter of 1864-'65.

SCHOOLS ORGANIZED IN 1865 AND 1866.

The Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association organized its first school January 9, 1865, in Zion Wesley church, on Columbia near Wolf street, under the charge of Miss Caroline W. Moore, Miss R. S. Capron, and Miss Mary F. Nickens, the latter a colored teacher. Attendance June, 1865, was 150. The association thinking it best to concentrate its strength in Washington, withdrew from Alexandria in the latter part of the same year, leaving their operations in good hands.

The New York Freedmen's Relief Association organized the "*Third National Freedmen's school*" November 20, 1865, on Alfred street near Wilkes, under Miss Emma E. Warren, who was succeeded in February, 1866, by Miss Cornelia Jones and Miss Mary S. Rowell, the latter going into another school soon and giving place to Miss Helen Vaughan. Average attendance under Miss Warren, about 50; under her successors, two schools, the attendance in each was nearly 50. Miss Rowell went into the "*Fourth National school*," which was organized November 25, 1865, on West between Prince and Duke streets. In June, 1866, the six departments had an average attendance of 246, with 320 on their combined rolls. The teachers were at that date Helen Vaughan, Mary S. Rowell, Frances Munger, Emma E. Warren, and Kate A. Shepard. Miss H. N. Webster was in the school at its organization, and Charles A. Libby was in charge in May, 1866. This school had at first four departments, with an average attendance of about 200.

The *Fifth National school* was opened December 1, 1865, near the corner of Union and Franklin streets, under Rev. Edward Barker and Mr. Enoch Bath. In June, 1866, this school had been moved to Water street, and the average attendance that month was 85.

There was a large school started at *Camp Distribution* in 1865, and continued down to 1868. Julia Benedict and Frances Rouviere were the original teachers, continuing till 1867, when Thomas Corwin took the school, which averaged about 35 scholars.

In the autumn of 1866 there were two schools opened at *L'Ouverture Hospital*, one taught by Miss L. A. Hall and the other by Helen Robertson; also two in *Barrack buildings*, one by Mary E. Fales, the other by Elmira S. Jones; another at *Battery Rodgers* by Emily J. Brown and Emma R. Hawley, all white teachers. In February, 1867, Miss Hawley's department was organized into a district school, and supported by the "*Penn Yan, N. Y. Aid Society*." The above-named teachers were white, and the schools were supported in 1866-'67 by the New York branch of the Freedmen's Aid Commission, with an average attendance of nearly 250 scholars.

CHURCHES AND SABBATH SCHOOLS.

As the war advanced the contraband hamlet called "Petersburg," and already mentioned, became populous, at one period numbering some 1,500 people, with several hundred houses. They soon formed a Baptist church, and Rev. G. W. Parker, colored, who was teaching with Rev. C. Robinson in the "Select Colored School," became their pastor, and still continues with them in that relation. In due time, as the church and society increased, the necessity for better accommodations became apparent, and a Methodist white church edifice, which had been left empty by the owners, many of whom had gone into the rebellion, was purchased for the very small sum of \$3,000, their pastor going north and collecting funds for this object. Up to that time the Jacob's school-house had been used for religious meetings, as well as for school purposes. Just as they were about to move into the church

building they had purchased the school-house was destroyed by a violent storm. This church, the Third Baptist, (colored,) is in a flourishing condition, and numbers 600 members. They are now preparing to enlarge the building. The Sabbath school is very large, and, under the care of some half a dozen white persons of Christian benevolence, is one of the most interesting and effective educational institutions in Alexandria. The name of the place was changed when General Grant took command of the army from "Petersburg" to "Grantville," in honor of that event, the contrabands alleging that as Peter Grant, the founder of their settlement, was of the same name, in making the change they would be "killing two birds with one stone."

Before the war there were but two colored churches in Alexandria, the "First Baptist" and the "African Methodist Episcopal." They did not, however, have pastors of their own color, colored preachers being allowed to officiate only in the presence of a white minister or person detailed by him for that duty, and even in those cases the colored clergyman was not permitted to enter the pulpit. Rev. Philip Hamilton, a highly respected and well known local preacher of the Methodist church, was always subjected to this restraint. It was when on his way from Washington to Alexandria to preach in that church that Rev. Frost Pullett was once arrested as a free negro, the laws of Virginia forbidding a free negro or mulatto coming into the State.

There are now six churches of colored people in that city, the "African Methodist Episcopal" and five Baptist churches. The "First Baptist church" was organized more than 40 years ago, and the pastor is Rev. B. F. Madden. The "Second Baptist," or "Beulah church," was organized in 1863 by Rev. C. Robinson, the present pastor. This people bought a lot and started their house, the pastor, like Mr. Parker, going north and gathering funds to complete the building. This church is large and flourishing. These two colored pastors, it has been seen, started the "Select Colored School," in January 1, 1862, and they taught together till the "Petersburg" church bought their new house. The "Fourth Baptist," or "Shiloh" church, was organized about 1833, at "Newton"—L'Ouverture Hospital—the military hospital for colored soldiers, which was located in the yard of Price & Birch's old slave prison, used during the war as a prison for deserters. The ancient sign "Price, Birch & Co.," in dim characters, remained upon the front of the gloomy structure through the war; the windows with their iron grates, the lofty brick enclosure, and every aspect of the three-story spacious structure, suggesting the lacerated human hearts and bodies, the manacles, the chains, the auction-block, and all the manifold forms of anguish which such a shocking receptacle brings before every humane and reflecting mind. The pastor of the "Shiloh" church is Rev. Leland Warring, a colored man, who, like the others, was a teacher during the war. There is still another Baptist colored church, the "Zion Baptist," located in the vicinity of the railroad tunnel. These churches have each a flourishing Sabbath school, in which old and young unite in learning to read and in the study of the Bible.

It should have been previously stated that the Sisters of Charity, about 45 years ago, maintained for some years a small but very excellent school for colored girls, at the same period in which they had a large boarding school for white girls, in the large brick building then known as "The Old Brig," on the corner of Duke and Fairfax streets, in Alexandria. These Sisters also maintained a very large Sunday-school for colored children, in which they were instructed in spelling, reading, and in Christian doctrine. At this period the Friends also sustained a large Sunday-school in their meeting-house, in which refined women of prominent standing in the city were wont to teach the colored people, young and old, to spell and read and to write also, the last-mentioned branch being little tolerated in a colored school at any period in Virginia. In the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches the colored people were taught the catechism, rarely if ever to read at all.

SCHOOLS IN OPERATION JANUARY 1, 1869.

There are two colored school-houses in the city, six rooms in each; the Pitt street house, finished in April, 1867, and the Alfred street house, finished in the following November. The lots upon which these houses stand were purchased by the colored people, in 1866.

They held public meetings to rouse their people to the importance of the subject; concentrated their efforts, and raised the money in their poverty, paying \$800 for the first lot, and about that sum for the other. The Freedmen's Bureau built the houses, which are very comfortable, and of a capacity each to seat 400 scholars; the estimated value of the Alfred street house and lot being \$7,500; that of the other, \$5,000.

In the Alfred street building there are now (January, 1869) in operation five schools, under the following teachers: Miss E. D. Leonard, Massachusetts; Miss Maggie L. Silliman, Miss Jemima Silliman, and Miss Lydia Alcorn, Pennsylvania; and Miss Savira Wright, Massachusetts. The Misses Silliman and Miss Alcorn are supported by the Reformed Presbyterian mission, and the others by the New York branch of the A. F. U. Commission.

In the Pitt street building there are also five schools, with five teachers and an assistant teacher, as follows: Miss M. E. Stratton and Miss Fannie A. Morgan, Connecticut; Miss Rosetta A. Coit, New York; Miss Mary E. Perkins; Miss Laura V. Phenix and Miss Mary M. Nickens, the latter a colored teacher. These 10 schools have an average attendance of about 420 scholars, with 500 or more names on the rolls. In the two private schools there are 170 more, making 670 registered scholars. Rev. C. Robinson's school numbers 100; Miss Sarah A. Gray's about 70. Miss Gray and the other colored female teachers mentioned above were born and brought up in Alexandria; the former, however, received her thorough education at the Baltimore Convent.

Rev. Richard Miles and his daughter have recently opened a school a few miles south of Alexandria, and about a mile from "Camp Distribution," a place well known during the years of the war, and where now there is a settlement of colored people, who are trying to support themselves by renting and tilling small pieces of land, varying in extent from five to 50 acres. Some of the scholars in Mr. Miles's school come a distance of three miles.

SUMMARY.

	Scholars.		Scholars.
Scholars registered, September, 1861, to December 31, 1864.....	3,732	Average attendance, January, 1866..	1,594
Average attendance, December, 1864.	1,646	Scholars registered, January, 1867..	975
Scholars registered, January to June, 1865.....	1,643	Average attendance; January, 1867..	645
Average attendance, June, 1865....	1,036	Scholars registered, January, 1868..	1,086
Scholars registered, January, 1866..	2,215	Average attendance, January, 1868..	835
		Scholars registered, January, 1869..	777
		Average attendance, January, 1869..	608

Colored population of Alexandria, 1865.

Children 14 years old and under....	2,635	Slaves before the war.....	5,050
Children over 14 and under 20.....	1,144	Free before the war.....	2,713
Total colored population.....	7,763	Mulattoes.....	3,831
Number able to read.....	1,734	Blacks.....	3,932

REMARKS.

The above summary shows some falling off of numbers in the last two years. This is to be attributed in part to the improvement of the schools, the inferior ones being absorbed in the larger and better, and also to the moving away of many contrabands, who at first crowded in great numbers to Alexandria from the northern part of the State. It must, however, be acknowledged that the indefatigable labors of the various relief societies in gathering the children into the schools are sadly missed, and that at present the average attendance should be larger, and the school accommodations much increased. The Freedmen's Bureau has been and still is of great service, but this will soon be withdrawn; and with no public school system in the city or the State, and in the midst of a population where hardly a single resident has the least sympathy with any work for the elevation of the colored race, and where most are strongly and even bitterly opposed to such efforts, the prospect for this unfortunate class is far from encouraging.

The Friends in Alexandria who maintained their allegiance to the Union were among the most effective workers in the cause of colored schools, joining hands heartily with their

brethren from the north. It is, however, a remarkable fact that the only case in which the great body of the Friends connected with any Friends' meeting in the country supported the rebellion, was that at Alexandria. Most of them went south, and the meeting was broken up. This shows how extreme was the disloyalty which reigned in that city.

Mr. Newton, already referred to as the efficient superintendent in 1865-'66 of the Washington and Georgetown schools, under the care of the New York and Pennsylvania freedmen's relief societies, took, for a time, a general supervision of the schools at Alexandria, at the request of the different benevolent associations. At that time semi-monthly meetings of all the teachers were held alternately in Washington and Alexandria, there often being as many as 125 present. These gatherings, or conferences, were productive of great good. This association of teachers was quite distinct from the "Volunteer association," so called, already noticed.

Most of the teachers now employed have been in the arduous work for years, and it is only those able to endure the severest toil who have not broken down under it. The very great number of young women who have come here with faith, fortitude, and health, and broken down, is well known to those who have been familiar with these schools, and shows that it has been a self-sacrificing field of labor. It is certain, also, that abler, better-educated, and more refined young women never entered into any benevolent enterprise than those who have given such signal success to this great educational undertaking in the District of Columbia and vicinity. The schools and teachers of Alexandria are substantially the same in character as those of Washington and Georgetown, and the remarks of a general nature already made apply equally to them. The scholars are about as well advanced and show the same aptitude and zeal in the one city as in the others.

As has been stated, the first three schools organized in Alexandria for colored instruction, after the war opened, were taught by colored persons. Colored schools in any form were sufficiently odious to the mass of the old white residents of that city; but when the northern white men and women entered upon the work the bitterness was very intense. When Rev. N. K. Crow with his band of associates went there to open their school, in November, 1863, no white family in the city would give them food or lodging. They found a home, however, with an excellent old colored man, H. H. Arnold, now more than 80 years old, but smart as an ordinary man at 50, who had seen General Washington in 1799 at Christ church in that city, and was raised in the Scott family, in Diuwiddie county. Being of Indian extraction on his mother's side, he was free-born. Arnold was the body-servant of Lieutenant General Scott for thirty-seven years, from 1811 to the close of the Mexican war, and he describes many a rough-and-tumble scuffle they had together when boys on the family plantation. This reminds one of the story told of Richard Henry Lee, in the memoir by his grandson: "Knowing he was to be sent to England, [to be educated,] it was his custom to make a stout negro boy fight with him every day. To his angry father's question, 'What pleasure can you find in such rough sport?' the son replied: 'I shall shortly have to box with the English boys, and I do not wish to be beaten by them.'" Arnold being in New York city at the time of the riots of 1863, was protected in General Scott's house, and was the only colored man that followed the remains of this great soldier to their last resting place.

Mr. Crow's school was persecuted, and the children often stoned by the white children; and every form of contempt was visited upon the refined and cultivated teachers by the white parents. This animosity has gradually abated, but still largely pervades the society, especially in the ranks of the impoverished classes of the aristocracy, who are smarting under the loss of wealth in human souls and bodies. In January, 1865, Miss Caroline W. Moore could find no decent white family who would receive her, and the colored people were too poor to furnish her proper accommodations; and she with her assistant, Miss R. S. Capron, were for some time compelled to board in Washington. It was her school that was complained of as a nuisance, though an exceedingly well-conducted institution. She presented her case to the mayor in person, and he discreetly dismissed the complaint.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY AND LABORS OF DR. PIERSON.

Since the main portion of this report was written, fuller information has come to our hands in regard to the important initiatory and pioneer work among the freedmen by Rev. Dr. H. W. Pierson, acting as agent of the American Tract Society. The several schools organized by him were not only the foundation of all that was afterward accomplished, but the work was without precedent, the field an untried one, and formidable obstacles presented themselves at the outset, in the melancholy physical and mental condition of the freedmen themselves, in a public sentiment, strong and fierce, opposed to their enlightenment, and in the black code of the District, at that time in full force and bristling with enactments in hostile array against such a benevolent and Christian work.

The opening of the war at once drew the attention of the whole north to the rapid release of the slaves from bondage, wherever our troops reached slave soil, and as quickly the great question arose, What shall be done for them? At this juncture it was inevitable that many eyes should be turned to the Tract Society, with its complete organization and ample resources, and appeals were poured in on every side that it would move in this work. Dr. Pierson had resided many years at the south, as the Tract Society's superintendent of colportage in Virginia, as agent of the American Bible Society in Kentucky, and as President of Cumberland College, in that State. On graduating at the Union Theological Seminary in New York city, in 1848, Dr. Pierson was appointed by the American Board of Foreign Missions as missionary to Africa, but partial loss of health, owing to a disease of the lungs, prevented him from going. The following winter he went to Hayti as agent for the Bible Society. He may be truly called the life-long friend of the colored race, and in many other ways than those above referred to has he labored in their behalf in most of the southern States. To many Dr. Pierson is known as the author of a valuable work on the private life of Jefferson, the substance of which formed the subject of lectures delivered by him before the New York Historical Society and the Smithsonian Institute. On leaving Kentucky in 1861, he was so impressed by the wonderful opening offered to philanthropic men and women for effectually reaching the poor slaves with the means of instruction, and was so convinced that it was the duty of the Tract Society to enter energetically upon the work, that he proceeded to New York and communicated personally with the secretaries upon the subject. He then went to Washington, and was introduced to Hon. Salmon P. Chase, then Secretary of the Treasury, by Rev. J. C. Smith, of Washington, so well known for his devotion to the best interests of the colored population of the District, a devotion wisely directed and fearlessly shown through those many years when obloquy, persecution, and danger attended it. Dr. Pierson was cordially received by Secretary Chase, and, after several interviews with him as to the best method of organizing a plan for educating and aiding the freedmen, he was introduced by him to Mr. E. L. Pierce, of Boston, who had already been sent south by the government to make investigations in regard to the condition of the colored people within our lines, and had just arrived in the city. Mr. Chase desired them to confer very fully on the subject, and Dr. Pierson presented his plan of sending to the freedmen *teaching colporteurs*, which was cordially approved by Mr. Pierce. In a letter written soon after, Dr. Pierson says: "I was very anxious that the American Tract Society should embark in this work, as my former connection with the society made me fully aware of its great facilities for usefulness in its buildings, presses, and organization. I had been so absorbed in my own labors that I had taken no part in the discussion and excitements that it had passed through on the slavery question, but I knew that its receipts had fallen off about \$100,000 on account of the withdrawal of those who had disapproved of its course on this subject. In my free conversations with the secretaries, I told them that they could in no way secure the sympathy of the warm friends they had lost as by entering upon educational and religious labors among the colored people."

It may be stated here that early in the winter of 1861-'62, a plan was under consideration among many prominent and wealthy philanthropic and Christian men in New York to organize a National Society whose leading object it should be to establish schools among the freedmen, as no efficient society then existing seemed prepared to take up the work. One

feature of this plan was to enlist, as far as possible, the services of the army chaplains and soldiers, at such points as was practicable.

February 6, 1862, Rev. Dr. Smith wrote Dr. Pierson as follows: "Last evening I had a talk with Secretary Chase at his house. I found him much interested about the contrabands and he wants to do something effectively with and for them, and *at once*, something that will unite different denominations and benevolent men in a society or a association like to the American Tract Society, with auxiliaries in other cities. The object will be to furnish teachers for the contrabands, have schools, and in every way seek to elevate them, 'for' said the Secretary, 'whatever may be the *political* results of our present troubles, these contrabands will be on another footing than heretofore.' He says *immediate* steps ought to be taken, and he will co-operate in every way possible in the enterprise. The heart of Mr. Chase is in the thing. I told him you were the man to execute the whole business, and he has read your two letters. There are no funds of the government that can be used, but the *power* of the government can be had, and will be, if the work can go on. We do not want books and tracts so much as we want *men* to go and be with the contrabands. Do see as many men as you can. The whole work is simple and ought to be pushed now. Secretary Chase attaches all importance to it, and will give it his full and noble aid."

Early in the winter the Tract Society as well as the Bible Society donated their publications for the use of the freedmen, and the former society prepared several tracts for their special needs. The Secretary, Mr. Eastman, wrote under date of February 8, 1862, to Rev. Dr. Smith, as follows:

"MY DEAR SIR: Dr. Pierson has showed us your letter to him and we had an interview with him last evening. All I can say now is that we are deeply interested in the subject and are ready to do whatever we can to serve and promote the general object as we understand it. We have not, however, any plan fully matured, but will confer further on the subject. In the mean time I would say that in addition to our Tract Primer and Infant Primer, of which with other publications we have already sent the amount of 100,000 pages to Fortress Monroe and Port Royal especially for the colored people, we have now in press 24 small tracts in large type, which we have got up on purpose for them. These will be ready in a week. We shall add to the number as the work goes on. We cannot now tell all that we can do, but you will hear from us again in a few days."

Later in February Dr. Pierson addressed to the Tract Society the following letter:

"NEW YORK, February 25, 1862.

"GENTLEMEN: I enclose herewith a letter written by myself to Mr. Edward L. Pierce, special agent of the Treasury Department, and his reply. It has seemed to me that a great door and effectual is here opened for the beneficent labors of your society. I am aware that the labors required are somewhat different in character, though not in spirit, from those that have been for years performed by your colporteurs in the moral wastes of every part of the country.

"You are aware that the American Sabbath School Union has just published a 'Bible Reader,' composed exclusively of selections from the Bible, accompanied with a series of cards embracing the most recent and philosophical improvements in the work of imparting elementary instruction, and so arranged that groups of a hundred or more can be taught in concert to read much more rapidly than by former systems. Dr. Packard informs me that he thinks that, as a rule, adults can be taught to read the Bible by this system in a month. Moreover, the Reader is so arranged that by the time it has been mastered the pupil will be thoroughly informed as to the essential truths of our holy religion. I desire you to bring this whole matter before your committee and inform me as to these two points: First, Can your society superadd to its work that of teaching the contrabands to read the word of God? Second, Will you commission colporteurs for this work? If you give me an affirmative answer to these questions I will communicate further with the government agents, to whom this work has been intrusted. From my extended travel in the southern States, and residence there for many years, I feel a very deep interest in their welfare. A great educational and religious work, in the providence of God, is now thrown upon the great Christian heart of the country, and it seems to me that your society is called upon to enter upon it,

but of that you must be the judge. Pardon me if, in my intense solicitude for these children of our common Father, so many thousands of whom have heard from my lips the message of salvation, I charge you to consider this matter prayerfully and maturely, and that you act upon it in view of the account you must render to Him who has said 'inasmuch as you have done it unto one of the least of these you have done it unto me.'"

On the 28th of February Dr. Pierson was commissioned by the Tract Society to visit Washington and other points for the purpose of establishing schools for the freedmen, and report to them further openings for similar operations. In a letter he thus briefly sketches his first experience after arriving in Washington :

"I soon learned that most of the contrabands who had passed through our lines and reached the city were assembled at the navy yard and in a building in Duff Green's row, near the Capitol. March 14, I visited Commodore Dahlgren, then in command at the navy yard, and presented a letter of introduction from Rev. J. C. Smith, stating my object and office. He received me most cordially, and indorsed my letter with these few but hearty words: '*The commandant says certainly.*' He then directed Lieutenant Parker to send me whatever aid I desired. I told him I only wished to have the chapel opened and lighted, and all the contrabands in the yard notified to meet me there at 7 o'clock that evening. At the appointed hour I found a dusky group, such as I had seen on hundreds of plantations, awaiting my arrival and most anxious to enjoy the richest of all the privileges secured to them by their new-found freedom. It was a moment of indescribable interest—a pivotal point in their history as well as my own. At any previous period of our history such a meeting on any of the plantations from which they had escaped would have been criminal in the highest degree. I had myself seen a poor Irishman in the hands of the sheriff, who told me his prisoner had been convicted of teaching negroes to read, and he was taking him to Richmond to serve out the years in the penitentiary, for which he had been sentenced. Now I had no fear of the penitentiary, nor they of 'stripes well laid on.' My method of teaching was very simple, and the same in all the schools subsequently established, and intended expressly for adults. I began with the first verse of the Bible, printed on a card in letters so large that all could easily see it, and hung upon the wall. Without attempting to teach or even name the letters, I began with the words, requiring them to repeat each in concert several times, until well distinguished from the others, and in this way a short verse was learned in half an hour. With this 'word method,' instruction in the letters and in spelling was afterwards combined. At the navy yard Master C. V. Morris and his wife and daughter took the deepest interest in my labors, and rendered valuable aid in teaching. I called also on Mrs. Attorney General Bates, Mrs. Senator Trumbull, Mrs. Senator Grimes, and many other ladies of like social position, and received from them all assurances of sympathy, and from many personal co-operation in the work. As the work assumed larger proportions and the old slave laws were unrepealed, I thought it best to secure military protection. On receiving Mr. Shearer's commission from the Tract Society, I called upon Brigadier General James S. Wadsworth, military governor of the District, accompanied by Rev. J. C. Smith. He received us most kindly, and listened with the deepest interest and sympathy to our explanations of the routine of the work. I then handed him Mr. Shearer's commission, and requested him to place upon it such military indorsement as he judged best. He took it and wrote, as nearly as I can remember, 'The bearer is authorized to visit, instruct, and advise the colored people in this District, under the military protection of the government.' This paper secured access to all prisons, jails, camps, &c., in the District, and was of the greatest value in the prosecution of the work.

"On Sunday, March 30, I lectured in the Ebenezer church, (colored,) Georgetown, explained the nature of the work, and gave notice that I would meet them on an evening in the latter part of the week to organize a school. On Thursday, April 3, a statement appeared in the Star, that, in consequence of a report in circulation in Georgetown that a political lecture would be delivered to the colored people in that church on Wednesday evening, 'considerable excitement resulted, and threats were made to lynch the lecturer,' and that on that evening a large crowd of whites had gathered in a menacing attitude about the church. Also learning from private sources that a large number of young men had organized to

break up such a meeting, I applied to the mayor and directed his attention to the article. He had seen it. I told him the nature of the work I was doing, and that I had called entirely out of regard to him and the foolish young men who had not comprehended the change that had taken place since the war began. I showed him the above paper indorsed by General Wadsworth, and assured him that if necessary I should call on the military for protection. I then made a similar visit to the chief of police. They both assured me that I would not be molested, and I was not.

"I have labored, as you know, not a little in the moral wastes of the land, and have seen many tears of gratitude and heard many thanks, but I have never seen anything that would be compared to the eagerness of these people to learn to read the word of God, or their gratitude for my labors in their behalf. One gray-headed old woman said, 'I never expected to live to see this—to read the blessed Bible. God is as good as His word, sisters; God is as good as His word. Hain't He told us He would sanctify us by His spirit and His word? We have felt His spirit right in here (laying her hand upon her heart) a long time, and now He has sent this man here to teach us, and ain't His word coming right along?'"

BANNEKER, THE ASTRONOMER.

Benjamin Banneker, the celebrated black astronomer and mechanician, was born near the village of Ellicott's Mills, Maryland, in 1732. His father was a native African, and his mother the child of native Africans. His mother was free at her marriage, and soon purchased her husband's freedom. She was a Morton, a family noted for intelligence. Prior to 1809 free people of color voted in Maryland, and it was one of that family, Greenbury Morton, who, not knowing the law of that year restricting the right of voting to whites, made the famous impassioned speech to the crowd at the polls when his vote was refused. Benjamin Banneker worked upon his father's farm. When nearly a man grown he went to an obscure and distant country school, learning to read and write and to cipher as far as Double Position. He had great inventive powers, and made a clock from the instruction he obtained from seeing a watch. He was also a profound and accurate observer of nature, men, and things. In 1767 George Ellicott, a gentleman of education, furnished him some works of the higher class on mathematics and astronomy, which he devoured with avidity, and which opened a new world to him. Astronomy was henceforth his absorbing study. He lived alone in the cabin upon the farm which his parents, who were dead, had left him, and was never married. In 1791 he made an almanac, which was published in Baltimore, and the publication being continued annually till he died in 1804, at 72 years of age. Benjamin H. Ellicott, of Baltimore, took great interest in this remarkable man, and some quarter of a century ago gathered up the fragments of his history, which were embraced with other facts in regard to him in a memoir, prepared and read by John H. B. Latrobe, esq., before the Maryland Historical Society. Banneker sent the manuscript, in his own handwriting, of his first almanac to Thomas Jefferson in 1791, with a long and manly letter, to which Mr. Jefferson made prompt and kind reply, thanking him for the letter and almanac, and added "Nobody wishes more than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit that nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of the other colors of men, and that the appearance of a want of them is owing only to the degraded condition of their existence both in Africa and America," concluding as follows: "I have taken the liberty of sending your almanac to Monsieur de Condorcet, secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and member of the Philanthropic Society, because I consider it a document to which your whole color had a right for their *justification against the doubts which have been entertained of them.*" It is noteworthy that Mr. Jefferson calls the colored people "our black brethren;" elsewhere in his writings he calls them fellow-citizens. This almanac was extensively circulated through the middle and southern States, and its calculations were so exact and thorough as to excite the attention and admiration of the philosophic and scientific classes throughout Europe, especially Pitt, Fox, Wilberforce, and their coadjutors, who produced the work in the British Parliament as an argument in favor of the abolition of slavery and the cultivation of the black race. Banneker was buried near Ellicott's Mills, and a few years ago the colored people honored themselves in raising a monument there to the memory of his great genius and fine character.

In the interesting debate in the Senate in March, 1864, on Mr. Sumner's amendment to the bill incorporating the Metropolitan railroad, (Washington city,) providing that there should be no exclusion of any person from the cars of said road, Mr. Reverdy Johnson, in his reply to Senator Saulsbury's depreciation of the colored race, referred to Bancker in the following words: "Many of those born free have become superior men. One of them was employed in Maryland in surveying several of our boundary lines—Mason and Dixon's particularly—and some of the calculations made on that occasion, astronomical as well as mathematical in the higher sense, were made by a black Maryland man who had been a slave."

A SABBATH SCHOOL IN GEORGETOWN.

Since closing the earlier period of this history it has been discovered that a colored Sabbath school was established in the old Lancaster school-house in Georgetown as early as 1816, and was continued many years. Mr. Joseph Searle was the superintendent of the male department, and his sister, Miss Ann Searle, of the female, both being at that time teachers in a seminary in the city. The various Protestant churches sent teachers to aid in the humane work, and among those specially interested were Francis S. Key, Captain Thomas Brown, John McDaniel, Robert Ober, Daniel Kurtz, and a large number of excellent ladies. Francis S. Key not only taught in the school, but often made formal addresses to the scholars.

THE AFRICAN EDUCATION SOCIETY.

A society under the above title was organized December 28, 1839, by friends of the colored race in Washington and Georgetown. In the words of the constitution, its object was "to afford to persons of color destined to Africa such an education in letters, agriculture, and the mechanic arts as may best qualify them for usefulness and influence in Africa." The intention was to establish an institution for the above purpose. A house in Washington, near the Georgetown bridge, was rented, and a slaveholder in the vicinity offered the free use of a farm for practical instruction in agriculture, and for aiding in the support of the institution. Mr. Isaac Orr, a graduate of Yale College of the class of 1818, at that time connected with the Colonization Society, was appointed secretary, with authority to collect funds and organize the school. In the *Columbia Gazette*, published at Georgetown, and in the *National Intelligencer* of July 3, 1830, it was announced that the society would open their institution September 1; the sum of \$500 being sufficient to establish a scholarship. Among the managers were Rev. Walter Colton, chaplain in the navy, and Rev. R. R. Gurley, still a resident of Washington; but notwithstanding the high character of those originating this organization, and notwithstanding its wise provisions which could not fail to meet the approval of practical and sensible men, such was the prevailing sentiment of that time—the gloomiest period for the colored people in all their history—that the society failed to obtain funds sufficient for a permanent basis of operations. The following extract from the address of the managers shows the character of the enterprise and certain phases of public opinion: "It is the design of the society to train up the youth intrusted to them from childhood; to subject them to a steady, mild, and salutary discipline; to exercise toward them a kind and parental care, guarding them against the approach of every insidious and hurtful influence; to give them an intimate acquaintance with agriculture or some one of the mechanic arts; to endow them with virtuous, generous, and honorable sentiments; in fine, to form the whole character and render it, as far as possible, such as will qualify them to become pioneers in the renovation of Africa. In most of the slave States it is a prevailing sentiment that it is not safe to furnish slaves with the means of instruction. Much as we lament the reasons of this sentiment and the apparent necessity of keeping a single fellow-creature in ignorance, we willingly leave to others the consideration and the remedy for this evil, in view of the overwhelming magnitude of the remaining objects before us. But it is well known that very many masters are desirous to liberate their slaves in such a way as to improve their condition, and we are confident that such masters will rejoice to find the means by which those slaves may be educated by themselves without the danger of exerting an unfavorable influence around them; and instead of creating disquiet in the country, may carry peace and joy to Africa."

CONCLUSION.

The investigation recorded in the foregoing document was undertaken with a most inadequate estimate of its magnitude, though the writer had for some years been uncommonly conversant with educational matters in the District, and deeply interested in the colored schools. The subject expanded in materials and in importance as the research was pursued, till what was expected at the beginning to fill but a few pages had swelled into a volume. The work was prosecuted in the belief that everything which the colored people have attempted and accomplished for themselves in mental and social improvement in this seat of empire was worth rescuing from oblivion, and that such a chapter would be a contribution to the educational history of the country, peculiarly instructive at this time. It is quite certain that the most of what is gathered into these pages from the first half century of the District would have never been rescued from the past under any other auspices, and from the original, novel, and instructive nature of its character, it has been deemed best to go with much minuteness into details. There is an almost tragic pathos running through the tale of the patient sufferings and sacrifices which these humble and dutiful people have experienced, through so many years of oppression, in their struggles for knowledge.

The facts embraced in the foregoing report have been gathered with an amount of labor that can be adequately estimated only by those who have toiled in a similar field of research. Prior to the rebellion the education of this proscribed and degraded race was held in scorn and derision by the controlling public sentiment of this District, as in the country at large, and schools for the colored people rarely found the slightest record in the columns of the press. After a thorough examination of the various journals published in the District during the first half century of its history, the first reference to any school that can be found is in an article on the city of Washington published in the *National Intelligencer* August 3, 1816, in which it is stated that "a Sunday school for the blacks has been recently established, which is well attended, and promises great benefit to this neglected part of our species, both in informing their minds and amending their morals." This journal was the only one of established character that alluded in any way to these schools, and a careful examination of its files from 1800 to 1850 has disclosed only the two or three notices already referred to. The remarkable advertisement found in the volume for 1818 of the free colored school on Capitol Hill was a striking fact in itself considered, but was otherwise of the greatest value in this work, because the names of the seven colored men subscribed to the document pointed to the sources from which was procured much of the authentic information pertaining to the first quarter of a century of the District. In this almost total absence of written information it was fortunate to find in the memories of the colored people a wonderful accuracy and completeness of recollection of almost everything pertaining to their schools. In the intercourse with this population which these researches have occasioned, this fact has been a subject of perpetual observation. The aged men and women, even though unable to read a syllable, have almost always been found to know something concerning the colored schools and their teachers. The persecutions which perpetually assailed their schools, and the sacrifices which they so devotedly made for them, seem to have fastened the history of them, with astonishing clearness and precision, in their minds, such as is surely not found among the educated white population pertaining to the white schools of the same period. Another interesting fact is not inappropriate in this connection. There are undoubtedly more colored people of the District of the class free before the war, who own their homes, than are found in proportion to their numbers among the middle classes of the white population. There are also to be found in a multitude of these humble colored homes the same refinements as are found in the comfortable and intelligent white family circles. These interesting developments disclosed in every direction in the preparation of this work have stimulated prolonged research, and made what had otherwise been a wearisome task a most agreeable occupation.

Statesmen and thoughtful public men will discover in these pages facts which put to flight a class of ethnological ideas that have been woven by philosophers into unnumbered volumes of vain theories. The great and imposing truth that the colored race has been for nearly

seventy years on a grand trial of their capacity to rise in the scale of human intelligence, such as has not elsewhere in the history of the world been granted them, seems to have entirely escaped observation. If these records are, as they are confidently believed to be, substantially accurate in all their details, the capabilities of the colored race to rise to superior mental and social elevation, and that too under the most appalling disabilities and discouragements, is illustrated on a conspicuous theatre, and with a completeness that cannot be shaken by any cavil or conjecture.

There is a colored woman in Washington, known and respected for her sterling goodness and remarkable sense, more than half a century a resident of the city, who relates that she used often to see Jefferson during his presidency, in the family of Monroe, in which she was brought up, near Charlottesville, Virginia; that on one occasion, while attending the children in the hall, she heard Jefferson say to Monroe that "he believed the *colored race had as much native sense as the whites*, that they ought to be educated and freed at the age of 21, and that if some plan of this kind should not be adopted, they would in time become self-enlightened, in spite of every oppression assert their liberties, and deluge the south in blood;" to which Mr. Monroe, rising from his seat, with both hands uplifted, exclaimed, "My God, Mr. Jefferson, how can you believe such things?" This declaration imputed to Jefferson is well substantiated, as it not only comes from a truthful witness, but is in full accordance with the views that he has amply left on record in his writings. In his celebrated letter to Banneker, the black mathematician and astronomer of Maryland, in elevated and feeling language he expressed to this wonderful, self-taught negro his deep thankfulness for the indisputable evidence which the productions of his genius had furnished, "*that nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of the other colors of men*;" and, in apology for the liberty he had taken in transmitting to the President of the French Academy of Sciences the manuscript copy of his first almanac he had sent to the philanthropic statesman as a testimony to the capabilities of his enslaved race, Jefferson went on to say that he had forwarded the remarkable production to that great representative body in the world of letters as an evidence of the intellectual powers of the black man, to which the whole colored race had "a right for their justification against the doubts which have been raised against them." With like ideas may this simple story of patient endurance and of triumph in calamities be submitted to the American people and mankind in vindication of the faith reposed by many good men in the capacity for self-government of a long down-trodden and despised portion of the human family.

The history of these schools, subsequent to the breaking out of the rebellion, records the most remarkable efforts of disinterested contributions, both in money and in labor, which are to be found in the annals of Christian and patriotic beneficence. The duty of providing for the moral and intellectual enlightenment of a class of people who had been kept hitherto in profound ignorance, directly or indirectly, by the laws and prejudices of the country, pervaded the entire northern mind and heart.

No pains have been spared to ascertain the fields of labor occupied by different associations, and the schools taught by different individuals; but no record can fully describe the self-sacrifice and zeal of that band of noble, refined, and cultivated women who devoted themselves to the education of this neglected class, many of whom fell, as truly martyrs to their patriotic labors as those who perished on the battle field; and not a few of whom are still suffering in their own homes as great a deprivation from the loss of health in this service, as those who will bear to their graves bodies mutilated by the missiles of war.

All of which, with many thanks for your personal and official co-operation in this investigation, is respectfully submitted.

M. B. GOODWIN.

To Hon. HENRY BARNARD,
Commissioner of Education.

To this exhaustive account of the past and present condition of schools for the colored people in the District of Columbia, by Mr. Goodwin, we add a comprehensive survey of the legal status of this portion of the population in respect to schools and education in the several States.—H. B.

PART II.

LEGAL STATUS OF THE COLORED POPULATION IN RESPECT TO
SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION IN THE DIFFERENT STATES.

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LEGAL STATUS OF THE COLORED POPULATION IN RESPECT TO SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The only authority to restrain and limit the conduct and privileges of any class of the population in the District is to be found in the charters granted to the municipal corporations and the laws of Maryland and Virginia. Alexandria received its charter originally from Virginia, and Georgetown from Maryland, while Washington was originally incorporated by Congress. The act of Congress of July 16, 1790, establishing the seat of government in this District, provided "that the operation of the laws of the State within such District shall not be affected by this acceptance until the time fixed for the removal of the seat of government, and until Congress shall otherwise by law provide;" and under the act of February 27, 1801, the laws of Virginia and Maryland, as they existed at that date, were continued in full force and effect. In order to understand the condition in which the colored classes were lawfully held in the District during the existence of slavery, or for any period, it is necessary to know the powers existing in the charters of those cities under the State laws at the date last specified, and also the additional enlargements and curtailments of powers subsequently enacted by Congress. Some account of these codes, so far as they pertain especially to education, is also essential to a just estimate of the fortitude with which the colored people have struggled through the long period of darkness over which this history extends.

The first settlers of both Maryland and Virginia evidently entertained the idea that a Christian could not be a slave. In "Plantation Laws, London, 1705," a law of 1692 in Maryland is cited as follows:

"Where any negro or slave, being in bondage, is or shall become a Christian and receive the sacrament of baptism, the same shall not, nor ought to be, deemed, adjudged, or construed to be a manumission or freeing of any such negro or slave, or his or her issue, from their servitude or bondage, but that, notwithstanding, they shall at all times hereafter be and remain in servitude and bondage as they were before baptism, any opinion or matter to the contrary notwithstanding."

In 1715 the provision was embodied in a new act with a preamble, and this is the first act found in full in Bacon's Laws, the titles only of the previous laws being given. The act of the Maryland assembly of 1715 declares:

"SEC. 23. And forasmuch as many people have neglected to baptize their negroes, or suffer them to be baptized, in a vain apprehension that negroes by receiving the sacrament of baptism are manumitted and set free: *Be it hereby further declared and enacted by and with the authority, advice, and consent aforesaid,* That no negro or negroes by receiving the holy sacrament of baptism is hereby manumitted or set free, nor hath any right or title to freedom or manumission more than he or they had before, any law or usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."

In section 25, acts of the Virginia assembly of 1705, is the following clause: "And also it is hereby enacted and declared that baptism of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage." And in 1733 the law was re-enacted in this explicit language:

"Whereas some doubts have arisen whether children that are slaves by birth, and, by the charity and piety of their owners, made partakers of the blessed sacrament of baptisme, should by vertue of their baptisme be made free: *It is enacted and declared by this grand assembly and the authority thereof,* That the conferring of baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom; that diverse masters, freed from this doubt, may more carefully endeavour the propagation of Christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth, if capable, to be admitted to the sacrament."

In South Carolina there was a law enacted to the same effect in 1712, in which it is curiously declared "lawful for a negro or Indian slave, or any other slave or slaves whatsoever, to receive and profess the Christian faith, and to be therein baptized," and that thereby no slave should be deemed manumitted.

The origin of this singular legislation in Virginia must have arisen from a prevailing apprehension in the public mind upon the subject at that time, 1667; but the enactments of Maryland and South Carolina undoubtedly had, as their immediate producing cause, two

judicial investigations which occurred in England in 1686-'87, a short time prior to these enactments. One of these cases, reported in 3 Modern Reports, 120-1, is thus stated :

"Sir Thomas Grantham bought a monster in the Indies, which was a man of that country, who had the perfect shape of a child growing out of his breast, as an excrescency, all but the head. This man he brought hither (to England) and exposed to the sight of the people for profit. The *Indian* turns *Christian* and was baptized, and was detained from his master, who brought a *hominie replequendo*, (a writ by which his title to retain the man as property might be legally tested.)"

How this case was ultimately disposed of does not appear. In 1696 the question *whether the baptism of a negro slave*, without the permit or consent of his master, emancipated the slave, was argued with great research and learning before the King's Bench. In this instance a misconception of the form of action required prevented any decision upon the merits of the case, the matter being thus in both actions left in doubt. The argument of the counsel for the defendant in this latter case is ingenious and curious :

"Being baptized according to the use of the church," says the counsel, "he, the slave, is thereby made a Christian, and Christianity is inconsistent with slavery. And this was allowed even in the time when the popish religion was established, as appears by Littleton; for in those days if a villain had entered into religion, and was professed, as they called it, the lord could not seize him, and the reason there given is, because he was dead in law, and if the lord might take him out of his cloister, then he could not live according to his religion. The like reason may now be given for baptism being incorporated into the laws of the land; if the duties which arise thereby cannot be performed in a state of servitude, the baptism must be a manumission. That such duties cannot be performed is plain, for the persons baptized are to be confirmed by the diocesan when they can give an account of their faith, and are enjoined by several acts of Parliament to come to church. But if the lord hath still an absolute property over him, then he might send him far enough from the performance of those duties, viz., into Turkey or any other country of infidels, where they neither can nor will be suffered to exercise the Christian religion. * * * It is observed among the Turks that they do not make slaves of those of their own religion, though taken in war, and if a *Christian be taken, yet if he renounce Christianity and turn Mahometan, he doth thereby obtain his freedom*. And if this be a custom allowed among infidels, then baptism in a Christian nation, as this is, should be an immediate enfranchisement to the same, as they should thereby acquire the privileges and immunities enjoyed by those of the same religion and be entitled to the laws of England."—5 *Modern Reports, Chamberline vs. Hervey*.

St. George Tucker, in 1796, while professor of law in the University of William and Mary and one of the judges of the general court of Virginia, delivered in the university and subsequently published a remarkable "*Dissertation on slavery, with a proposal for its abolition in the State of Virginia*," and in quoting from the act of the Virginia assembly in 1705, above referred to, is provoked to remark that "it would have been happy for this unfortunate race if the same tender regard for their bodies had always manifested itself in our laws as is shown for their souls in this act. But this was not the case, for two years after we meet with an act declaring: 'That if any slave resist his master, or others by his master's orders, correcting him, and by the extremity of the correction should chance to die, such death should not be accounted felony;'" and Professor Tucker adds: "This cruel and tyrannical act, at three different periods enacted with very little alteration, was not finally repealed till 1788, about a century after it had first disgraced our code."

What would this illustrious man now say were he to rise from the dead, and, standing in that university, discourse upon the black code of Virginia as it was in all its atrocious vigor in full force in 1860?

It required a hundred years for the long descent from that first step of barbarism, embodied in the above early statutes, respecting the relation of slaves to Christian profession and baptism, down to that immeasurable infamy which shut with iron bars the gates of knowledge from the whole race, both bond and free, reducing them to the condition of the brute.

And here again the "*Dissertation*," to which allusion has here been made, is so forcibly suggested that another passage from it cannot be withheld. After depicting "the rigors of the

police in regard to this unhappy race," and affirming that it ought to be softened, this great and far-sighted Virginia jurist goes on to inquire if with but 300,000 slaves such things were deemed necessary, what must be the situation of the State when instead of that number there should be more than 2,000,000 in Virginia, concluding with this lofty and prophetic language: "This must happen," he says, in allusion to the increase of the slave population, "within a century, if we do not set about the abolition of slavery. Will not our posterity curse the days of their nativity with all the anguish of Job? Will they not execrate the memory of those ancestors, who, having it in their power to avert the evil, have, like their first parents, entailed a curse upon all future generations? *We know that the rigor of the laws respecting slaves unavoidably must increase with their number. What a blood-stained code must that be which is calculated for the restraint of millions held in bondage. Such must our unhappy country exhibit within a century unless we are both wise and just enough to avert for our posterity the calamity and reproach which are otherwise unavoidable.*"

VIRGINIA.

When the act of Congress approved February 27, 1801, organizing the District of Columbia, and providing that the laws of Virginia and Maryland, as those laws at *that date existed*, should continue in force in the portions ceded by those States respectively, became a law, there was no *express* restriction of the education of the colored race upon the statute-books of either State. The earliest legislation aiming at such restrictions are all embraced in the enactments pertaining to gatherings of "slaves, negroes, and mulattoes," denominated in the Maryland statutes "*tumultuous meetings*," and in the Virginia statutes "*unlawful assemblies*," the definition, in common law, of such an assembly being "the meeting of three or more persons to do an unlawful act."

In Virginia, as early as 1680, an act was passed for preventing negro insurrections, declaring that "the frequent meeting of considerable numbers of negroes, under pretence of feasts and burials, is judged of dangerous consequence," and such meetings were forbidden under penalty of *thirty lashes*.

In January, 1804, an act was passed declaring "all assemblages of slaves, under whatever pretext, at any meeting-house, or any other place in the night-time," to be an "unlawful assembly," the offenders to be punished with lashes not exceeding *twenty*. An act explaining and amending the act of January was passed in June, 1805, in which it is provided that nothing in such act shall "prevent masters taking their slaves to places of religious worship conducted by a regularly ordained or licensed white minister."

This act also forbid the overseers of the poor "to require black orphans, bound out, to be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic," showing that hitherto they had required this instruction to be given.

Up to that time *slaves* only were restricted, but in the Revised Code of 1819 all meetings of *free negroes or mulattoes*, associating with slaves in such places, including assemblages at "any school-house or schools for teaching reading or writing, either in the day or night," are embraced in the same interdiction and penalty. The same code also provides that "any *white person*, free negro, mulatto, or Indian, found in such unlawful assembly," is punishable by fine of three dollars and costs, and on failure of present payment, "is to receive *twenty lashes* on his or her bare back, well laid on."

There was no further legislation in the Virginia assembly bearing specially on this matter till the passage of the act of April 17, 1831. The Nat. Turner insurrection, in South Hampton county, occurred in the same year, but not until August, showing that the law was inspired by no special alarm arising from the massacre. The following are the sections relating to education of the colored people:

"SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted*, That all meetings of free negroes or mulattoes, at any school house, church, or meeting-house, or other place, for teaching them reading or writing, either in the day or night, under whatsoever pretext, shall be deemed and considered as an 'unlawful assembly;' and any justice of the county or corporation wherein such assemblage shall be, either from his own knowledge or on the information of others, of such unlawful assemblage or meeting, shall issue his warrant, directed to any sworn officer or officers, authorizing him or them to enter the house or houses where such unlawful assemblage or

meeting may be, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such free negroes or mulattoes, and to inflict corporal punishment on the offender or offenders, at the discretion of any justice of the peace, not exceeding twenty lashes.

"SEC. 5. *Be it further enacted*, That if any white person or persons assemble with free negroes or mulattoes, at any school-house, church, meeting-house, or other place, for the purpose of instructing such free negroes or mulattoes to read or write, such person or persons shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in a sum not exceeding fifty dollars, and moreover may be imprisoned, at the discretion of a jury, not exceeding two months.

"SEC. 6. *Be it further enacted*, That if any white person, for pay or compensation, shall assemble with any slaves for the purpose of teaching, and shall teach any slave to read or write, such person, or any white person or persons contracting with such teacher so to act, who shall offend as aforesaid, shall for each offence be fined, at the discretion of a jury, in a sum not less than ten nor exceeding one hundred dollars, to be recovered on an information or indictment."

These were the exactions put upon the terrified colored people of Alexandria when the retrocession took effect. The only material change in the law of 1831 was made in 1848, when the act reducing to one the general acts concerning crimes and punishments was enacted, the maximum number of lashes being then increased to 39.

The constitutional convention of Virginia, which met at Alexandria, in 1864, passed a resolution, March 10, declaring slavery to be forever abolished.

MARYLAND.

In Maryland the assembly, in 1695, passed an act "restraining the frequent assembling of negroes within the province."

In 1723 an act was passed to prevent "tumultuous meetings of negroes and other slaves" on Sabbath and other holidays, requiring the appointment of constables to visit monthly all suspected places, and when "negroes or other slaves" are found upon premises to which they did not belong, to break up the "tumultuous assembly," and whip the offenders with lashes upon the bare back, not exceeding 39. A quarter of a century later, in 1748, the assembly of the same State enacted that all persons entertaining any servants or "slaves upon their premises" during the space of one hour or longer should be fined 100 pounds of tobacco for each hand, and, in default of payment, to receive not exceeding 39 lashes on the bare back. Though this act specifies its purpose to be the prevention of embezzling provisions for such entertainments, and of "many grievous disorders," it is evident that the intelligence awakened by such gatherings was the result mainly deprecated. The provisions of the act are extended, in 1807, to embrace *free negroes* in the prohibition as well as slaves, the constable being required to repress: "tumultuous meetings of mulattoes, negroes, and slaves," the penalty to the offending free negro being fine and imprisonment, and to the slave the usual "lashes." In 1831, when Virginia completed its climax of obloquy and turpitude, in shutting up all its colored classes to total ignorance, Maryland, to its honor, did not allow one syllable against the education of either its free or its slave population to find place in its statutes. The policy of her State was at this time to prepare the way for freedom, and a law was in this same year enacted forbidding the introduction of slaves into its territory, and a most liberal and enlightened enterprise organized to encourage the manumission of slaves and their emigration to Liberia. The act of 1831, upon "tumultuous assemblies," provided:

"That it shall not be lawful for any free negro or negroes, slave or slaves, to assemble or attend any meetings for religious purposes unless conducted by a white licensed or ordained preacher, or some respectable white person of the neighborhood, as may be duly authorized by such licensed or ordained preacher, during the continuance of such meeting," and unless conducted in accordance with these provisions all such assemblages were declared to be "tumultuous meetings." It was, however, provided that meetings of slaves or servants upon the premises where they belonged should not be embraced in the prohibitions of the act, and that within the limits of Baltimore city and Annapolis city religious meetings of slaves, free negroes, and mulattoes, held in accordance with the written permission of a white licensed (or) ordained preacher, and dismissed before 10 o'clock at night, should be lawful. It was also provided that the free negroes and mulattoes, for any offence for which

slaves were then punishable, should "be subject to the same punishment, and be liable in every respect to the same treatment and penalty as slaves thus offending," the punishment for this offence being not exceeding 39 lashes upon the bare back.

The restrictive policy of 1831, which totally prohibited the introduction of slaves into the State, was modified in 1832, in special cases, and in 1833 every barrier to the introduction of slaves for residence was withdrawn. In 1835 was enacted the law against the publication and circulation of documents tending to inflame discontent and insurrection among the colored population—a law which, everywhere enacted in the slave States, was an instrument of terror and oppression, disheartening to the cause of education. The literature of the country was so largely pervaded with denunciations of slavery at that period, that it was dangerous for a colored man, or a friend of the colored race in a slave State, to have in his possession any of the publications of the day—an old newspaper, used for wrapping purposes in a trunk, often visiting upon its possessor the severest troubles.

THE CHARTER OF GEORGETOWN.

The original act incorporating Georgetown, passed by the general assembly of Maryland 25th December, 1789, contains nothing in the enumeration of the created powers restraining the colored in distinction from the white population, and in the amending act of the assembly, passed January 20, 1793, the only allusion to the colored people distinctively is in the preamble, in which is set forth the want of proper powers in the corporation to restrain by wholesome laws "vagrants, loose and disorderly persons, *free negroes*, and persons having no visible means of support." In the powers conferred by the act which follows the preamble, however, there is no allusion whatever to the colored race; nor is there any distinctive reference of the kind in the amendatory act of Congress of March 3, 1805, the only clause important to note being that which provided that "the said corporation shall have, possess, and enjoy all the rights, immunities, privileges, and powers heretofore enjoyed by them." In 1809 the charter received from Congress another amendment, in which it was declared "that all the rights, powers, and privileges heretofore granted by the general assembly of Maryland, and by the act to which this is a supplement, and which are at this time claimed and exercised by them, shall remain in full force and effect."

GEORGETOWN ORDINANCES.

The first ordinance in Georgetown restricting the assembling of colored people was passed by the councils August 4, 1795, in which were prohibited all "irregular and disorderly meetings of indented servants and slaves," and also "the meeting of servants or slaves exceeding six" on any occasion, with a penalty not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and in case of interference to prevent the whipping on the part of "master or mistress," a fine for the interference not exceeding £5. October 10, 1796, another ordinance to repress "riotous and disorderly meetings of indented servants and slaves" was enacted, with a special injunction upon the constables to particularly examine all persons of color as to their title to freedom. In this act "the fighting of game-cocks and dunghill fowls" by colored people was specifically prohibited as among disorderly assemblages.

The punishment of whipping was so eagerly and promptly executed by the constable that the councils passed a special ordinance forbidding whipping during market hours.

On the 8th of October, 1831, that year of sorrows to the colored people throughout the slave States, and of shame and infamy to their oppressors, the councils enacted:

"That from this time forth all night assemblages of black or colored persons within the limits of this town, except for religious instruction, conducted by white men of good character, and terminated or dispersed at or before the hour of half past nine o'clock p. m., be and the same are hereby prohibited," the penalty for slaves not more than 39 stripes, and for free colored people not more than 30 days at hard labor in the workhouse.

The same ordinance also prohibits "any negro or mulatto person living in this town from receiving through the post office, or any other mode, or after lapse of ten days from the passage of this act to have in his possession, or to circulate, any newspaper or publication of a

seditions and evil character, calculated to excite insurrection or insubordination among the slaves."

"Subscribers to or receivers of a newspaper called 'The Liberator,' published in Boston." are emphatically proscribed; and every free negro or mulatto in any way concerned in the infringement of the act was to be "deemed and adjudged a disorderly person, and a dangerous and unsafe citizen." White persons aiding in the infraction of this law were punished with a fine not exceeding \$20, or imprisonment not more than 30 days; free negroes and mulattoes failing to pay fine and prison fees were liable to be sold to service not exceeding four months. This section against the free circulation of knowledge was the most oppressive restraint ever imposed upon the colored people. It almost absolutely shut them up from all reading, as they were afraid to have any book in their possession, scarcely even the Bible.

On the 25th of August, 1845, the councils passed an ordinance declaring that—

"From this time forth all assemblages, day or night, of black or colored persons within the limits of this town, except meetings for religious instruction, conducted by white men appointed by either or any of the established churches of the town, and terminated at or before the hour of nine and a half o'clock p. m., and except such other meetings as shall be especially allowed by the mayor, be and the same are hereby prohibited."

The penalty attached to the violation of this ordinance was, in case of a slave, stripes not exceeding 39, and in case of a free negro the punishment was confinement to hard labor at the workhouse not exceeding 30 days, or a fine not exceeding \$30; Congress having by act of March 2, 1831, prohibited corporal punishment upon a free man in the District, imprisonment in the county jail for a period not exceeding six months being substituted therefor.

This ordinance of 1845 had no sanction either in the laws of Congress or in those of Maryland. If its provisions had been enforced, colored schools would have been placed at the mercy of the mayor, who, in the case of at least one mayor in the memory of the older residents of the District, would have had no mercy on them, though of this tyrannical class Henry Addison, ever a friend of the oppressed, stands forth a very noble exception. These ordinances were never enforced against the schools, though they stood there as an oppressive intimidation, necessarily engendering a spirit of disdain and contempt for the humiliated classes on the part of those, both young and old, whom the enactments made their masters. This was manifested in the persecutions which continually fell upon the colored children on the way to school and returning, it being a common custom for crowds of white boys to congregate at the colored school-houses for the purpose of pelting with stones and maltreating the inoffensive and unresisting children as they would flee towards their humble homes. There were no ordinances in any city of the District to shield these children from such outrages, though the insolent and inhuman practices were always well known to the city authorities.

THE CHARTER OF ALEXANDRIA.

The original charter of Alexandria enacted by the general assembly of Virginia, like that of Georgetown, confers no power exclusively applied to the colored people. The corporate authorities were invested with power "to make by-laws and ordinances for the regulation and good government of said town: *Provided*, such by-laws or ordinances shall not be repugnant to or inconsistent with the laws and constitution of this commonwealth;" and in amending the charter in 1804 Congress conferred upon the city the power "to make all laws which they shall conceive requisite for the regulation of the morals and police of the said town, and to enforce the observance of said laws." In an act still further amending the charter, approved May 13, 1826, substantially the same power is conferred as was embraced in the act amendatory of the charter of Washington, approved May 4, 1812. It enacts that the common council of Alexandria "shall have power to restrain and prohibit the nightly and other disorderly meetings of slaves, free negroes, or mulattoes, and to punish such slaves by whipping, not exceeding 40 stripes, or, at the option of the owner of such slave, by fine or confinement to labor, not exceeding three months for every one offence; and to punish such free negroes or mulattoes for such offences by fixed penalties, not exceeding \$20 for one offence; and in case of the failure of such free negro or mulatto to pay and satisfy such pen-

alty and costs, to cause such free negro or mulatto to be confined to labor for any time not exceeding six months for any one offence."

ALEXANDRIA ORDINANCES.

It was under the sanction of the above amending clause that the common council, October 29, 1831, passed an ordinance providing "that all meetings or assemblages of free negroes and mulattoes, or of slaves, free negroes and mulattoes, at any meeting or other house, either in the day or night, under the pretence or pretext of attending a religious meeting, or for any amusement, shall be and the same are hereby prohibited, and any such meeting or assembly shall be considered an unlawful assembly; this act not to be construed to prohibit any slave, free negro, or mulatto from attending any class or other like meeting authorized and required by the present government and discipline of any religious society in the limits of this corporation, for religious services, or at any place of public worship, when and where a white member of the said society, duly authorized by the resident minister of the said religious society to officiate at such meeting; which said meeting is to close, and the persons present to depart to their homes, at or before 10 o'clock: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall prohibit any slave, free negro, or mulatto from attending, either day or night, any of the usual places of public worship, when and where a duly authorized white minister shall officiate; but no separate place of worship shall be permitted for slaves, free negroes, or mulattoes."

The ordinance further specifies that nothing in it "shall prohibit any slave, or free apprenticed negro or mulatto meeting on any other lawful occasion, by license in writing from the owner or employer of such slave, or master or mistress of such apprentice, providing such meeting be in the day-time, or if after sunset the same shall not be continued longer than 10 o'clock; nor shall any free negro or mulatto attend any meeting without the written permit of the mayor authorizing such meeting, which meeting is to be under the same limitation as relates to slaves and apprentices."

Section 11 provides "that if any free negro or mulatto person living in this town shall be a subscriber to or receive through the post office, or in any other mode shall, after the lapse of 10 days after the passage of this law, have in possession or circulate any newspaper or other publication, or any written or printed paper, or book, of a seditious and evil character, calculated to excite insurrection or insubordination among slaves or colored people, such free negro or mulatto shall be fined any sum not exceeding \$20, or be committed to the work-house for not less than 30 days, and pay the amount of work-house fees and costs, and give security for his or her good behavior for 12 months, in a sum not exceeding \$100, before he or she shall be discharged." In case the fine was imposed, and the offender was unable to pay the amount, he was committed to the work-house, to remain until it was paid.

In February, 1864, Miss Mary Chase, of Alexandria, an excellent colored teacher already mentioned, struck a white boy with a broom-stick because he called her vulgar names as she was sweeping the snow from her door-steps. She was arrested and taken to the mayor's office, and was about to receive sentence without a hearing. She resolutely insisted upon the right to state her case, and was allowed to speak. Her speech closed with these words: "If the boy calls me such names again, I will strike him again; and I will strike anybody else who calls me such names." The mayor replied: "Mary, you had better not talk so;" to which she reiterated her determination; whereupon she was fined "one dollar for costs and fifty cents for the lick."

In the summer of the same year a young woman, for some offence against a white man, was sentenced in Alexandria to receive 39 lashes and be imprisoned 30 days in the county jail. The sentence was rigidly executed; and Miss Julia A. Wilbur often visited her and supplied her with useful employment, and when released furnished her a good home.

THE CHARTER OF WASHINGTON.

In the original charter of Washington, approved May 3, 1802, the enumeration of powers conferred upon the corporation embraces nothing, either expressly or by implication, specifically directed towards the colored people, nor is there any such power given in the sup-

plementary act of 1806. In the act further to amend the charter, approved May 4, 1812, there is, however, a clause to the point, giving the authority "to restrain and prohibit the nightly and other disorderly meetings of slaves, free negroes, and mulattoes, and to punish such slaves by whipping, not exceeding 40 stripes, or by imprisonment not exceeding six calendar months, for any one offence; and to punish such free negroes and mulattoes for such offences by fixed penalties, not exceeding \$20 for any one offence;" and in default of paying fine and costs, imprisonment not exceeding six calendar months. In 1820 the original charter, expiring by limitation, was renewed, and the above clause was inserted without alteration.

WASHINGTON ORDINANCES.

The same remarks are applicable to the corporation laws of Washington which have elsewhere been made in regard to those of Georgetown and Alexandria. Every imaginable form of humiliating restriction upon the personal freedom of the colored people, both bond and free, pervades these laws, almost from the first year of its corporate existence. It seems to have been assumed that these humble and patient beings were ready for riot, insurrection, and every species of insubordination and wickedness. They were subjected to the severest penal enactments; and without the slightest legal protection from the abuse of the white race, were at the mercy of inhuman and villainous white people, in their little brief authority, both in and out of corporation office. *No white man can do a wrong to a colored man, and no colored man willingly does right to anybody*, is the ruling temper of all the laws in regard to "slaves, free colored, and mulatto persons," as long as slavery existed in the District.

The first ordinance of the corporation of Washington pertaining to the colored people bears date December 6, 1808, and declares "that no black person, or person of color, or loose, idle, disorderly person shall be allowed to walk about or assemble at any tippling or other house after 10 o'clock at night;" thus classing the whole body of the colored people with the dregs of society; "and any such person being found offending against this law, or *at any time* engaged in dancing, tippling, quarrelling, or in playing at any game of hazard or ball, or making a noise or disturbance, or in assembling in a disorderly or tumultuous manner, shall pay the sum of five dollars for each offence."

Section 9 of this act declares "that it shall not be lawful for any person to entertain a slave or slaves after 10 o'clock p. m.; and for every slave found in the house or dwelling of another after 10 o'clock p. m., the person so entertaining shall forfeit and pay five dollars," unless the slave is found to have been sent on a message by the master or mistress. The fine in every case in this ordinance is to go one-half to the complainant or apprehender, and the other half to the city; one of the most unmerciful features of this law. A striking provision in this ordinance was that in which was legally fixed the value of a constable's services for whipping a negro. The fee, like the duty, was contemptible; yet there is no case on record in which the officer failed, under any ordinance, promptly to administer the "stripes on the bare back, well laid on," and were as impatient to do their brutal business as they were in Georgetown, where the councils were compelled to pass a special ordinance forbidding whipping during market hours. The section fixing the value of the service at half a dollar for each whipping was as follows:

"SEC. 6. *Be it further enacted*, That if any slave shall be convicted under this law the owner of such slave shall be liable for the same, and judgment may be rendered against such owner by any justice of the peace upon the conviction of the slave, but it shall be optional with the owner of such slave to have the whole remitted *except fifty cents*, on condition he or she give directions to have the offending slave whipt according to the judgment of the magistrate, who is hereby directed to remit so much thereof, the residue to go to the person who inflicts the punishment."

The enumerated powers of the original charter of the city, under which this ordinance was enacted, furnishes no authority for the above provisions of the law of 1808, and it was only by the most unjust wrenchings of that instrument that any shadow of authority could have been extorted; yet these provisions were under the same charter of 1802 re-enacted December 16, 1812, with aggravated malignancy, in the following barbarous terms:

"SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall not be lawful for any slave, free black,

or mulatto person or persons to assemble in any house, street, or other place, by day or by night, in a disorderly or tumultuous manner, so as to disturb the peace or repose of the citizens.' Penalty: A slave to "receive any number of stripes on his or her bare back not exceeding twenty, and a free black or mulatto to be fined not exceeding \$20 and costs, and failing to pay which to go to the work-house not exceeding 90 days."

"SEC. 8. If any free black or mulatto person or slave shall have a dance, ball, or assembly at his, her, or their house without first obtaining a permit from the mayor, or other justice of the peace, he, she, or they shall each pay a fine of \$20, or be sentenced to confinement and labor for a time not exceeding 30 days; in case of inability or refusal to pay such fine a slave shall receive any number of lashes on the bare back not exceeding ten."

Section 9 provided "that no slave or free black or mulatto person should be allowed to go at large through the streets, or other parts of the said city, at a later hour than 10 o'clock at night from April 1 to October 1, or than 9 o'clock at night from October 1 to April 1, except a slave who had a written permission from his or her master, mistress, or employer." Penalty: slave, not exceeding 39 stripes on his or her bare back; free black or mulatto, fine not exceeding \$20 and costs, and failing to pay, not exceeding 90 days at hard labor. The fines in this, as in the law of 1808, went half to the informer or apprehender.

The question is perpetually recurring, while running through these restraining enactments, why the colored people are made the constant and exclusive victims. Why were not white persons prohibited from disturbing the peace and repose of colored persons?

The first sanction given by Congress to this barbarism was when in amending the charter, May 15, 1820, it gave the corporation power "to restrain and prohibit the nightly and other disorderly meetings of slaves, free negroes, and mulattoes, and to punish such slaves by whipping, not exceeding forty stripes, or by imprisonment, not exceeding six calendar months for any one offence." Why the maximum stripes were increased from 39 to 40 it is difficult to conjecture, unless it was to show that barbarism was magnifying itself. The fact that this power was introduced into this amendment of the charter is significant of the fact that the city had been hitherto transcending its authority in the inhuman restraints which had in this regard been enforced by their ordinances.

Emboldened by the firmer grasp upon the victims which the enlarged powers of the charter under the amendment of 1820 gave them, the city authorities, April 14, 1821, took a double turn of the screw. In the ordinance of 1812 the free colored people were required simply to exhibit satisfactory evidence of their freedom to the register, who was thereupon to give them license to reside within the limits of the city, the penalty being a fine of \$6 or 10 days in the work-house; but the special intent of the ordinance of 1821 was to amplify and make more stringent the whole registry or license system. A thorough examination of the city was ordered, "the city commissioners to make, each in his own ward, diligent inquiry and search for all free persons of color who may then reside or be found in the city," every one to be notified to appear within thirty days at the council chamber "to present for inspection their papers or other evidence of freedom, and shall then subscribe a statement of his or her trade or occupation and means of subsistence." But, in addition to satisfactory proofs of their right to *freedom*, they were obliged to bring "a certificate *satisfactory to the mayor* from at least three respectable white inhabitants, householders, setting forth that they are personally acquainted with such negro, and that he or she live peaceable and quiet lives;" specifying also "their trade or occupation, whether she or he keep an orderly and decent house, and whether they are industrious and honest, and not likely to become chargeable to the corporation."

The ordinance went still further. Every free male person of color residing in the city was required to satisfy the mayor of his title to freedom, and to "*enter into bond with one good and responsible free white citizen*"—a phrasology suggesting that there were *white citizens not free*—"as surety, in the penalty of \$20, conditioned for the good, sober, and orderly conduct of such person or persons of color and his or her family, for the term of one year following the date of such bond; and that such person or persons, his or her family, nor any part thereof, shall not during the said term of one year become chargeable to the corporation in any manner whatsoever, and that they will not become beggars about the streets."

Parents were also required to give a statement, in writing, showing the name, age, residence, and occupation of each child, and how said child became free; and the mayor could require, "in his discretion," of such parents to give *additional security* for the quiet, peaceable, and orderly behavior of such child, in a sum not exceeding *fifty dollars*, and when any security may, in the *opinion of the mayor*, become insufficient, he may require additional security."

After all these conditions were complied with, and "the license to reside within the city" granted and duly signed by the mayor, countersigned by the register, recorded, and sealed with the seal of the corporation, the ordinance required that it should be renewed, together with the bonds, every year. In case of failure to produce evidence of freedom *satisfactory to the mayor*, the negro was committed to the county jail and dealt with as "an absconding slave." In case of failure to furnish the required sureties and bonds within the 30 days, the penalty was a fine of \$5 for the first week, and if still found residing in the city, the man, *together with his wife*, was committed to the work-house for three months, from which they could be discharged, on *satisfying* the mayor that they would "forthwith depart the city." An additional provision was one of greatest cruelty, viz: that "the *children* of such persons committed to the work-house *shall be bound out to service* for such term as the guardians of the poor may think *reasonable*, not exceeding a period at which the males will arrive at the age of 21, the females at the age of 16."

"SEC. 8. It shall be unlawful for any free person of color to receive, entertain, harbor, or conceal any slave, or hire, buy from, sell to, bargain, or in any way trade or barter with any slave, unless by written consent of the owner. Penalty for first offence, fine of \$10; for second offence, two months in the work-house."

"SEC. 11. When any free negro shall desire to change his residence from one part of the city to another, he shall make known such intention to the register, and produce his license, on which the register shall endorse such intended residence and record the same."

"SEC. 13. It shall be lawful for *any person, at any time*, to demand to see the license of any free negro or mulatto, and if within 24 hours he shall not produce such licence, or an official copy thereof, such negro may, in the *discretion* of any justice of the peace, be fined in any sum not exceeding \$5."

The determination to prevent, if possible, the increase of the free colored population from without is shown in section 7, which enacted that "all free negroes coming to Washington to reside should not only be subject to all the provisions, terms, and conditions applicable to such persons already residents, but the bond to be given by them shall be in the penalty of *five hundred dollars*, with *two good and responsible free white citizens as sureties*."

Under this ordinance of 1821 the provisions relating to "holding dances, balls, or assemblies," and "all nightly and disorderly meetings of free negroes," were made more stringent, the penalty being extended to every one present at such gatherings, and for the second offence the "license to reside in the city" was forfeited.

The colored people humbly and dutifully rendered obedience to these oppressive enactments, which stood unchanged for the ensuing half a dozen years. On the 31st of May, 1827, an ordinance was enacted which contained all the cruelties embraced in the legislation of the previous quarter of a century, but devised and established additional ones.

The penalty affixed to "idle, disorderly, or tumultuous assemblages," was, in the case of free negroes and mulattoes, the same as in the law of 1812, viz., fine of \$20; but failure to pay the fine was punished with six months in the work-house, in the place of 90 days, and sureties required to be given for good behavior. For a slave the penalty was increased from 20 to "39 stripes on the bare back;" the option, however, being given him "to have the whipping *commuted* for the payment of the fine which would be imposed in such cases on free persons of color." This last provision is a notable one, and reveals a dawning conviction, on the part of the law-makers, of the barbarism of the slave code.

The fine of \$20 affixed, in 1812, as the penalty for free negroes and mulattoes for "having a dance, ball, or assembly," was reduced to \$10; but the penalty for non-payment was extended from 90 days in the work-house to six months; for a slave the number of stripes was increased from 10 to 39, and commutation of punishment as above was allowed.

A similar change was made in the ordinance prohibiting the "going at large after 10 o'clock at night without a permit," viz: the fine reduced from \$20 to \$10, and work-house

time doubled; but the penalty in case of a slave remained unchanged, it being 39 stripes in 1812 as well as 1827.

The ordinance relating to "having a dance, ball, or assembly," required a permit from the mayor, in which must be mentioned the place, time of meeting, number of guests, and hour of breaking up; and a violation of any one of the conditions embodied in the permit exposed the offending party to the full penalty.

In the ordinance of 1827 the provisions touching the registry and "residence license" were not essentially different from those of 1821, except in the penalty. Failure to pay the fine imposed for not complying with the provisions necessary to a license was made punishable with *six months* in the work-house, instead of three; and in the case of new comers who failed to present the required two "*freehold sureties* in the penalty of *five hundred* dollars for his good and orderly conduct," no fine was imposed, but they were "to depart the city forthwith," or be sent to the work-house for *twelve* months instead of three.

In 1829 an ordinance was passed containing the provision that colored persons should not frequent the Capitol square, the penalty being a fine not exceeding \$20, or 30 days in the work-house. This enactment was peculiarly oppressive, because it was so totally destitute of decent pretext. Its operation is illustrated in the case of Alexander Hays, the colored schoolmaster and teacher of music. He had a great anxiety to hear the music of the marine band in the Capitol grounds, and venturing, with a colored friend, to step a few yards inside the gate, was seized violently by a brutal officer upon the grounds, led at arm's length to the gate, and, with a thrust, directed to "be off." In the same year, 1849, the same man attempted to get near enough on the occasion to hear General Taylor, at the inauguration services. He crept up under the steps in a concealed place, and when General Taylor was about taking the oath was again grasped by the rough hand of a policeman, and dragged like a dog through the crowd and bid "begone." These incidents are given on the authority of Mr. Hays, who is known in this city as an upright and useful man.

These enactments, however, did not grind these poor people to the entire satisfaction of their torturers, for nine years later some of the exactions were greatly increased, and even doubled. In an ordinance supplementary to that of 1827, dated October 29, 1836, the climax of infamous legislation was reached. The following selections from the act contain the leading features:

"SECTION 1. Every free negro or mulatto, whether male or female, and every colored person who may be manumitted or made free in any manner, shall forthwith exhibit to the mayor satisfactory evidence of his or her title to freedom, and shall enter into bond, with *five* good and sufficient freehold sureties, in the penalty of *one thousand dollars*, conditioned for his or her good and orderly conduct, and that of every member of his or her family, and that they, or either of them, do not become chargeable to this corporation, which bond shall be renewed every year; and on failure to comply with the provisions of this section, shall pay a sum not exceeding *twenty dollars*, and shall be ordered by the mayor to depart *forthwith* from the city, and on failure to do so shall be committed to the work-house until such conditions shall be complied with, not exceeding six months."

"SEC. 3. It shall not be lawful for the mayor to grant a license for any purpose whatsoever to any free negro or mulatto, or to any person acting as agent or in behalf of any free negro or mulatto, except licenses to drive carts, drays, hackney carriages, or wagons; nor shall it be lawful to grant a license for any purpose whatsoever to any free negro or mulatto who shall not, before the passage of this act, be a resident of this city, and be registered as such.

"SEC. 4. Nor shall any free negro or mulatto, nor any person acting for any free negro or mulatto, keep any tavern, ordinary, shop, porter-cellar, refectory, or eating-house of any kind, for profit or gain," &c., the penalty affixed being a fine of *twenty dollars*.

"SEC. 5. All secret or private meetings or assemblies whatsoever, and all meetings for religious worship beyond the hour of 10 o'clock at night, of free negroes, mulattoes, or slaves, shall be unlawful; and any colored person found at such unlawful assemblages or meetings, or who may continue at any religious meeting after 10 o'clock at night, shall pay the sum of *five dollars*; and, in the event of any such meeting or assemblage, it shall be the duty of any police constable to use and employ all lawful and necessary means immediately to disperse the same, and in case any police constable, after full notice and knowledge of such meetings, shall neglect or refuse to execute the duty hereby enjoined, he shall pay the sum of *fifty dollars*."

But in spite of this latter provision the policemen were not unfrequently bought off, and many a colored resident can witness to having paid and seen paid sundry dollars and larger

sums to sundry policemen, when returning home, a few minutes after 10 o'clock, from an evening meeting or party—an hour when those officials were sure to be awake and on time. These perquisites were, quite probably, of more value than the fees for whipping.

There is also a most interesting petition in the files of the city councils illustrating the bearing of this particular feature of this inhuman legislation in Washington.

In 1833 Joseph Jefferson, the illustrious comedian and the father of the eminent living comedian of that name, was, in connection with another gentleman, the lessee of the Washington Theatre, and all the citizens of Washington, who remember that day and appreciate what is greatest in the dramatic art, have vivid and delightful recollections of that theatre. On the 15th day of July, 1833, Jefferson and Mackenzie, as the lessees, addressed the following appeal to the city councils :

“DEAR SIR: Permit us to take the liberty of representing to you a burden that oppresses us most heavily, and of requesting your kind endeavors so to represent the case before the mayor and council that we may obtain all the relief that it is in their power to grant.

“You must be aware that we pay nightly to the city a tax of \$6 for permission to perform in the theatre; in the year 1832 this amounted to nearly \$1,400 in the aggregate; we pay this tax cheerfully, and all we ask in return is a liberal protection and support from the city authorities.

“There is at present a law in force which authorizes the constables of the city to arrest the colored people if on the street after 9 o'clock without a pass. A great proportion of our audience consists of persons of *this caste*, and they are consequently deterred from giving us that support that they would otherwise do.

“Can there be any modification of that law suggested, or will the mayor and council authorize us to give passes to those colored persons who leave the theatre for the purpose of proceeding directly to their homes?

“In the city of Baltimore, where we have a theatre, and pay a smaller license than we do here, the law, as regards the colored people, is not acted upon when they are coming or going to the theatre.

“In a pecuniary point of view, we look upon this law as a detriment to us of \$10 nightly, and we have great reason to hope that a law that rests so heavily upon us alone may meet with the kind consideration of the mayor and council, and be so modified as to relieve us from the heavy loss that it causes us at present to incur.

“We have the honor to be, dear sir, your obedient servants,

“JEFFERSON & MACKENZIE,
“*Managers of the Washington Theatre.*”

From 1836 there was no further legislation of consequence upon this subject for 14 years. On the 13th of December, 1850, the infamous requirement of the bond demanding “*five good and sufficient freehold sureties in the penalty of \$1,000,*” in the ordinance of 1836, had been so thoroughly exposed in its odiousness that a relaxation of its unexampled rigor was enacted, by which “one good and sufficient freehold surety” in the penalty of \$50 only was demanded. It was, however, demanded that every head of a family should give “a like bond and surety for each and every member of his or her family between the ages of 12 and 21 years.” This tenderness, however, was more than neutralized in section third of the same act, which required, after its passage, that every free negro or mulatto, whether male or female, within five days after arriving in the city, and on the tenth day of December thereafter annually, to “record his or her name and the names of every member of his or her family on the books of this corporation, and at the same time pay for himself, herself, and every member of his or her family the sum of fifty dollars, upon which registration and payment the mayor is authorized to grant a permit of residence; and on failure to comply with the provisions of this section shall pay a sum not less than ten dollars nor exceeding twenty dollars, and shall be ordered to depart forthwith from this city.”

These enactments as a general rule were inexorably enforced. Especially was this the case while the ordinances gave to the police officers—“the hounds,” as they were called by the poor victims whom they hunted down—one-half the fine for their detestable work. The councils seem also to have been perpetually vigilant, re-enacting almost every year some resolution looking to the enforcement of the requirements pertaining to the bond. As an illustration of this official fidelity the case of Mr. William Syphax, now chairman of the board of trustees of colored schools, is in point. After a residence in the city for 12 years, with a character as unblemished as that of any man in the District, he was summoned in 1847 before a magistrate by one of these vigilant “hounds,” and, as a non-resident, fined

\$10 and compelled to enter into the bond under the law of 1836, "with five good and sufficient freehold sureties in the penalty of \$1,000." Mr. Seaton, editor of the National Intelligencer, was one of his bondsmen.

There is a curious and significant commentary on this legislation to be found in the files of the corporation of Washington. In 1839 this restriction began to make labor scarce in the city—returning with its atrocities to plague the inventors. A petition was therefore sent to the city councils, signed by some hundred of the prominent business men of the city, who were wont to employ colored labor, setting forth that the colored people of the city who had given their *thousand-dollar bond* had apparently combined to control the price of labor by informing on all colored laborers who came into the city without giving bonds, thus preventing competition. The petition prays, therefore, that the law may be modified; not that the grasp of the brutal policemen may be removed from their humble, inoffensive victims, but that the white capitalists of the city may have power to grind them the more effectually in their wages, which at best was but a pittance. The names upon this petition, if inserted in this connection, would make many living men ashamed.

One of the most oppressive of the restraints introduced into the ordinance of 1836 was that which prohibited the mayor from issuing a license to a free negro or mulatto to do any business except "to drive carts, drays, hackney carriages, or wagons," and expressly forbidding any license to an agent of any colored person.

The prohibition of "all secret or private meetings or assemblages whatsoever" beyond the hour of 10 o'clock p. m. was peculiarly oppressive and also inhuman, because directed against the various charitable and self-improving associations, including the Masonic, Odd-Fellow, and Sons of Temperance brotherhoods which the colored people had organized, and the meetings of which, to be dispersed before 10 o'clock, could be of but comparatively little benefit to the members. These societies in those years were more or less educational in character, and an important means of self-improvement to these inoffensive people, and those who made enactments were fully sensible of that fact. These restrictions were, moreover, rigorously enforced, and it was but a few years before the war that a company of the most respectable colored men of the District, on their return from the Masonic lodge a few minutes of 10 o'clock, were seized by the scrupulous police, retained at the watch-house till morning, and fined.

The prohibition forbidding a colored person to be abroad after 10 o'clock at night without a pass, under a penalty of "a fine, "confinement to hard labor," or "stripes upon the bare back," well laid on," must at a glance impress every candid mind with surprise, and yet it is only upon considerate reflection that its atrociousness is revealed. A poor colored man finds a member of his family in a dying condition at midnight, and on his way for a doctor is seized by a wretch in the garb of a policeman, carried to a watch-house, and, without friends or money, is sent next day to the work-house. A colored man has a store containing a heavy stock of goods; it takes fire in the night, and his sons start for the rescue of their property, are seized by a relentless officer, and held, as in the other case, till morning at police headquarters. These are not imaginary cases, and yet this was a mild restraint compared with many others found in the corporation ordinances of all three cities.

It will, however, be seen that the ordinances of Washington were less stringent in their restraints upon the assembling of colored people than those of Alexandria and Georgetown, and that they were less severe in Alexandria while that city was in the District than in Georgetown. This is peculiarly surprising from the fact that while the laws of Virginia were absolutely prohibitory of education to every class of its colored population, the statutes of Maryland contain not a word of positive prohibition even against *teaching slaves*.

THE DISENTHRALMENT.

Thus stood this barbarous, execrable system of tyrannical legislation in the District when the Moloch of slavery marshalled its forces to overthrow the best government that human wisdom had ever devised.* Under the operation of these hateful and inhuman enactments the liberty of a free colored person was but a delusion. "A free colored or mulatto person" was not a free individual, neither in the spirit nor in the phraseology of this legislation, and

best even in such laws?

the change which the mere abolition of slavery in the District wrought in the condition of the bondmen was scarcely less than an aggravation of their miseries, while to those who were not slaves it brought no relief at all. General Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, who had carefully studied the history of this vile legislation, and with pain and indignant emotions witnessed the deplorable condition of its victims, was the foremost to engage in the work of emancipation. The earliest movement looking to the repealing and annulling of the black codes of the District after the rebellion opened was the introduction into the Senate, by Mr. Wilson, of a resolution "that all laws in force relating to the arrest of fugitives from service, and *all laws concerning persons of color within the District*, be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and that the committee be instructed to consider the expediency of abolishing slavery in the District." The chairman of the committee was Mr. Grimes. On the 16th of December, 1861, twelve days after this resolution was offered, Mr. Wilson, apparently impatient with the delay of the committee, introduced a bill to abolish slavery in the District, and on the 24th of February, 1862, brought in a bill to abrogate and annul the black codes, which he very appropriately affirmed to be only a measure following up the bill abolishing slavery in the District.

When these two measures were under discussion in the Senate, in March, 1862, General Wilson, on the 25th of that month, addressed that body in an elaborate and powerful speech in their favor, reviewing the black codes with indignant and impressive eloquence. After declaring that these infamous codes had outraged the moral sense of the American people; that the fame of the nation had been soiled and dimmed by the deeds of cruelty perpetrated in the interests of slavery in its capital, he breaks forth in language forcible, feeling, and just, as follows:

"In what age of the world, in what land under the whole heavens, can you find any enactment of equal atrocity to this iniquitous and profligate statute; this legal presumption that color is evidence that a man made in the image of God is an absconding slave? This monstrous doctrine, abhorrent to every manly impulse of the heart, to every Christian sentiment of the soul, to every deduction of human reason, which the refined and Christian people of America have upheld for two generations, which the corporation of Washington enacted into an imperative ordinance, has borne its legitimate fruits of injustice and inhumanity, of dishonor and shame." In relation to the fact that "the oath of the black man afforded no protection whatever to his property, to the fruits of his toil, to the personal rights of himself, his wife, his children, or his race," he said: "Although the black man is thus mute and dumb before the judicial tribunals of the capital of Christian America, his wrongs we have not righted here will go up to a higher tribunal, where the oath of the proscribed negro is heard, and his story registered by the pen of the recording angel. * * * These colonial statutes of Maryland, reaffirmed by Congress in 1801; these ordinances of Washington and Georgetown, sanctioned in advance by the authority of the federal government, stand this day unrepealed. Such laws and ordinances should not be permitted longer to insult the reason, pervert the moral sense, or offend the taste of the people of America. Any people mindful of the decencies of life would not longer permit such enactments to linger before the eye of civilized man."

The denunciation of these measures by members who had been familiar with slavery all their lives was exceedingly violent, and to the coarse exclamation of one of these senators, "Why do you not go out into this city and hunt up the blackest, greasiest, fattest old negro wench you can find, and lead her to the altar of Hymen?" Senator Harlan was provoked to reply in these words:

"I regret very much that senators depart so far from the proprieties, as I consider it, of this chamber, as to make the allusions they do. It is done merely to stimulate a prejudice which exists against a race already trampled under foot. I refer to the allusions to white people embracing colored people as their brethren, and the invitations by senators to white men and white women to marry colored people. Now, sir, if we were to descend into an investigation of the facts on that subject, it would bring the blush to the cheeks of some of these gentlemen. I once had occasion to direct the attention of the Senate to an illustrious example from the State of the senator who inquired if 'any of us would marry a

greasy old wench.' It is history that an illustrious citizen of his State, who once occupied officially the chair that you, sir, now sit in, lived notoriously and publicly with a negro wench, and raised children by her. * * * I refer to a gentleman who held the second office in the gift of the American people; and I never yet have heard a senator on this floor denounce the conduct and the association of that illustrious citizen of our country. I know of a family of colored or mulatto children—the children, too, of a gentleman who very recently occupied a seat on the other side of the chamber—who are now at school in Ohio; yes, sir, the children of a senator who very recently (not to exceed a year) occupied a seat on this floor, a senator from a slave State."

The allusion in the first of these cases was to Richard M. Johnson, who, it is well known, brought a colored woman with him when he came here as senator from Kentucky. It is due Mr. Johnson to say that he acknowledged his children, educated them, and left them free. The senator from Delaware might also have been reminded of a decision made in 1833 by the highest legal tribunal of his State, declaring that a *father cannot hold his child as a slave*. "We ought not," says the court in *Tindal vs. Hudson*, (1838, 2d Harrington, 441,) "to recognize the right of a father to hold his own children in slavery. Humanity forbids it. The natural rights and obligations of a father are paramount to the acquired rights of the master." The second allusion made by Mr. Harlan was to Senator Hemphill, of Texas, and the school referred to was the Wilberforce University, at Xenia, Ohio, founded by the Cincinnati conference of the Methodist Episcopal church "for the special benefit of colored youth;" but in 1863 transferred to the African Methodist Episcopal church, and Bishop D. A. Payne made president. "While under the care of the Cincinnati conference it was supported," the annual report says, "mainly by southern slaveholders, who *went their children* there to be educated." The following brief statement was recently made by an officer of that institution:

"Senator Hemphill came to Wilberforce University late in the autumn of 1859, having with him three children, a lad of about 18, and two girls, of about 12 and 10 years of age. The lad, who was evidently his son, he took to Washington. His two daughters, Theodora and Henrietta, remained with us until 1862, when the pressure of the civil war constrained the trustees to suspend the operations of the institution, and they went to Cincinnati, where Henrietta (the younger) died of consumption. Theodora was, at the last time we heard of her, living in Cincinnati. The young ladies were both beautiful. Their complexion proclaimed their mother to have been a black woman. She died before they were brought to Wilberforce. They were well supported by Senator Hemphill, who kept up his correspondence with them, both by letters and presents, till he left Washington to perform his part in the drama of the rebellion. The last time we heard from their brother he wrote to me from California touching the condition and wants of his sisters."

The recital of the black laws of this District which has been made in these pages furnishes ample reason for the solicitude which was manifested by "the slaves, free negroes, and mulatto persons," when the above bills were under discussion, and when the bill abolishing slavery in the District became a law, April 16, 1862, all classes of the colored people, bond and free, gave expression to their sense of gratitude by assembling in their churches and offering up homage to God for the great deliverance; and when the black codes were, thirty-five days subsequently, swept into the receptacle of the wretched things that were, the feeling of relief and thankfulness was hardly less deep and universal. The mode in which this measure was accomplished was interesting.

On the 29th of April, 1862, Mr. Guines introduced into the Senate a bill providing for the education of colored children in the city of Washington; and on the 30th of the same month, when the subject was under discussion in the Senate, General Wilson moved to amend the bill by adding the following section:

"SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That all persons of color in the District of Columbia, or in the corporate limits of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, shall be subject and amenable to the same laws and ordinances to which free white persons are or may be subject or amenable; that they shall be tried for any offences against the laws in the same manner as free whites are, or may be tried for the same offences; and that upon being legally convicted of any crime or offence against any law or ordinance, such persons of color shall be liable to

the same penalty or punishment, and no other, as would be imposed or inflicted upon free white persons for the same crime or offence; and all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed."

The object of the bill, which was simply to secure to the colored people of the District the exclusive use of the tax levied upon their property, for the education of their children, failed, as has been seen in a previous part of this history, by reason of the fact that the municipal authorities, in whose hands the execution of the law was reposed, were hostile to its humane and just designs. This amendment, however, did its work promptly and effectually in all particulars. In support of his amendment, after alluding to the odious old laws of Maryland and of Washington and Georgetown, which were admitted by everybody to be very oppressive to the colored people, he said: "As we are now dealing with their educational interests, I think we may as well at the same time relieve them of these oppressive laws, and put them, so far as crime is concerned, and so far as offences against the laws are concerned, upon the same footing, and have them tried in the same manner and subject them to the same punishment as the rest of our people." The bill, as amended, passed the Senate May 9, and, reported by E. H. Rollins, of New Hampshire, from the House District Committee, passed that body and received the approval of the President May 21, 1862, as already stated. The colored people of this District, who are sensible of the great practical service which Mr. Wilson has in many ways done them here and in the country at large, have repeatedly, on public occasions, since this bill became a law, signified their profound gratitude for this release, by specially designating this measure in connection with the author's name.

There was a singular fitness, as has been intimated, in the mode by which this great deliverance was consummated. It had been the chief and essential idea of all this odious and barbarous legislation to shut its unhappy victims out from every highway and by-way of learning, to put out the eye of the understanding, and to doom a whole race, made in the image of God and endowed with immortal longings for knowledge, to brutal and besotted ignorance. It was, therefore, a just and signal providence which made the very cause of education, against which these infamous enactments had been formed, the avenging instrument in the destruction of the accursed system. The circumstance that this was the first measure for the education of the colored race ever enacted by Congress renders this providential coincidence still more striking.

Negro testimony.—The original bill for the abolition of slavery, which, introduced into the Senate December 16, 1861, became a law May 16, 1862, contained a provision securing to the person claimed to owe service or labor the right to testify before the commissioners who were to be appointed under the law. This provision was expanded by an amendment incorporated into the bill on motion of Mr. Sumner, April 3, 1862, which empowered the commissioners to take testimony "without the exclusion of witnesses on account of color;" "to assess the sum to be paid for each slave claimed to owe service or labor: to examine and take the testimony, in the pending cases, of colored witnesses, free or slave." These were the initial steps which resulted, in July following, in the full recognition of the rights of the colored people in the matter of their testimony before the legal tribunals of the District. On the 7th of July Senator Wilson's supplementary bill for the release of certain persons held to labor or service in the District of Columbia was passed, and approved on the 12th, having been amended, on motion of Mr. Sumner, by adding as a new section: "*That in all judicial proceedings in the District of Columbia there shall be no exclusion of any witness on account of color.*" This just measure was followed up by Mr. Sumner, who, on the 25th of June, 1864, moved an amendment to the civil appropriation bill, by adding "that in the courts of the United States there shall be no exclusion of any witness on account of color." On the 2d of July, 1864, this bill, thus amended, became a law, and since then no distinction on account of color has been recognized in the federal courts. It remains for the just people of the American nation, by constitutional amendment, to extend this principle to every State tribunal of the land.

Rights of colored people in the cars.—Mr. Sumner persistently followed up his efforts to secure to the colored people the privileges in the District which reason and humanity alike

dictated as their due. In the Senate, February 27, 1863, on his motion, an amendment to the House bill to extend the charter of the Washington and Alexandria Railroad Company was added, providing "that no person shall be excluded from the cars on account of color," and this became a law March 3, 1863. On the 16th of March, 1864, Mr. Sumner moved an amendment to the bill, then before the Senate, incorporating the Metropolitan Railroad Company: "That there shall be no regulation excluding *any* persons from *any* car on account of color," and this bill, with the amendment, was passed and approved July 1, 1864.

But the Washington and Georgetown railroad was not yet reached. This road was chartered May 17, 1862, and not being able to exclude colored people from the cars, had set aside certain cars, so designated by a sign on the outside, for such persons. It was in one of these placarded cars that the writer had the pleasure, in the autumn of 1863, of seeing Charles Sumner and Henry W. Longfellow riding up the avenue. In June, 1864, a bill being before the Senate to amend the bill incorporating the above-named railroad, Mr. Sumner moved to add a provision corresponding to the one in the original charter of the Metropolitan railroad, viz: "That there shall be *no exclusion of any person* from *any* car on account of color." The amendment was carried in the Senate June 21 by the close vote of 17 to 16, but was lost in the controversy between the two branches of Congress; but February 4, 1865, a similar provision, though of still wider application, was moved by Mr. Sumner in committee of the whole as a separate section, to be added to a bill amendatory of the charter of the Metropolitan railroad. The motion was lost, 20 to 19. The bill, with certain other amendments, was then passed, and thus coming before the Senate, Mr. Sumner, with his wonted promptness and parliamentary skill, renewed his motion, and two days after the vote was reached and the amendment adopted—yeas 26, noes 10. The section reads as follows, and went into effect March 3, 1865:

"SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That the provision prohibiting any exclusion from any car on account of color, already applicable to the Metropolitan railroad, is hereby extended to every other railroad in the District of Columbia." Approved March 3, 1865.

These amendments produced animated debates in both houses, especially when before them March 17, 1864. Mr. Saulsbury, Mr. Powell, Mr. Hendricks, and Mr. Willey, in the Senate, being very determined and bitter in their opposition, while Mr. Sumner, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Morrill, of Maine, and Mr. Grimes supported them with rare force of argument. Mr. Morrill's speech was elaborate in discussion and eloquent in language. Mr. Reverdy Johnson, like Mr. Trumbull and some others, though in favor of the object of the amendment, at first voted against it as unnecessary, maintaining in a speech of much power the right of a colored person, under the legal guarantees already secured, to ride in any railroad car in the District, and in that speech he also replied to Senator Saulsbury in a defence of the colored race in character and mental ability. He finally gave his vote for the amendment. Mr. Conness, of California, also objected to the provision as unnecessary, it being included, as he said, in a bill already before the Senate. Mr. Sumner replied, "I am in favor of getting what I can as soon as I can, and not postponing to an indefinite future."

Colored mail carriers.—The law prohibiting persons of color from carrying the mails was passed and approved March 3, 1825, and, as Mr. Wickliffe stated in the discussion on the motion for its repeal, "was originally enacted to exclude some men in the south who were in the habit of obtaining mail contracts and employing their negroes to drive their stages and carry the mails." The act reads as follows:

"That no other than a free white person shall be employed in conveying the mail, and any contractor who shall employ or permit any other than a free white man to convey the mail shall for every offence incur a penalty of \$20."

The following facts as to the origin of this offensive legislation make the subject appropriate to this history. When Gideon Granger was Postmaster General, in 1802, he wrote a letter to James Jackson, senator from Georgia, in which, after stating that "an objection exists against employing negroes or people of color in transporting the public mails of a nature too delicate to engraft into a report which may become public," he proceeds to explain as follows:

"The most active and intelligent negroes are employed as post riders. These are the

most ready to learn and the most able to execute. By travelling from day to day and hourly mixing they must, they will, acquire information. *They will learn that a man's rights do not depend on his color.* They will in time become teachers to their brethren. They become acquainted with each other on the line. Whenever the body or a portion of them wish to act they are an organized corps, circulating our intelligence openly, their own privately."

The words placed in italics assert a fact which it was the purpose of every black law and ordinance to subvert, the law under consideration being peculiarly of that nature. On the 18th of March, 1862, Mr. Sumner introduced a bill in the Senate providing "that from and after its passage *no person by reason of color* should be disqualified from employment in carrying the mails." It was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, and on March 27, 1862, it was reported back by Mr. Collamer without amendment, passing the Senate April 10 by a very large majority, but was defeated in the House by an equally decided vote. Mr. Colfax, May 20, 1862, reported it from the House Post Office Committee, with the recommendation that it do not pass. In assigning reasons for the action of the committee, he said: "It will throw open the business of mail contracting, and of thus becoming officers of the Post Office Department, not only to blacks, but also to the Indian tribes, civilized and uncivilized, and to the Chinese, who have come in such large numbers to the Pacific coast."

This argument, the best that could be urged, was sufficient—astonishing now to contemplate—to carry the House two to one against the bill. On the 18th of January, 1864, however, Mr. Sumner again introduced the subject to the Senate, and Mr. Collamer reported the old bill with an amendment, providing "that in the courts of the United States there shall be *no exclusion of any witness* on account of color, it being necessary for the protection of the mail service that all mail carriers should be allowed to testify in the federal courts. The bill met with bitter opposition from the pro-slavery party, opposed also by some of the true friends of freedom, but passed and was approved March 3, 1865, and henceforth color is no disqualification in carrying the mails.

To secure, still more thoroughly, to the colored population of the District full political rights, the present Congress passed the following act, which was approved by President Grant March 18, 1869:

AN ACT for the further security of equal rights in the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the word "white," wherever it occurs in the laws relating to the District of Columbia, or in the charter or ordinances of the cities of Washington or Georgetown, and operates as a limitation on the right of any elector of such District, or of either of the cities, to hold any office or to be selected and to serve as a juror, be, and the same is hereby, repealed, and it shall be unlawful for any person or officer to enforce or attempt to enforce such limitation after the passage of this act.

This bill had twice before passed both houses, first in July, 1867, and again in December of the same year; but in both cases failed to receive President Johnson's signature.

Thus was consummated by bold and faithful statesmen the series of measures which have cleared away the manifold disabilities and execrable exactions of the black codes that for more than sixty years had disgraced this District and shed infamy upon the whole country.

ALABAMA.

With the exception of a small portion of her territory, which belonged to Florida, Alabama was originally within the jurisdiction of Georgia, but became a part of the territory of Mississippi in 1800, and an independent State in 1820, her constitution having been adopted in 1819, by the provisions of which the privileges of citizenship and education were confined to the white population only. Prior to the organization of the State government, the territorial legislation of Mississippi respecting the unlawful meeting of slaves, and trading with or by them, included Alabama.

There was little State legislation relating to the colored people previous to the act of 1832, which provided that "Any person or persons who shall attempt to teach any free person of color or slave to spell, read, or write, shall, upon conviction thereof by indictment, be fined in a sum not less than \$250, nor more than \$500." This act also prohibited with severe penalties, by flogging, "any free negro or person of color" from being in company with any slaves without written permission from the owner or overseer of such slaves; it also prohibited the assembling of more than five male slaves at any place off the plantation to which they belonged; but nothing in the act was to be considered as forbidding attendance at places of public worship held by white persons. No slave or free person of color was permitted to "preach, exhort, or harangue any slave or slaves or free persons of color, except in the presence of five respectable slave-holders," or unless the person preaching was licensed by some regular body of professing Christians in the neighborhood, to whose society or church the negroes addressed properly belonged.

In 1833, the mayor and aldermen of the city of Mobile were authorized by law to grant licenses to such persons as they might deem suitable, to instruct for limited periods the free colored creole children within the city and in the counties of Mobile and Baldwin, who were the descendants of colored creoles residing in said city and counties in April 1803; provided, that said children first received permission to be taught from the mayor and aldermen, and had their names recorded in a book kept for that purpose. This was done, as set forth in the preamble to the law, because there were many colored creoles there whose ancestors, under the treaty between France and the United States, in 1803, had the rights and privileges of citizens of the United States secured to them; and because these creoles had conducted with uniform propriety, and were anxious that their children should be educated.

The constitution adopted September 30, 1865, provides that the general assembly shall, from time to time, make necessary and proper laws for the encouragement of schools and education; take proper measures to preserve from waste or damage any lands granted by the United States for the use of schools, and apply the funds derived from them to that object; place the school fund under the control and management of a superintendent of education, requiring such a superintendent to be appointed for the whole State; provide for a county superintendent of free public schools in each county, and for the appointment of three trustees of free public schools in each township.

In accordance with the provisions of the constitution, the revised code, adopted February 19, 1867, provides that "every child between the ages of six and twenty years shall be entitled to admission into and instruction in any of the free public schools of the township in which he or she resides, or to any school in any adjacent township." Color is not mentioned in the chapter relating to the public school system.

SCHOOLS FOR THE FREEDMEN SINCE 1864.

Under the auspices of the assistant commissioner for the Freedmen's Bureau, for the State of Alabama, (General Swayne,) a great amount of local good feeling was enlisted in that State towards establishing schools for the colored population. School buildings were provided and kept in repair at the expense of the Freedmen's Bureau. By a bill introduced into the legislature in 1867, to establish a common school system, it was provided that the board of directors of each township in the State should "establish separate schools for the

education of negro and mulatto children, and persons of African descent between the ages of six and twenty-one years, whenever as many as thirty pupils in sufficient proximity for school purposes claim the privilege of public instruction, and the fund for that purpose is sufficient to support a school for four months in the year." This movement, on the part of the citizens and legislature of Alabama, was seconded by northern societies, and schools were opened particularly at Mobile, Montgomery, Huntsville and other places, in the northern part of the State. Among the societies thus giving aid may be mentioned the American Missionary Association, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the American Freedmen's Union Commission, operating through its Pennsylvania, Cleveland, western and northwestern branches, the latter of which had 11 teachers in its employment in 1866. In order to train their beneficiaries up to a system of self-reliance and support, all of these schools in Alabama, while closing their doors to none, enforced the principle of requiring a small tuition fee from such as might be able to pay.

In this educational work the important duty of providing for the training of teachers has not been overlooked, and two normal schools have been established, one at Talladega and the other at Mobile.

THE TALLADEGA NORMAL SCHOOL.

This institution was opened in 1837, commencing its first session with 140 pupils, under the superintendence of Rev. H. E. Brown. By the aid of the government, a fine piece of property was procured, consisting of 34 acres of land and a handsome three-story brick building, 100 feet long by 60 feet in width. This building was erected before the war for college purposes, at a cost of \$23,000.

EMERSON INSTITUTE AT MOBILE.

The Emerson Institute is the name of the other school, which occupies a large brick edifice, with four acres of land, fronting upon Government street, in Mobile. This property was procured by the aid of the Freedmen's Bureau and the liberality of two gentlemen of Rockford, Illinois, in compliment to one of whom it received its name. The property was formerly the seat of the "Blue College," and is estimated to be worth more than \$60,000. The institute is now conducted by a corps of able instructors, having under their charge more than 500 pupils, in rooms amply supplied with furniture of approved modern construction, and with a complete equipment of chemical and philosophical apparatus.

SWAYNE SCHOOL.

The Swayne school, Montgomery, so named in honor of General Swayne, was erected under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, and was dedicated April 21, 1869. This is a handsome edifice, three-stories in height, built by Henry Duncan in a thorough and workmanlike manner, and provided with convenient and ample means for ventilation by Isaac Frazier, both of whom are skillful colored mechanics. There are six recitation rooms, with modern seats, desks, and blackboards; and by the liberality of friends at the north an ample supply of outline maps, tablets, and other educational appliances have been provided, as well as an organ, costing \$200. Here, in this neat and comfortable edifice the freed children of Montgomery find an agreeable change from "Fritz & Frazer's Trade House," where, within a few years past, they coned their lessons; or in earlier and darker days many of them may have been put up as merchandise for sale.

The following tables, compiled by Professor Vashon, exhibits the progress and condition of the schools for the colored population in Alabama from 1865 to 1868:

Number of schools, teachers, and scholars, 1865 to 1868.

Year.	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars.			Average attendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1865.....			13			15			817		
1866.....			28			31			3,338	3,065	91
1867.....	122	53	175	126	24	150	4,373	5,426	9,799	9,123	82
1868.....	62	22	84	77	32	109	2,055	2,260	4,315	3,297	76

Studies and expenditures, 1867 and 1868.

Year.	Number of scholars in different studies pursued.							Expenditures in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading.	Advanced readers.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher branches.	By freedmen.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	3,390	4,385	2,314	3,447	1,782	2,888	813	\$2,974	\$14,801	\$17,775
1868.....	519	2,873	2,292	1,698	1,197	1,861	390	4,207	4,682	8,889

ARKANSAS.

The province ceded by France in 1803, under the general designation of Louisiana, was in 1804 organized by Congress into two parts—the Territory of Orleans and the district of Louisiana. The latter embraced the country out of which was constituted in 1805 the Territory of Louisiana, which was again reorganized in 1812 into the Territory of Missouri, the southern part of which erected into a distinct jurisdiction as Arkansas Territory in 1819, and as a State in 1836, and another portion into the State of Missouri in 1821. The laws governing the colored population were nearly the same in both States. The first statute relating to them was passed by the governor and judges of the district of Indiana Territory in 1806, and provided that no slave should go from the plantation of his master, or other person with whom he lived, without a pass, under penalty of “stripes at the discretion of the justice of the peace;” and if found on any other plantation without leave in writing from his owner, it was lawful for the owner or overseer “to give or order such slave 10 lashes on his or her bare back for every such offence.” It forbid the master, mistress, or overseer to suffer meetings of slaves alone for more than four hours at any one time, or to go abroad to trade, on penalty of \$3 for each offence. All trading with slaves or allowing slaves to trade was forbidden under severe penalties. All assemblages of the slaves of different estates in the night or on Sunday, except at the church of white people, were forbidden.

The first act relating to slaves after Arkansas became a State was passed in 1833, in which their owners were authorized to permit slaves “to labor for themselves on Sunday, if such labor is done voluntarily by such slaves and without the coercion of the master, and for the sole use of the slave.” As this was the only day allowed for such religious instruction as the slave could receive, this provision cannot be regarded as being beneficent. This act forbids any white persons, or free negro, being found in company of slaves at any unlawful meeting, on severe penalty for each offence. In 1843 all migration of free negroes and mulattoes into the State was forbidden; but no law is found on the statute book directly prohibiting teaching slaves or persons of African descent.

In the constitution adopted in 1836, all the privileges of citizenship were confined to the whites. In the constitution adopted in 1864, it is provided that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter exist in this State," and "that no act of the legislature prohibiting the education of any class of the inhabitants thereof shall have the force of law." In the constitution adopted by the people of the State, March 13, 1868, the language of that instrument recognizes no distinction in citizenship on account of color. The first section of article IX, relating to education, reads as follows:

"A general diffusion of knowledge and intelligence among all classes being essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people, the general assembly shall establish and maintain a system of free schools for the gratuitous instruction of all persons in this State between the ages of five and twenty-one years." * * *

In the "Act to establish and maintain a system of free common schools for the State of Arkansas," approved July, 23, 1868, the State board of education, (composed of the State and circuit superintendents) is directed "to make the necessary provisions for establishing separate schools for white and colored children and youth," and to adopt such other measures as shall be deemed expedient for carrying the system into effectual and uniform operation, and provide as nearly as possible for the education of every youth.

EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS FOR THE FREEDMEN SINCE 1864.

For reasons that will be apparent from the remarks that follow, fewer schools for colored persons have been established in Arkansas since 1864 than in any other of the formerly slave-holding States. Yet the educational work was commenced there while the war for the Union was still raging; and, from its commencement, it has been prosecuted in such a spirit as promises the most satisfactory results in the future. In the third year of the rebellion, several thousands of persons liberated by President Lincoln's proclamation of freedom had sought protection within the military lines of the government, and were congregated in camps at Helena, Pine Bluff, Little Rock, and other points within the limits of this State. Destitute of all the comforts and necessaries of life, they immediately aroused the sympathy of benevolent individuals throughout the northwestern portion of the country. Associations for the relief of their physical wants were speedily formed; but these soon discovered that the mental and moral needs of these unhappy creatures were fully as pressing as their hunger and nakedness. To break through the barriers raised by legislation in the interest of the slave power, and carry food to those starving souls as well as to their bodies, was an evident duty. In its performance, schools were established at these different camps; and self-denying men and women, braving the manifold perils of those unsettled times, willingly assumed their charge. Prominent among the philanthropists who labored in this section of the country were the Friends, constituting what is known as the Indiana Yearly Meeting. First to enter upon this Christian work, they have at no time since relaxed their generous exertions; and they now have the satisfaction of seeing them rewarded by the establishment at Little Rock and elsewhere of several graded schools, which, in their appointments and in the improvement made by their pupils, will compare favorably with those of any other localities.

At the outset, these schools were, as might naturally be expected, very deficient in everything needful for the pleasant pursuit of learning. Within the rudely-constructed shanty which served as the school-room, the only books usually found were a few tattered primers, spelling-books, and Testaments, which had already done good service for other children in far happier circumstances. But for this dearth of facilities in the acquisition of knowledge the patient assiduity of teacher and the earnest application of pupils made ample amends; so that, in spite of all obstacles, an astonishing progress in the primary studies was a frequent, indeed an ordinary, result. It was not long, however, before the kindness of northern friends supplied the wants of those humble establishments; and, by the time that these eager scholars were ready for the use of slates, maps, and appropriate books in the different branches of learning, these articles were furnished to them quite liberally. The number of these schools, too, was increased by a timely measure on the part of the government. In its efforts to restore the industrial interests of the south, and to regulate the relations between

employers and the emancipated laborers, it established a system by which abandoned plantations were leased out upon certain conditions, one of which required, for every lot of 500 acres so leased, the employment of at least one teacher for the freedmen who cultivated them.

The colored people thus benefited showed themselves deserving of the interest taken in their behalf by the willingness which they manifested to do everything in their power for the support of these schools. Indeed it will be remembered to their credit that they established the first free schools that ever were in Arkansas. This they did at Little Rock, where, after paying tuition for a short time, they formed themselves into an educational association, paid by subscription the salaries of the teachers, and made their schools free.

Notwithstanding this willingness on the part of the freed people of Arkansas to co-operate with those desirous of educating them, that State has fared somewhat indifferently in the matter of schools, from the fact that it has no important commercial centers, and that, from a want of good roads, its interior is difficult of access. These circumstances render it an uninviting field for teachers. Still, quite a number of these have seconded the efforts made by the educational officers of the Freedmen's Bureau to establish schools, and have cheerfully endured the dangers and fatigues of travel, in going even as far as the Red River country in the extreme southwestern part of the State, by almost impassable roads and in the rudest conveyances, to enter upon their duties. The planters of Arkansas, too, have quite generally exhibited a commendable friendliness towards any movements touching the instruction of their laboring hands, by inviting the establishment of schools in their localities, and engaging to provide board and suitable accommodations for teachers who might come among them. Under these favorable circumstances, and through the aid of the congressional appropriation for building schools, nearly \$30,000 of which was allotted to Arkansas, quite an increased activity marked educational affairs there during 1867 and 1868. This was in some measure checked by political disturbances, and by the privations incident to a succession of scanty harvests; but it is to be hoped that with the prevalence of good order, and the return of prosperity, the schools for colored people in Arkansas will again begin to increase in number and to improve in condition.

The following tables, prepared by Prof. Vashon, exhibit the progress of the schools from 1866 to 1868:

Number of schools, teachers, and scholars, 1835 to 1868.

Year.	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars.			Average attendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1866.....			30	23	5	28			1,584	1,229	.....
1867.....	25	10	35	33	2	41	950	1,042	1,992	1,625	71
1868.....	22	5	27	31	12	43	715	822	1,537	1,235	79

Distribution of studies and expenditures.

Year.	Number of scholars in different studies pursued.							Expenditures in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading.	Advanced readers.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher branches.	By freedmen.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	34	1,197	494	629	347	805	122	\$2,987	\$7,982	\$10,969
1868.....	201	811	573	787	386	784	55	3,415	7,232	10,647

CALIFORNIA.

By the census of 1860 the population of California was 379,994, of which number 4,086 were free colored.

In the constitution of California, adopted in 1849, prior to its admission into the Union as a State in 1850, the right of suffrage is limited to white male citizens, but the establishment of slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, is prohibited.

In the revised school law, approved March 24, 1866, the following sections apply to colored children:

SEC. 57. Children of African or Mongolian descent, and Indian children not living under the care of white persons, shall not be admitted into public schools, except as provided in this act: *Provided*, That, upon the written application of the parents or guardians of at least 10 such children to any board of trustees or board of education, a separate school shall be established for the education of such children, and the education of a less number may be provided for by the trustees in any other manner.

SEC. 58. When there shall be in any district any number of children, other than white children, whose education can be provided for in no other way, the trustees, by a majority vote, may permit such children to attend school for white children: *Provided*, That a majority of the parents of the children attending such school make no objection, in writing, to be filed with the board of trustees.

SEC. 59. The same laws, rules, and regulations which apply to schools for white children shall apply to schools for colored children.

The superintendent of public instruction, Hon. John Swett, in his annual report for 1867, reports as follows:

Number of negro children in the State between 5 and 16 years of age.....	709
Number of separate schools.....	16
Number of pupils in attendance.....	400

“The people of the State are decidedly in favor of separate schools for colored children.”

CONNECTICUT.

In 1860 the free colored population of Connecticut was 8,627, out of a total of 460,147 inhabitants.

The constitution of 1818 limits the privilege of the elector to white male citizens, but the public schools of the State have never been restricted to any class on account of color, although in the city of Hartford, in 1830, a separate school was established under legislative permission granted on application made by the school committee at the request of the colored people of the city.

This example was followed in two or three towns, but the system of separate schools, under special legislation or the action of school committees, was broken up by the legislature in 1868, and the old practice of “schools good enough for all” revived and established by law.

The legislature in 1833, under the lead of a few influential men, passed a law which illustrated the extent to which the prejudices of the community could be enlisted against the colored people, but this law was repealed in 1838, having accomplished its object in a manner no way creditable to the State.

PRUDENCE CRANDALL AND THE CANTERBURY SCHOOL.

The following account of the efforts made by Miss Prudence Crandall, in the town of Canterbury, to establish a boarding and day school for young women of African descent, is abridged from the “Recollections of the Anti-Slavery Conflict,” by Rev. Samuel J. May:

In the summer of 1832, Miss Prudence Crandall, an excellent, well-educated Quaker young lady, who had gained considerable reputation as a teacher in the neighboring town of Plainfield, purchased, at the solicitation of a number of families in the village of Canterbury, Connecticut, a commodious house in that village, for the purpose of establishing a boarding and day school for young ladies, in order that they might receive instruction in higher branches than were taught in the public district school. Her school was well con-

ducted, but was interrupted early in 1833, in this wise: Not far from the village a worthy colored man was living, by the name of Harris, the owner of a good farm, and in comfortable circumstances. His daughter Sarah, a bright girl, 17 years of age, had passed with credit through the public school of the district in which she lived, and was anxious to acquire a better education, to qualify herself to become a teacher of the colored people. She applied to Miss Crandall for admission to her school. Miss Crandall hesitated, for prudential reasons, to admit a colored person among her pupils; but Sarah was a young lady of pleasing appearance and manners, well known to many of Miss Crandall's present pupils, having been their classmate in the district school, and was, moreover, a virtuous, pious girl, and a member of the church in Canterbury. No objection could be made to her admission except on account of her complexion, and Miss Crandall decided to receive her as a pupil. No objection was made by the other pupils, but in a few days the parents of some of them called on Miss Crandall and remonstrated; and although Miss Crandall pressed upon their consideration the eager desire of Sarah for knowledge and culture and the good use she wished to make of her education, her excellent character, and her being an accepted member of the same Christian church to which they belonged, they were too much prejudiced to listen to any arguments—"they would not have it said that their daughters went to school with a nigger girl." It was urged that if Sarah was not dismissed, the white pupils would be withdrawn; but although the fond hopes of success for an institution which she had established at the risk of all her property, and by incurring a debt of several hundred dollars, seemed to be doomed to disappointment, she decided not to yield to the demand for the dismissal of Sarah; and on the 2d day of March, 1833, she advertised in the *Liberator* that on the first Monday in April her school would be open for "young ladies and little misses of color." Her determination having become known, a fierce indignation was kindled and fanned by prominent people of the village, and pervaded the town. In this juncture, the Rev. Samuel J. May, of the neighboring town of Brooklyn, addressed her a letter of sympathy, expressing his readiness to assist her to the extent of his power, and was present at the town meeting held on the 9th of March, called for the express purpose of devising and adopting such measures as "would effectually avert the nuisance or speedily abate it if it should be brought into the village."

The friends of Miss Crandall were authorized by her to state to the moderator of the town meeting that she would give up her house, which was one of the most conspicuous in the village, and not wholly paid for, if those who were opposed to her school being there would take the property off her hands at the price for which she had purchased it, and which was deemed a reasonable one, and allow her time to procure another house in a more retired part of the town.

The town meeting was held in the meeting-house, which, though capable of holding a thousand people, was crowded throughout to its utmost capacity. After the warning for the meeting had been read, resolutions were introduced in which were set forth the disgrace and damage that would be brought upon the town if a school for colored girls should be set up there, protesting emphatically against the impending evil, and appointing the civil authority and selectmen a committee to wait upon "the person contemplating the establishment of said school and persuade her, if possible, to abandon the project."

The resolutions were advocated by Rufus Adams, esq., and Hon. Andrew T. Judson, who was then the most prominent man of the town, and a leading politician in the State, and much talked of as the democratic candidate for governor; and was a representative in Congress from 1835 to 1839, when he was elected judge of the United States district court, which position he held until his death in 1853, adjudicating, among other causes, the libel of the *Amistad* and the 54 Africans on board. After his address on this occasion, Mr. May, in company with Mr. Arnold Buffum, a lecturing agent of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, applied for permission to speak in behalf of Miss Crandall but their application was violently opposed, and the resolutions being adopted, the meeting was declared, by the moderator, adjourned.

Mr. May at once stepped upon the seat where he had been sitting and rapidly vindicated Miss Crandall, replying to some of the misstatements as to her purposes and the character of her

expected pupils, when he gave way to Mr. Buffum, who had spoken scarcely five minutes before the trustees of the church ordered the house to be vacated and the doors to be shut. There was then no alternative but to yield.

Two days afterwards Mr. Judson called on Mr. May, with whom he had been on terms of a pleasant acquaintance, not to say of friendship, and expressed regret that he had applied certain epithets to him; and went on to speak of the disastrous effect on the village from the establishment of "a school for nigger girls." Mr. May replied that his purpose was, if he had been allowed to do so, to state at the town meeting Miss Crandall's proposition to sell her house in the village at its fair valuation, and retire to some other part of the town. To this Mr. Judson responded: "Mr. May, we are not merely opposed to the establishment of that school in Canterbury, we mean there shall not be such a school set up anywhere in the State."

Mr. Judson continued, declaring that the colored people could never rise from their menial condition in our country, and ought not to be permitted to rise here; that they were an inferior race and should not be recognized as the equals of the whites; that they should be sent back to Africa, and improve themselves there, and civilize and christianize the natives. To this Mr. May replied that there never would be fewer colored people in this country than there were then; that it was unjust to drive them out of the country; that we must accord to them their rights or incur the loss of our own; that education was the primal, fundamental right of all the children of men; and that Connecticut was the last place where this should be denied.

The conversation was continued in a similar strain, in the course of which Mr. Judson declared with warmth: "That nigger school shall never be allowed in Canterbury, nor in any town of this State;" and he avowed his determination to secure the passage of a law by the legislature then in session, forbidding the institution of such a school in any part of the State.

Undismayed by the opposition and the threatened violence of her neighbors, Miss Crandall received early in April 15 or 20 colored young ladies and misses from Philadelphia, New York, Providence, and Boston; and the annoyances of her persecutors at once commenced; all accommodations at the stores in Canterbury being denied her, her pupils being insulted whenever they appeared on the streets, the doors and doorsteps of her house being besmeared, and her well filled with filth; under all of which, both she and her pupils remained firm. Among other means used to intimidate, an attempt was made to drive away those innocent girls by a process under the obsolete vagrant law, which provided that the selectmen of any town might warn any person, not an inhabitant of the State, to depart forthwith, demanding \$1 67 for every week he or she remained after receiving such warning; and in case the fine was not paid and the person did not depart before the expiration of ten days after being sentenced, *then he or she should be whipped on the naked body not exceeding ten stripes.*

A warrant to that effect was actually served upon Eliza Ann Hammond, a fine girl from Providence, aged 17 years; but it was finally abandoned, and another method was resorted to, most disgraceful to the State as well as the town. Foiled in their attempts to frighten away Miss Crandall's pupils by their proceedings under the obsolete "pauper and vagrant law," Mr. Judson and those who acted with him pressed upon the legislature, then in session, a demand for the enactment of a law which should enable them to accomplish their purpose; and in that bad purpose they succeeded, by securing the following enactment, on the 24th of May, 1833, known as the "*black law.*"

"Whereas attempts have been made to establish literary institutions in this State for the instruction of colored persons belonging to other States and countries, which would tend to the great increase of the colored population of the State, and thereby to the injury of the people: Therefore,

"*Be it enacted, &c.,* That no person shall set up or establish in this State any school, academy, or other literary institution for the instruction or education of colored persons, who are not inhabitants of this State, or harbor or board, for the purpose of attending or being taught or instructed in any such school, academy, or literary institution, any colored person who is not an inhabitant of any town in this State, without the consent in writing, first obtained, of a majority of the civil authority, and also of the selectmen of the town in which such school, academy, or literary institution is situated, &c.

“And each and every person who shall knowingly do any act forbidden as aforesaid, or shall be aiding or assisting therein, shall for the first offense forfeit and pay to the treasurer of this State a fine of \$100, and for the second offense \$200, and so double for every offense of which he or she shall be convicted; and all informing officers are required to make due presentment of all breaches of this act.”

On the receipt of the tidings of the passage of this law, the people of Canterbury were wild with exultation; the bells were rung and a cannon was fired to manifest the joy. On the 27th of June Miss Crandall was arrested and arraigned before Justices Adams and Bacon, two of those who had been the earnest opponents of her enterprise; and the result being predetermined, the trial was of course brief, and Miss Crandall was “committed” to take her trial at the next session of the supreme court at Brooklyn, in August. A messenger was at once dispatched by the party opposed to Miss Crandall to Brooklyn to inform Mr. May, as her friend, of the result of the trial, stating that she was in the hands of the sheriff, and would be put in jail unless he or some of her friends would “give bonds” for her in a certain sum.

The denouement may be related most appropriately in the language of Mr. May:

“I calmly told the messenger that there were gentlemen enough in Canterbury whose bond for that amount would be as good or better than mine, and I should leave it for them to do Miss Crandall that favor.” ‘But,’ said the young man, ‘are you not her friend?’ ‘Certainly,’ I replied, ‘too sincerely her friend to give relief to her enemies in their present embarrassment, and I trust you will not find any one of her friends, or the patrons of her school, who will step forward to help them any more than myself.’ ‘But, sir,’ he cried, ‘do you mean to allow her to be put in jail?’ ‘Most certainly,’ was my answer, ‘if her persecutors are unwise enough to let such an outrage be committed.’ He turned from me in blank surprise, and hurried back to tell Mr. Judson and the justices of his ill success.

“A few days before, when I first heard of the passage of the law, I had visited Miss Crandall with my friend, Mr. George W. Benson, and advised with her as to the course she and her friends ought to pursue when she should be brought to trial. She appreciated at once and fully the importance of leaving her persecutors to show to the world how base they were, and how atrocious was the law they had induced the legislature to enact—a law, by the force of which a woman might be fined and imprisoned as a felon in the State of Connecticut for giving instruction to colored girls. She agreed that it would be best for us to leave her in the hands of those with whom the law originated, hoping that, in their madness, they would show forth all their hideous features.

“Mr. Benson and I, therefore, went diligently around to all who he knew were friendly to Miss Crandall and her school, and counseled them by no means to give bonds to keep her from imprisonment, because nothing would expose so fully to the public the egregious wickedness of the law and the virulence of her persecutors as the fact that they had thrust her into jail.

“When I found that her resolution was equal to the trial which seemed to be impending, that she was ready to brave and to bear meekly the worst treatment that her enemies would venture to subject her to, I made all the arrangements for her comfort that were practicable in our prison. It fortunately happened that the most suitable room, unoccupied, was the one in which a man named Watkins had recently been confined for the murder of his wife, and out of which he had been taken and executed. This circumstance we foresaw would add not a little to the public detestation of the *black law*. The jailor, at my request, readily put the room in as nice order as was possible, and permitted me to substitute for the bedstead and mattress on which the murderer had slept, fresh and clean ones from my own house and Mr. Benson’s.

“About 2 o’clock, p. m. another messenger came to inform me that the sheriff was on the way from Canterbury to the jail with Miss Crandall, and would imprison her unless her friends would give the required bail. Although in sympathy with Miss Crandall’s persecutors, he saw clearly the disgrace that was about to be brought upon the State, and begged me and Mr. Benson to avert it. Of course we refused. I went to the jailor’s house and met Miss Crandall on her arrival. We stepped aside. I said: ‘If now you hesitate—if you dread the gloomy place so much as to wish to be saved from it, I will give bonds for you even now.’ ‘O, no,’ she promptly replied, ‘I am only afraid they will not put me in jail.’

Their evident hesitation and embarrassment show plainly how much they deprecate the effect of this part of their folly, and therefore I am the more anxious that they should be exposed, if not caught in their own wicked devices.'

"We therefore returned with her to the sheriff and the company that surrounded him to await his final act. He was ashamed to do it. He knew it would cover the persecutors of Miss Crandall and the State of Connecticut with disgrace. He conferred with several about him, and delayed yet longer. Two gentlemen came and remonstrated with me in not very seemly terms: 'It would be a —— shame, an eternal disgrace to the State, to have her put into jail—into the very room that Watkins had last occupied.'

"'Certainly, gentlemen,' I replied, 'and this you may prevent if you please.'

"'O!' they cried, 'we are not her friends; we are not in favor of her school; we don't want any more —— niggers coming among us. It is your place to stand by Miss Crandall and help her now. You and your —— abolition brethren have encouraged her to bring this nuisance into Canterbury, and it is —— mean in you to desert her now.'

"I rejoined: 'She knows we have not deserted her, and do not intend to desert her. The law which her persecutors have persuaded our legislators to enact is an infamous one, worthy of the dark ages. It would be just as bad as it is whether we would give bonds for her or not. But the people generally will not so soon realize how bad, how wicked, how cruel a law it is unless we suffer her persecutors to inflict upon her all the penalties it prescribes. She is willing to bear them for the sake of the cause she has so nobly espoused. If you see fit to keep her from imprisonment in the cell of a murderer for having proffered the blessings of a good education to those who in our country need it most, you may do so; *we shall not.*'

"They turned from us in great wrath, words falling from their lips which I shall not repeat.

"The sun had descended nearly to the horizon; the shadows of night were beginning to fall around us. The sheriff could defer the dark deed no longer. With no little emotion, and with words of earnest deprecation, he gave that excellent, heroic, Christian young lady into the hands of the jailor, and she was led into the cell of Watkins. So soon as I had heard the bolts of her prison door turned in the lock and saw the key taken out, I bowed and said: 'The deed is done, completely done. It cannot be recalled. It has passed into the history of our nation and our age.' I went away with my steadfast friend, George W. Benson, assured that the legislators of the State had been guilty of a most unrighteous act, and that Miss Crandall's persecutors had also committed a great blunder; that they all would have much more reason to be ashamed of her imprisonment than she or her friends could ever have.

"The next day we gave the required bonds. Miss Crandall was released from the cell of the murderer, returned home, and quietly resumed the duties of her school until she should be summoned as a culprit into court, there to be tried by the infamous '*Black Law of Connecticut.*' And, as we expected, so soon as the evil tidings could be carried in that day, before Professor Morse had given to Rumor her telegraphic wings, it was known all over the country and the civilized world that an excellent young lady had been imprisoned as a criminal—yes, put into a murderer's cell—in the State of Connecticut, for opening a school for the instruction of colored girls. The comments that were made upon the deed in almost all the newspapers were far from grateful to the feelings of her persecutors. Even many who, under the same circumstances, would probably have acted as badly as Messrs. A. T. Judson & Co., denounced their procedure as "unchristian, inhuman, anti-democratic, base, mean."

On the 23d of August, 1833, the first trial of Miss Crandall was had in Brooklyn, the seat of the county of Windham, Hon. Joseph Eaton presiding at the county court.

The prosecution was conducted by Hon. A. T. Judson, Jonathan A. Welch, esq., and I. Bulkeley, esq. Miss Crandall's counsel was Hon. Calvin Goddard, Hon. W. W. Elsworth, and Henry Strong, esq.

The judge, somewhat timidly, gave it as his opinion "that the law was constitutional and obligatory on the people of the State."

The jury, after an absence of several hours, returned into court not having agreed upon a verdict. They were instructed and sent out again, and again a third time, in vain; they

stated to the judge that there was no probability that they could ever agree. Seven were for conviction and five for acquittal, so they were discharged.

The second trial was on the 3d of October, before Judge Daggett of the supreme court, who was a strenuous advocate of the black law. His influence with the jury was overpowering, insisting in an elaborate and able charge that the law was constitutional, and, without much hesitation, the verdict was given against Miss Crandall. Her counsel at once filed a bill of exceptions, and took an appeal to the court of errors, which was granted. Before that, the highest legal tribunal in the State, the cause was argued on the 22d of July, 1834. Both the Hon. W. W. Elsworth and the Hon. Calvin Goddard argued with great ability and eloquence against the constitutionality of the black law. The Hon. A. T. Judson and Hon. C. F. Cleaveland said all they could to prove such a law consistent with the *Magna Charta* of our republic. The court reserved a decision for some future time; and that decision was never given, it being evaded by the court finding such defects in the information prepared by the State's attorney that it ought to be quashed.

Soon after this, an attempt was made to set the house of Miss Crandall on fire, but without effect. The question of her duty to risk the lives of her pupils against this mode of attack was then considered, and upon consultation with friends it was concluded to hold on and bear a little longer, with the hope that this atrocity of attempting to fire the house, and thus expose the lives and property of her neighbors, would frighten the instigators of the persecution, and cause some restraint on "the baser sort." But a few nights afterwards, about 12 o'clock, being the night of the 9th of September, her house was assaulted by a number of persons with heavy clubs and iron bars; and windows were dashed to pieces. Mr. May was summoned the next morning, and after consultation it was determined that the school should be abandoned. Mr. May thus concludes his account of this event, and of the enterprise.

"The pupils were called together and I was requested to announce to them our decision. Never before had I felt so deeply sensible of the cruelty of the persecution which had been carried on for 18 months in that New England village, against a family of defenseless females. Twenty harmless, well behaved girls, whose only offense against the peace of the community was that they had come together there to obtain useful knowledge and moral culture, were to be told that they had better go away, because, forsooth, the house in which they dwelt would not be protected by the guardians of the town, the conservators of the peace, the officers of justice, the men of influence in the village where it was situated. The words almost blistered my lips. My bosom glowed with indignation. I felt ashamed of Canterbury, ashamed of Connecticut, ashamed of my country, ashamed of my color. Thus ended the generous, disinterested, philanthropic, Christian enterprise of Prudence Crandall, but the law under which her enterprise was defeated was repealed in 1833."

The principal championship of the repeal of the "Canterbury Law," as the act of 1833 was called, in the legislature of 1833, was made by Hon. Francis Gillette, then and always an earnest member of the house from Bloomfield:

"This law is unwise, impolitic, and preposterous. Colored children, and any other persons, may come into this State in any numbers, and for any other purpose than that of acquiring knowledge—no matter what they are, idlers, thieves, vagabonds, the very sweepings of the globe; but if an innocent child comes into this State for the purpose of attending school, and that child's complexion is a little dashed, if it has not the Caucasian dye, that child is liable, by this law, to be treated as a vagrant pauper, and hurried out of the State, as though its very breath was contagion and death. Notwithstanding, if it will throw away its books, and turn to some menial employment; if it will abandon the pursuit of knowledge and become a waiter or a boot-black, it may, forsooth, tarry within the State, unmolested by this or any other law. It may, indeed, remain for any other purpose than to prepare itself to become an intelligent and worthy citizen; but across the path of knowledge it finds the Canterbury black act, snake-like distended. We admit the vicious and degraded, while we reject the pure-hearted and aspiring.

"Connecticut has ever shown herself deeply sensible of the value of education to all classes, and of its inseparable connection with her prosperity, happiness, and glory. Her munificent school fund attests it; her school-houses dotting thickly her surface evince it; her general policy from her earliest settlement confirms it; but we here find in her recent legislation a law diametrically opposed to her past policy, and conflicting with her whole system of measures for pouring the light of knowledge over the youthful mind, and thus enriching herself, not with bell, but with the treasures of cultivated intellect.

“In vain shall we look for a parallel to this legislation in any modern free State; but in an earlier and darker age it is recorded of the inhabitants of Mitylene that they forbade the people of a tributary province to give the least instruction to their children, they having learned the close connection between light and liberty. Let us be mindful of our obligation to treat the children of this unfortunate race—the victims of ages of barbarous cruelty—with some little justice and humanity; and when they come to us asking for the bread of knowledge, let us not give them a stone, and thrust them from our presence, but cheer their wounded hearts with kindness and compassion, and welcome them to participate with us in the blessings of knowledge, of wise government, and impartial laws.”

SCHOOLS FOR COLORED CHILDREN IN HARTFORD.

The following letter from Rev. W. W. Turner, to the Commissioner of Education, gives the history and present status of the colored population in respect to public schools not only in Hartford but in the State generally :

DEAR SIR: Until the year 1830 no separate schools for colored children had ever been organized in this town. From the beginning they had been received into the schools for other children, with equal privileges and advantages for instruction, support being derived from school funds and public taxation, and no distinction was recognized between them and the white children in the same school. Such in general was the fact throughout this State and the whole of New England.

About the year above specified, the colored people expressed a desire that one or more separate schools for their own children should be formed in the city of Hartford, on which should be expended that part of the public school money which would be drawn by them according to their number. A mutual agreement to that effect was entered into, and the legislature, by request of the School Society of Hartford, passed a law authorizing within its limits one or more separate colored schools, and the appropriation to them of their share of the public money. This arrangement was consummated the same year, and was continued without any special change until the autumn of 1846. A memorial or petition was then sent to the School Society by the pastor of the colored congregational church showing that since the separation above described nothing had been done for the colored schools by said society beyond the paying over of their share of the public fund every year. No school-houses had been built or furnished, and excepting small contributions from a few benevolent persons, not a farthing had been given for the payment of their teachers and the support of their schools by the white citizens of Hartford. The colored population from want of means had been unable to procure suitable rooms, or competent teachers, and consequently the education of their children had been exceedingly irregular, deficient and onerous—much of the time being without any schools at all. The School Society promptly voted to raise a tax sufficient to support two schools for colored children with suitable rooms and teachers, and appointed a committee to receive and apply the money raised for that purpose. This arrangement was entirely satisfactory to all concerned, and its results were especially beneficial to the colored population of the city. By the natural increase of this class of children, the rooms occupied by their schools some years after had become quite too small; and as graded schools had been established for other children, patrons of the colored schools of the city felt that the time had come when a suitable building for the accommodation of their schools should be built for them at the public expense. A petition to that effect was sent by many of the principal colored residents of Hartford to the School Society, which appointed a committee to investigate and report on the whole subject. As a preliminary step to all future action, this committee called a meeting of the colored people to discuss and to decide for themselves the question whether they would have their children taught in future with the white children, or in schools of their own as heretofore. After a free and full deliberation upon the matter, they came almost, if not quite, unanimously to the conclusion that they preferred to have their children taught in separate schools in a building sufficiently large and properly arranged for classification to accommodate them all. The committee reported in favor of the plan, and the society authorized the erection of such a building in April, 1852. From that time until August of last year the colored schools, in common with all the public schools of the city, have been supported by tax on the property of our citizens, without any other expense to the parents of the children; and the full benefits of this judicious policy have been experienced by all classes of the community. In 1863 a law was enacted by the legislature of Connecticut providing that “the public schools of this State should be open to all persons between the ages of four and sixteen; and that no person should be denied admittance to and instruction in any public school in the school district where such person resides, on account of race or color.” This law permitted the colored parents of this city to send their children to any of the public schools of the districts in which they resided—a privilege denied them in some of these districts, and one which they very much desired to enjoy. They had for a good while been certain that the white population of the city would not furnish for them as good school accommodations as they had already done for their own children; and that it was impossible for the colored people to establish and keep up such schools as were regarded essential to the thorough training of their children for the new fields of usefulness now

opening before them. Immediately, therefore, on the passage of the law referred to, they concluded with entire unanimity to avail themselves of its provisions. They gave up their separate schools, and sent their children to the public schools of their respective districts. The new law and the new arrangement obtained the cheerful acquiescence of the teachers and scholars of these schools; the colored parents made special efforts to clothe and otherwise prepare their children for the new positions assigned them; and up to the present time the plan has worked admirably, and has already developed a rapid improvement in learning, and in the deportment and self-respect of the colored children for whose benefit mainly the law was enacted."

The act of 1863, referred to in the foregoing communication, is as follows:

"The public schools of this State shall be open to all persons between the ages of four and sixteen years, and no person shall be denied admittance to and instruction in any public school in the school district where such person resides, on account of race or color, any law or resolution of this State heretofore passed to the contrary notwithstanding."

DELAWARE.

Out of a population of 112,216, in 1860, there were in Delaware 21,627 blacks, of which number 19,829 were free.

In 1739, free negroes or mulattoes were forbidden by law to harbor or entertain any slave without the consent of the owner of such slave, under severe penalties; and this was the only legislative action by this State, relating exclusively to the colored people, during the colonial period. Nearly one hundred years later, in 1832, an act was passed, providing that no congregation or meeting of free negroes or mulattoes, of more than 12 persons, should be held later than 10 o'clock in the night, except under the direction of three respectable white men, who were to be present during the continuance of the meeting, under a penalty of \$10 for each offense; and on failing to pay, the offender was to be sold into slavery for a term not to exceed three years. It was also further enacted, that no free negro or mulatto, not a resident of the State, should "attempt or presume to hold any meeting for the purpose of religious worship, or for the purpose of, or under the pretense of, preaching or exhortation, without the license of some judge or justice of the peace in this State, granted upon the recommendation of five respectable and judicious citizens." The penalty was a fine of \$50 and costs; and on failure to pay, to be sold "to the highest bidder for a term not exceeding seven years."

In 1833 a law was passed requiring the owner of any slave to pay \$5 for a license to sell the same to a person in Maryland; and in the case of the importation of a slave from Maryland, \$10 was to be paid; and the sums thus paid were to be added to the fund for the education of the children of the white population.

The laws respecting free negroes and mulattoes remained essentially unchanged until 1852; and they did not, in express language, forbid the establishment of schools for their instruction; nor was the instruction of the slaves expressly forbidden, though the Revised Statutes of 1852 provided for the taxation of all the property of the State for the benefit of schools for the children of whites alone.

In 1863 a positive enactment was made against all assemblages for the instruction of colored people, and forbidding all meetings except for religious worship and the burial of their dead. The penalty for each offense was a fine of \$10 and costs, and on failure to pay, to be sold into slavery not exceeding seven years, to any person residing in the county.

While the free colored people were taxed to a certain extent for school purposes they could not enjoy the privileges of public instruction thus provided, and were left for many years to rely principally upon individual efforts among themselves and their friends for the support of a few occasional schools. In 1840 the Friends formed the African School Association, in the city of Wilmington; and by its aid two very good schools, male and female, were established in that place.

In 1866 the Delaware Association for the Moral Improvement and Education of the Colored People of the State was organized through the efforts of General E. M. Gregory, an earnest and efficient assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau. He was aided therein by Judge Hugh M. Bond and Francis T. King, of Baltimore, Maryland; and also by the Right Reverend Alfred Lee, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Delaware.

The latter gentleman penned an appeal to the public, in which he urgently pressed the considerations that should influence all classes to give to this movement their sympathy and co-operation. These considerations were alleged to be: 1st. The manifest equity of no longer excluding any class of the community from the advantages of mental culture; 2d. The rescue of a large number of the young from indolence and vice; 3d. The general social improvement which might be expected in the State; 4th. The certain benefits to productive industry; and, 5th. The satisfaction of doing something to redress a great wrong, and so pay a debt long overdue to the poor and defenseless. To the association thus founded and advocated the African School Association transferred its school property in Wilmington, valued at about \$4,000, and also the income of its funds, in trust, that the former should establish and maintain on the premises transferred as high an order of schools for the colored people as their condition permitted. The Delaware Association also took charge of a school in Wilmington, which had been sustained previously by private contributions, and opened another in the school-room of the African Zion church. Besides these, it speedily established schools in the following places, viz: Dover, Milford, Seaford, Smyrna, Odessa, Christiana, New Castle, Laurel, Georgetown, Milton, Newark, Delaware City, Lewis, Camden, Newport, Williamsville, and Port Penn. These schools have generally been well conducted, and attended with very satisfactory results. In their establishment the association was largely indebted to the Freedmen's Bureau, which contributed over \$10,000 in furnishing building materials; and in their support it has, also, had the co-operation of the colored people themselves, who have contributed about \$8,000 in payment of tuition, teachers' board, purchase of books, and erection of school buildings.

On the 3d of October, 1867, two normal schools, male and female, were opened in the old African Association building, which had been altered to suit their purposes. Of these schools Professor William Howard Day, an educated colored gentleman, who is superintendent of education under the Freedmen's Bureau for the States of Maryland and Delaware, speaks in very commendable terms. The following statistics for the years 1867 and 1868 present the educational work done in the State of Delaware during that period:

Number of schools, teachers, and pupils—1867-'68.

Year.	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars.			Average attendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1867.....	20	.....	20	4	16	20	269	443	712	581	81
1868.....	32	3	35	10	25	35	767	510	1,277	904	71

Studies and expenditures for schools—1867-'68.

Year.	Number of scholars in different studies pursued.							Expenditures in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading lessons.	Advanced readers.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher br's.	By freedmen.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	338	265	189	203	133	282	.....	\$5,800	\$34,963	\$40,763
1868.....	158	570	433	545	287	551	25	2,299	6,191	8,490

FLORIDA.

By the census of 1860 Florida had 140,425 inhabitants, of whom 62,677 were blacks, and of these 61,747 were slaves.

While Florida was still a Territory, in 1832, the immigration of any free negro or mulatto into its jurisdiction was forbidden by legal enactment; and at the same time an act was passed forbidding any of the same class of persons, resident in the Territory, "to assemble

at any time or place" for any purpose except for labor—not even for a funeral. They might, however, "attend divine worship at any church, chapel, or other place of congregated white persons for that purpose."

In 1846, one year after the admission of Florida as a State, "all assemblies and congregations of slaves, free negroes, and mulattoes, consisting of four or more, met together in a confined or secret place," were declared to be unlawful, and the most stringent measures were used to prevent them; but no "church or place of public worship," where any religious society should be assembled, "a portion of whom" were white, could be broken into or disturbed "at any time before 10 o'clock in the evening."

December 28, 1848, an act was passed "to provide for the establishment of common schools," and giving to any person, liable to taxation on his property for the erection of school-houses, the right to vote at the district meetings; but white children only, of a specified age, were entitled to school privileges.

In the same year an act was passed providing that the school fund should consist of "the proceeds of the school lands," and of all estates, real or personal, escheating to the State, and "the proceeds of all property found on the coast or shores of the State." In 1850 the counties were authorized to provide, by taxation, not more than four dollars for each child within their limits of the proper school age. In the same year the amount received from the sale of any slave, under the act of 1829, was required to be added to the school fund. The common school law was revised in 1853, and the county commissioners were authorized to add from the county treasury any sum they thought proper for the support of common schools.

January 18, 1866, an act establishing common schools for freedmen was passed, providing for a tax of one dollar each upon "all male persons of color between the ages of 21 and 45" for the support of such schools, which were placed under the care of a superintendent appointed by the governor. In 1869, by act approved January 30, a common school law was established, in which no reference is made to the complexion of the pupils.

EDUCATION OF THE FREEDMEN.

Among the various agencies engaged in the work of educating the freedmen of the South are two consisting of colored people in the northern States, and known respectively as the African Civilization Society and the Home Missionary Society of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Both of these societies have shown no lack of interest in the great matter of improving the condition of their formerly enslaved brethren, and both of them have labored zealously, as far as their means would permit, either independently or in co-operation with others, in the establishment of schools at different points in the southern States. Several of these schools were opened at Tallahassee and other places in Florida shortly after the close of the war, and have proved important and successful instrumentalities for good.

More sparsely settled than the other States, and lacking in the advantages of convenient roads, this State has not furnished so inviting a field to philanthropic effort as others; yet, in spite of these obstacles, the northern societies have not been without their representatives here, the New York branch of the American Freedmen's Union Commission having the greatest number of teachers employed in this section. As elsewhere, their labors have been blessed in the improvement of their pupils both in school learning and in the general conduct of life. Besides the schools already mentioned there were yet others, amounting, perhaps, to one-half of the entire number of schools in the State. These last were taught by freed persons who had acquired a little learning in their bondage. However poorly qualified they may have been to act as instructors, the existence of their schools was evidence both of their desire to labor in the elevation of their brethren and of the necessity felt by the latter for acquiring some knowledge, were it only the merest rudiments of learning. It is to be hoped, then, that even these schools were not wholly destitute of their wished-for fruit. Through the three several agencies already mentioned 30 schools were in existence in Florida at the close of 1865.

Early in the following year, January 16, 1866, the State legislature created a public

system of education for the freedmen of the State. This enactment provides for the appointment of a superintendent, whose duty is to "establish schools for freedmen, when the number of children of persons of color shall warrant the same," and to employ competent teachers for them. For the support of these schools it also provides that, besides a tuition fee of 50 cents per month to be collected from each pupil, a fund, "to be denominated the common school fund for the education of freedmen," shall be raised by levying a tax of \$1 upon all male persons of color between the ages of 21 and 55 years. The good effects of this law were apparent in the increased number of schools during that year and the following.

The action of the legislature was heartily seconded by the freedmen themselves, who, in a number of instances, erected school-houses at their own expense, besides contributing from their scanty means towards the support of teachers. Here, too, as in other States, the Freedmen's Bureau proved itself their efficient friend. In order to enable them to secure for themselves school-houses as well as schools, it advised the formation of "school societies," and suggested a course of procedure upon compliance with which its assistance would be extended to them. It stipulated that each society should acquire, by gift or purchase, the perfect title to an eligible lot of ground not less than one acre in extent, to be vested in a board of trustees for school purposes, and that it should then secure good pledges of labor and money sufficient to provide for all the work required in the erection of the school-house and in making needed improvements of the property. Upon these conditions it agreed to supply all the lumber and other materials necessary for the construction of the building. Not only did the freedmen accede to this plan, but also quite a number of the landed proprietors entered cordially into it, readily furnishing the school lots required.

The reports of 1868 showed, in the diminished number of schools, that Florida had not been exempt from the sufferings which hard times had entailed upon other States. With all the advantages just mentioned, it became evident, in the stringency of money matters, that its public school system, however judicious and commendable it may be, cannot be a complete success until years of patient and earnest labor shall be blessed with that prosperity which such labor must inevitably secure.

The following table, compiled by Professor Vashon, presents the statistics of these schools from 1865 to 1868:

Number of schools, teachers, and scholars, 1865 to 1868.

Year.	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars.			Average attendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	Whites.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1865.....			30			19			1,900		
1866.....			38			51			2,663		
1867.....	42	29	71	32	32	64	1,053	1,175	2,228	1,815	81
1868.....	33	21	54	24	37	61	1,032	1,150	2,182	1,619	74

Studies and expenditures, 1867 and 1868.

Year.	Number of scholars in different studies pursued.							Expenditures in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading.	Advanced reading.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher branches.	By freedmen.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	418	1,047	432	562	208	481	19	\$608	\$30,392	\$31,000
1868.....	212	1,163	683	1,040	485	898	50	629	18,571	19,200

The State superintendent of public instruction, in a report submitted to Governor Reed January 9, 1869, remarks, respecting the schools conducted under the auspices of northern benevolent associations :

“ Many of the ladies who assumed the duties of teachers were persons of wealth and high social positions at home. Coming at a time when the freed children were cast suddenly at the threshold of a new life, unused to the responsibilities and ignorant of the duties thus thrust upon them, they were welcomed with great joy, and labored with sincere Christian devotion, amidst hardships and privations. The teachers have changed, but most of the schools are still maintained.”

GEORGIA.

By the census of 1860 the population of Georgia was 1,057,286; and of this number 465,698 were black, of whom all but 3,500 were slaves.

The Province of Georgia, in 1770, adopted the law of South Carolina, passed in 1740, providing a lighter penalty only for teaching slaves to write—a fine of £20 instead of £100. The same law provided that any magistrate or constable must “ disperse any assembly or meeting of slaves which may disturb the peace and endanger the safety of his Majesty’s subjects;” and any slave found at such meeting might, by order of the magistrate, be immediately corrected, *without trial*, by whipping on the bare back “ twenty-five stripes with a whip, switch, or cowskin.” The reason for the passage of this provision of the law was, as stated, because “ the frequent meeting of slaves, under the pretense of feasting, may be attended with dangerous consequences.” The “ feasting” referred to was the love feast of the Methodist church.

In 1829 the following law was enacted: “ If any slave, negro, or free person of color, or any white person, shall teach any other slave, negro, or free person of color to read or write either written or printed characters, the said free person of color or slave shall be punished by fine and whipping, or fine or whipping, at the discretion of the court; and if a white person so offend, he, she, or they shall be punished with a fine not exceeding \$500 and imprisonment in the common jail at the discretion of the court.”

In December, 1833, the penal code was consolidated, and in it a provision from the act of 1829 was embodied, providing a penalty not exceeding \$100 for the employment of any slave or free person of color in setting up type or other labor about a printing office requiring a knowledge of reading or writing. This penal code continued in force until swept away by the events of the late war.

In 1833 the city of Savannah adopted an ordinance “ that if any person shall teach or cause to be taught any slave or free person of color to read or write within the city, or who shall keep a school for that purpose, he or she shall be fined in a sum not exceeding \$100 for each and every such offense; and if the offender be a slave or free person of color he or she may also be whipped, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes.” And yet, in the face of such ordinances, instruction was imparted by persons of color in the city of Savannah, and individuals were to be found who a few years later advocated a more humane and liberal policy toward the entire laboring class of the State.

In the summer of 1850 a series of articles by Mr. F. C. Adams appeared in one of the papers of Savannah, advocating the education of the negroes as a means of increasing their value and of attaching them to their masters. The subject was afterwards taken up in the Agricultural Convention which met at Macon in September of the same year. (See the Macon Journal and Messenger, Chapman, editor.) The matter was again brought up in September, 1851, in the Agricultural Convention, and after being debated, a resolution was passed that a petition be presented to the legislature for a law granting permission to educate the slaves. The petition was presented to the legislature, and Mr. Harlston introduced a bill in the winter of 1852, which was discussed and passed in the lower house, to repeal the old law, and to grant to the masters the privilege of educating their slaves. (See Milledgeville Recorder.) The bill was lost in the senate by two or three votes.

SCHOOLS FOR THE BLACKS IN GEORGIA.

The following account of the efforts to establish schools in Georgia since 1865 was prepared by Professor Vashon :

Among the many secret things brought to light by the opening of the southern prison-house, there was one at least which did not challenge the public regard by its atrocity, but rather by the evidence which it afforded of the futility of oppressive enactments in crushing out the soul's nobler aspirations. This was a school for colored persons in Savannah, Georgia. For upwards of 30 years it had existed there, unsuspected by the slave power, and successfully eluding the keen-eyed vigilance of its minions. Its teacher, a colored lady by the name of Deveaux, undeterred by any dread of penalties, throughout that long period silently pursued her labors in her native city, in the very same room that she still occupies ; and she now has the satisfaction of knowing that numbers who are indebted to her for their early training are, in these more auspicious days, co-workers with her in the elevation of their common race. It is not a matter for surprise that a city favored with such an establishment as Miss Deveaux's should prove a field ripe for the harvesters, or that its colored residents should hail with appreciative joy the advent of a better time. Within a few days after the entrance of Sherman's army, in December, 1865, they opened a number of schools having an enrolment of 500 pupils, and contributed \$1,000 for the support of teachers. In this spontaneous movement they were fortunate in having the advice and encouragement of the Rev. J. W. Alvord, then secretary of the Boston Tract Society, and of other friends who were with the invading forces. Two of the largest of these schools were in "Bryant's Slave Mart;" and thus the very walls which had, but a few days before, re-echoed with the anguish of bondmen put up for sale, now gave back the hushed but joyous murmurs of their children learning to read. In a very little while this effort attained to such a development as to compel an appeal for outside assistance. To the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us," the American Missionary Association and also the Boston and New York societies responded, both by sending additional teachers and by engaging to pay the salaries of those already on the ground. Schools were also established at Augusta, Macon, and other places throughout the State; so that, at the close of the year, there were 69 schools in existence, with as many teachers, 43 of whom were colored, and with over 3,600 pupils in attendance.

The same spirit that prompted the negroes of Georgia to open these schools was still manifested by them in a continuance and enlargement of the good work. In January, 1866, they organized the Georgia Educational Association, whose object was to induce the freedmen to establish and support schools in their own counties and neighborhoods; and, in furtherance of this end, it provided for the formation of subordinate associations throughout the State. The purpose of its projectors was to act in harmony with agencies already in the field, with the educational officers of the Freedmen's Bureau, and with all other parties who were willing to assist them in the moral and mental culture of their race. Thus, they hoped, by this union of effort, to accomplish much immediate good, and to lay deeply and permanently the foundation of a system of public instruction which should, in time, place an education within the reach of all the citizens of Georgia. The plan thus proposed met with an approving response from the people, and schools were rapidly opened in many counties of the State. In many quarters, however, great opposition was offered to this new order of things; and the newspapers, in alluding to the female teachers, would descend to the most abusive ribaldry. In frequent instances, too, this opposition did not stop short of acts of violence and outrage. During the year 1866 seven school buildings were destroyed by white incendiaries; and, at a number of points, teachers were forced either to close their schools or to appeal to the bureau for protection. In the following year, however, Mr. G. L. Eberhart, the State superintendent of education under the bureau, reported a wonderful change in this matter, in the following words: "At the beginning of the current school year scarcely any white persons could be found who were willing to 'disgrace' themselves by 'teaching niggers'; but, as times grew hard, and money and bread scarce, applications for employment became so numerous that I was obliged to prepare a printed letter with which

to answer them. Lawyers, physicians, editors, ministers, and all classes of white people applied for employment; and while a few by their letters evinced only tolerable qualifications—none of them first class—a vast majority were unable to write grammatically or to spell the most simple and common words in our language correctly. Not a few appeared to think that ‘*anybody can teach niggers.*’ This change in popular sentiment rendered it possible to establish schools to a much greater extent in the country districts; and the result was that at the close of the school year, in 1867, 191 day schools and 45 night schools were reported as existing. Of these schools 96 were supported either wholly or in part by freedmen, who also owned 57 of the school buildings. The poverty which had contributed so much towards diminishing the prejudices of the white residents, had, on the other hand, an unfavorable effect on the prosperity of the schools. Through its pressure many of the subordinate societies ceased to exist, and the schools supported by them were discontinued; and as the northern associations deemed it to be the better policy to confine their work to the cities in the training of prospective teachers, the rural districts suffered somewhat, and the exhibit of schools for 1868 was about 100 less than in the preceding year. Some compensation for this, however, was found in the establishment by the American Missionary Association of three permanent institutions of a higher grade, with brief notices of which this sketch shall be closed.

THE GEORGIA UNIVERSITY, ATLANTA.

Early in the year 1837 the Georgia University was incorporated, \$10,000 having been contributed from the educational fund of the Freedmen’s Bureau towards establishing its normal department. A desirable tract of land, consisting of 53 acres within the city limits, and known as Diamond Hill, was purchased and two brick buildings erected thereon. These are to be used as dormitories, after the completion of the main edifice, which it is the intention of the trustees to put up at as early a date as their means will permit.

THE BEACH INSTITUTE, SAVANNAH.

The Beach Institute, at Savannah, was established in 1857, and was thus named in honor of Alfred E. Beach, esq., editor of the Scientific American, who generously donated the means for purchasing the lot upon which it stands; and it is a neat and substantial frame structure, erected by the Freedmen’s Bureau at a cost of \$13,000. This building, which rests upon brick foundations, is 55 feet by 60 feet, and has, at the north and south ends, two Ls, each 10 feet by 35 feet. On the first floor are four large school-rooms, all of which can be converted into one when desired, by means of sliding doors and windows. Four other school-rooms and an ante-room are on the second floor. All of these rooms have high ceilings, and are well lighted, and furnished with substantial desks, seats, black-boards, &c. A staircase at each end furnishes ready egress from the upper story. On the east side of this building stands the “Teachers’ Home,” a neat and comfortably arranged two-story frame house, erected by the association at a cost of \$3,000. There are 600 pupils in the institution, which is under the charge of Mr. O. W. Dimick, assisted by nine female teachers, eight of whom are white and one colored.

THE LEWIS SCHOOL, MACON.

The Lewis School, at Macon, was dedicated, with appropriate exercises, to God, and to the Christian education of the freed people of Georgia, on the 26th day of March, 1866. It is named in honor of General John R. Lewis, inspector of the Freedmen’s Bureau, and is a handsome two-story building 80 feet long by 60 in width, affording accommodations for over 500 pupils. The school-rooms are neatly finished with Georgia pine, and furnished with cherry desks, and all the other most approved modern educational appliances. With a corps of teachers, intelligent, refined, and thoroughly capable, there is no doubt that the Lewis School will justly continue to be, as it is now the pride of its founders and of the colored people of Macon.

Number of schools, teachers, and pupils—1865-'68.

Year.	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars.			Average attendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1865.....	-----	-----	69	26	43	69	-----	-----	3,603	-----	-----
1866.....	-----	-----	79	-----	-----	113	-----	-----	7,792	-----	-----
1867.....	191	45	236	148	91	239	6,033	7,448	13,481	10,231	76
1868.....	103	26	132	127	47	174	4,035	4,507	8,542	6,708	78

Studies and expenditures—1867-'68.

Year.	Number of scholars in different studies pursued.							Expenditures in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading.	Advanced readers.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher branches.	By freed-men.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	2,600	8,987	2,318	3,030	1,854	2,810	139	\$35,224	\$40,000	\$91,096
1868.....	1,560	4,592	2,366	3,573	2,361	3,102	253	21,596	31,000	52,596

ILLINOIS.

Out of a total population of 1,711,951 in 1860 there were returned 7,628 free colored inhabitants. By the constitution of 1847 the right of suffrage is restricted to white male citizens, and the benefits of the school law are by implication extended exclusively to children of white parents. Hon. Newton Bateman, in his exhaustive, elaborate, and every way excellent report as superintendent of public instruction, submitted to the governor December 15, 1863, introduces the subject of schools for the colored population, as follows:

“The number of colored persons in the State under 21 years of age, as reported for 1867, was 8,962, and the number reported for 1868 was 9,781. The number between the ages of 6 and 21 years, or of lawful school age, was in 1867, 5,492, and in 1868 the number of schooling colored children reported in the State was 6,210. * * *

“I have made every effort to obtain reliable statistics in respect to this element of our population, but there is good reason to believe that the actual number of colored persons in the State is much greater than is exhibited in the above statement. As children of color are not included in the numerical basis upon which either the county superintendent or the township trustees apportion the school fund, there is no special or pecuniary motive to care and diligence in taking this census, as there is in taking that of white children, as previously shown. Indifference and other causes have also operated, in some portions of the State, to prevent a faithful effort to collect and report the desired information in regard to these people. Taking the figures as reported and comparing them, it will be seen that the number of colored persons under 21 has increased 1,565, or over 18 per centum, in the last two years; and that the number between 6 and 21 has increased 1,279, or 26 per centum. I have no doubt that the actual number of colored children in the State, between 6 and 21, is at least 7,000, and probably more. Indeed this is demonstrated from the statistics which are given. The number under 21 reported is 9,781. Of these, the number under six must be deducted. The ratio of 6 to 21 is two-sevenths; hence, the number between 6 and 21 should be very nearly five-sevenths of the whole number under 21; but five-sevenths of 9,781 is 6,987, being an inconsiderable fraction under 7,000. While, for reasons previously given, the number reported as under 21 is undoubtedly too small, yet, being more easily taken than the number between 6 and 21, it is no doubt the more nearly correct of the two. At all events, it is not too large, and if there are 9,731 colored people in the State under 21, it is absolutely certain that there are not less than 7,090 between 6 and 21, being a little less than one per centum of the number of white children between the same ages.”

“In remarking upon the condition of these people in respect to school privileges, in the last biennial report, the following language was used: ‘For the education of these 6,000 colored children the general school law of the State makes, virtually, no provision. By the discriminating terms employed throughout the statute, it is plainly the intention to exclude them from a joint participation in the benefits of the free school system. Except as referred to by the terms which imply exclusion, and in one brief section of the act, they are wholly

ignored in all the common school legislation of the State. The purport of that one section (the 80th) is that the amount of all school taxes collected from persons of color shall be paid back to them; it does not say what use shall be made of the money so refunded, although the intention (if there was any) may be presumed to be that it should be used for separate schools for colored children. But if that was the object it has not been attained, except in a few instances, for two reasons: first, the school taxes paid by persons of color are not generally returned to them; and, second, even when they are refunded, there are not colored children enough, except in a few places, to form separate schools. In some of the cities and larger towns, where the schools are under special acts and municipal ordinances, the education of colored children is provided for in a manner worthy a just and Christian people; and in many other instances the requirements of the law are faithfully observed, and the efforts of the colored people to provide schools for their children are heartily seconded. But the larger portion of the aggregate number of colored people in the State are dispersed through the different counties and school districts, in small groups of one, two, or three families, not enough to maintain separate schools for themselves, even with the help of the pittance paid for school taxes by such of them as are property holders. This whole dispersed class of our colored population are without the means of a common school education for their children; the law does not contemplate their co-attendance with white children, and they are without recourse of any kind. I think it safe to say that at least one-half of the 6,000 colored children, between the ages of 6 and 21, are in this helpless condition with respect to schools. They are trying, by conventions, petitions, and appeals, to reach the ears and hearts of the representatives of the people and the law-making power of the State, to see if anything can be done for them. I have tried to state their case; I think it is a hard one. I commend the subject to the attention of the general assembly, as demanding a share of public regard.

"I desire again to call attention to the fact that, as I understand the law, those people are excluded from all participation in the benefits of the public schools, except by common consent, or as a matter of sufferance. The recurrence throughout the statute of the restrictive word 'white' leaves no room for doubt that it was the intention to provide for the education of white children only, in the free schools of the State, and upon this principle the school law has been interpreted, and the system administered, from the first. I approve the resolution adopted by the State Teachers' Association, 'that the distinctive word "white," in the school law and the 80th section of the same, are contrary to the true intent of the principle on which the school system is based, and should be repealed.' I regard the longer presence in the school law of this great and free commonwealth, of provisions which now exclude 7,000 children of lawful school age from all the blessings of public education, and which, if not repealed, will continue to exclude them and the thousands which may hereafter be added to the number, as alike impolitic and unjust; the opprobrium and shame of our otherwise noble system of free schools. No State can afford to defend or perpetuate such provisions, and least of all the State that holds the dust of the fingers that wrote the proclamation of January 1, 1863. Let us expunge this last remaining remnant of the unchristian 'black laws' of Illinois and proclaim in the name of God and the Declaration of Independence, that *all* the school-going children of the State, without distinction, shall be equally entitled to share in the rich provisions of the free school system. Nor need any one be scared by the phantom of blended colors in the same school-room. The question of co-attendance, or of separate schools, is an entirely separate and distinct one, and may safely be left to be determined by the respective districts and communities to suit themselves. In many places there will be but one school for all; in many others there will be separate schools. That is a matter of but little importance, and one which need not and cannot be regulated by legislation. Only drive the spirit of caste from its *intrenchments in the statute*, giving all equal educational rights *under the law*, and the consequences will take care of themselves."

COLORED SCHOOLS IN CHICAGO.

From the following note of Mr. Packard, superintendent of public schools in Chicago, addressed to the State superintendent of public instruction in Indiana, it appears that the experiment of a separate school for the colored children was tried without satisfactory results. Why the school was abolished by the legislature does not appear:

"For one year, 1864 and 1865, the experiment of a separate colored school was tried. The school was disorderly and much trouble existed in the vicinity of the school. The legislature in 1864-5 abolished this school, and since that time colored children have been admitted to the public schools on an equality with other children. Not a word of complaint has come, with perhaps one or two individual exceptions, arising from seating pupils—a matter which is easily remedied. Colored children are admitted to our high school: one graduated last year; others will graduate this year. All difficulty with the children of color has disappeared, except such as may be common to all children who have had no better advantages than themselves; we certainly have less frequent complaints than in the separate system."

INDIANA.

By the census of 1860 the population of Indiana was 1,350,428, and of this number 11,428 were free colored; and towards this class a violent and persistent hostile legislation has been pursued from the earliest history of the State.

The constitution in 1851 provides that "no negro or mulatto shall have the right of suffrage" and after the date of its adoption, "no negro or mulatto shall come into or settle in the State," and "all contracts made with such persons are declared void;" and "any person who shall employ such negro or mulatto, or otherwise encourage him to remain in the State, shall be fined in any sum not less than \$10 nor more than \$500, such fines to be appropriated to the colonization of such negroes as desire to leave the State." The general assembly are directed to pass laws to give effect to these provisions. The utterly un-American, undemocratic and unchristian character of these provisions has been frequently exposed, and particularly by the State superintendents of public instruction. Professor Hoss, in his report to the general assembly dated December 31, 1866, remarks:

"I am fully aware of the public sensitiveness on this subject, hence conscious of the difficulty of preventing it. If the time ever was in Indiana when it was honestly believed, that the colored man could be kept out of the State by stringent legislation, that time has passed and that belief cannot exist now, unless in an illiberal or prejudiced mind. The severe logic of events proves the truth of this assertion. These events and agencies, such as the abolition of slavery, the enactment of the civil rights bill, the nullification of the 15th article of the constitution of Indiana, and the changed and changing tone of public sentiment concerning the colored man, are all of too recent a date and of too great a magnitude to require presentation here.

"Therefore, whereas it is clear, first, that the colored man is to remain with us, *i. e.*, in our State; second, that he is being, and is to be, clothed with new and larger powers of citizenship, it follows that he is becoming a greater force in both society and the State. Any force generated in, or injected into, the social or political organism at once suggests the necessity of guidance or control; uncontrolled, evil if not ruin will ensue. But in a popular government like ours, human force in the aspect now under consideration is most easily controlled for the good of society and the State when the party possessing and exerting such force is educated. The constitution of our State broadly and explicitly recognizes the above truth as applied to governments. The constitution holds the following: 'knowledge and learning generally diffused throughout a community, being *essential* (italicizing mine) to the preservation of a free government,' it becomes the duty of the legislature to provide a system of common schools and other means of securing popular intelligence, also to encourage 'moral, intellectual, and scientific improvement.'

"Therefore, the above granted true, it follows that the welfare of the government, *i. e.*, the State, requires the education of all the community, hence of the colored man. A non-sequitur can hardly be pleaded here by saying the negro is not a citizen. If such were true, it is not material to the argument, as the constitution speaks not narrowly of citizens only, but of members of community in general. Hence under the narrowest logic and most prejudiced definition of terms, the constitution includes the colored man as an element of that community throughout which 'knowledge and learning are to be diffused.' Therefore, the above true, the constitution seems clearly to contemplate the education of colored children.

"But, granting the above all true, we are in the lower story of the argument, namely, among policies and expediencies, which look to the 'preservation of a free government.' Let none suppose that I do not regard this a great, a glorious object. It is both great and glorious, yet justice may be as great and glorious.

"The question occurs, how far justice will sustain the State in closing, or at least refusing to open, the avenues of knowledge to the eager minds of several thousand members of the community.

"Independent of recent events, I submit that these children are as clearly entitled to their share of the congressional township revenue as any children in the State. Congress in granting this land did not use the now ambiguous term 'citizen,' but the plainer term 'inhabitant,' saying that 'section numbered 16 in every township shall be granted to the inhabitants of such township for the use of schools.' Consequently, every colored child resident of the State, being an 'inhabitant' of some one of the congressional townships, is entitled to its pro rata of the congressional revenue of that township.

"Second and higher, I suppose it will be granted that there are claims higher than the claims of mere inhabitancy, namely the claims of a human being as such. The claims of a colored man are the claims of a human being with human responsibilities, human aspirations, with human hopes and sympathies, and bearing as others bear, marred by sin, the image of his Creator. Hence both State policy and justice say that he should be educated.

"Deference to the extreme sensitiveness of public opinion may say, wait for a more opportune time. If it be true that this be not the time, the time is coming, and coming surely if

not speedily. 'The mills of God grind slowly, but surely.' Justice, like truth, bides her time, but executes her mission.

"If the legislature shall deem it wise to inaugurate a movement looking to the above end, I would respectfully submit the following in aid of this result :

"1. That the school trustees open separate schools for colored children, when a given number of such children of school age reside within attending distance. Probably that number could not safely be less than 15.

"2. In case in any neighborhood the number of children be less than 15, then the distributive share of revenue due each colored child shall be set apart for the education of such child in such manner as the proper school trustee shall provide.

"3. Make it specially obligatory upon the trustee to make some provision for the education of the children to the extent of the money set apart for the same, as provided in case second."

Mr. Hobbs, in his annual report submitted December 31, 1868, remarks :

"We cannot avoid the grave consideration, that there is a large colored population in the State who have hitherto submitted patiently to the ordeal of adverse public sentiment and the force of our statutes, in being denied participation in the benefits of our public school funds, while at the same time no bar can be discovered to their natural and constitutional right to them. By the grants of Congress, whence mainly we derive these funds, no exclusion is made. They were evidently designed for the citizens of the State without regard to color. Whatever additions our States may have made, they are still known as one 'common school fund.' But whatever distinctions may have been made in the rights and privileges of citizens by our laws, they have been set aside by the emendations of our national constitution and the 'civil rights bill.' All citizens are now equal before the law. Colored citizens, while hitherto deprived of their natural and constitutional rights, have been *subject to the special school tax* for township purposes in common with *white citizens*, and have thus paid their proportion of expense for building school-houses for white children. After being denied all privilege to the school funds and thus taxed, they have been under the necessity of levying on themselves an additional tax to build their own school-houses and for the entire cost of their tuition. The historian will find this a dark chapter in our history.

"Whatever elements of ignorance and incompetency the population of a State may contain, is so much that may damage its prosperity and safety. How can we inspire these people with gratitude and patriotism, and win them to the support of law and virtue, when we repel them by cold indifference and deny them their natural and constitutional rights?"

To reach a safe decision, founded on the experience of other States, as to the true policy of dealing with this portion of the population, the superintendent ascertained by correspondence the practice of other free States in this regard, and finds that "Illinois and Indiana are alone of States north of Mason and Dixon's line" in denying educational privileges to colored citizens, and urges that "the deeply seated prejudices in the minds of many citizens should yield to duty, justice, and humanity."

IOWA.

Iowa had in 1860 a population of 674,913 inhabitants, of whom 1,069 were free blacks. By the constitution of 1857 the right of suffrage was limited to white male citizens; "but by sundry amendments," writes the late Franklin D. Wells, superintendent of public instruction, to the superintendent of schools in Indiana, "to our State constitution submitted to the people, and by them adopted at the election on the 3d of November, 1868, by nearly 30,000 majority, a man's rights and privileges are no longer determined by the color of his skin. Colored citizens of Iowa are entitled to vote, to hold office, and hold property; are a part of the militia, and are entitled to the benefits of our public school system on the same footing with white citizens. Wherever the word 'white' occurred in the constitution it has been stricken out."

KANSAS.

In 1860 Kansas had a population of 107,206, of which number 625 were free colored persons.

By the constitution adopted July 29, 1861, the right of suffrage is restricted to white male persons; but the first school law provides that equal educational advantages "shall be extended to all children in the State." A clause in the law leaves it to the discretion of the board of directors to establish separate schools for the colored children; but the legislature, in 1867, provided that when any children are denied admittance to a public school by vote

or action of the directors, the members of such board shall each pay a fine of \$100 for any school month the children are thus excluded.

The people of this State have from its earliest settlement been imbued with the spirit of freedom; and their legislation in reference to educational matters has consequently been free from invidious discriminations as to the several races. Their schools are generally open to black and to white children alike; and it is only at a few points, where large numbers of negro emigrants are to be found, that schools for colored children exist separately. About 15 of these schools have been established and maintained through benevolent agencies; among which may be mentioned the American Missionary Association, the Michigan and the Northwestern branches of the American Freedmen's Union Commission, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, old school. The last of these, operating through a standing committee originally formed in 1864, and reorganized in the following year, has labored with praiseworthy efficiency not only in this State but also in Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, and the District of Columbia. Its mission in Kansas is located at Quindaro, where, under the superintendence of the Rev. E. Blachly, D. D.,

THE QUINDARO HIGH SCHOOL

has been established. This institution, situated on the western bank of the Missouri river, and on the line of the Pacific railroad, is readily accessible from every quarter. In the face of great discouragements it has gone quietly forward, and had, at the date of its last catalogue, 180 students, 95 of whom were males and 85 females. Colonel F. A. Seely, the superintendent of education under the Freedmen's Bureau, in speaking of this institution says: "In respect to orderly conduct, thoroughness of instruction, and advancement in study, this school is unsurpassed." It is the purpose of its trustees to establish a department of theological instruction, and to this end they are desirous to secure the services of an efficient teacher in that branch. The property of the institution, valued at \$6,200, consists at present of a commodious seminary building and three dwelling houses for teachers. Besides this, the trustees hope to secure 200 acres of land, so as to add a manual labor feature to their promising institution.

KENTUCKY.

Out of a population of 1,555,634, in 1860, 336,167 were blacks, and of these 10,684 were free and 225,483 were slaves.

In 1738 Kentucky was included in what was then formed into the county of Augusta, in Virginia. In 1769 Botetourt county was cut off from the county of Augusta; in 1772 Pinecastle was cut off from Botetourt; and in 1776, the first year of the commonwealth of Virginia, Pinecastle was divided into three counties, Washington, Montgomery, and Kentucky, the latter constituting what is now the State, and which was originally the hunting and battle ground of the savages, north and south, from whom it received the name Cane-tuck-ee, signifying "the dark and bloody ground."

In the compact with Virginia, in 1789, by which Kentucky was empowered to originate an independent State, "free male inhabitants above the age of 21 years" were designated as electors; and the constitution, adopted June 1, 1800, declared "every free male citizen, negroes, mulattoes, and Indians excepted," of the age of 21 years, to be electors. It also prohibited the emancipation of slaves by the general assembly, without the consent of the owner, but gave to slaves the right of "an impartial trial by a petty jury" in charges of felony.

The first legislation in the State, on the subject of the colored people, declared that no persons should be slaves in the State, except those who were slaves on the 17th of October, 1785, and their descendants; and in other respects the laws were essentially the same as those of Virginia, in relation to the colored population, until 1792. In 1816, and also in 1830, stringent laws were enacted to prevent cruelty in the treatment of slaves, and in 1833 the importation of slaves was forbidden under a penalty of \$600 for each offense. No laws are found on the statute books of Kentucky forbidding the instruction of slaves.

In 1830 a school system was established, by which school districts had the power to tax the inhabitants of the district for school purposes. In this provision the property of colored people was included, although they could not vote nor have the benefits of the school. The provision for a full tax not exceeding 50 cents was, however, confined to "every *white* male inhabitant over 20 years of age; but the right to vote in the school district meeting was in certain cases extended to white females over 21 years of age. The Revised Statutes of 1852 provided that "any widow, having a child between six and 18 years of age should be allowed to vote in person, or by written proxy." But colored children were excluded from the district school, even though their parents were taxed for its support.

In 1864 the school laws were revised, but the benefits of the system were still confined to free white children. In 1867, however, an act was passed and approved March 9, "for the benefit of the negroes and mulattoes" of the State, providing that all taxes collected from negroes and mulattoes shall be set apart and constitute a separate fund for their use, one-half, if necessary, to be applied to the support of their paupers and the remainder to the education of their children. An additional tax of \$2 was also to be levied upon every male negro 18 years of age, for this fund. Separate schools may be established in each district, for the support of which they are to receive their proportion of the appropriate fund. As to the operation of this law the State superintendent, (Z. F. Smith,) in his annual report, dated March 25, 1868, remarks as follows:

"The new law, approved March 9, 1867, has not operated to the satisfaction of its framers, as was hoped. I think the following extract from a letter of one of our commissioners explains the chief ground of difficulty:

"There were no colored schools taught in my county in 1867, under the supervision of trustees; consequently none reported. The trustees have all been apprised of the fact that the law makes it their duty to have colored schools taught. But they reply "the law says they *may* have, but don't say they *shall* have, colored schools taught in their districts." The trustees therefore are perfectly indifferent in regard to colored schools."

"There is nothing obligatory in the law making the trustees responsible for neglecting its enforcement. They have no personal interest in its operations, and to leave its execution to the chance impulses of the spirit of philanthropy is a very doubtful reliance for the application of a general law. The difficulties are magnified, also, by the fact that there exists yet in some quarters much of morbid and unreasonable prejudice against legislating in any way for the benefit of the colored population, and especially for the education of their children. Trustees do not like always to encounter this prejudice, especially when they conclude that they have no personal interest in so doing, and the law is left to become a dead letter.

"I prepared some amendments to the law, which, I thought, would make it practicable and efficient; but these did not seem to meet the approval generally of the legislators, and were not adopted. But another amendment was introduced, and became a law, which requires all the revenues from taxes collected of negroes and mulattoes to be used, first, for pauper purposes; and, if there should be any excess, for school purposes. The amendment is published as part of this report. With the embarrassing provisions of the original law, it virtually destroys the practicability of existing legislation to furnish the colored people with any educational advantages. I think there is little hope of accomplishing anything for the education of the negroes until a law, independent of any pauper scheme, is passed, and the execution of such law left, in its details, to agencies from among their own people."

SCHOOLS FOR FREEDMEN.

The attempts to establish schools for colored children have encountered greater obstacles, perhaps, in Kentucky than in any other of the former slave States. As it did not engage in the rebellion as a State, slavery only ceased there upon the official announcement, on the 10th day of December, 1865; and until then no colored child within its limits was by law permitted to go to school. On account of its *quasi* loyalty, the Freedmen's Bureau has had but little power there, while the opposition prompted by intense local prejudice to the education of the blacks has deterred northern benevolent societies from sending their teachers to a quarter where they could not expect adequate protection. Then, too, the freedmen who had enlisted in great numbers in the Union army returned to their homes at the close of the war, with a manful worthiness well attested by courage on the battle-field, and by their eager desire for mental improvement, but hampered by a degree of poverty that hindered them in many instances from doing anything to secure instruction for themselves or their children. Yet, in spite of all these obstacles, the educational work which had been begun in the camps

of colored troops, at such brief intervals as are afforded by a soldier's life, found its continuance, on the return of peace and the subsequent proclamation of liberty. More than 30 schools with an attendance of over 4,000 pupils were soon in operation at different points in the State. Most of these schools were taught by colored teachers, and mainly supported by the freed people themselves. In Lexington, Frankfort, Danville, and, perhaps, one or two other places, public opinion looked somewhat favorably upon this innovation; but elsewhere great opposition to it was manifested not only in opprobrious words, but often in acts of violence. Still, in the face of all these discouragements, the work of enlightenment went on increasing, until, at the close of the school-year in 1868, 178 schools were reported in Kentucky, with an enrolment of 8,189 pupils.

For a time it seemed that liberal views would influence the legislation of this State in behalf of the education of its freedmen. By an act approved February 16, 1866, it was provided that the taxes collected from negroes and mulattoes should be "set apart as a separate fund for their use, one-half, if necessary, to go to the support of their paupers, and the remainder to the education of their children." Under this law, which permitted separate schools for colored children, but failed to make their establishment obligatory, a few hundred dollars were appropriated in accordance with its provisions, during the year following its enactment. In 1867, it was amended so as to entitle each colored child attending school for at least three months during the year to receive \$2 50 from taxes collected within its county. But the assembly of 1868 rescinded the doings of the preceding assemblies and directed that all taxes collected from negroes and mulattoes should be devoted only to the support of their paupers.

It is well that in this desert there is an oasis or two for the eye to rest upon. Such an oasis is

BEREA COLLEGE.

Berea College was established in Madison county in 1858, and which was an outgrowth of the missionary work of the Rev. John G. Fee, a native Kentuckian, and of his co-laborers, under the care of the American Missionary Association. From its commencement its founders took quiet but firm ground against the spirit of caste; and it is, therefore, not to be wondered at that in the popular agitation consequent on the John Brown raid this school fell a prey to lawless fanaticism. Its teachers were driven into exile and its students scattered. The rebellion soon followed; and, after the war which crushed out both the rebellion and slavery, its cause, most of the Berea exiles returned to their homes. The school was re-opened January 1, 1868; and, although its trustees steadfastly adhered to their position not to tolerate distinctions of color and race, its success has exceeded the sanguine expectations of its friends. The last catalogue showed 301 students in attendance, about one-third of whom were white, and the remainder colored.

Berea College has an able corps of instructors, made up as follows, viz: Rev. J. G. Fee, A. M., president and lecturer on Biblical Antiquities and the Evidences of Christianity.

Rev. J. A. R. Rogers, A. M., principal, and teacher of Latin and Mathematics.

Rev. W. E. Lincoln, teacher of Greek, Rhetoric, &c.

Teachers: Mrs. Louie M. Lincoln, Miss Eliza M. Snedeker, Miss Louisa Kaiser, Miss Jennie Donaldson.

THE ELY NORMAL SCHOOL, LOUISVILLE.

The Ely normal school was formally dedicated April 6, 1868, with appropriate exercises, including addresses by the Rev. Messrs. Hayward, Cravath, Right Rev. B. B. Smith, Bishop of Kentucky, the Hon. Bland Ballard, the Hon. James Speed, and others. It received its name in compliment to General John Ely, who, as chief superintendent of freedmen's affairs, first organized the bureau in this State, and by faithful labors in behalf of the freedmen, both in redressing their wrongs and in securing their just prerogatives, had merited their lasting gratitude.

This school is delightfully situated. It is located on a corner lot having one front of 100 feet on Broadway, the finest street in the city, and another of 220 feet on 14th street. In point of convenience and simple architectural beauty the building has no superior in the

city. It is a two-storied structure, built of the best quality of brick, is 50 by 70 feet in extent, and contains nine rooms suitably furnished for its purposes. The total cost of this handsome property was \$20,000, of which sum the government appropriated the sum of \$12,300.

This institution is under the control of the American Missionary Association, and has an attendance of over 400 pupils. Mr. A. H. Robbins, a graduate of Oberlin College is its superintendent.

The following tables, prepared by Professor Vashon, give the number of scholars and attendance, as well as teachers and studies for 1867-'68.

Table giving the number of schools, teachers, scholars, and attendance.

Year.	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars.			Average attendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1866.....			35			58			4,122		
1867.....	88	14	107	36	98	124	2,765	3,606	6,371	5,396	84
1868.....	155	23	178	37	155	190	3,741	4,441	8,182	6,236	76

Table showing the number in different studies, and cost of maintaining schools.

Year.	Number of scholars in different studies pursued.							Expended in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading.	Advanced reading.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher branches.	By freed-men.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	834	3,160	1,883	2,310	1,332	2,355	388	\$21,736	\$10,027	\$31,763
1868.....	984	3,584	2,476	2,810	1,770	2,810	490	17,138	20,996	38,134

LOUISIANA.

By the census of 1860 there were 708,002 inhabitants, of whom nearly one-half were blacks, viz: 331,726 slaves, and 18,647 free; a total of 350,373.

By the treaty of Paris, April 30, 1803, for the purchase of the province of Louisiana, it was stipulated that "the inhabitants of the ceded territory" should be admitted to "all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States." As early as January, 1805, a law was enacted by the territorial legislature of Orleans, containing a provision as to the mode of selling slaves at auction; and in May of that year an act was passed "for the punishment of crimes and misdemeanors," which declared that nothing in the act should be construed to extend to slaves, but that they should be punished for the specified offenses by "the laws of Spain for regulating her colonies." The "Black Code," approved June 7, 1806, was rigorous, but protected slaves from outrage. By it slaves were to have the enjoyment of Sundays; or, if employed, to receive 50 cents a day. But by the same code it was declared that "no slave can possess anything in his own right or dispose of the proceeds of his industry without the consent of his master." No slave was permitted to go out of the plantation to which he belonged without written permission, under a penalty of 20 lashes. Free people of color were never "to presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites; but they ought to yield to them in every occasion, and never speak to or answer them disrespectfully," under the penalty of imprisonment, according to the nature of the offense;" for the third offense of striking a white man, the slave might suffer death.

In 1814 a law was passed forbidding any free negro or mulatto to settle in the Territory, or remain in it more than two weeks after coming into it from another State; and as a penalty, if unable to pay the fine and costs, he was to be sold to pay them.

Louisiana was admitted into the Union April 30, 1812, and in September of that year an

act was passed authorizing the organization of "a corps of militia," from among the free creoles who had paid a State tax. The commander of the corps was to be a white man, and the corps was to consist of four companies of 64 men each. In January, 1815, "an auxiliary troop of free men of color" was authorized to be raised in the parish of Natchitoches, not exceeding 80 men, who were to furnish themselves with arms and horses. Each member of the corps was to be the owner or the son of the owner "of some real property of the value of at least \$150." In 1830 the prohibitions of the act of 1814 against the immigration of free people of color were re-asserted, with additional provisions of greater rigor. This act also provided that whoever should "write, print, publish, or distribute anything having a tendency to produce discontent among the free colored population, or insubordination among the slaves," should, on conviction, be imprisoned "at hard labor for life, or suffer death, at the discretion of the court." Whoever used language having a similar tendency, or was "instrumental in bringing into the State any paper, book, or pamphlet having such tendency," was to "suffer imprisonment at hard labor, not less than three years nor more than 21 years, or death, at the discretion of the court." It was also provided that "all persons who shall teach, or permit or cause to be taught, any slave to read or write, shall be imprisoned not less than one month nor more than 12 months."

From the headquarters, seventh military district, at Mobile, on the 21st of September, 1814, General Andrew Jackson addressed a proclamation to the free colored inhabitants of Louisiana, inviting them to participate in the military movements of that section of the country, "as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable government," with the same pay in bounty money and land received by white soldiers. On the 18th of December he reviewed the troops, white and colored, and in the address calculated to awaken their enthusiastic ardor, he said to the colored soldiers: "I expected much from you, for I was not uninformed of those qualities which must render you so formidable to an invading foe. I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the hardships of war. I knew that you loved the land of your nativity, and that, like ourselves, you had to defend all that is most dear to man. But you surpass my hopes. I have found in you, united to those qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds."

In 1847 a system of public schools for "the education of white youth" was established, by which "one mill on the dollar, upon the *ad valorem* amount of the general list of taxable property," might be levied for its support. The income from the sale of the public lands donated by Congress was given for the same purpose. In 1857 an act was passed forbidding the emancipation of slaves; and this was the last legislation on the subject previous to the rebellion.

By the act of January 3, 1864, the article of the then existing civil code which declared that there were in the State "two classes of servants, to wit, free servants and the slaves," was changed so as to declare "there is only one class of servants in this State, to wit, free servants." In 1867 an act establishing a system of free schools in Baton Rouge limited the taxation for their support and their benefits to the white population. By the constitution, ratified April 23, 1868, all discrimination based on race, color, or previous condition, are prohibited in the public schools. Under the operations of this provision \$70,000 were appropriated to the support of schools for colored children.

FREEDMEN'S SCHOOLS.

For the following account and tables of the schools for colored children in Louisiana, since 1865, we are indebted to Professor Vashon:

Prior to the rebellion the only schools for colored children in Louisiana, were a few private ones in the city of New Orleans, among that somewhat favored class of mixed blood known as "Creoles." Even these schools, although not in contravention of any specific law, were barely tolerated by a community whose criminal code declared, that to teach a slave to read and write, was an offense "having a tendency to excite insubordination among the servile class, and punishable by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than 21 years, or by death at the discretion of the court." Thus, even the wealthy tax-paying persons of the pro-

scribed race, as well as its less fortunate members, were debarred from any participation in the benefits of the system of public instruction provided by law.

Only one attempt to open a school for the poor of the colored people of this State is to be noted. Mrs. Mary D. Brice, of Ohio, a student of Antioch College, went with her husband to New Orleans in December, 1858, feeling that she was called by heaven to make this attempt. Poor and unaided, she was unable to begin her school until September, 1860; and so great was the popular outcry against the proceedings, that she was compelled to close it the following year. After the lapse of five months, receiving, as she believed, a divine intimation that she would be sustained, she reopened her school; and in spite of frequent warnings and threats, persisted in teaching until the triumph of the Union forces under Farragut, in April, 1862, made it safe for her to do so. With the advent of these forces, too, a few other private teachers appeared in response to the urgent call of the colored people for instruction.

In October, 1863, the first public colored schools were established by the commissioners of enrolment, created by order of Major General Banks, then commanding the Department of the Gulf. Soon seven of these were in operation under the charge of 23 teachers, and having an average attendance of 1,422 scholars. On March 22, 1864, General Banks issued his general order No. 38, which created a board of education for freedmen in the Department of the Gulf, with power to establish common schools, employ teachers, erect school houses, regulate the course of studies, and have, generally, the same authority that assessors, supervisors and trustees have in the northern States, in the matter of establishing and conducting common schools. The purpose of this order was stated to be "for the rudimental instruction of the freedmen of the department, placing within their reach those elements of knowledge which give intelligence and greater value to labor." And for the accomplishment of this purpose the board was empowered to assess and levy upon all real and personal property, taxes sufficient to defray the expense of the schools established, for the period of one year. On the first day of the following month, the schools already established were transferred to this board, which also accepted other schools that had been recently opened under the auspices of benevolent societies, and provided additional ones in 14 other parishes. In the performance of its duties the board encountered great difficulties, not only in obtaining suitable school accommodations, but also in taking measures to guard against attacks by guerilla bands, and to repress the opposition of persons professedly loyal. But it labored energetically, and in December, 1864, it reported as under its supervision 95 schools, 162 teachers, and 9,571 scholars.

The system of schools thus established continued to progress satisfactorily until November 7, 1865, when the power to levy the tax was suspended. This suddenly deprived the schools of nearly all their support. Through the restoration of property to pardoned rebels too, many of the buildings used for school purposes had to be given up. The consequence of all this was that the number of colored schools in Louisiana, which had increased to 150, was speedily cut down to 73. In this sad juncture of affairs the freedmen manifested the most profound solicitude, and thousands of them expressed a willingness to endure, and even petitioned for increased taxation, in order that the means for supporting their schools might be obtained.

But the depression in educational matters thus caused did not long continue. The northern benevolent societies came to the rescue, and labored with increased zeal in this crisis. The freedmen, too, strenuously insisted upon the fulfilment of the contracts which required planters to provide means of instruction for their children, while the planters themselves found their manifest profit in aiding to build school houses, thus securing willing and industrious laborers. Through the operation of these combined causes, the schools of Louisiana not only regained their highest number under the system created by military authority, but even doubled it, thus manifesting a prosperity which, it is hoped, will long continue.

Number of schools, teachers, and pupils, 1865 to 1868.

Year.	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars,			Average at- tendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1865.....			159			265			19,000		
1866.....			73			90			3,338	2,093	62
1867.....	195	105	300	142	152	294	5,640	5,063	10,703	9,383	87
1868.....	162	63	225	151	122	273	5,622	5,123	10,745	9,265	76

Studies and expenses, 1867 and 1868.

Year.	Number of scholars in different studies pursued.							Expenditures in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading.	Advanced readers.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher branches.	By freedmen.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	2,636	4,067	3,044	3,951	2,150	3,356	501	\$39,230	\$7,537	\$46,767
1868.....	1,718	4,229	3,374	3,696	2,974	4,026	513	52,866	7,150	60,016

MAINE.

By the census of 1860 the population of Maine was 628,279, of whom 1,327 were free blacks.

By the constitution of 1820 the right of suffrage is not affected by color or race, and the common school is open to all children of the community for which it is established.

MARYLAND.

By the census of 1860 Maryland had 687,049 inhabitants, of whom 171,131 were blacks, viz: 87,189 slaves and 83,942 free.

By constitutional provision from 1776 down to 1867, the right of suffrage has been restricted to white male citizens having certain qualifications.

By early legal enactments, the earliest in 1635, the poor negro slave was treated as not to be numbered among the Christian inhabitants, and in 1692 it was provided that the sacrament of baptism should not be construed to work the freedom or manumission of any negro or slave. In 1695 "the frequent assembling of negroes within the province" was prohibited, and in 1723 this restriction was specifically extended "to the Sabbath and other holidays." Although numerous enactments of similar character were made down to the abolition of slavery, no statute of Maryland that we have read ever expressly prohibited the instruction of either its free or slave colored population. And there were not wanting at all times in her history men, like Bacon, Bray, and Boucher, who urged the duty of preparing the way for the emancipation of the slaves and of mitigating its evils by Christian teaching.

By the constitution of 1864 it is made imperative on the general assembly, at its first session after the adoption of this fundamental law, "to provide a uniform system of free public schools," and "to levy at each regular session an annual tax of not less than 10 cents on each \$100 of taxable property, for the support of free public schools," to be distributed to the several counties "in proportion to their respective population between the ages of 5 and 20 years."

One of the earliest schools for colored children in Baltimore was the St. Frances academy, established in 1831, in connection with the Oblate Sisters of Providence Convent, some account of which has been given already.

The Wells school, so called in memorial of Nelson Wells, a colored man, who left by will

to trustees the sum of \$7,000, the income alone to be applied to the education of free colored children, was opened about 1835, and has been maintained as a free school ever since.

In 1864 an association was formed in Baltimore, comprised principally of members of the Society of Friends, "for the moral and educational improvement of the colored people," and before the close of their first year's operations it had 7 schools in the city and 18 schools in the county in successful operation, with an aggregate of about 3,000 scholars, at an expense of \$9,566; and at the end of the second year there were 79 schools, with 7,300 pupils, at an expense of \$52,551.

In submitting a bill for "*a uniform system of public instruction for the State of Maryland*," Dr. Van Bokkelen, the State superintendent, provided for the establishment of separate schools for children and youth of African descent, in all respects equal to schools designed for the education of other children and subject in every particular to the same rules as to teachers, text-books, &c. On these provisions he makes the following comments :

"Maryland has given freedom to or removed the stain of degraded servility from more than one-fourth of her people. It remains for her to vindicate the policy and humanity of this act of emancipation, by fitting its recipients for their new privileges and obligations. Shall we leave these colored people in ignorance and permit them to degenerate until they become worthless and vicious, inmates of almshouses or of jails? or shall we educate them, make them intelligent, virtuous, useful? Upon the action of the general assembly depends the fact whether freedom shall be fraught with richest blessings, or leave the freedman no better than when he was a slave, unless he avails himself of his new facilities for change of residence and leaves us for a more favored latitude.

"I have no doubt as to what duty demands, no doubt but that duty will be our guide. These freedmen and those who have been degraded because of the same color as the slave, must be educated; they must be made intelligent and skillful, according to their capacity; they must have every opportunity that intelligent legislation and a sense of moral obligation can give them. It is their right as much as that of white children, for they have to do their part to develop the resources of the State, and they have to bear their full proportion of taxation upon every dollar of property which they own or may earn. Hence it is proposed that they shall have schools; schools adapted to their wants; schools as good as any in the State, and have a fair opportunity to show what they can do when they have a fair chance.

"Private benevolence has commenced the work which properly belongs to the State, and agencies are now in successful operation to which the taxes collected from colored persons can be paid over for the benefit of their own children.

"I am informed that the amount of school tax paid annually by these people to educate white children in the city of Baltimore for many years has been more than \$500. The rule of fair play would require that this be refunded, unless the State at once provides schools under this title."

These recommendations were not heeded, but the superintendent, in his first annual report after the inauguration of the system, dated December 30, 1865, urges immediate and liberal action in the following earnest language :

"By the friends of universal education our system of public instruction will not be recognized as such, unless it provides for all the children in the State. Knowledge is better than ignorance, and virtue is better than vice, and therefore it is wise that the opportunity of instruction shall be proffered to all who have minds to be cultivated or moral sentiments to be developed. If ignorance leads to idleness and crowds our almshouses with paupers—if vice tends to crime and fills our jails and penitentiaries with wretched convicts—then it is good policy to open the school-house to every child whom ignorance may degrade or vice corrupt. It matters not what may be the color of the skin or the land of nativity, the shape of the cranium or the height of the cheek-bones, whether the child be of Indian or African, European or Asiatic descent; his ignorance will be a blight and his vice a curse to the community in which he lives.

"Whether the pauper be white or black, the tax to support him is equally great; and it costs as much to conduct the trial by which an Americo-African or a Chinese is convicted of crime, as it would were he of the superior race. All the economic arguments, therefore, which are advanced for the education of the white child are equally applicable to the black. They are even more forcible, because the colored race, having been so long degraded by ignorance, needs education the more.

"We cannot reconcile it to sound judgment that any portion of our thinking population be deprived of instruction; if knowledge be good for any, it is good for all. Yet we record the fact that Maryland, while devising a uniform system of what is termed public instruction, closed the school door against one-fourth of her people, they representing one-half of her laboring population.

"We all know that the prosperity of our State and the development of her vast resources depend upon the skill and intelligence of the industrial classes. The labor of Maryland is her wealth. The more persevering and expert the labor, the greater and more valuable its

product. The virtue of the laboring class is the strongest incentive to preserving industry, and the only certain assurance that the gains of diligence will be well applied and frugally consumed.

"What, then, must be the result if, through prejudice or because of a short-sighted policy, we cramp the minds and thus pervert the morals of one-half of our laborers? what if, instead of energizing the mass of muscle by an active brain, we withhold the influences of education? what if, instead of developing those moral sentiments which counsel temperance and frugality, we give the low vices a chance to grow in the rank soil of ignorance? Will the State become any richer by such a course? Will it be more desirable as a home? Will the poor-tax and jail-tax be lessened? Will property be more valuable or shall we be more honored because we have kept a portion of our people down? These are questions for citizens of Maryland to ponder. They have a very significant claim upon our thoughts. They involve our interests and even our dignity as a civilized and progressive community of intelligent and liberal-minded men. They are directly, intimately, connected with the education of the colored persons who are among us, who intend to remain with us, and whose services we need; the services of every one of them, and even more; for the cry from all sections of the State is that labor is scarce, and industrious workmen can find prompt and abundant work.

"Other reasons may be urged why schools ought to be opened for colored children. These people for many years have been to us faithful servants they have tilled our fields; and worked in our dwellings, performing acceptably all those duties which increase the conveniences and comforts of social life. They have been our hewers of wood and drawers of water. Generation after generation has followed our bidding and helped to earn for us what we possess. In our homes their kind hearts have attracted the love of our children, and the faithful nurse is remembered with affection and treated even with respect. Now that they are free and provide for themselves—and this by no act of theirs, but by our will—our duty is to educate them, to give them knowledge enough to know how to provide for themselves. Grant them at least this much of the inheritance, that they may be able to take care of themselves and their families, and become valuable members of the community. This we owe to the colored people. To educate them is our duty as well as our interest.

"The constitutional provision by which the school money is divided according to population, without regard to color, I think imposes upon us a legal obligation to educate all children without reference to caste, class, or condition; and therefore, in framing the bill which was presented to the general assembly, I considered it my duty, as under the constitution, to provide separate schools for colored children, just as I would for any other class that I found in the State which could not mingle with the white children.

"Money is appropriated and therefore ought to be used for colored schools. According to the constitution, all the money received from the 15-cent State tax is divided by the total number of persons between 5 and 20 years, white and black. Thus, \$1 68 per year was apportioned to each person, and that sum multiplied by the total population between 5 and 20 years gave the amount received by each county. Charles county, for instance, has 6,466 persons between 5 and 20, she therefore receives \$10,833 47. But by act of legislature she is released from the responsibility of educating 4,384 of those persons, they being black, and use the entire school money for the education of 2,082, thus receiving \$5 for each. On the other hand, Allegheny county receives \$18,254 24 for a population of 10,851, nearly all of whom have to be educated, there being only 464 colored children in the county; thus receiving only \$1 94 for each pupil.

"This is an unjust discrimination in favor of certain counties. It alone would furnish sufficient reason for requiring separate schools to be opened for colored children, even were there no arguments upon economic and general grounds.

"If the money is given for a specific purpose, it is the duty of legislators to require its faithful application.

"While the State is holding back, an association of citizens, influenced by philanthropic motives, is endeavoring to make up our lack of duty. Their report shows 34 schools in the different parts of the State maintained by private liberality. The plan of operations for 1866 embraces 116 schools, at an expense of \$56,000. If nothing more can be done, this association ought at least to be authorized to draw from the treasury the amount paid for each colored child, but I trust the general assembly will put into the law the sections reported by me last February, directing that separate schools shall be established for the instruction of youth of African descent, whenever as many as 40 claim the privileges of public instruction; these schools to be under the control of the board of school commissioners.

"No person of intelligence pretends to doubt the capacity of colored children to acquire knowledge. The experience of the past three years settles this point very satisfactorily; not only in our midst, but even in those portions of the south where slavery was more exacting, and the negroes were worked in large bodies upon the rice and cotton plantations, having very little intercourse with persons of any degree of intelligence. Our labor then will not be in vain, and I invoke the general assembly to manifest its wisdom and philanthropy by proffering the blessings of education to a class of children long neglected, whose parents have rendered faithful service, and by whose labor millions of dollars have been added to our wealth.

"I leave politicians to discuss the question of suffrage, but this much may be asserted, that while it is very doubtful whether the colored man is to be trusted with the ballot, there can be no doubt that he ought to have the spelling book."

In his second annual report, dated December 15, 1867, the superintendent submits the following remarks and statistics respecting schools for colored children :

"No public organized plans have been adopted for the education of this class of children, except in the city of Baltimore, as reported last year. Schools have been continued in the counties under the direction of the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Mental Improvement of Colored Persons, supported by contributions from benevolent associations, and the payment of tuition fees by the parents or friends of the children educated.

"The extent and efficiency of this work are indicated by the following statistics furnished by the actuary of the Baltimore association :

Summary of statistics of schools for colored persons for year ending June 30, 1867.

Total number of schools for colored persons.....	84
In the city of Baltimore.....	22
In 19 counties.....	62
Number of pupils registered.....	8,600
In the city.....	2,800
In the counties.....	5,800
Average attendance.....	6,600
Number of teachers.....	89
Number of months schools were open.....	9
Total expense of 84 schools, including books, furniture, and supervision.....	\$61,808 50
Average cost of each school.....	734 62
Average salary of each teacher.....	364 46
Cost of each different pupil.....	7 19
Cost of each average pupil.....	9 35
Cost of each different pupil per month.....	80

Contributions to sustain the schools were received from—

Citizens of Baltimore.....	\$3,305 16
Appropriation of city council.....	20,000 00
Associations in other States.....	10,787 97
Friends in England and Ireland.....	1,144 23
Colored people in the State.....	23,371 14
Loan.....	3,200 00

"A normal school has been established in the city of Baltimore, in which teachers for colored schools are trained for their special work, and subjected to a rigorous examination before taking charge of a school. A large building has been purchased and furnished with all requisites for the success of the institution.

"The schools for colored people in the city of Baltimore were adopted by the city council in September, 1867, and are now conducted under the supervision of the city school commissioners.

"The large amount contributed by the colored people towards the support of their schools, being more than one-third the whole income, is proof of their interest in the education of their children, and is worthy of special commendation. It is the best guarantee that they will use faithfully whatever facilities may be given them for establishing a school system.

"Upon this important topic I have nothing to add to the views presented in previous reports. The opinions then advocated have been strengthened by observation during official visits. Whatever prejudice may have existed in the minds of some of our citizens on this subject is rapidly disappearing, and I think it may be asserted that, while there is not at present a willingness to educate colored children at the public expense, there is a readiness to grant them such facilities and encouragements as will not prove a burden upon the resources of the State."

The general school law adopted in 1865, in pursuance of Article VIII in the constitution as revised in 1867, by which the system established in 1865 is abolished, dispenses with a State superintendent, but provides for an annual report by the principal of the State normal school on the condition of the schools based on the reports of the county school commissioners. The legislature by special act relating to the colored population, passed March 30, 1868, provides as follows :

"Section 1. The total amount of taxes paid for school purposes by the colored people of any county, or in the city of Baltimore, together with any donations that may be made for the purpose, shall be set aside for the maintaining the schools for colored children, which schools shall be conducted under the direction of the board of county school commissioners or the board of commissioners of public schools of the city of Baltimore, and shall be subject to such rules and regulations as said respective board shall prescribe."

Professor Newell, in the report required of him on the condition of schools in the State for the year ending September 30, 1868, embraces the following items and statements respecting the colored schools :

"In the city of Baltimore there were 13 public schools for colored children with 1,312 pupils on the roll, under 29 teachers. These schools were maintained at an expense of \$22,166, of which sum \$2,856 were paid by the pupils in tuition."

The school commissioners of Frederick county, after referring with just pride to the action of the State in extending liberal aid to the instruction of the blind, of the deaf mute, of the orphan, of the juvenile offender, and the adult criminal, remark :

"And with all this her labor of amelioration is not complete, nor can it be until she meets squarely the question of State policy, which demands some attention to the mental and moral culture of her negro population. Shall this large and increasing population continue in its present ignorant and vicious condition? Does not every consideration of morality and enlarged benevolence, and indeed self-protection, plead the cause of the poor abject negro?"

"Torn from his relation to his master by a violent political convulsion, in which he acted no voluntary part; thrown upon the world in his weakness, poverty, and ignorance, among a race with which, with equal advantages, he can never compete; is it wise, is it politic, that he should be left to grope back to his original barbarism? This is a question of grave importance, and should be met promptly and without prejudice. Its postponement will only increase the burden; its neglect is cruel: he is tantalized with a personal liberty, whilst the shackles of ignorance and vice are riveted upon his mind and soul. To ameliorate his condition he is powerless. Give him education or take back that which has been thrust upon him—his personal liberty—which is but the instrument of his extermination."

The school commissioner of Dorchester county remarks :

"In obedience to the order of the board last summer, I visited the Jenifer Institute, a school for colored children in the town of Cambridge. My report of the admirable condition of the school, the perfect discipline maintained, the evidences of real progress made by the pupils, induced the board to take some action with regard to these schools. In a short time trustees were nominated to the board by the patrons of these schools, and confirmed, so that we have had a sort of oversight of them. The colored people seem most anxious to be under the control of the board, and the warm interest taken in their schools by the commissioners and the examiner is evidently most grateful to them. The amount of their school tax will be divided between the schools, but this amount is so small that they continue to help themselves, with such assistance as they can get from the Baltimore association."

The following tables, prepared by Professor Vashon, will exhibit the progress of the schools for colored children, from 1865 to 1868:

Table giving the number of schools, teachers, scholars, and attendance.

Year.	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars.			Average attendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1865.....			47	24	27	51			4,016		
1866.....			86			101			8,144		
1867.....	69	38	107	28	75	103	3,390	2,657	6,047	4,220	69
1868.....	102	32	134	44	110	154	2,882	2,576	5,458	4,547	83

Table showing the numbers in different studies and cost of maintaining schools.

Year.	Number of scholars in different studies pursued.							Expended in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading.	Advanced reading.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher branches.	By freedmen.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	638	3,004	1,940	2,837	1,755	2,426	118			\$92,781
1868.....	393	2,174	2,526	3,241	1,680	3,241	497			

MASSACHUSETTS.

In Massachusetts, out of a population of 1,231,066, in 1860, there were 9,602 free colored persons. By the constitution and laws of the State, the right of suffrage, eligibility to office, and the advantages of the public schools of every grade, are open to all citizens without distinction of color.

SEPARATE SCHOOLS FOR COLORED CHILDREN PROHIBITED.

In Boston, as early as 1798, a separate school for colored children was established in the house of Primus Hall, a respectable colored man, and taught by Elisha Sylvester, a white man, at the expense of the parents sending to it. In 1800 a petition was presented to the school committee by 66 colored persons, praying for the establishment of a public school for their benefit. The petition was referred to a sub-committee, who reported in favor of granting the petition; but the request was refused by the town at a special meeting, in the call for which a notice that this question would be acted upon was inserted.

The private school, first taught by Elisha Sylvester, was continued until 1806 by two gentlemen, Messrs. Brown and Williams, from Harvard College. In 1806, the African meeting-house in Belknap street was erected, and the lower story was fitted up as a school-room for colored children, to which place the school kept in Mr. Hall's house was transferred, where it was continued until 1835, when a school-house was erected out of a fund left by Abiel Smith, known as the Smith school-house. Towards this school the town made an annual appropriation of \$200, the remainder of the expense being defrayed by the parents, those who were able to do so paying 12½ cents per week. The erection of the Smith school-house was deemed at the time of sufficient importance to be marked by appropriate public exercises, as part of which Hon. William Minot delivered an address.

From 1809 to 1812 this school was taught by the well-known Prince Sanders, who was brought up in the family of a lawyer in Thetford, Vermont, and who in 1812 became a civil and diplomatic officer in the service of Christophe, Emperor of Hayti. He was brought to the city by the influence of Dr. Channing and Mr. Caleb Bingham, and was supported by the liberality of benevolent persons in Boston.

The African school in Belknap street was under the control of the school committee from 1812 to 1821, and from 1821 was under the charge of a special sub-committee. Among the teachers was John B. Russworm, from 1821 to 1824, who entered Bowdoin college in the latter year, and afterwards became governor of the colony of Cape Palmas in southern Liberia.

The first primary school for colored children in Boston was established in 1820, two or three of which were subsequently kept until 1855, when they were discontinued as separate schools, in accordance with the general law passed by the legislature in that year, which provided that, "in determining the qualifications of scholars to be admitted into any public school, or any district school in this commonwealth, no distinction shall be made on account of the race, color, or religious opinions of the applicant or scholar." "Any child, who, on account of his race, color, or religious opinions should be excluded from any public or district school, if otherwise qualified," might recover damages in an action of *tort*, brought in the name of the child in any court of competent jurisdiction, against the city or town in which the school was located.

MICHIGAN.

The population of Michigan in 1860 was 749,113, of whom 6,799 were colored. Under a decision of the Supreme Court, a man with not over one-fourth negro blood is a "white man;" but for 15 years colored men (and women if liable to taxation) have been legal voters in school meetings, on an equality with whites. Colored children are included in the school census, and the public money is apportioned upon all between 5 and 20 years of age, the public schools being free to all alike.

MISSISSIPPI.

Mississippi had a population of 791,305 in 1860, of whom more than half were slaves, the number being 436,631; and the number of free colored people was only 773.

This State was originally principally embraced in the charter of Georgia of 1732, which extended to the Mississippi river. Its early laws pertaining to the colored race were almost exact transcripts of the laws of Louisiana Territory of 1804. An early act, July 20, 1805, prohibited the emancipation of any slave, except for some meritorious act for the benefit of his owner or of the Territory. An act of 1807 prohibited slaves from going from home without a pass, the penalty being limited to "20 stripes." Unlawful assemblies were to be atoned for by a penalty of 39 stripes. White men, free negroes, and mulattoes, found in company with slaves at an unlawful meeting, were fined \$20 and costs for each offense. In 1817 the western portion of the Territory became a State, and in 1819 a law was passed forbidding the immigration of any free negro or mulatto into the State. In 1818 provision was made for a separate burial place for "the bodies of slaves and colored persons" in the city of Natchez, with a penalty not exceeding \$50 for the burial of any slave or colored person in any other place than the one designated. In 1822 the several acts relating to colored people were arranged together, and a provision was introduced declaring it to be unlawful for any slave to possess in his or her own right, any horse, mare, gelding, mule, or any other cattle, sheep, or hogs whatever; or to cultivate cotton for his own use. Any negro or mulatto, bond or free, might be a "good witness" in cases where free negroes or mulattoes alone were interested; but the law adds, "if any negro or mulatto shall be found, upon proof made to any county or corporation court of this State, to have given false testimony, every such offender shall, without further trial, be ordered by said court to have one ear nailed to the pillory, and there to stand for the space of one hour, and then the said ear to be cut off, and thereafter the other ear nailed in like manner and cut off at the expiration of one other hour, and moreover to receive 39 lashes on his or her bare back, well laid on, at the public whipping-post, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper, not extending to life or limb." This law remained in force until the period of the rebellion.

By an act of January, 1823, all meetings of slaves, free negroes, or mulattoes, above the number of five, at any place of public resort or meeting-house, in the night; or at any school-house, for teaching, reading, or writing, in the day or night, was to be considered an unlawful assembly; and the penalty was lashes, "not exceeding 39." With the permission of their master or overseer, however, slaves might attend a meeting for religious worship, conducted by a regularly ordained or licensed white minister, or attended by at least two discreet and reputable white persons, appointed by some regular church or religious society.

In 1831 "every free negro or mulatto in the State, under the age of 50 years, and over the age of 16 years," was peremptorily ordered, within 90 days from the date of the passage of the act, to "remove and quit the State," and not to return on any pretense. The penalty for such a person remaining in the State was to be sold into slavery for five years. But exceptions were made in cases where licenses to remain were obtained from the court, founded upon evidence of "good character and honest deportment." By the same act it was "unlawful for any slave, free negro, or mulatto, to preach the gospel," under a penalty of 39 lashes, except to slaves upon the plantation where the one preaching belonged, and with the permission of the owner.

In March, 1846, an act was passed to establish a system of common schools, and creating a fund from "all escheats and all fines and forfeitures and amercements;" from licenses to hawkers; and all incomes from school lands. The several counties were authorized to levy a special tax, not exceeding the State tax, for common school purposes. In 1848 another act was passed to provide for common schools in certain counties in which a tax equal to 25 per cent. of the State tax was annually levied upon all the taxable property of the county, to constitute a common school fund for such counties. All acts prescribed that the schools were for the education of "white youth between the ages of 6 and 20 years."

FREEDMEN'S SCHOOLS.

The work of establishing schools for the freedmen has not been as successful in the State of Mississippi as in some of the other States, owing to the unsettled condition of public affairs; but at different points schools have been established, some under the direction of northern associations, some under the auspices of the churches, and some through the efforts of the freedmen themselves, who have manifested great eagerness to learn to read and write. Several of the largest landed proprietors have taken up the subject and are establishing schools for the children of persons employed on their estates.

The following statistics have been prepared by Professor Vashon from the reports of the Freedmen's Bureau :

Number of schools, teachers, and scholars—1865 to 1868.

Year.	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars.			Average attendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1865.....			34			68			4,310		
1866.....			50			80			5,407		
1867.....	53	27	80	80	19	99	2,689	3,019	5,708	4,449	77
1868.....	102	32	134	94	46	140	3,090	3,663	6,753	5,226	77

Studies and expenditures—1867-'68.

Year.	Number of scholars in different studies pursued.							Expenditures in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading.	Advanced readers.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher branches.	By freedmen.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	443	2,633	2,532	2,426	1,242	2,426	156	\$2,020	\$5,582	\$7,602
1868.....	838	2,960	2,796	2,509	1,677	4,584	257	5,689	5,143	10,832

MISSOURI.

There were in this State, in 1860, 1,182,012 inhabitants, 118,503 of whom were colored; of these 114,931 were slaves, and 3,572 were free.

The province ceded by France to the United States in 1803, under the general name of Louisiana, was organized by Congress in 1804, by the names of the Territory of Orleans, and the District of Louisiana, the latter embracing the territory now forming the States of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, the greater part of Minnesota, and the region west of these States to the Rocky mountains. In 1805 the District of Louisiana was called the Territory of Louisiana; and this name was again changed in 1812 to that of the Territory of Mississippi. The first legislation relating to the colored people in Missouri was while it was in a territorial condition, by the governor and judges of the Indian Territory, who were authorized by Congress to make laws for the district. This act of 1804 provided that no slave should go from the tenements of his master "without a pass or some letter or token;" the penalty was "stripes at the discretion of the justice of the peace." If a slave presumed to go upon any other plantation than that of his master, without leave in writing from his or her owner, not being absent upon lawful business, the penalty was "10 lashes."

No master or mistress of slaves was permitted to suffer the meeting of slaves upon his or her plantation above four hours at any one time, without leave of the owner or owners. The penalty was \$3 for each offense, increased by \$1 for each negro present at the meeting, above the number five. Any white person, free negro, or mulatto, who should be found in company with slaves at any unlawful meeting, was fined \$3 for each offense; and, on failure to

pay the fine and costs, he was to receive "20 lashes well laid on by order of the justice." All trading with or by slaves was strictly forbidden, "except with the consent of the master, owner, or overseer."

In 1817 the general assembly of the Territory of Missouri passed a more stringent act against slaves traveling without permission. In 1822, after Missouri was admitted as a State, more severe penalties were attached to the offense of trading with slaves; and in 1833 "slaves or free persons of color" were forbidden to assemble at any store, tavern, grocery, grog or dram shop "at any time by night or day, "more especially on the Sabbath day, commonly called Sunday."

In 1845 free negroes and mulattoes were forbidden to remain in the State except on license. Three days were allowed to depart, and one additional day for every 20 miles travel was allowed, to escape to some free State, on the penalty of fine, imprisonment, and lashes. In 1847 it was enacted that "no person shall keep or teach any school for the instruction of negroes or mulattoes in reading or writing, in this State." No meetings were allowed for religious worship, where the services were conducted by negroes or mulattoes, unless some sheriff or other officer or justice of the peace were present, "to prevent all seditious speeches and disorderly and unlawful conduct of every kind." Such meetings, held in violation of these provisions, were deemed unlawful, and the penalty was a "fine not exceeding \$500 or imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both fine and imprisonment." No free negro or mulatto was henceforth to be permitted to come into the State.

By the present constitution and laws of the State, provision is made for a free public school system; for the appointment of a State superintendent of schools. In each county a county superintendent is elected every two years. Each congressional township composes a school district, under the control, in matters of education, of a board of education. Smaller divisions are regarded as sub-districts, under the management of local directors. The excellent system of public schools in the city of St. Louis includes a normal school, a high school, 31 district schools, and three colored schools.

The following table, prepared by Professor Vashon, gives the progress of schools for colored youth from 1865 to 1868:

Table giving the number of schools, teachers, scholars, and attendance.

Year.	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars.			Average attendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1865.....			24			31			1,925		
1866.....			38			46			2,698		
1867.....	44	11	55	32	30	62	1,290	1,469	2,759	1,918	69
1868.....	49	11	60	39	31	70	2,196	2,016	4,212	3,009	71

Table showing the numbers in different studies, and cost of maintaining schools.

Year.	Number of scholars in the different studies pursued.							Expended in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading.	Advanced readers.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher branches.	By freed-men.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	237	1,074	604	881	523	837	87			
1868.....	757	1,633	2,029	2,520	1,698	1,995	695			

NEW YORK.

By the census of 1860 the total population of the State of New York was 3,880,735, of which number 49,005 were free colored.

By the constitution of 1777 the right of suffrage was extended to every male inhabitant of full age, without respect to color; but in the revision of 1821 this right was so far abridged that "no man of color, unless he shall have been for three years a citizen of this State and for one year next preceding any election shall be seized and possessed of a freehold estate of \$250 over and above all debts and incumbrances charged thereon, and shall have been actually rated and paid a tax thereon, shall be entitled to vote at any such election. And no person of color shall be subject to direct taxation unless he shall be seized and possessed of such real estate as aforesaid." In 1846 and in 1850 the question of equal suffrage to colored persons was submitted separately, on the adoption of each revised constitution of those dates, and rejected by large majorities on both occasions. In 1867 the convention for revising the constitution adopted an article giving equality of suffrage to colored people, to be voted upon separately.

By act of 1841 the legislature authorized any school district, with the approbation of the school commissioners of the town in which the district was situated, to establish a separate school for the colored children of such district. This was not intended to deny them the privileges of the regular school, to which they were declared by the superintendent to be equally with all others entitled. In the revised school code of 1864 the school authorities of any city or incorporated village organized under special acts may establish separate schools for children and youth of African descent resident therein; "and such schools shall be supported in the same manner and to the same extent as the schools supported therein for white children; and they shall be subject to the same rules and regulations and be furnished with facilities for instruction equal to those furnished to the white schools therein."

EARLY EFFORTS OF ELIAS NEAU AT NEW YORK.

A school for negro slaves was opened in the city of New York in 1704 by Elias Neau, a native of France, and a catechist of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." After a long imprisonment for his public profession of faith as a Protestant, he founded an asylum in New York. His sympathies were awakened by the condition of the negroes in slavery in that city, who numbered about 1,500 at that time. The difficulties of holding any intercourse with them seemed almost insurmountable. At first he could only visit them from house to house, after his day's toil was over; afterwards he was permitted to gather them together in a room in his own house for a short time in the evening. As the result of his instructions at the end of four years, in 1708, the ordinary number under his instruction was 200. Many were judged worthy to receive the sacrament at the hands of Mr. Vesey, the rector of Trinity church; some of whom became regular and devout communicants, remarkable for their orderly and blameless lives.

But soon after this time some negroes of the Carmantee and Pappa tribes formed a plot for setting fire to the city, and murdering the English, on a certain night. The work was commenced but checked, and after a short struggle the English subdued the negroes. Immediately a loud and angry clamor arose against Elias Neau, his accusers saying that his school was the cause of the murderous attempt. He denied the charge in vain; and so furious were the people that, for a time, his life was in danger. The evidence, however, at the trial proved that the negroes most deeply engaged in the plot, were those whose masters were most opposed to any means for their instruction. Yet, the offense of a few was charged upon the race; and even the provincial government lent its authority to make the burden of Neau the heavier. The common council passed an order forbidding negroes "to appear in the streets after sunset, without lanthorns or candles;" and as they could not procure these, the result was to break up the labors of Neau. But at this juncture Governor Hunter interposed and went to visit the school of Neau, accompanied by several officers of rank, and by the society's missionaries; and he was so well pleased that he gave his full approval to the work, and in a public proclamation called upon the clergy of the province to exhort

their congregations to extend their approval also. Vesey, the good rector of Trinity church, had long watched the labors of Neau and witnessed the progress of his scholars, as well as assisted him in them; and finally the governor, the council, mayor, recorder, and two chief justices of New York joined in declaring that Neau "in a very eminent degree deserved the countenance, favor and protection of the society." He therefore continued his labors until 1722, when, "amid the unaffected sorrow of his negro scholars and the friends who honored him for their sake, he was removed by death."

The work was then continued by "Huddleston, then schoolmaster in New York;" and he was succeeded by Rev. Mr. Wetmore, who removed in 1726 to Rye; whereupon the Rev. Mr. Colgan was appointed to assist the rector of Trinity church, and to carry on the instruction of the negroes. A few years afterwards Thomas Noxon assisted Mr. Colgan, and their joint success was very satisfactory. Rev. R. Charlton, who had been engaged in similar labor at New Windsor, was called to New York in 1732, where he followed up the work successfully for 15 years, and was succeeded by Rev. Samuel Auchmuty. Upon the death of Thomas Noxon, in 1741, Mr. Hildreth took his place, who in 1764 wrote that "not a single black admitted by him to the holy communion had turned out badly, or in any way disgraced his profession." Both Auchmuty and Hildreth received valuable support from Mr. Barclay, who, upon the death of Mr. Vesey, in 1746, had been appointed to the rectory of Trinity church.

OTHER EARLY LABORERS FOR THE SLAVES.

The labors of Neau and others in New York, for a period of half a century, had their counterpart in many other places by other laborers. Taylor and Varnod, missionaries of the society in South Carolina, bestowed diligent care in giving religious instruction to the slaves; and they gratefully confess to have received assistance from the masters and mistresses, which was the more welcome, on account of the ill will and opposition which any attempt to ameliorate the condition of slaves provoked among most of the British planters of that day. In the ranks of the Pennsylvania missionaries was Hugh Neill, once a distinguished Presbyterian minister in New Jersey. During the 15 years of his ministry he labored with zeal and success for the instruction of the negroes. Dr. Smith, provost of the college of Philadelphia, engaged in the same work, and at the death of Neill, in 1766, was placed on the list of the society's missionaries. Dr. Jenney was rector of St. Peter's and Christ church in Philadelphia from 1742 to 1762, and during his incumbency the society appointed a catechetical lecturer in that church for the instruction of negroes and others. William Sturgeon, a student of Yale College, was selected for that office and sent to England to receive ordination. He entered upon his duties in 1747, and discharged them for 19 years. In 1763 a complaint of neglect of duty was brought before the society against him, in not catechizing the negro children; but, upon a full investigation by the rector and four vestrymen its falsehood was shown and his stipend was increased.

In 1706 Dr. Le Jean, a missionary of the society, was appointed to the mission at Goose creek, near Charleston, South Carolina, where he labored 11 years, especially among the negroes, and he succeeded in carrying on a systematic course of instruction. Dr. Le Jean was preceded in the same work by Rev. Mr. Thomas, in 1695, who had not only taught 20 negroes to read and write, but induced several ladies to engage in the work; among them was Mrs. Haige Edward, who instructed several of her slaves. I hope, writes Rev. Mr. Taylor, their example will provoke some masters and mistresses to take the same care with their negroes.

Bishop Gibson, who presided over the See of London from 1723 to 1748, did not hesitate to urge forward the work of Christian love in behalf of the negro slave. He wrote two public letters upon this subject in 1727; one exhorting masters and mistresses of families "to encourage and promote the instruction of their negroes in the Christian faith;" and the other, urging and directing the missionaries to assist in the work.

The bishop of London, in 1727, published a letter to the masters and mistresses of families in the English plantations abroad, exhorting them to encourage and promote the instruction of the negroes in the Christian faith, and in it remarks: "Considering the greatness of the

profit there is received from their labors, it might be hoped that all Christian masters—those especially who are possessed of considerable numbers—should also be at some small expense in providing for the instruction of those poor creatures, and that others, whose numbers are less, and who dwell in the same neighborhood, should join in the expense of a common teacher for the negroes belonging to them.”

In the year 1733, among other Africans consigned to Michael Denton, of Annapolis, Maryland, was one of delicate constitution, who was sold to a gentleman living on the eastern shore. One day a white boy found him in the woods apparently engaged in prayer, and mischievously disturbed him by throwing sand in his face. Rendered unhappy by this and similar treatment, he ran away to a neighboring county, where his dignified but melancholy bearing excited attention. An old negro was at last found who understood his language, and from him it was discovered that the slave had been a foulah in Africa. He had in his possession slips of paper on which were written certain characters, which being sent to Oxford proved to be in the Arabic language. General Oglethorpe became deeply interested in the man and redeemed him from captivity. On his arrival in England he was treated with marked attention, dined with the Duke of Montague, received a gold watch from the Queen, and assisted Sir Hans Sloane in the translation of Arabic manuscripts. This romantic occurrence led to much discussion as to the duty of planters to the negro, and in 1735, when Oglethorpe was member of Parliament, an act was passed prohibiting the importation of black slaves or negroes into the province of Georgia.

In 1749 the Rev. Thomas Bacon, of Talbot county, Maryland, delivered some remarkable discourses to masters and mistresses, as well as to his “beloved black brethren and sisters,” which were published in London, and in the present century reprinted at Winchester, Virginia, by the late Bishop Meade.

Williams, bishop of Clichester, in a discourse before the Society for Foreign Parts, says :

“These negroes are slaves, and for the most part treated as worse, or rather by some as if they were a different species, as they are of a different color, from the rest of mankind. The Spaniards are reproached for driving the poor Americans to the fort like the cattle of the field, but our slaves, on the other hand, are driven from it.”

Bishop Butler, author of the Analogy of Religion, declared in a discourse that the slaves of the British colonies ought not to be treated “merely as cattle or goods, the property of their master. Nor can the highest property possible to be acquired in these servants cancel the obligation to take care of their religious instructions. Despicable as they may appear in our eyes, they are the creatures of God.”

Archbishop Secker, in 1741, recommended the “employing of young negroes, prudently chosen, to teach their countrymen,” and Dr. Beareroff, in 1744, alludes to this project in a discourse before the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in these words :

“The society had lately fallen upon a happy expedient by the purchase of two young negroes, whom they have qualified by a thorough instruction in the principles of Christianity, and, by teaching them to read well, to become schoolmasters to their fellow-negroes. The project is but of yesterday, but the reverend person who proposed, and under whose care and inspection the two youths are placed, hath acquainted the society that it succeeds to his heart’s desire ; that one school is actually opened at Charles Town, South Carolina, which hath more than 60 young negroes under instruction, and will annually send out between 30 and 40 of them well instructed in religion and capable of reading their Bibles, who may carry home and diffuse the same knowledge which they shall have been taught among their poor relations and fellow-slaves. And in time schools will be spread in other places and in other colonies to teach them to believe in the Son of God, who shall make them free indeed.”

Bishop Warburton, in 1766, says :

“From the free savages I come now to the savages in bonds. By those I mean the vast multitudes yearly stolen from the opposite continent and sacrificed by the colonists to their great idol, the god of gain. But what, then, say these sincere worshippers of mammon ? They answer : ‘They are our own property which we offer up.’ Gracious God ! talk as of herds of cattle, of property in rational creatures, creatures endowed with all our faculties, possessing all our qualities but that of color, our brethren both by nature and grace, shocks all the feelings of humanity and the dictates of common sense.”

Bishop Lowth, formerly professor of poetry in the Oxford University, speaking of negroes in America, said :

“From their situation they are open and accessible to instruction, and by their subjection

are under the immediate influence and in the hands of those who ought to be their instructors. These circumstances, so favorable in appearance, have not been productive of the good effects which might have been expected. If their masters, tyrannizing over this people with a despotism beyond example, are determined to keep their minds in a state of bondage still more grievous than that in which they hold their bodies; should not suffer them to be instructed; * * * * * should this in reality be a common practice among their masters, 'Woe unto you.'

Bishop Porteus, whose mother was a native of Virginia, and whose father had resided there many years, in one of his discourses alludes to plantation negroes as being generally considered as mere machines and instruments to work with, rather than beings with minds to be enlightened and souls to be saved.

Bishop Wilson (Sodor and Man) was another distinguished clergyman, who watched for the opportunity to aid the missionaries who were laboring in the colonies for the instruction of the Indians and negroes; and in 1740 he published an "Essay towards the Instruction for the Indians," the germ of which was written by him in 1699, on "The Principles and Duties of Christianity," for the use of the people of the Isle of Man, and was the first book ever printed in the Manx language. He bequeathed £50 for the education of negro children in Talbot county.

In 1711 Bishop Fleetwood preached the anniversary sermon before the society, in which he urged the duty of instructing the negroes, the effect of which afterwards, on the heart of a prejudiced planter in North Carolina, is shown by an extract from a letter by Giles Rainsford, one of the society's missionaries. "By much importunity," he says, "I prevailed on Mr. Martin to let me baptize three of his negroes. All the arguments I could make use of would scarce effect it, till Bishop Fleetwood's sermon preached before the society turned the scale." These are a few only of the many instances going to show the prevailing sentiment of the laborers of a century and a half ago.

SCHOOLS FOR COLORED CHILDREN BY THE MANUMISSION SOCIETY.

The first school for colored children in the city of New York, established by the Manumission Society, was denominated "The New York African Free School."

It appears that in the years 1785 and 1786 the business of kidnapping colored people and selling them at the south was carried on in this city and vicinity to such an extent as to provoke public attention to the necessity of taking some measures to check this growing evil.

In the city of Philadelphia a society had already been formed to protect the blacks from similar dangers there. A deputation was sent from New York to that society for information, and to procure a copy of its constitution, which assisted much in the organization of "The New York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and Protecting such of them as have been, or may be, Liberated." The following are the names of the members of this society, who composed the first board of trustees of the "New York African Free School:"

Melancthon Smith, Jno. Bleeker, James Cogswell, Lawrence Embree, Thomas Burling, Willett Leaman, Jno. Lawrence, Jacob Leaman, White Mattock, Mathew Clarkson, Nathaniel Lawrence, Jno. Murray, junior.

Their school, located in Cliff street, between Beekman and Ferry, was opened in 1786, taught by Cornelius Davis, attended by about 40 pupils of both sexes, and appears, from their book of minutes, to have been satisfactorily conducted. In the year 1791 a female teacher was added to instruct the girls in needlework, the expected advantages of which measure were soon realized, and highly gratifying to the society. In 1808 the society was incorporated, and in the preamble it is recorded that "a free school for the education of such persons as have been liberated from bondage, that they may hereafter become useful members of the community," has been established. It may be proper here to remark that the good cause in which the friends of this school were engaged was far from being a popular one. The prejudices of a large portion of the community were against it; the means in the hands of the trustees were often very inadequate, and many seasons of discouragement were witnessed; but they were met by men who, trusting in the divine support, were resolved neither to relax their exertions nor to retire from the field.

Through the space of about 20 years they struggled on; the number of scholars varying from 40 to 60, until the year 1809, when the Lancasterian, or Monitorial, system of instruction was introduced, (this being the second school in the United States to adopt the plan,) under a new teacher, E. J. Cox, and a very favorable change was produced, the number of pupils, and the efficiency of their instruction being largely increased.

Soon after this, however, in January, 1814, their school-house was destroyed by fire, which checked the progress of the school for a time, as no room could be obtained large enough to accommodate the whole number of pupils. A small room in Doyer street was temporarily hired, to keep the school together till further arrangements could be made, and an appeal was made to the liberality of the citizens and to the corporation of the city, which resulted in obtaining from the latter a grant of two lots of ground in William street, on which to build a new school-house; and in January, 1815, a commodious brick building, to accommodate 200 pupils, was finished on this lot, and the school was resumed with fresh vigor and increasing interest. In a few months the room became so crowded that it was found necessary to engage a separate room, next to the school, to accommodate such of the pupils as were to be taught sewing. This branch had been for many years discontinued, but was now resumed under the direction of Miss Lucy Turpen, a young lady whose amiable disposition and faithful discharge of her duties rendered her greatly esteemed, both by her pupils and the trustees. This young lady, after serving the board for several years, removed with her parents to Ohio, and her place was supplied by Miss Mary Lincrum, who was succeeded by Miss Eliza J. Cox, and the latter by Miss Mary Ann Cox, and she by Miss Carolina Roe, under each of whom the school continued to sustain a high character for order and usefulness.

The school in William street increasing in numbers, another building was found necessary, and was built on a lot of ground 50 by 100 feet square, on Mulberry street, between Grand and Hester streets, to accommodate 500 pupils, and was completed and occupied, with C. C. Andrews for teacher, in May, 1820.

General Lafayette visited this school September 10, 1824, an abridged account of which is copied from the Commercial Advertiser of that date:

Visit of Lafayette to the African school in 1824.

“At 1 o'clock the general, with the company invited for the occasion, visited the African free school, on Mulberry street. This school embraces about 500 scholars; about 450 were present on this occasion, and they are certainly the best disciplined and most interesting school of children we have ever witnessed. As the general was conducted to a seat, Mr. Ketchum adverted to the fact that as long ago as 1788 the general had been elected a member of the institution (Manumission Society) at the same time with Grenville Sharp and Thomas Clarkson, of England. The general perfectly remembered the circumstance, and mentioned particularly the letter he had received on that occasion from the Hon. John Jay, then president of the society. One of the pupils, Master James M. Smith, aged 11 years, then stepped forward and gracefully delivered the following address:

“GENERAL LAFAYETTE: In behalf of myself and fellow schoolmates, may I be permitted to express our sincere and respectful gratitude to you for the condescension you have manifested this day in visiting this institution, which is one of the noblest specimens of New York philanthropy. Here, sir, you behold hundreds of the poor children of Africa sharing with those of a lighter hue in the blessings of education; and while it will be our pleasure to remember the great deeds you have done for America, it will be our delight also to cherish the memory of General Lafayette as a friend to African emancipation, and as a member of this institution.”

“To which the general replied, in his own characteristic style, ‘I thank you, my dear child.’”

“Several of the pupils underwent short examinations, and one of them explained the use of the globes and answered many questions in geography.”

PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR COLORED CHILDREN.

These schools continued to flourish, under the same management, and with an attendance varying from 600 in 1824 to 862 in 1832, in the latter part of which year the Manumission Society, whose schools were now in part supported by the public fund, applied to the Public School Society for a committee of conference to effect a union. It was felt by the trustees

that on many accounts it was better that the two sets of schools should remain separate, but, fearing further diversion of the school fund, it was desirable that the number of societies participating should be as small as possible, and arrangements were accordingly made for a transfer of the schools and property of the elder society. After some delay, in consequence of legislative action being found necessary to give a title to their real estate, on the 2d of May, 1834, the transfer was effected, all their schools and school property passing into the hands of the New York Public School Society, at an appraised valuation of \$12,130 22.

The aggregate register of these schools at the time of the transfer was nearly 1,400, with an average attendance of about one-half that number. They were placed in charge of a committee with powers similar to the committee on primary schools, but their administration was not satisfactory, and it was soon found that the schools had greatly diminished in numbers, efficiency, and usefulness. A committee of inquiry was appointed, and reported that, in consequence of the great anti-slavery riots, and attacks on colored people, many families had removed from the city, and of those that remained many kept their children at home; they knew the Manumission Society as their special friends, but knew nothing of the Public School Society; the reduction of all the schools, but one, to the grade of primary, had given great offense; also the discharge of teachers long employed, and the discontinuance of rewards, and taking home of spelling books; strong prejudices had grown up against the Public School Society. The committee recommended a prompt assimilation of the colored schools to the white; the establishment of two or more upper schools in a new building; a normal school for colored monitors, and the appointment of a colored man as school agent, at \$150 a year. The school on Mulberry street at this time, 1835, was designated Colored Grammar School No. 1. A. Libolt was principal, and registered 317 pupils; there were also six primaries, located in different parts of the city, with an aggregate attendance of 925 pupils.

In 1836 a new school building was completed in Laurens street, opened with 210 pupils, R. F. Wake, (colored,) principal, and was designated Colored Grammar School No. 2. Other means were taken to improve the schools, and to induce the colored people to patronize them; the principal of No. 1, Mr. Libolt, was replaced by Mr. John Paterson, colored, a sufficient assurance of whose ability and success we have in the fact that he has been continued in the position ever since. A "Society for the Promotion of Education among Colored Children" was organized, and established two additional schools, one in Thomas street, and one in Center, and a marked improvement was manifest; but it required a long time to restore the confidence and interest felt before the transfer, and even up to 1848 the aggregate attendance in all the colored schools was only 1,375 pupils.

In the winter of 1852 the first evening schools for colored pupils were opened; one for males and one for females, and were attended by 379 pupils. In the year 1853 the colored schools, with all the schools and school property of the Public School Society, were transferred to the "Board of Education of the City and County of New York," and still further improvements were made in them; a normal school for colored teachers was established, with Mr. John Paterson, principal, and the schools were graded in the same manner as those for white children. Colored Grammar School No. 3 was opened at 78 West Fortieth street, Miss Caroline W. Simpson, principal, and in the ensuing year three others were added; No. 4, in One Hundred and Twentieth street, (Harlem,) Miss Nancy Thompson, principal; No. 5, at 101 Hudson street, P. W. Williams, principal; and No. 6, at 1167 Broadway, Prince Leveridge, principal. Grammar Schools Nos. 2, 3, and 4, had primary departments attached, and there were also at this time three separate primary schools, and the aggregate attendance in all was 2,047. Since then the attendance in these schools has not varied much from these figures. The schools themselves have been altered and modified from time to time, as their necessity seemed to indicate; though under the general management of the Board of Education, they have been in the care of the school officers of the wards in which they are located, and while in some cases they received the proper attention, in others they were either wholly, or in part, neglected. A recent act has placed them directly in charge of the Board of Education, who have appointed a special committee to look after their interests, and measures are being taken by them which will give this class of schools every opportunity and convenience possessed by any other, and, it is hoped, will also improve the grade of its scholarship.

The organization and attendance of these schools in 1868 is shown in the following table, compiled from information received from the city superintendent of schools, Mr. S. S. Randall :

Schools.	Date of organization.	Teachers.			Pupils.		Location.	
		Principals.	Assistants.	Of music.	Of drawing.	Whole number registered.		Average attendance.
No. 1—Boys' department ..	1820	John Peterson ...	5	} 1	1	{ 399	149	135 Mulberry street, 14th ward.
Girls' department ..		Eliza Gwynne ...	5			{ 380	142	
No. 2—Boys' department ..	1836	Ransom F. Wake.	2	} 2	1	{ (*)	(*)	51 and 53 Laurens street, 8th ward.
Girls' department ..		Fanny Tompkins.	5			{ 147	64	
Primary departm't ..		Sarah Ennalls ...	3			{ 470	122	
No. 3—Grammar departm't ..	1853	Chas. L. Reason ..	3	} 1	1	{ 102	46	78 West Fortieth street, 20th ward.
Primary departm't ..		Cath. A. Thomp's'n	2			{ 207	62	
No. 4—Grammar departm't ..	1840	S. J. S. Tompkins.	5	} 1	1	{ 310	143	98 West Seventeenth street, 16th ward.
Primary departm't ..		Elizabeth Pierce .	3			{ .....	.....
No. 5	1854	Mary E. Tripp .....	.....	.....	.....	41	11	One-hundred-and-twenti'th st., (Harlem,) 12th ward.
No. 6	1868	Mary M. Moreau ..	1	.....	.....	(*)	(*)	155 Stanton st., 17th ward.
<i>Evening schools.</i>								
No. 1	1852	S. J. S. Tompkins.	.....	.....	.....	(*)	(†)	In building of school No. 2.
No. 2	1852	Ransom F. Wake.	.....	.....	.....	(*)	(†)	In building of school No. 4.
No. 3	1868	Mary M. Moreau ..	.....	.....	.....	(*)	(†)	In building of school No. 6.
Normal school	1854	Chas. L. Reason ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	In building of school No. 1, on Saturdays.
		Carole Hamilton.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total			34	.....	.....	2,056	739	

GRADE OF SCHOLARSHIP.—Colored boys' grammar schools, 78; colored girls' grammar schools, 71½; colored primary schools, 76½; total of all the schools in the city, 803-7. (Whole number of sessions, 430 in each.)

* No report.

† About 45 in each.

In addition to and independent of these schools there are four primaries in connection with the Colored Orphan Asylum at One hundred and fifty-first street. Their aggregate register last year was 264 pupils. There are also two or three small private primary schools for colored children in the city, and these, with the before-mentioned, comprise all those now in existence. The teachers in these schools are, with but two exceptions—the principal of No. 6 and the assistant principal of No. 1—of the same race as their pupils. The pupils are, for the most part, children of laboring people; many of them are put out to service at an early age, and only get a chance to go to school when they are out of a situation; while very few are able, or take sufficient interest to attend regularly all of the time; which in part accounts for the low grade of scholarship in this class of schools; but there has been an improvement in this respect of late, and, in view of the efforts being made in their behalf, we are encouraged to believe that their future history will show a brighter record.

GERRITT SMITH'S SCHOOL AT PETERBORO'.

In any historical survey of the progressive development of schools for colored people, the timely and liberal aid and efforts of Hon. Gerritt Smith, of Peterboro', New York, should not be omitted. This eminent philanthropist was one of the earliest to extend liberal aid to several, as well as the assurance of his sympathy to all, institutions which opened their doors to children and youth of the colored population. He established and maintained for a number of years in his own village a school, which was attended by colored pupils from different parts of the country. He was an early and very liberal patron of Oneida Institute, the doors of which were ever open to pupils without respect to complexion or race. He gave to it between \$3,000 and \$4,000 in cash, and 3,000 acres of land in Vermont. He did even more for Oberlin College, in Ohio, because of its hospitality to colored pupils. He gave it a few thousand dollars in money and 20,000 acres of land in Virginia, which brought to the

institution probably more than \$50,000. The New York Central College, at McGrawville, where colored and white young men and women were instructed together, cost Mr. Smith several thousand dollars more.

NORTH CAROLINA.

The total population of North Carolina in 1860 was 992,622, of whom 361,522 were colored; and of these 331,059 were slaves, and 30,463 free. It was not until 1729 that any law relating to assemblies of slaves, free negroes, and mulattoes was enacted in North Carolina, when slaves were also forbidden to hunt or range over the lands not belonging to their owner; and when thus trespassing, the owner of the land on which they were found was authorized to whip them, "not exceeding 40 lashes." And, by the same law, "if any loose, disorderly, or suspected person, not being a white person, was found drinking, eating, or keeping company with slaves in the night time," he was liable to a penalty of 40 lashes, unless he could give a "satisfactory account of his behavior." If negroes belonging to one man were found in the quarters or kitchens of the negroes of another man, they were liable to a penalty of 40 lashes, while those who entertained them were subject to 20. In 1741 slaves not wearing a livery were forbidden to leave the plantation to which they belonged. In 1777 it was enacted that no negro or mulatto slave should be set free, "except for meritorious services." Among other enactments of about this period were those forbidding free negroes or mulattoes to entertain any slave during the Sabbath, or to trade with slaves, the penalties for either offense being severe. In 1812 slaves were forbidden to act as pilots on the coast of the State, and in 1830 it was provided that the owner of any slave consenting to such service should forfeit the value of the slave. This law was still in force in 1860.

Until the year 1835 public opinion permitted the colored residents of this State to maintain schools for the education of their children. These were taught sometimes by white persons, but more frequently by teachers of the same race as their pupils. After this period colored children could be educated only by finding a teacher within the circle of their own family, or out of the limits of the State; in which latter event they were regarded as expatriated, and prohibited by law from returning home. The public school system of North Carolina declared that no descendant from negro ancestors, to the fourth generation inclusive, should enjoy the benefit thereof. Thus matters continued until the success of the Union forces opened a way for educational effort. In 1863 thousands of freedmen had taken refuge at Newbern and on Roanoke island, and to both of these places the American Missionary Association sent teachers who opened schools. As in Virginia, so, too, in North Carolina other schools followed close upon the march of the United States troops. Immediately upon the entry of the latter into Wilmington, in 1865, the teachers of the association also made their appearance there, and were hailed by the negro population with indescribable delight. Mr. Coan, one of these teachers, thus describes the scene: "By appointment, I met the children at the church vestry the next morning. They were to come at 9 o'clock; by 7 the street was blocked, the yard was full. Parents, eager to get 'dese yer four children's name taken,' came pulling them through the crowd. 'Please, sir, put down dese yer.' 'I wants dis gal of mine to jine; and dat yer boy hes got no parents, and I jes done and brot him.' . . . The same evidences of joy inexpressible were manifest at the organization of evening schools for adults. About 1,000 pupils reported themselves in less than one week after our arrival in Wilmington." This thirst for knowledge, which was common to the freed people throughout the entire south, was met by efforts on the part of various benevolent agencies to satisfy it. Upon the cessation of hostilities schools were opened in different localities, and before the end of the year nearly 100 were in operation, with an attendance of more than 8,000 pupils. Each successive year since then has been marked by an increase in the number of these schools, in spite of the obstacles which presented themselves, in the scarcity of teachers, and of suitable school buildings, and, too often, in the unfriendly opposition of white residents. To overcome these obstacles the freedmen themselves have earnestly seconded the efforts of philanthropy in their behalf. In the depth of their poverty they have sustained a large portion of the schools, and cheerfully contributed to the support of others. In 1867 Mr. F. A. Fiske, the State superintendent of

education under the Freedman's Bureau, reported, that many instances had come under his notice where the teachers of a self-supporting school had been sustained till the last cent the freedmen could command was exhausted, and where these last had even taxed their credit in the coming crop to pay the bills necessary to keep up the school. As evidence of the great interest manifested in acquiring knowledge, the same officer mentioned a fact connected with one of the schools under his supervision which is, perhaps, without a parallel in the history of education. Side by side, commencing their alphabet together, and continuing their studies until they could each read the Bible fluently, sat a child of six summers, her mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother, aged 75 years, the representatives of four generations in a direct line.

The following tables, prepared by Professor Vashon, give the condition of the schools for the years specified:

Number of schools, teachers, and pupils, 1865 to 1868.

Year.	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars.			Average attendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1865.....			86			119			8,506		
1866.....			136			158			10,971		
1867.....	130	60	190	139	88	227	5,922	6,351	12,273	8,714	71
1868.....	238	104	342	146	221	367	8,531	8,879	17,410	11,078	63

Studies and expenditures, 1867 and 1868.

Year.	Number of scholars in different studies pursued.							Expenditures in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading.	Advanced readers.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher branches.	By freedmen.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	1,363	7,425	3,462	4,005	2,879	3,872	321	\$3,671	\$48,249	\$51,920
1868.....	1,286	6,310	4,043	6,200	3,652	5,455	711	15,510	69,258	84,768

There are two high schools in North Carolina, one at Wilmington, and another at Beaufort. These were established by the American Missionary Association.

Among the other benevolent educational agencies operating in this State, mention should be made of the American Freedmen's Union Commission, working principally through its New York and New England branches, and the Friends Association of Philadelphia. The last mentioned society, besides ministering largely to the relief of physical wants and suffering among the freedmen, since its organization on the 11th of November, 1863, has, also, maintained schools at different points throughout the south. Nineteen of these were within the limits of North Carolina.

The Protestant Episcopal church, too, has found here a field for its Christian labor; and its freedmen's committee has under its charge, at Raleigh,

THE ST. AUGUSTINE NORMAL SCHOOL.

This institution was incorporated in July, 1867, and opened in the following January for the admission of pupils, of whom 26 were enrolled. Its principal is the Rev. J. Brainton Smith, D. D. The trustees have now on hand and in pledges a fund of about \$4,300. which they purpose to set apart as a permanent endowment. Besides, they have already purchased a tract of land, consisting of 100 acres, pleasantly situated just outside of the city limits. Here, in a beautiful grove, they are now erecting a commodious edifice that will, when completed, readily accommodate 150 pupils; they also intend to erect a boarding hall to serve as a home for pupils coming from a distance.

There is another academical school at Charlotte.

THE BIDDLE MEMORIAL INSTITUTE.

This institution was founded by a generous donation from the widow of the late Henry J. Biddle, of Philadelphia, and is, indeed, a fitting monument to the memory of that gentleman, who gave his life to his country in efforts to crush the slaveholders' rebellion. For this reason the Biddle institute appeals peculiarly to the regard of the freedmen, and they have not been deaf to its claims. It has been duly incorporated under the laws of North Carolina; and through the liberality of Colonel W. R. Myers, of Charlotte, has been made the recipient of a beautiful tract of eight acres in the immediate neighborhood of the city. Upon this site two houses intended for professors' residences have been erected and paid for, and the main building is now in process of erection. To complete the entire work \$8,000 are required, which, it is confidently hoped, will be readily made up by the freedmen and their friends. The first session of the institute opened on the 16th of September, 1867, and 43 students were admitted during its first school year. Great care is exercised in the admission of students, and all of them are required to devote a part of their time to teaching among the people.

This institution was established under the auspices of the general assembly's committee on freedmen of the Presbyterian church, (old school,) whose praiseworthy labors in Kansas and elsewhere have already been adverted to, and who have, since 1865, supported 22 other schools at different points in the State of North Carolina.

The present constitution of North Carolina, adopted in April, 1868, provides for "a general and uniform system of free public schools." The governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of State, treasury, auditor, superintendent of public works, superintendent of public instruction, and attorney general, constitute a State board of education, which succeeds to all the powers and trusts of the president and directors of the literary fund of North Carolina; and has full power to legislate and make all needful rules and regulations in relation to free public schools and the educational fund. The superintendent of public instruction has the charge of the schools. Each county is divided into school districts, in each of which one or more public schools must be maintained at least four months in the year. The schools of each county are under the control of county commissioners, elected biennially.

OHIO.

By the census of 1860 the population of Ohio was 2,339,511, of which number 36,673 were free colored. By repeated votes of the people the right of suffrage has been denied to this portion of the population unless they have a preponderance of white blood.

The superintendent of common schools (John A. Norris) writes to the superintendent of public instruction in Indiana as follows: "Colored youths of legal school age, *i. e.*, between the ages of 5 and 21 years, are entitled to the privileges of the public school fund. Colored youth cannot of legal right claim admittance to our common schools for white youth. The local school authorities may, however, admit a colored youth to the public schools for white youth, and as a matter of fact in the larger part of the State the colored youth are admitted on equal terms with the white youth to the common or public schools." According to his report for 1869 there were, in 1868, employed in the colored schools of the State, 241 teachers, (male, 104; female, 137.) The number of schools was 189, having 10,404 pupils enrolled, (males 5,409; females, 4,995.) The average number in daily attendance was 5,246, (males, 2,730; females, 2,516.)

THE COLORED SCHOOLS OF CINCINNATI.

The first schools exclusively for colored persons were established in the year 1820, and by colored men. One of these schools was located in what was known as "Glenn's old pork house," on Hopple's alley, near Sycamore street. This school did not last long. Another was established, in the same year, by a colored man named Schooley. It was kept somewhere in the neighborhood of Sixth street and Broadway, which vicinity was then called "The Green," which has long since disappeared. Mr. Wiug, who kept a private school near

the corner of Vine and Sixth streets, admitted colored students to his night school. During the period of time extending from 1820 to 1835 no school was regularly kept, teachers being few and patronage slack. Owen T. B. Nickens, a colored man, who still teaches at New Richmond, Ohio, was one of the prominent educators of that period.

About 1835 came the beginning of the anti-slavery discussion among the people of Cincinnati. A number of young men and women, filled with a hatred to slavery and a desire to labor for a down-trodden race, came to Cincinnati and established several schools. One in the colored Baptist church, on Western row, was taught at various times by Messrs. Barbour, E. Fairchild, W. Robinson, and Augustus Wattles. Of the ladies, there were the Misses Bishop, Matthews, Lowe, and Mrs. Merrell. They were all excellent teachers, and deeply imbued with a desire to do good, and are remembered with gratitude by those who received instruction at their hands.

They were, of course, subjected to much contumely. Boarding-house keepers refused to entertain them, placing their trunks upon the sidewalks and telling them that they "had no accommodations for nigger teachers." They were obliged to club together, rent a house, and board themselves. Frequently the schools were closed because of mob violence.

A part of the salary of these teachers was paid by an educational society, consisting of benevolent whites (many of whom have lived to witness the triumph of principles which they espoused amid so much obloquy) and the better class of colored people. Among the colored men who co-operated heartily in the work, may be named Baker Jones, Joseph Fowler, John Woodson, Dennis Hill, John Liverpool, and William O. Hara.

These schools continued with varying fortunes until 1844, when Rev. Hiram S. Gilmore, a young man of good fortune, fine talents, and rare benevolence, established the "Cincinnati high school," which was, in some respects, the best school ever established in Cincinnati for the benefit of the colored people. Its proprietor, or patron rather, spared no expense to make it a success. Ground was purchased at the east end of Harrison street and a commodious building of five large rooms and a chapel was fitted up. In the yard, an unusual thing at that time in any Cincinnati school, was fitted a fine gymnasium. Good teachers were employed to give instruction in the branches usual to a full English course of study, besides which, Latin, Greek, drawing, and music were taught.

The number of pupils at times rose to 300; but the receipts never equalled the expenses.

Some of the pupils displayed such proficiency in singing, declamations, and the like, that regularly, every vacation, classes of them, in charge of the principal, journeyed through the States of Ohio and New York giving concerts. The profits realized by these expeditions were devoted to clothing and furnishing books to the poorer pupils of the school. In some cases the time of such poor pupils as gave sign of ability was hired from their parents. Never did a nobler soul exist than that which animated the breast of Hiram S. Gilmore! The teachers of this school were: Mr. Joseph H. Moore, Thomas L. Boucher, David P. Lowe, lately police judge of our city, and finally Dr. A. L. Childs; the musical proficiencies of the pupils was due to their thorough training by W. F. Colburn, their instructor in music. In 1848 the school passed into the hands of Dr. A. L. Childs, who was its principal at the time of its discontinuance.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR COLORED CHILDREN.

The law authorizing the establishment of schools for colored children at the public expense was passed in 1849. An attempt to organize schools under the law was made in 1850. Trustees were elected, teachers employed, and houses hired, but the money to pay for all this was not forthcoming from the city treasury. The law orders that so much of all the funds belonging to the city of Cincinnati as would fall to the colored youth, by a *per capita* division, should be held subject to the order of the colored trustees. The city declared that the colored trustees, not being electors, were not and could not be qualified as office-holders under the constitution of the State of Ohio, hence they could draw no money from the city treasury. They refused, therefore, to honor the drafts of the school board. The schools were closed after continuing three months, the teachers going unpaid. The colored school board, inspired by the appeals and counsels of the late John I. Gaines, called a meeting of

the colored people, and laid the case before them. It was resolved to raise money and employ counsel to contest this decision of the city officials. The legal proceeding was in the nature of an application for *mandamus*. The case was placed in the hands of Flamen Ball, esq. The colored people were victors, though not till the case had been carried to the supreme court by the contestants.

In 1851 the schools were again opened, but the accommodations were wretched. The amount falling to the colored schools was small. Good houses were needed, but eminent legal gentlemen declared there was no authority anywhere to build school-houses for colored children. The school board was proceeding cautiously in the matter, when, suddenly, by a change in the law, they were thrown out of power. The control of the colored schools was vested in the board of trustees and visitors which had control of the public schools for white children. This board was authorized by the new law to appoint six colored men, to whom the task of managing the schools was intrusted, except in the matter of controlling the funds. The leading colored men held aloof from this arrangement, feeling that if colored men were competent to manage the schools in one particular they were in all, and if colored men could manage the schools, colored men could select the managers as well or better than white men could.

The law was again altered in 1856, giving to the colored people the right of electing their own trustees. Thus it stands to-day.

The first school-house was erected and occupied in 1858. It was built by Nicholas Longworth and leased to the colored people, with privilege of purchasing in 14 years. It has been paid for several years ago. It cost \$14,000. In 1859 the building on Court street, for the western district, was erected. Since then three other buildings, two of them small, have been completed. The total value of all the property used by the colored schools is about \$50,000. The rooms will accommodate about 700 pupils. The title to this, as with other school property, is vested in the city of Cincinnati.

The schools are classified as primary, intermediate, and high school. Seventeen teachers are employed, all of whom are colored and former pupils, except two, who are Germans, and are employed, one in teaching the German language, the other in teaching music. The salaries paid are not so high as are paid in the other public schools of the city. The receipts for the year ending June 30, 1869, were about \$24,000. The number of pupils enrolled in all departments was 1,006; average belonging, 522; average attendance, 475.

WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY.

The earliest collegiate institution in the United States, founded and owned by colored men, is Wilberforce University, which originated in 1863, during the heat of the great rebellion. Although designed for the special training of colored youth, it is prohibited by its charter from making any distinctions on account of race or color, among its trustees, its instructors, or its students. The present faculty consists of five persons, three of whom are colored and two white. It is located three and a half miles east of Xenia, in Greene county, Ohio, and is under the management of members of the African Methodist Episcopal church.

The first establishment of Wilberforce University, however, is due to another body of Christians. In 1853 some of the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal church saw and felt the necessity of a more liberal and concentrated effort to improve the condition of the colored people in Ohio and other States, and to furnish the facilities of education to them. Deeming that colored men must be, for the most part, the educators and elevators of their own race in this and other lands, they conceived the idea of an institution wherein many of that class should be thoroughly trained for professional teaching, or for any other pursuit in life. At the session of the Cincinnati conference, in 1855, this movement culminated in the appointment of the Rev. John F. Wright as general agent to take the incipient steps for establishing such a college. This gentleman, with others, entered into negotiations for the purchase of the Xenia Springs property, which had been previously fitted up as a fashionable watering place, at a cost of some \$50,000. This property consisted of 52 acres of land, in a beautiful and healthy region, upon which there had been erected a large edifice with numerous rooms, well adapted to the purposes of a collegiate institution. Besides this

principal building, there was a number of cottages upon the place well suited to the use of private families. Mr. Wright and his associates were fortunate enough to find about half a dozen wealthy and philanthropic gentlemen to second them in their efforts, and in May, 1856, the purchase was concluded for \$13,500. In the following August application was duly made for incorporation under the general law of the State of Ohio, and every legal requisition having been complied with, the institution was organized and constituted a body corporate under the name of the Wilberforce University. It was kept in successful operation from October, 1856, until June, 1862, at which time, as it was supported mainly by southern slaveholders who sent their children there to be educated, the war cut off the greater portion of its patronage and compelled a suspension of its operations. The institution was then laboring under an indebtedness of \$10,000; and for this sum the trustees offered to sell out all their right, title, and interest to the African Methodist Episcopal church, whose co-operation in this enterprise had been requested and declined as early as 1856. This offer was accepted; thus the *present* Wilberforce University came into being. The credit for this result is largely due to the Rt. Rev. Daniel A. Payne, one of the bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal church, who had favored co-operation with the white Methodists, and who has ever since been an untiring worker in behalf of this educational enterprise.

In the course of the two following years the new proprietors reduced their indebtedness to \$3,000, having received aid from their white friends only to the extent of \$260. The gratifying success attendant thus far upon the establishment of this unique institution was destined to encounter quite a serious check. On the 14th day of April, 1865—a day sadly memorable in the annals of our country as that of President Lincoln's assassination—the college edifice fell a prey to incendiarism; but the ardor of the friends of Wilberforce was quickened instead of being diminished by this misfortune. The amount of insurance upon the burnt building (\$8,000) enabled them to discharge the obligations existing against them, and to reserve \$5,000 as a fund for rebuilding. With this amount at their command, they confidently laid the foundation of a new structure 160 feet in length by 44 feet in width, at an anticipated cost of \$35,000, and made appeal to their friends to aid them in their endeavors. Their call for assistance has been quite favorably responded to both by members of their own denomination and other parties; among the latter of whom may be mentioned the executors of the Avery estate, and the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West. They are now enabled to show as the result of their persevering energy a handsome building, sufficiently advanced towards completion to accommodate their students, about 80 in number, equally divided between the two sexes. The prospects are quite flattering, too, for the endowment of their requisite number of professorships, and for making additions to their scientific apparatus and to their library, now already numbering about 2,500 volumes.

Wilberforce is designed to be a university complete in all the ordinary faculties. Those of literature, medicine, and theology have already been established, and additional ones in the department of science and law are contemplated. The several courses of instruction are full and thorough; and two features included in them are deserving of especial mention as showing the laudable spirit of its board of trustees. These are, first, that, in view of anticipated missionary effort in Hayti, particular attention is paid to the study of French; and, second, that, with the design of training teachers for labor among the freedmen, a normal day and Sunday school has been instituted.

The corps of instruction now employed at Wilberforce University is as follows, viz: Rt. Rev. Daniel A. Payne, D. D., President and Professor of Christian Theology, Mental Science, and Church Government; John G. Mitchell, A. M., Professor of Greek and Mathematics; Rev. William Kent, M. D., Professor of Natural Sciences; Theodore E. Sulist, A. M., Professor of English, Latin, and French Literature, and Associate Professor of Mathematics.

Medical Department.—William Kent, M. D., Professor of Practical and Analytical Chemistry; ——— Williams, M. D.; J. P. Marvin, M. D.; Alexander T. Augusta, M. D.

OBERLIN COLLEGE.

In any account of the higher education of colored youth in this country, Oberlin College must not be omitted. That institution, established in 1833, opened its doors to deserving applicants without distinction of sex, race, or color, and as early as 1836 had several colored students. The first colored graduate of the college was George B. Vashon, subsequently professor of languages in Avery College, at Pittsburg. The whole number of colored graduates is 20, three of whom are females. The whole number of colored graduates in the teachers' course is 16; in the theological department, 1. Before the war the ratio of colored students to the whole number was five per cent. for a period of nearly 20 years; since the war it has amounted to nearly eight per cent., making an average of nearly 50 colored students during the last 25 years.

PENNSYLVANIA.

By the census of 1860 there were returned, out of a population of 2,906,115, in Pennsylvania, 56,849 free blacks. By the constitution of the State the right of suffrage is restricted to whites; but by the school law the privileges of a public school education are extended to all children, whether white or black; and, by an act passed in 1854, the school directors of the several districts are authorized and required "to establish, within their respective districts, separate schools for the tuition of negro and mulatto children, whenever such schools can be so located as to accommodate 20 or more pupils; and whenever such separate schools shall be established and kept open four months in any year, the directors or controllers shall not be compelled to admit such pupils into any other schools of the district: *Provided*, That in cities and boroughs the board of controllers shall provide for such schools out of the general funds assessed and collected by uniform taxation for educational purposes."

To the members of the Society of Friends, in Philadelphia, and to associations originating under the auspices of that religious body, are the blacks of this country indebted for the earliest permanent and best developed schools for their children.

SCHOOLS FOR BLACK PEOPLE BY ANTHONY BENEZET.

Rev. George Whitefield—who visited America in 1739, partly to found an orphan house after the model of that of Franké, at Halle, purchased in 1740 a tract of land of about 5,000 acres in Upper Nazareth township; but in view of making a location further south, (in Georgia,) transferred his title to the Moravian brethren in 1843—contemplated, it is said, the establishment of a school for negro children, but accomplished nothing.*

The earliest school of any kind for the education of the children of negroes, in Philadelphia, so far as we can ascertain, was established as an evening school, by Anthony Benezet, about the year 1750, and taught by him gratuitously. This remarkable man, who was the first on this continent to plead the cause of the oppressed African race, and whose publications were instrumental in enlisting the energies of Clarkson and others in the abolition of the slave trade, was born at St. Quentin, France, December 31, 1713, (old style.) His parents were among the most noted and wealthy persons of the place, but, on becoming Pro-

* It is stated in Sypher's "School History of Pennsylvania" that Rev. George Whitefield commenced the erection of a school-house for colored children at Nazareth. We do not have at hand the authorities to confirm or refute this statement; but we find in Anderson's "Colonial Church" that Whitefield, on the occasion of his visit to Georgia, in 1740, censured Oglethorpe and others, who had got introduced into the charter a clause prohibiting the importation of negro slaves into the colony of Georgia. "To prohibit people from holding lands, except under the conditions which those laws prescribed, or to require them to carry on the work of cultivation in a hot climate without negro labor, was little better, he said, than to tie their legs and bid them walk. He maintained that to keep slaves was lawful; else how was the Scripture to be explained which spoke of slaves being born in Abraham's house, or purchased with his money? He denied not that liberty was sweet to those who were born free; but argued that, to those who had never known any other condition, slavery might not be so irksome. The introduction, also, of slaves into Georgia, would bring them, he believed, within the reach of those means of grace which would make them partakers of a liberty far more precious than any which affected the body only; and, upon such grounds, he hesitated not to exert himself to obtain a repeal of that part of the charter which forbade the importation of slaves."

testants, their estate was confiscated, and they withdrew from their native country and took refuge in Holland. From thence the family removed to London, and the father having engaged in commercial pursuits there, he recovered, to some extent, his lost fortune.

In 1731 the family removed to Philadelphia, where they were permanently established; and in 1736 Anthony married Joyce Marriott, of Wilmington, Delaware, with whom he lived 50 years "in love and peace." Declining to engage in commerce, from motives of a religious nature, he turned his attention to mechanical pursuits, which proving unfavorable to his health, at the age of 26 he engaged as a teacher at Germantown, in the vicinity of Philadelphia.

In 1742 he became usher in the public school formed under a charter from William Penn, in which school he continued 12 years. In 1755 he opened a school for the instruction of girls, which was attended for 30 years by the daughters of the most affluent and respectable inhabitants of the city. His methods of instruction and of discipline were far in advance of those of the teachers of that period, by which he attached his pupils to himself for his gentleness and regard for their happiness; among other privileges granting them a room as a place of amusement during the intervals of study. His views of education are expressed in the following paragraphs:

"With respect to the education of our youth, I would propose, as the fruit of 40 years' experience, that when they are proficients in the use of their pen, and become sufficiently acquainted with the English grammar and the useful parts of arithmetic, they should be taught mensuration of superficies and solids, as it helps the mind in many necessary matters, particularly the use of the scale and the compass, and will open the way for those parts of the mathematics which their peculiar situations may afterwards make necessary. It would also be profitable for every scholar, of both sexes, to go through and understand a short but very plain set of merchant's accounts in single entry, particularly adapted to the civil uses of life. And in order to perfect their education in a useful and agreeable way, both to themselves and others, I would propose to give them a general knowledge of the mechanical powers, geography, and the elements of astronomy; the use of the microscope might also be profitably added, in discovering the minute parts of creation; this, with the knowledge of the magnitude and courses of those mighty bodies which surround us, would tend to exalt their ideas.

"Such parts of history as may tend to give them a right idea of the corruption of the human heart, the dreadful nature and effects of war, the advantage of virtue, &c., are also necessary parts of an education founded upon Christian and reasonable principles. These several instructions should be inculcated on a religious plan, in such a way as may prove a delightful rather than a painful labor, both to teachers and pupils. It might also be profitable to give lads of bright genius some plain lectures upon anatomy, the wondrous frame of man, deducing therefrom the advantage of a simple way of life, enforcing upon their understanding the kind efforts of nature to maintain the human frame in a state of health, with little medical help but what abstinence and exercise will afford. These necessary parts of knowledge, so useful in directing the youthful mind in the path of virtue and wisdom, might be proposed by way of lectures, which the pupil should write down, and when corrected should be copied in a neat bound book, to be kept for future perusal."

While teaching this school for girls he prepared and published two of the earliest school-books printed in this country; one a spelling-book and primer, and a grammar. The sentiments expressed in these books were such as grew out of his efforts to promote the education of youth on the basis of a true estimate of human life, "whence obedience and love to God, benignity to man, and a tender regard for the whole creation would necessarily flow;" and also from his desire to give to youth "as easy and compendious a knowledge of their own language, and such other useful parts of learning, as their respective situations may make necessary to answer all the good purposes of life."

In the year 1750 he became interested in the iniquity of the slave trade, and from this time he devoted himself strenuously to the amelioration of the condition of the black people till the end of his life. In this direction he took special interest in the education of their youth, establishing for them, as has been stated, the first evening school, which he taught himself gratuitously; and he subsequently engaged in soliciting funds for the erection of a building for a day school for their instruction. From the experience derived from his own school, and from his intercourse with the blacks, he formed and expressed a more favorable opinion of their dispositions and mental capacities than had been previously generally entertained. On these points he says: "I can with truth and sincerity declare that I have found among the negroes as great variety of talents as among a like number of whites, and I am bold to assert that the notion entertained by some, that the blacks are inferior in their capacities, is

a vulgar prejudice, founded on the pride or ignorance of their lordly masters, who have kept their slaves at such a distance as to be unable to form a right judgment of them."

When the education of colored youth was taken up by the Society of Friends, Benezet volunteered to assist the teacher; and on several occasions, when there was a failure to procure a teacher, he himself continued the school. Without dwelling further on the labors of Benezet to promote the abolition of slavery in his own State, and to ameliorate the condition of the colored people everywhere, the following extract from his will exhibits his desire to continue his work in their behalf after his death:

"I give my above said house and lot, or ground rent proceeding from it, and the rest and residue of my estate which shall remain undisposed of after my wife's decease, both real and personal, to the Public School of Philadelphia, founded by charter, and to their successors forever, in trust, that they shall sell my house and lot on perpetual ground rent forever, if the same be not already sold by my executors, as before mentioned, and that as speedily as may be they receive and take as much of my personal estate as may be remaining, and therewith purchase a yearly ground rent, or ground rents, and with the income of such ground rent proceeding from the sale of my real estate hire, and employ a religious-minded person, or persons, to teach a number of negro, mulatto, or Indian children to read, write, arithmetic, plain accounts, needle-work, &c. And it is my particular desire, founded on the experience I have had in that service, that, in the choice of such tutors, special care may be had to prefer an industrious, careful person, of true piety, who may be or become suitably qualified, who would undertake the service from a principle of charity, to one more highly learned, not equally disposed; this I desire may be carefully attended to, sensible that from the number of pupils of all ages, the irregularity of attendance their situation subjects them to, will not admit of that particular inspection in their improvement usual in other schools, but that the real well-doing of the scholars will very much depend upon the master making a special conscience of doing his duty; and shall likewise defray such other necessary expense as may occur in that service; and as the said remaining income of my estate, after my wife's decease, will not be sufficient to defray the whole expense necessary for the support of such a school, it is my request that the overseers of the said Public School shall join in the care and expense of such a school, or schools, for the education of negro, mulatto, or Indian children, with any committee which may be appointed by the monthly meetings of Friends in Philadelphia, or with any other body of benevolent persons who may join in raising money and employing it for the education and care of such children; my desire being that, as such a school is now set up, it may be forever maintained in this city."

Benezet died on the 3d of May, 1784, and his funeral was attended by the widows and orphans and the poor of all descriptions, including many hundreds of blacks, all of whom 'mourned for the loss of their best friend.'

SCHOOLS FOR BLACK PEOPLE BY THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

To the Society of Friends in particular is the African slave in America indebted for the earliest efforts for his enlightenment and for the most persistent struggles for his emancipation and the abolition of the slave trade. George Fox, from the time of landing in 1672, on the banks of the Patuxent, in Maryland, never failed to impress upon those who controlled the negro the importance of raising him above the brute. In an epistle to Friends in America, written in 1679, he says: "You must instruct and teach your Indians and negroes, and all others, how that Christ, by the grace of God, tasted death for every man." The journals of the Quaker preachers who succeeded him show they were animated by the same spirit. One of their number, a man of fine classical education, and educated as a lawyer, says: "The morning that we came from Thomas Simons's my companion, speaking some words of truth to his negro woman, she was tendered, and as I passed on horseback by the place where she stood weeping I gave her my hand, and then she was much more broken. * * She stood there, looking after us and weeping as long as we could see her. I inquired of one of the black men here how long they had come to meetings. He says they had always been kept in ignorance and disregarded, as persons who were not to expect anything from the Lord, till Jonathon Taylor, who had been there the year before discoursing with them, had informed them that the grace of God, through Christ, was given also to them." On the 25th of the second month, at Pocason, not far from Yorktown, Virginia, he was "entertained in much friendship and tender respect by Thomas Nichols and his wife, but by her especially, who, though a mulatto by extraction, was not too tawny for the divine light of the Lord Jesus Christ."

On the 26th of January, 1770, through the influence of Anthony Benezet, a committee was appointed at a monthly meeting of Friends, in Philadelphia, "to consider on the instruction of negro and mulatto children in reading, writing, and other useful learning suitable to their capacity and circumstances;" and, on the 30th of May of the same year, they decided to authorize a special committee of seven Friends to employ a schoolmistress of prudent and exemplary conduct "to teach, not more at one time than 30 children, in the first rudiments of school learning and in sewing and knitting." The school was to be opened to white children if a sufficient number of children of negroes and mulattoes did not apply for admission. In June a male teacher was employed—Moles Patterson—who had a salary of £80 a year and an additional sum of £11 for one-half of the rent of his dwelling-house. While instruction was gratuitous to the poor, those who were able were requested to pay, "at the rate of 10s. a quarter for those who write and 7s. 6d. for others."

The scholars having been found on examination to have made good progress, the monthly meeting authorized the construction of a school-house for the express uses of the school. On the resignation of Patterson, David Estaugh was employed as the teacher, "he having spent some time to improve himself under our friend Anthony Benezet, who, having frequently met with us and assisted us in the trust committed to us, now kindly offered to attend daily and give his assistance to David in the school."

With reference to the capacity of the children gathered in this school, the testimony of those who examined it was that it was equal to that of other children. Jacob Lebré succeeded David Estaugh in 1774, the latter having resigned, "finding the employment too heavy." In 1775 the committee agreed to admit 10 or 12 white children, because there was a probability that the school would otherwise be small in the winter season, and in April 40 colored and six white children were in the school. No record of the transactions of the committee from the early part of 1777 to 1782, because, as is stated, "a part of this period was remarkable for commotion, contending armies taking, evacuating, and repossessing this city, and schools kept within the compass thereof were generally for a time suspended." John Houghton was the teacher at the latter period, and continued in that service five years, when he resigned on account of failing health, and his place was filled by Anthony Benezet, with "the entire approbation of the committee," until his death, in May, 1784. Just before his death he addressed the following to the "overseers of the school for the instruction of the black people:"

"My friend Joseph Clark having frequently observed to me his desire, in case of my inability of continuing the care of the negro school, of succeeding me in that service, notwithstanding he now has a more advantageous school, by the desire of doing good to the black people makes him overlook these pecuniary advantages, I much wish the overseers of the school would take his desires under their peculiar notice and give him such due encouragement as may be proper, it being a matter of the greatest consequence to that school that the master be a person who makes it a principle to do his duty."

The overseers decided that "the strongest proof of their love and good-will to their departed friend, they think, will be to pay regard to the advice and recommendation contained in the said letter."

In 1784 William Waring was placed in charge of the larger children, at a salary of £100, and Sarah Dougherty of the younger children and girls, in teaching spelling, reading, sewing, &c., at a salary of £50. In 1787 aid was received from David Barclay, of London, in behalf of a committee for managing a donation for the relief of Friends in America; and the sum of £500 was thus obtained, which, with the fund derived from the estate of Benezet, and £300 from Thomas Shirley, a colored man, was appropriated to the erection of a school-house. In 1819 a committee of "women Friends," to have exclusive charge of the admission of girls and the general superintendence of the girls' school, was associated with the overseers in the charge of the school. In 1830, in order to relieve the day school of some of the male adults who had been in the habit of attending, an evening school for the purpose of instructing such persons gratuitously was opened, and has been continued to the present time. In 1844 a lot was secured on Locust street, extending along Shield's alley, now Aurora street, on which a new house was erected in 1847, the expense of which was paid for in part from the proceeds of the sale of a lot bequeathed by John Pemberton. Additional

accommodations were made to this building, from time to time, as room was demanded by new classes of pupils.

From a report published by direction of the committee of the "schools for black people and their descendants," it appears that up to the year 1867, covering a period of over 96 years, about 8,000 pupils had been instructed in these schools. In 1866 there were upwards of 4,000 colored children in the city of Philadelphia of the proper school age, of whom 1,300 were in the public schools, 800 in seminaries supported by charitable bequests and voluntary subscriptions, and 200 in private schools.

In 1849 a statistical return of the condition of the people of color in the city and districts of Philadelphia shows that there was then one grammar school, with 463 pupils; two public primary schools, with 339; and an infant school, under the charge of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, of 70 pupils, in Clifton street; a ragged and a moral reform school with 81 pupils. In West Philadelphia there was also a public school, with 67 pupils; and, in all, there were about 20 private schools, with 300 pupils; making an aggregate of more than 1,300 children receiving an education.

In 1859, according to Bacon's "Statistics of the Colored People of Philadelphia," there were 1,031 colored children in public schools, 748 in charity schools of various kinds, 211 in benevolent and reformatory schools, and 331 in private schools, making an aggregate of 2,321 pupils, besides four evening schools, one for adult males, one for females, and one for young apprentices. There were 19 Sunday schools connected with the congregations of the colored people, and conducted by their own teachers, containing 1,667 pupils, and four Sunday schools gathered as mission schools by members of white congregations, with 215 pupils. There was also a "Public Library and Reading Room" connected with the "Institute for Colored Youth," established in 1853, having about 1,300 volumes, besides three other small libraries in different parts of the city. The same pamphlet shows that there were 1,700 of the colored population engaged in different trades and occupations, representing every department of industry.

CHARITY, BENEVOLENT, AND REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.

In 1822 an "Orphan's Shelter" was established by an association of women "Friends;" in 1850 a "House of Refuge" for children found guilty of offenses against the law; in 1855 a "Home for Colored Children;" and in 1852 a high school or "Institute for Colored Youth." In 1858 the Sheppard school was established at the House of Industry.

In a historical memoir of this society, published in 1848, it is stated that "the condition of the colored population of the city and adjoining districts, although far in advance of what it was at the organization of this society, is also a subject which still occupies its close attention. The schools already instituted for the education of colored children have largely contributed to benefit the people as a class, and will demand the vigilant attention of the society, under whose fostering care it is hoped much may be effected towards the elevation of the colored youth of our city. It would not be difficult to point to many families amongst them whose intelligence and moral standing in the community is justly referable to the early training they received in these schools, and it has afforded encouragement to many members of this society to hear the acknowledgment of many respectable individuals, that to these schools they were, under the divine blessing, mainly indebted for their success in life. Hence, also, has arisen that thirst for knowledge amongst the colored population which has led to the formation of societies for promoting the exercise of their intellectual faculties, and for the pursuit of literary and scientific subjects."

The teachers of the Institute for Colored Youth, and of all the private schools, are of their own complexion; the others are generally white. No register is kept in any school denoting standard of scholarship, nor is there any system of rewards for exciting emulation.

One of the results of the education of this class of the population has been to elevate their self-respect and to promote habits of thrift and economy, as well as to break up the habit of congregating in so large numbers in the narrow and crowded streets of the city, and to create a desire to possess houses and gardens in the suburbs. As they have become educated they have risen more and more from the condition of mere day laborers into that of skillful and

industrious artisans and tradesmen, until in 1867 it was found, as a result of statistical inquiry, that they were engaged in more than 130 distinct occupations, having a fair representation in all the principal mechanical industries of the city.

From an inquiry instituted in 1837 it was ascertained that, out of the 18,763 colored people in Philadelphia, 250 had paid for their freedom the aggregate sum of \$70,612, and that the real and personal property owned by them was near \$1,500,000. There were returns of several chartered benevolent societies for the purpose of affording mutual aid in sickness and distress, and there were 16 houses of public worship, with over 4,000 communicants.

SCHOOLS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ABOLITION SOCIETY.

The Pennsylvania Abolition Society established a school for children of the blacks, in 1794, taught by a well-qualified black teacher. In 1809 they erected for the use of the school a house at a cost of \$4,000, to which, in 1815, they gave the name of "Clarkson Hall." In 1813 a board of education was organized, consisting of 13 persons, with a visiting committee of three, who were to visit the school once each week. In 1818 the board of education, in their report, speak in the highest terms of the beneficial effect of the Clarkson schools, which they say "furnish a decided refutation of the charge that the mental endowments of the descendants of Africa are inferior to those possessed by their white brethren. We can assert, without fear of contradiction, that the pupils of this seminary will sustain a fair comparison with those of any other institution in which the same elementary branches are taught."

PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR COLORED CHILDREN.

In 1820 this society applied to the comptrollers of the public schools to obtain for the children of colored parents a share of the school education to which they were entitled by the law of Pennsylvania providing for the schooling of all the poor children of the commonwealth at the public expense. In 1822 the comptrollers, admitting that the benefits of the law should be extended to the colored as well as to poor white children, opened a school in Lombard street for the education of the children of both sexes of indigent persons of color; and in 1841 a primary school was opened in the same building. In 1833 the "Unclassified school" in Coates street, and from time to time afterwards several additional schools of the same class in West Philadelphia were established. These schools are maintained in the same way as the public schools generally.

INSTITUTE FOR COLORED YOUTH.

By the will of Richard Humphreys, a member of the Society of Friends, who died in 1832, the sum of \$10,000 was devised to certain trustees, to be paid over by them to such benevolent society or institution as might be established for the purpose of instructing "descendants of the African race in school learning in the various branches of the mechanic arts and trade, and in agriculture." At this time the idea of giving instruction to the colored race was very unpopular, even in Philadelphia, and no society was formed to carry out the design of Mr. Humphreys until five years afterwards. Thirty members of the Society of Friends then formed themselves into an association, and took measures to establish an institution in accordance with the design of the legacy. In the preamble to the constitution adopted by them they say:

"We believe that the most successful method of elevating the moral and intellectual character of the descendants of Africa, as well as of improving their social condition, is to extend to them the benefits of a good education, and to instruct them in the knowledge of some useful trade or business, whereby they may be enabled to obtain a comfortable livelihood by their own industry; and through these means to prepare them for fulfilling the various duties of domestic and social life with reputation and fidelity, as good citizens and pious men."

To enable the youth to receive instruction in "mechanic arts and agriculture," the association, in 1839, purchased a piece of land in Bristol township, Philadelphia county, and educated a number of boys in farming, and to some extent in shoe-making and other useful

occupations. In 1842 the institute was incorporated; and in 1844 there was an addition to its treasury of \$18,000 from the estate of another member of the Society of Friends, Jonathan Zane, and several other small legacies. After the experiment of the combined literary, agricultural, and manual labor school for a time, in consequence of certain unfavorable circumstances, it was finally concluded, though with much regret, in 1846, to suspend the experiment for a time; and the farm and stock were sold, the only endeavor of the managers to carry out the objects of their trust, during the next six years, being by apprenticing colored lads to mechanical occupations, and maintaining an evening school for literary education.

In 1850 a day school was contemplated, but not established for the want of a proper building until 1851, when a lot was secured in Lombard street and a building erected, in which a school was opened in the autumn of 1852 for boys only, under the care of Charles L. Reason, of New York; but in the same year the girls' school was opened, the pupils being selected from those of a standing above that of the ordinary schools.

These schools proved successful, giving a good English and classical education to many active youth, thus fulfilling the design of Mr. Humphreys in qualifying many useful teachers, of both sexes, who are now scattered over the country engaged in elevating the character of the colored people. The growing want of the school for increased accommodations was met in part, in 1863, by the appropriation of \$5,000 to a building fund, from the estate of Josiah Dawson, who had been a member of the corporation. Soon after two other donations of \$5,000 each were made by Friends, provided \$30,000 could be raised by the board to complete the building fund. This step was immediately taken and resulted successfully.

The institute under the charge of Professor E. D. Bassett, (recently appointed United States commissioner and consul general to Hayti and San Domingo,) a graduate of the State Normal School at New Britain, Connecticut, would compare favorably with any institution of the same class and grade in the city. According to the last published catalogue there were on the rolls of all the departments of the institute 223. In the boys' high school there were 52; in the girls', 100; in the boys' preparatory school, 35; and in the girls', 36; total, 223. The library of the institute contains about 2,500 volumes. The total number of graduates of the institute is 48, of whom 44 are now living. Of these, 32 are engaged in teaching.

AVERY COLLEGE, ALLEGHENY CITY.

We are indebted to Professor Vashon, who was for a time connected with this college as professor, for the following notice of this institution, and of its founder and benefactor, Rev. Charles Avery:

Immediately after entering the main gateway of Allegheny cemetery, in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, the eye of the visitor is arrested by a piece of sculpture which, representing a man erect upon an elevated pedestal, and attired in the costume of the present day, is indisputably the most noted of all the artistic adornments of that resting place of the dead. This lifelike statue recalls, in its finished details, the well-known personal appearance of the one whom it is designed to commemorate, the late Rev. Charles Avery, a native of the State of New York, but during the greater part of a long and honored life a resident of western Pennsylvania. Starting in life without any of the aids of fortune, he became, through efforts always characterized by the greatest probity, the possessor of ample wealth; and never, perhaps, was wealth more worthily bestowed; for, in his hands, it was but the means of doing good. His private charities were cheerfully and lavishly dispensed; and, among his public ones, may be mentioned the building of at least two neat and commodious churches for the Protestant Methodist connection, in which he was a local preacher. At his death, too, which occurred in January, 1858, his estate passed, by his last will, into the hands of his executors, who were enjoined, after satisfying various testamentary provisions in favor of his widow and other surviving relations, to devote the residue of his estate, amounting to \$300,000, to educating and christianizing persons of the African race. One-half of this residue was directed to be employed in behalf of that class upon the continent of Africa, and the other half for the benefit of such as were in this country. It is understood that, as to the first half, the executors made choice of the American Missionary Society as the instru-

mentality for its employment : and that they themselves have, in the execution of their trust as to the second, made large donations to Oberlin College, Lincoln, and Wilberforce Universities, and other institutions that are earnestly laboring for the educational advancement of our colored population.

But the statue before mentioned is not the proudest monument to the memory of the Rev. Charles Avery. That monument is to be found in Avery College, an institution which is located in Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, and of which he was the sole generous benefactor. Having obtained an act of incorporation for it from the legislature of Pennsylvania, in 1849, he donated to the trustees named in its charter a portion of land upon North street, extending from Avery to Liberty street, and running back over 100 feet. Upon this land he had caused to be erected a handsome, substantial, and well-finished brick edifice, admirably suited to the purposes for which it was intended. The amplitude of this edifice may be inferred from the following brief description of it :

Its ground floor is divided off into a lecture room and two recitation rooms ; and its second story into four rooms, two of which are fitted up for school purposes, a third set apart for the use of literary societies, while the remaining one, elegantly carpeted and furnished, is arranged as a library and apparatus room. There is still a third story, loftily ceiled, which is appropriated to the use and occupancy of a congregation belonging to the African Methodist Episcopal Zion connection, and which is known as the Avery Mission church. The entire structure is surmounted by a gracefully proportioned cupola with its clock and bell.

Mr. Avery donated to this offspring of his generosity a complete set of apparatus needful to illustrate all the various branches of natural science, physics, chemistry and astronomy.

Mr. Avery generously met the wants of the new institution by directing the selection and purchase of about 700 volumes, comprising books of reference, scientific treatises, histories, travels, and works of general literature by standard British and American authors. The selection was judiciously made ; and thus a small but excellent library was established for the benefit, not only of the college students, but also of any of the colored people of Pittsburg and Allegheny cities. This library was increased by the addition of about 300 volumes more at the death of the donor's widow, in 1865. Besides this library, Mr. Avery also donated a collection of about 300 volumes of such text-books as are used in the institution. This latter collection is known as the Avery College Beneficent Library, and is open to the use of students upon the payment of a small fee per term.

For the support of this institution the lamented founder provided an endowment of about \$25,000, which has thus far, through safe and profitable investment, sufficed for that end. The board of trustees charged with its control consists of nine members, of whom three are white and the rest colored. The following gentlemen constitute this board at present, viz : Dr. C. G. Hussey, president ; Rev. John Peck, vice-president ; Alexander Gordon, treasurer ; Samuel A. Neale, secretary ; P. L. Jackson, E. R. Parker, Barclay Preston, Matthew Jones, and A. I. Billows.

Avery College was first opened for the admission of students in April, 1850, with the Rev. Philotas Dean, A. M., and M. H. Freeman, A. M., as senior and junior professors. Upon the retirement of Professor Dean, in 1856, Professor Freeman became the principal, and continued to act in that capacity until the latter part of 1863, when he was succeeded by George B. Vashon, A. M. Both of these gentlemen had as an assistant Miss Emma J. Woodson, a graduate of the institution. After the resignation of Professor Vashon, in July, 1867, the operations of Avery College were suspended until April, 1868, when its corps of instructors was reorganized as follows, viz :

Rev. H. H. Garnett, D. D., president and professor of history, rhetoric, logic, mental and moral philosophy, and political economy ; B. K. Sampson, A. M., professor of mathematics, natural sciences, and languages ; Miss Harriet C. Johnson, principal of the preparatory and ladies' departments ; and Miss Clara G. Toop, teacher of vocal and instrumental music. All of these ladies and gentlemen, with the exception of Professor Dean, are colored persons.

In its religious aspect Avery College is free from any sectarian organization ; but its charter provides that all its officers shall be professors of Christianity. Its discipline is strict, yet mild and parental ; and its courses of study, collegiate and academical, which are

the same as are ordinarily adopted by other colleges and academies in our country, are open to worthy persons of color of either sex. The number of its students at present is upwards of 70, of whom the greater portion are females. The tuition fee is put down at the low rate of \$2 per term; the academical year commencing on the 2d Monday in September, and being divided into three terms of 15, 13, and 12 weeks, respectively.

Every College has had a number of graduates from its academical course, but none as yet from its collegiate department. It is, however, fully empowered to confer the usual degrees in the arts and sciences; and there is now reason to hope that, in the course of a year or two, it will be able to reckon several baccalaureates among its alumni.

ASHMUN INSTITUTE—LINCOLN UNIVERSITY.

At a stated meeting of the Presbytery of New Castle, October 5, 1853, after discussion, it was determined that "There shall be established within our bounds, and under our supervision, an institution, to be called the Ashmun Institute, for the scientific, classical, and theological education of colored youth of the male sex."

In pursuance of this determination, J. M. Dickey, A. Hamilton, R. P. Dubois, ministers, and Samuel J. Dickey and John M. Kelton, ruling elders, were appointed a committee to carry out this determination, by collecting funds, selecting a suitable site, and erecting plain and convenient edifices for the purpose; also, to take steps to procure a charter from the State of Pennsylvania. On the 14th of November following this committee agreed to purchase 30 acres of land for \$1,250, appointed a sub-committee to prepare a copy of the charter, and took other measures for carrying out the plan.

At the session of the legislature in 1854 the charter was granted, establishing "at or near a place called Hinsonville, in the county of Chester, an institution of learning for the scientific, classical, and theological education of colored youth of the male sex, by the name and style of the "Ashmun Institute." The trustees of this institute were John M. Dickey, Alfred Hamilton, Robert P. Dubois, James Latta, John B. Spottswood, James M. Crowell, Samuel J. Dickey, John M. Kelton, and William Wilson.

By the provisions of this charter the trustees had power "to procure the endowment of the institute, not exceeding the sum of \$100,000;" "to confer such literary degrees and academic honors as are usually granted by colleges;" and it was required that "the institute shall be open to the admission of colored pupils of the male sex; of all religious denominations, who exhibit a fair moral character, and are willing to yield a ready obedience to the general regulations prescribed for the conduct of the pupils and the government of the institute."

On the 31st of December, 1856, the institute was formally opened and dedicated; and retained the name first given in its charter until the dedication of the new chapel, May 23, 1867, when the name "Lincoln University" was given. In the address of the president of the trustees, on that occasion, he says: "We were compelled, on the day of our first dedication, to go to Africa for a name; we could designate our new institution for the colored man by no name of any one who had labored for his freedom or for the salvation of his soul, but as foreshadowing his removal to Africa as his home. But now we take another name, the name of the martyr whose emancipation proclamation has not only closed the black man's days of bondage, but become the prelude to his full citizenship." "By the name, Lincoln, therefore, we call this chapel and this university, and dedicate both to the Triune God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost."

The board of trustees at present consists of 21 members, chosen by the Presbytery of New Castle. The officers of the board are a president, secretary, and treasurer. The faculty consists of the president, professors, and tutors. The present faculty in the collegiate department consists of Rev. I. N. Randall, president; Rev. Alonzo Westcott, Rev. E. R. Bower, Rev. E. E. Adams, and S. B. Howell, M. D., professors of mathematics, Greek, belles lettres, and natural sciences, respectively; and C. Geddes, M. D., tutor in Greek, and Latin; and Albert D. Minor, tutor in mathematics.

The number of students, as reported by the catalogue of 1868-9, was 114, of whom 14 were in the theological department, 17 in the preparatory class, and 83 in the collegiate depart-

ment. Of the students now in the university, 48 are preparing for the ministry and 41 for teaching. The institution has a small library of about 1,200 volumes; and is dependent upon donations from its friends for additions to it.

Eighty thousand dollars have recently been added to the endowment fund, securely invested, and devoted to the following objects: \$20,000 for the endowment of the presidency, and named the Mary Dickey professorship; \$20,000 contributed by Hon. W. E. Dodge, and named the Dodge professorship of sacred rhetoric; \$20,000 conveyed in invested funds by J. C. Baldwin, esq., of New York city, named the Baldwin professorship of theology; and \$20,000 assigned by the trustees of the Avery estate, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and named the Avery professorship of Lincoln University.

RHODE ISLAND.

Out of a population of 174,620, in 1860, there were 3,952 free colored persons in Rhode Island, and by the census in 1865 these had increased to 4,087. As far back as 1708 the blacks constituted one-fourth of the whole population. Their social position and standing here has at all times been better than in any other portion of the country. During the war of the Revolution the negroes were permitted to enlist in the Rhode Island regiment, and many of them did so and received their freedom. At the close of the war, February 23, 1784, an act was passed providing that all children born after the first of March following of slave mothers should be free. By the first constitution of Rhode Island, which went into operation in May, 1843, the negroes were allowed to vote on the same conditions as the native American white citizens, and since that date they have enjoyed all the facilities for progress which the right of voting could give.

In the year 1823 a separate school was established, on their own petition, in Providence, with one male teacher, although the children were not forbidden to attend any of the public schools in their vicinity. By an act of the legislature in 1864 all separate schools for colored children were abolished.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

South Carolina had, in 1860, a population of 703,703, of whom more than one-half were blacks, viz: 402,406 slaves and 9,914 free, or a total of 412,120. This State took the lead in legislating directly against the education of the colored race; in 1740, while yet a British province, its assembly enacted this law: "Whereas the having of slaves taught to write, or suffering them to be employed in writing, may be attended with inconveniences, *Be it enacted*, That all and every person and persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter teach or cause any slave or slaves to be taught, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe in any manner of writing whatever, hereafter taught to write, every such person or persons shall for every such offense forfeit the sum of £100 current money."

* In 1800 the State assembly passed an act, embracing free colored people as well as slaves in its shameful provisions, enacting "That assemblies of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes, whether composed of all or any such description of persons, or of all or any of the same and a proportion of white persons, met together for the purpose of *mental* instruction in a confined or secret place, or with the gates or doors of such place barred, bolted, or locked, so as to prevent the free ingress to and from the same," are declared to be unlawful meetings; the officers dispersing such unlawful assemblages being authorized to "inflict such corporeal punishment, not exceeding 20 lashes, upon such slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, and, mestizoes, as they may judge necessary for deterring them from the like unlawful assemblage in future." Another section of the same act declares, "That it shall not be lawful for any number of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, or mestizoes, even in company with white persons, to meet together and assemble for the purpose of mental instruction or religious worship before the rising of the sun or after the going down of the same." This section was so oppressive that, in 1803, in answer to petitions from certain religious societies, an amending act was passed forbidding any person before 9 o'clock in the evening "to break into a place of meeting wherever shall be assembled the members of any religious society of the State, provided a majority of them shall be white persons, or other to disturb their devotions, unless

* Actually there were schools in Charleston and other places, but they were all closed by the act of 1800, and the only schools since that time have been those of the colored people, and those of the white people, from which the colored people have been excluded.

a warrant has been procured from a magistrate, if at the time of the meeting there should be a magistrate within three miles of the place; if not, the act of 1800 is to remain in full force."

It was not, however, till nearly a third of a century later that the State took open and direct action against the education of its free colored population under all circumstances. On the 17th of December, 1834, the climax of infamy was attained in an act, of which the following is the introductory section:

"SECTION 1. If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or shall aid or assist in teaching any slave to read or write, or cause or procure any slave to be taught to read or write, such person, if a free white person, upon conviction thereof shall, for each and every offense against this act, be fined not exceeding \$100 and imprisonment not more than six months; or if a free person of color, shall be whipped not exceeding 50 lashes and fined not exceeding \$50, at the discretion of the court of magistrates and freeholders before which such free person of color is tried; and if a slave, to be whipped, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding 50 lashes, the informer to be entitled to one-half the fine and to be a competent witness. And if any free person of color or slave shall keep any school or other place of instruction for teaching any slave or free person of color to read or write, such free person of color or slave shall be liable to the same fine, imprisonment, and corporeal punishment as by this act are imposed and inflicted on free persons of color and slaves for teaching slaves to write."

The second section, following up the detestable purpose of the act to doom its victims to besotted ignorance, forbids with severe penalties the employment of colored persons as "clerks or salesmen in or about any shop, store, or house used for trading." The third section makes it a grave misdemeanor "to sell, exchange, give, or in any otherwise deliver any spirituous liquors to any slave except upon the written and express order of the owner or person having the care and management of such slave. This section completes the infamy of the measure, in placing the dispensing of mental instruction to a slave in the same category of crimes with that of selling them intoxicating liquors, as is seen in the penalty which declares that "any free person of color or slave shall for each and every such offense incur the penalties prescribed for free persons of color or slaves for teaching slaves to read and write." All these acts, including the old province act of 1740, stood in full force when the rebellion came.

SCHOOLS FOR THE FREEDMEN.

The following account of the efforts to establish schools for colored children since 1861 was drawn up by Professor Vashon:

This State, famous in American annals as being the most determined advocate of the servitude of the African race and foremost in the secession movement made to secure its perpetuity, was, through the retributive workings of Divine justice, the next one after Virginia to witness the efforts of philanthropy in behalf of its oppressed free colored residents and of its peeled, broken, and imbruted bondmen. It is true that South Carolina had never, like other slave States, formally prohibited by law the maintenance of schools for free colored persons; but, by a statute enacted December 17, 1834, it had forbidden any individual of that class to keep such a school, and it visited with severe pains and penalties any one guilty of the offense of teaching a slave to read or write. The thick clouds of moral darkness thus formed were destined, however, to be rent and dissipated by the fierce-flashing lightnings of war, and that, too, before secession was a year old. In the month of November, 1861, the Port Royal islands were captured, and, on the 8th day of the following January, the Rev. Solomon Peck, D. D., of Boston, with the sanction of the military authorities, opened a school at Beaufort. In the latter part of the same month Mr. Barnard K. Lee, jr., a superintendent of "contrabands," opened another one at Hilton Head. The destitution upon which these schools cast the first cheering ray was indeed forlorn. All of the whites had fled from these islands, leaving there about 8,000 negroes, steeped in ignorance and want. Their deplorable condition appealed strongly to the officers of the government for relief, and did not appeal in vain. Early in January, 1862, Edward L. Pierce, esq., was sent out by Secretary Chase, of the Treasury Department, to examine the condition of the abandoned plantations on these islands; and, about the same time, the Rev. Mansfield

French was deputed by the government to examine the condition of the negroes along the whole southern coast. He was accompanied by a teacher of the American Mission Association, who opened another school at Beaufort on the 1st of February, 1862. About the middle of the same month other schools were opened on Hilton Head island by three teachers whose services had been secured in reply to appeals addressed by Mr. Pierce to the Revs. E. E. Hale and J. M. Manning, D. D., of Boston. Upon Mr. French's return he brought with him letters from General T. W. Sherman and Commodore Dupont urging the benevolent of the north to bestir themselves in behalf of the destitute within the limits of their command. In response public meetings were held at once in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, which resulted in the formation of three freedmen's aid societies, viz, the Boston Educational Commission, on February 7th; the Freedmen's Relief Association, at New York, on February 22d; and the Port Royal Relief Commission, on March 3, 1862. On the same day that this last society was organized in Philadelphia 52 teachers, missionaries and superintendents (40 men and 12 women) sailed from New York for Port Royal. Twenty-nine of these (25 men and 4 women) were under the commission of the Boston society. To these persons transportation and boarding were furnished by the government, which also, after a short time, paid the salaries of the superintendents. Upon their arrival at their field of labor schools were immediately established, the salaries of the teachers being paid by the societies which had sent them out. Other teachers were soon sent out by the Philadelphia society, and, in the following June, 86 persons were reported in the field. On the 28th of the last-mentioned month this work was transferred to the War Department and placed under the supervision of General Rufus Saxton, then military governor of South Carolina.

Words would fail to depict the noble devotion and self-sacrifice of these sea island teachers as they carried on their philanthropic labors during the remaining years of the war. With a courage worthy of comparison with that of their brothers on the tented field, they remained at their posts, braving all the perils and privations of their situation. Heaven smiled upon their efforts, and, although they were called upon to instruct beings whom oppression had degraded almost to the intellectual level of the brute, they were enabled to attain to results which might be triumphantly compared with those of other educators in far more favorable spheres. Those results are their highest praise, and doubtless the same God who blessed their labors will also bestow upon them their merited reward.

With the capture of Charleston a new and extended impulse was given to educational work in South Carolina. Immediately thereafter Mr. James Redpath was appointed superintendent of education for that city, and entered upon his duties with laudable energy and zeal. On the 4th of March, 1865, he took possession of the public school buildings and reopened them for the use of black and white children in separate rooms. He invited all former teachers of these schools to continue their labors, and sent at once to the northern societies for experienced teachers to aid in their reorganization and instruction. Within a week's time he reported 300 white children and 1,200 colored ones as being in attendance. The societies which he had appealed to became responsible for the salaries of the southern teachers, of whom 68 were employed, a large proportion being colored. Other teachers were sent on from the north, and, at the expiration of the school term in July of that year, an enrollment of 4,000 pupils was reported.

The creation of the Freedmen's Bureau, March 3, 1865, with General O. O. Howard, the indefatigable and impartial friend of white and black, as Chief Commissioner; the recommendation of the national council of Congregational churches, held in Boston in the following June, that \$250,000 should be raised for the work among the freedmen, with its indorsement of the American Missionary Association as an agency providentially fitted for its employment, and the final concentration of the various freedmen's aid societies of the north and west into the American Freedmen's Union Commission were all circumstances productive of salutary effects upon the schools in South Carolina as well as elsewhere throughout the south. The several societies already mentioned in this paper have since been known as the New England, New York, and Pennsylvania Branches of the Union Commission. The increase in the number of schools established and of teachers employed by them in 1867, proved that their energy and efficiency were not diminished by their coalition. South

Carolina has been fortunate, too, in having, in the person of Mr. Reuben Tomlinson, a State superintendent of education under the Freedmen's Bureau, an officer whose hearty co-operation and sympathy with the various agencies at work there rendered its schools as great a success as the means at command would permit of. And, although a comparison of these schools in 1868 with their condition in the preceding year shows a falling off, that result is attributable to the greater poverty of the freedmen themselves rather than to any diminution of effort or zeal on the part of their friends. In spite of this falling off, the following statement, made in March, 1868, by Mr. Arthur Sumner, a teacher employed by the New England branch, makes quite an interesting exhibit of the schools in Charleston at that time:

The Shaw school, (New England branch F. U. C.,) 360 pupils.

Mr. F. L. Cardozo's school, (American Missionary Association,) 330 pupils.

Zion Church school, (Presbyterian,) 525 pupils.

Franklin Street school, (Episcopalian,) 665 pupils.

Tivoli Garden school, (Baptist,) 150 pupils.

Morris Street school, (municipal,) 500 pupils.

It is to be remembered that to the 2,560 children then in those schools are to be added about 500 others who belonged to private schools. And, speaking with reference to educational matters in the entire State, it is also to be remembered that this sketch of the South Carolina schools is by no means a perfect measure of the enlightenment there. The Rev. J. W. Alvord, general superintendent of schools under the Freedmen's Bureau, made the following statement in his third semi-annual report, January, 1867: "From information at our command, it is safe to assert that at least 30,000 colored persons, men, women, and children, have learned to read during the last year." And there is no doubt that every year since the close of the rebellion the number of colored persons who have learned to read and write in South Carolina has been far in excess of the number reported as attending the schools.

In conclusion, the following description, copied from a Charleston paper, of a school recently established there and dedicated with appropriate exercises on May 7, 1863, may prove interesting:

THE AVERY INSTITUTE, CHARLESTON.

"This new and handsome school building is named in honor of the late Rev. Charles Avery, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, from whose bequest \$10,000 were given to the American Missionary Association, and applied by it to the purchase of the lands on which this edifice stands, and to the erection of a mission home. The normal school edifice was built for the association by the Freedmen's Bureau at a cost of \$17,000.

"The building is 88 feet long, 68 feet wide, 50 feet high, and to the top of the flag-staff, 90 feet. It is raised on brick pillars, with spacious brick basements and a large cistern underneath. On the first floor are four large class rooms, two for the first class of boys and two for the first class of girls. Two of these rooms are of double size, divided by sliding glass doors, and intended, when built, for the preparatory and higher classes of a normal department. Each of the class rooms is capable of accommodating from 50 to 75 pupils, and is fitted up with handsome desks. The hall-way is also furnished with convenient closets and racks for the reception of hats, cloaks, &c. On the second floor is a commodious assembly hall, with four long rows of seats, and a desk and platform for the principal. On this floor are also two large class rooms, and running round the walls of the class rooms is a composition blackboard. On either side of the building are spacious piazzas running the entire length, and opened upon from the class rooms. The building is finely ventilated on a new and improved plan."

The following tables exhibit the statistics of the colored schools from 1865 to 1868:

Number of schools, teachers, and pupils, 1865 to 1868.

Year.	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars.			Average attendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1865.....			48	52	24	76			10,000		
1866.....			113	98	90	188			12,017		
1867.....	124	36	160	139	95	234	7,963	8,687	16,650	13,289	75
1868.....	87	26	113	128	75	203	7,167	7,733	14,900	9,606	64

Studies and expenditures, 1867 and 1868.

Year.	Number of scholars in different studies pursued.							Expenditures in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading.	Advanced readers.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher branches.	By freedmen.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	3,750	5,835	6,196	9,002	2,850	8,934	574	\$12,200	\$80,800	\$93,000
1868.....	1,898	4,097	6,107	5,918	3,602	6,810	442	6,838	50,162	57,000

TENNESSEE.

There were in this State, in 1860, 283,019 colored persons, out of a population of 1,109,801, of whom 275,719 were slaves and 7,300 free.

The territory constituting the State of Tennessee was a part of North Carolina until ceded to the United States, in 1790; and the laws of North Carolina then in force were to continue till superseded by the legislation of the proper authorities. Among the laws which continued in force down to 1821 was one enacted in 1741 by North Carolina, forbidding the whipping of "a Christian servant naked, without an order from the justice of the peace," on penalty of 40 shillings; and another, enacted in 1779, punishing "the stealing of slaves with intent to sell them" by "death, without benefit of clergy." Another law enforced in Tennessee was that of 1787, that "if any free negro or mulatto shall entertain any slave in his or her house during the Sabbath or in the night, between sunset and sunrise," he or she might be fined \$2 50 for the first two and \$5 for every subsequent offense. Tennessee became a State in 1796, and in 1799 an act was passed "to prevent the willful and malicious killing of slaves." There was no specific act forbidding the assemblies of slaves until 1803, when such assemblies were forbidden, without a written permission from the owner, under a penalty of \$10. In 1806 "any white person, free negro, or mulatto" attending any such unlawful meeting, or "harboring or entertaining any slave, without the consent of the owner," might be fined not more than \$20 nor less than \$10 for each offense: and the negroes so found were to receive "15 stripes on the bare back, well laid on, under the direction of the patrol." In 1831 "all assemblages of slaves in unusual numbers or at suspicious times and places, not expressly authorized by the owners," were to be deemed unlawful.

In 1836 an act was passed concerning incendiary publications and speeches, forbidding "words or gestures, with intent to excite any slave or free person of color to insubordination, insurrection, or rebellion;" also "the circulation or publication of seditious pamphlets," the penalty for which was confinement in the penitentiary from 5 to 10 years for the first and from 10 to 20 years for any subsequent offense.

The revised code of 1858 retains all these severe restrictions.

In 1838 a system of common schools was established, according to which the scholars were designated as "white children over the age of six years and under 16;" but in 1840, in the act

amending this system, discrimination of color is not mentioned, but it is provided that "all children between the ages of 6 and 21 years shall have the privilege of attending the public schools;" and the act of 1862 also comprehended all children. This State never enacted any law positively forbidding the instruction of colored people; but, notwithstanding the language of the law, the benefits of the common school system were confined exclusively to white children. The school fund of the State was composed of the proceeds of certain school lands, bonuses from the banks and other incorporated companies, from licenses, fines, and taxes, to which the free colored people contributed no inconsiderable share. The fund, in 1858, consisted of \$1,500,000 deposited in the Bank of Tennessee, together with property given by will for the purpose; the proceeds of sales or rents of escheated lands, or lands bought by the State at tax sales, and of the personal effects of intestates having no kindred entitled by the laws thereto; besides taxes on certain mineral lands.

In March, 1867, an act was passed "to provide for the reorganization, supervision, and maintenance of free common schools," which declares that the school fund for annual distribution shall consist of the school funds already provided by law, together with a tax of two mills on the dollar of all taxable property, and an addition of 25 cents to the poll-tax previously levied by law, which fund shall be for "the benefit of all the youth of the State." The distribution of the income of this fund is made in proportion to the number of school children in each district. By the same act the boards of education and other officers having authority, in each district or city, were authorized and required to establish within their respective jurisdictions one or more special schools for colored children, when there are more than 25, so as to afford them the advantages of a common school education, the schools so established to be under the control of the board of education or other school officers having charge of the educational interests of other schools. If at any time the number of children attending the school should fall below 15 for any one month, the school may be discontinued for a period not exceeding five months at one time.

The following statistics give the condition of the colored schools for the years specified:

Number of schools, teachers, and pupils, 1866 to 1868.

Year	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars.			Average attendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1866.....			42			125			9,114	6,379	68
1867.....	109	19	128	111	43	154	4,215	5,206	9,451	6,377	67
1868.....	146	32	178	131	72	203	5,190	5,580	10,770	7,758	71

Studies and expenditures, 1867 and 1868.

Year.	Number of scholars in different studies pursued.							Expenditures in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading.	Advanced readers.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher branches.	By freedmen.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	1,344	4,501	3,691	3,306	2,092	3,308	557	\$10,152	\$61,575	\$71,727
1868.....	1,509	4,507	4,615	4,025	3,168	4,609	691	12,235	59,426	71,661

TEXAS.

In 1860 there were in Texas 182,921 colored people, out of the whole population of 604,215, of whom only 355 were free, 182,566 being slaves.

Slavery existed in Texas while it was a Mexican province, but different from that in the United States. In a decree of the congress of Coahuila and Texas, September 15, 1827, it

is provided that "in each change of owners of slaves, in the nearest succession even of heirs apparent, the tenth part of those who are to pass to the new owner shall be manumitted," the manumission being determined by lot. This provision is to be understood only in connection with the fact that slaves in Mexico were transferred with the real estate. By the same decree it was declared that "the ayuntamientos, under the most rigid responsibility, shall take particular care that free children, born slaves, receive the best education that can be given them, placing them, for that purpose, at the public schools and other places of instruction, wherein they may become useful to society." The ayuntamientos correspond to mayors and aldermen.

In 1827 there was another decree that the slave who, for convenience, wished to change his master should be permitted to do so, "provided the new master indemnify the former for what the slave cost him, agreeably to the consequence."

In 1836, in accordance with the express provisions of their constitution, the congress of Texas made the penalty for introducing any "Africans or negroes" into the republic, except from the United States, to be an offense to be punished with "death, without benefit of clergy;" and by the same act the introduction of Africans or slaves from the United States, except such as were legally held as slaves in the United States, was declared to be piracy, and punishable in the same manner. In 1837 it was enacted that "free Africans and descendants of Africans" who were residing in the republic at the date of the declaration of independence might remain free. At the same time a law was passed forbidding any slave or free person of color from using insulting or abusive language to or threatening any white person, under a penalty of "stripes, not exceeding 100 and not less than 25." In 1840 free persons of color were forbidden to immigrate into the republic, under a penalty of being sold into slavery; and the same act gave two years' time for all free persons of color to remove from the republic, at the same time providing that those found in the republic at the expiration of that period might be sold as slaves. In 1841 and in 1845 a few were excepted from the provisions of this act by special enactment. This was the nature of the legislation in 1845, when Texas came into the Union.

At the first session of the legislature of the State of Texas, in May, 1846, an act was passed forbidding any one to allow slaves to go at large more than one day in a week, except at the Christmas holidays, the penalty being a fine of not more than \$100. "All negroes and Indians, and all persons of mixed blood descended from negro ancestry, to the third generation, though one ancestor of each generation may have been a white person," were declared incapable of being witnesses, "except for or against each other." The last act of legislation relating to the free colored people, previous to the rebellion, was one in 1851 permitting one Thomas Cevalas, a free man of color who had resided in the State since 1835 and been wounded in the defense of the country, "to remain a resident of the county of Bexar."

There is nothing in relation to the education of colored people, free or slave, on the statute books of the State. As the free colored people were generally banished, there was no necessity for any enactments in regard to their education.

The new constitution of the State, adopted in the convention April 2, 1866, declares that "Africans and their descendants shall be protected in their rights of person and property by appropriate legislation." The legislature, in 1866, took care to protect the school fund of the State, so far as it remained, and took measures to establish a system of common schools. But by an act passed in 1867, providing for the education of indigent white children, it appears that the "system" is not entitled to be called a common school system. It provides that "the police courts—at their discretion—of the several counties may levy and collect a tax annually, not to exceed one-half of the State tax, and upon the same subjects of taxation, (Africans and the descendants of Africans, and their property, excepted,) to be applied solely to the education of *indigent white children.*"

The following tables, compiled by Professor Vashon, exhibits the condition of the schools under the superintendents of the Freedmen's Bureau :

Number of schools, teachers, and scholars, 1865 to 1868.

Year.	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars.			Average attendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1865.....	10	6	16	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	1,041	.....	.....
1866.....	.....	.....	90	.....	.....	43	.....	.....	4,590	.....	.....
1867.....	68	34	102	58	40	98	1,960	2,238	4,198	2,923	69
1868.....	51	25	76	55	26	81	1,235	1,369	2,604	2,176	83

Studies and expenditures, 1867 and 1868.

Year.	Number of scholars in different studies pursued.							Expenditures in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading.	Advanced readers.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher branches.	By freedmen.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	682	1,765	1,696	1,607	486	1,263	77	\$11,340	\$823	\$12,163
1868.....	254	888	1,183	1,259	602	1,077	240	2,093	5,739	7,832

VIRGINIA.

By the census of 1860 the population of Virginia, including the territory since occupied as West Virginia, was 1,596,318, of whom 548,907 were colored, and of these 490,865 were slaves and 58,042 were free.

To Virginia belongs the bad pre-eminence of having been, if not the birthplace and nursery, the great commercial mart of involuntary domestic servitude, and of having fixed the legal status of slavery in the slave States of this Union. By the several acts already cited the information and culture which are the results of travel, the free intercourse with others more intelligent and refined, the printed page, the living views of educated teachers and preachers, the choice and practice of varied mechanical, as well as agricultural labor, and all the inspiring motives of political privileges and the responsibilities generally of business and of family and social position, were denied.

Fifty years after the introduction of slaves into Virginia, Sir William Berkley reports the population of the province at 40,000, of whom 2,000 were black slaves. Continual importations from Africa increased the number rapidly, and in the reign of George the First alone not less than 10,000 were brought into the colony. At the beginning of his reign, out of the population of 95,000 in the colony, 23,000 were negroes; and in 1756, when the population reached 293,000, the negroes amounted to 120,000. But in that early day the church of Virginia was careful to give to the slaves the benefit of Christian instruction, inasmuch as an act was passed October, 1785, declaring "that baptism of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage."

The difficulties in the way of instructing the slaves, even when permission was given, as in this early period, were very great, since Sunday was the only day of rest for them, and the great distances of the plantations from each other made it impracticable for a teacher to keep up any systematic plan of visitation. In addition to this was the indifference or opposition of most planters, who considered the negroes as little above the brutes, and that to attempt to give them moral and intellectual culture was worse than useless.

REV. MORGAN GODWYN AND EARLY LABORERS FOR THE SLAVE.

Virginia was not without early witnesses to the evils of slavery and advocates for the amelioration of its condition. Rev. Morgan Godwyn, who was a student of Christ church,

Oxford, and for several years an ordained minister of the Church of England, in Virginia, and afterwards for a few years in Barbadoes; and Rev. Jonathan Boucher, rector of Hanover, and subsequently of St. Mary's parish, in Virginia, and dean of Queen Ann's parish, in Maryland.

Godwyn, in a pamphlet published by him in London, in 1680, and written while he was in Barbadoes, entitled "The Negroes and Indians' Advocate, suing for them admission into the church, &c.," in the preface of this work, states that his efforts to baptize and train negroes in the knowledge of Christian truth had been opposed; (1) by those who declared it to be impracticable; (2) by those, who regarded it as a work savoring of Popish supererogation, and utterly needless; and (3) by those, the most numerous, who condemned it as likely to be subversive of their own interests and property, and strove to put it down by ridicule. The planters vindicated their treatment of the negro by saying that, although he bore the resemblance of a man, he had not the qualities of a man—a conceit of which Godwyn boldly asserts, "atheism and irreligion were the parents, and avarice and sloth the foster nurses." The Quakers of that time also upbraided the church for the continuance of the evils of slavery, and issued "a petty reformed pamphlet" on the subject, in which the question was asked, "who made you ministers of the Gospel to the white people only, and not to the tawneys and blacks also?"

Godwyn, in his sermon, maintains the following propositions: "(1) that the negroes, both slaves and others have naturally an equal right with other men to the exercise and privileges of religion, of which it is most unjust in any part to deprive them; (2) that the profession of Christianity absolutely obliging to the promoting of it, no difficulties nor inconveniences, how great soever, can excuse the neglect, much less the hindering or opposing of it, which is, in effect, no better than a renunciation of that profession; (3) that the inconveniences here pretended for this neglect, being examined will be found nothing such, but rather the contrary."

The delivery of this sermon exposed its preacher to the most barbarous usage, and another of the clergy, who, upon another occasion, urged from the pulpit the like duty, was treated with severity by the planters. The negroes, also, in consequence of these efforts on the part of the clergy of Barbadoes to help them, were exposed to still more brutal treatment. In one case a negro, whose crime was neither more nor less than receiving baptism on a Sunday morning at his parish church, from the hands of the minister, was reproved by the brutish overseer, and given to understand "that that was no Sunday work for those of his complexion; that he had other business for him, the neglect whereof would cost him an afternoon's baptism in blood, as in the morning he had received a baptism with water; which he accordingly made good. Of which the negro afterward complaining to the minister, and he to the governor, the miserable wretch was forever after so unmercifully treated by that inhuman devil, that, to avoid his cruelty, betaking himself to the woods, he there perished."

Godwyn represents that the persevering, "officious" Quaker incurred the enmity of the authorities of the island, who secured in 1676 and 1678 the passage of several acts for the express purpose of preventing Quakers, under severe penalties, from bringing negroes to their meetings. One of these acts (1676) contained a clause that no person should be allowed to keep a school unless he first took an oath of allegiance and supremacy; a precaution perhaps not impolitic in a colony where labor was of more utility than learning. The clergyman who administered the rite of baptism in the case referred to was obliged to vindicate himself in a tone of apology for having done that act of ministerial duty.

To Morgan Godwyn belongs the credit of having first borne his testimony against the lawfulness of trading in the persons of men; although Bishop Sanderson, about the same period, gave his testimony against it, as well as Baxter, in his Christian Directory, where he gives rules for the masters of slaves in foreign plantations to give their slaves instructions.

Mr. Godwyn also published a sermon in 1685, entitled "Trade Preferred before Religion," which was first preached at Westminster Abbey, and afterwards in divers churches in London, and dedicated to the King. In this dedication he states that the end and design of his discourse was "to stir up and provoke your Majesty's subjects abroad, (and even at home also,) to use at least some endeavors for the propagation of Christianity among their domestic

slaves and vassals." In his preface he notes the spreading of the leprosy of mammonism and irreligion, by which the efforts to instruct and Christianize the heathen were paralyzed, and even the slaves who were the subjects of such instruction became the victims of still greater cruelty; while the ministers who imparted the instructions were neglected or even persecuted by the masters.

Among the motives presented for the English people and the English church to take up the subject of instruction of the slaves were the following, as set forth in his own language as printed: "This ought to be reformed in respect of the *dishonor* from thence redounding to our *church* and *nation* and even to the *whole* Reformation. First, to the *church*; for it occasions her *enemies* to *blaspheme*. Hence a certain *Romanist* demands of us, *where are the indefatigable missionaries sent by you to the remotest parts of the world for the conversion of heathens? a noble function wherein the Catholic* (that is their Roman) *church only and most justly glories; whilst you like lazy drones sit at home not daring to wet a foot, &c.* And by another it is objected against both *ourselves* and our equally *zealous* neighbors, *that never anything for the propagation of Christianity in foreign parts hath by either nation been at any time attempted.* And from thence a third person very roundly infers the *nullity* of our *church* and religion, viz: *Because we have no zeal, therefore no faith, and therefore no church nor religion among us."*

"Again, when the great industry of our people in *New England* shall be rehearsed, their converting of *nations*, turning the *whole Bible* into the *Indian tongue*; their *college built and endowed* for the education of *Indian youth*; their *missioners* sent forth and *lands purchased* for their maintenance; and all this out of a barren soil some 60 years since no better than a *rocky wilderness*; whilst ours, out of *better conveniences* and more happy *opportunities*, (such are our *grateful* returns!) have not produced the *least grain of harvest* to God's glory in those parts; but upon all occasions *shifting it off* with the unfitness of the season and pretending that *the time is not come*; proclaiming it *impracticable* and impossible, though effected by others of smaller abilities; or, like *Solomon's sluggard*, setting up *lions* and *tigers* in the way; raising obstructions and *creating* difficulties, when upon experience there are *no such* to be found. Now when these mighty works shall be hereafter rehearsed, how will that glorious name of the *Church of England* stand as it were in *disgrace*, not only among those *primitive* worthies who at first so cheerfully entered upon this work and afterwards endured the *heat* of the day? but when compared even with these moderns, whom we bespeak as *schismatics* and *idolaters*, yet do each of them give those testimonies of their *zeal* and *charity* which are equally requisite and would be no less *commendable* in us also."

JONATHAN BOUCHER.

The evils of slavery, both in its moral and economical aspects, were clearly seen and forcibly presented by Rev. Jonathan Boucher, in a discourse "On the Peace in 1763," preached in Hanover parish, King George's county, Virginia. After pointing out the objections to war, Mr. Boucher dwells on the advantages, pursuits, and duties of peace. Among the latter he urges an immediate improvement in the present practice of agriculture, by which all the varied advantages of climate and soil are neglected for the culture of a single staple, which, he says, he is "at some loss how to characterize, either as a necessary of life or a luxury. A necessary it certainly is not, since it can neither be used as food nor raiment; neither is it a luxury, at least in the sense of a gratification, being so nauseous and offensive that long habit alone can reconcile any constitution to the use of it." Such culture as is now going on, he adds, in the language of Scripture, will "make a fruitful land barren, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein." He sums up his views on this part of the subject by citing the opinion of "an ancient," who, in drawing the picture of a happy people, says: "It is necessary peace and good laws should prevail; that the ground should be well cultivated; children well educated; and due homage paid to the gods."

The next duty of a state of peace, he says, is to attempt the civilization of the Indian tribes, whom, he says, the white men have made it a kind of religion to exterminate; but whom he believes "it is in our power to convert into freemen, useful subjects, and good Christians." He concludes thus: "But Indians are by no means the sole or chief objects of our

present attention; the united motives of interest and humanity call on us to bestow some consideration on the case of those sad outcasts of society, our negro slaves; for my heart would smite me, were I not, in this hour of prosperity, to entreat you (it being their unparalleled hard lot not to have the power of entreating for themselves) to permit them to participate in the general joy. Even those who are the sufferers can hardly be sorry when they see wrong measures carrying their punishment along with them. Were an impartial and competent observer of the state of society in these middle colonies asked, whence it happens that Virginia and Maryland (which were the first planted, and which are superior to many colonies, and inferior to none, in point of natural advantage) are still so exceedingly behind most of the other British trans-atlantic possessions in all those improvements which bring credit and consequence to a country? he would answer—they are so, because they are cultivated by slaves. I believe it is capable of demonstration that, except the immediate interest which every man has in the property of his slaves, it would be for every man's interest that there were no slaves; and for this plain reason, because the free labor of a free man, who is regularly hired and paid for the work he does, and only for what he does, is, in the end, cheaper than the extorted eye-service of a slave. Some loss and inconvenience would, no doubt, arise from the general abolition of slavery in these colonies; but were it done gradually, with judgment, and with good temper, I have never yet seen it satisfactorily proved that such inconvenience would either be great or lasting. North American or West Indian planters might, possibly, for a few years, make less tobacco, or less rice, or less sugar; the raising of which might also cost them more; but that disadvantage would probably soon be amply compensated to them by an advanced price, or (what is the same thing) by the reduced expense of cultivation." * * * "If ever these colonies, now filled with slaves, be improved to their utmost capacity, an essential part of the improvement must be the abolition of slavery. Such a change would hardly be more to the advantage of the slaves than it would be to their owners. An ingenious French writer (Montesquieu) well observes, 'the state of slavery is, in its own nature bad; it is neither useful to the master nor to the slave. Not to the slave, because he can do nothing through a motive of virtue; not to the master, because, by having an *unlimited* authority over his slaves, he insensibly accustoms himself to the want of all moral virtues, and from thence grows fierce, hasty, severe, voluptuous, and cruel.'

"I come now, in the last place, to exhort you not to disappoint the pious wishes which our pious king had in thus publicly summoning us to hañ *the Lord of lords and King of kings with songs of deliverance*, for having *given his people the blessing of peace*." "And notwithstanding all that a discontented party has said, or has written, on the idea that the conditions of the peace are inadequate to our great success, so far as they concern us we can have no objection to them."

SCHOOLS IN NORFOLK AND RICHMOND.

Of all the States in the American Union, Virginia is, on several accounts, peculiarly associated with the history of the colored people of this country. Upon its shores, in 1620, a Dutch vessel landed the first cargo of human merchandise that had ever been brought from the ill-fated continent of Africa into a British colony. Through the slave labor thus introduced, its eminent agricultural resources were developed during the following century and a half so largely that, at the epoch of the Revolution, it ranked first in importance among the 13 original constituents of the confederation since known as the United States of America. Its slave population, too, had increased to such an extent as to enable it to supply from its excess of laborers the requirements of the other slaveholding States; and thus Virginia became and continued to be, during all the days of servitude, the great breeding slave mart of the Union.

But the curse thus destined to work so much ill both to Africa and America did not prove to its immediate victims one of entirely unmitigated severity. In Virginia, as elsewhere, the relation of master and slave soon led to the existence of a class in whose veins the blood of the oppressed was mingled with that of the oppressor; and, in behalf of this class, the voice of nature did not in many cases plead in vain. Besides, the constant and daily intercourse of slaveholding families with that portion of their property known as house servants was

frequently illustrated by such marked instances of devoted fidelity upon the part of the latter as appealed successfully for a grateful recognition from their owners, in return. To these fortunate individuals, either the offspring or the favorites of their masters, the rudiments of a common education were often imparted. Through manumission, too, and the privilege granted to slaves to purchase their freedom, quite a large free colored population was added to society in Virginia; and, in Richmond, Norfolk, and other of the principal cities, a few schools were tolerated for the benefit of this class. These schools were generally taught by colored persons who had acquired sufficient education for that purpose; and, through their instrumentality, a knowledge of reading and writing and the other common branches of learning was quite extensively disseminated. About 40 years ago there were two excellent schools of this description in the city of Petersburg, one of which was taught by a Mr. Shepherd, and the other by the Rev. John T. Raymond, a Baptist minister, living in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1869.

These schools existed for several years, although in the midst of a continually growing feeling of dissatisfaction in regard to them on the part of the white portion of the community. It was suspected that, in addition to the influence which they might have in rendering the slaves discontented, they were also the means of enlightening some of them, as well as their free brethren. This led to the enactment by the general assembly of Virginia, on the 2d of March, 1819, of a law prohibiting "all meetings or assemblages of slaves, or free negroes, or mulattoes, mixing and associating with such slaves, at any meeting-house or houses, or any other place or places, in the night, or at any school or schools for teaching them reading and writing, either in the day or night." For the violation of this law any justice of the peace was authorized to inflict the penalty of 20 lashes upon each and every offender against its provisions. But, although the instruction of slaves was thus guarded against, schools for free colored people were still allowed until the occurrence of Nat Turner's insurrection had aroused terror and dismay throughout the entire south. Then public opinion almost universally demanded the prohibition of these establishments. Accordingly, on the 7th day of April, 1831, the general assembly of Virginia enacted a law with the following among other provisions, viz:

"SEC. 4. *And be it enacted*, That all meetings of free negroes or mulattoes at any school-house, church, meeting-house, or other place, for teaching them reading or writing, either in the day or night, under whatsoever pretext, shall be deemed and considered an unlawful assembly; and any justice of the county or corporation wherein such assemblage shall be, either from his own knowledge, or on the information of others of such unlawful assemblage or meeting, shall issue his warrant directed to any sworn officer or officers, authorizing him or them to enter the house or houses where such unlawful assemblage or meeting may be, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such free negroes or mulattoes, and to inflict corporal punishment on the offender or offenders, at the discretion of any justice of the peace, not exceeding 20 lashes.

"SEC. 5. *And be it enacted*, That if any white person or persons assemble with free negroes or mulattoes at any school-house, church, meeting-house, or other place, for the purpose of instructing such free negroes or mulattoes to read or write, such person or persons shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in a sum not exceeding \$50, and, moreover, may be imprisoned, at the discretion of a jury, not exceeding two months.

"SEC. 6. *And be it enacted*, That if any white person, for pay or compensation, shall assemble with any slaves for the purpose of teaching, and shall teach any slave to read or write, such person, or any white person or persons contracting with such teacher so to act, who shall offend as aforesaid, shall, for each offense, be fined at the discretion of a jury in a sum not less than \$10 nor exceeding \$100, to be recovered on an information or indictment."

Upon the revision of the criminal code of the Commonwealth of Virginia, the laws already referred to and quoted were retained, with a few alterations, under the head of "Offenses against the public policy." Nor was this law prohibiting colored schools a mere *brutum fulmen*, as it was made apparent in 1854, when Mrs. Margaret Douglass, a white lady, born in South Carolina, was imprisoned in the common jail of the city of Norfolk for having violated its provisions, although ignorant of their existence when she began her school, in 1851.

That vindication of the laws may have served its purpose by putting a stop to any open instruction of colored children; but, from the time of the first prohibition until then, schools for that purpose were secretly maintained in the principal cities of Virginia, although the colored aspirants after knowledge were constrained to keep their books and slates carefully hidden from every prying eye, and to assume the appearance of being upon an errand as they hurried along and watched their chance to slip unnoticed into the sedulously concealed school-room. Such was the thirst for enlightenment on the part of the proscribed children of Virginia, and such the determined severity of that State towards them, at the very time when she was beginning to awaken to the necessity of securing the benefit of a common school system for her white people.

SCHOOLS FOR FREEDMEN.

It was reserved for Virginia herself to abrogate all this iniquitous legislation by her consenting to become a party in the movement to break up the federal Union. It was reserved for her shores, that had witnessed the inception of the wrong, to behold also the first step in the expiation. In the close neighborhood of the very spot where the first cargo of slaves had been disembarked stands the little brown building that served as the first school-house for the freedmen. Securely it nestled under the guns of Fortress Monroe, with the military power of the nation pledged for its maintenance. Six months had not yet elapsed since the clouds of war had gathered when this earliest sunbeam of a dawning civilization burst through to relieve their gloom. On the 17th day of September, 1861, the school was opened. It had an appropriate and, at the same time, a competent teacher in Mrs. Mary S. Peake, a lady of whom one of the ancestors on the maternal side might possibly have come over to this country on the Dutch vessel already alluded to. The honor of its establishment is due to the American Missionary Association, which had labored, even before the war, for the educational advancement of the colored people in Kentucky and elsewhere, and whose keen-eyed philanthropy eagerly caught sight of this "opening of the prison-house to those who were bound."

With the advance of the Union armies in the ensuing years of the war the labors of these friends of humanity kept steady pace. In 1862 their efforts in the State of Virginia secured the establishment of four additional schools, one of which was at Norfolk, two at Newport News, and the fourth one opened in the old court-house at Hampton. Besides establishing these they sent books to another school, begun by a colored man in Suffolk. They were aided, too, in their noble work by the Boston Education Commission, organized in the early part of that year under the presidency of the late Governor John A. Andrew. This latter association sent south more than 70 teachers, three of whom opened schools at Norfolk and Craney island.

The year 1863 was ushered in by the emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln, which conferred legal freedom upon all the slaves of the nation except those of certain specified localities, and actual freedom upon all such as might come within the lines of the national armies. The consequent enlargement of the area of philanthropic labor was followed by a corresponding increase in the number of earnest and efficient laborers. Hundreds of ladies, tenderly nurtured, and refined by all the accomplishments of modern culture, hastened to this field, now whitening for the harvest, and, braving privation and the vicissitudes of war, eagerly enrolled themselves among the teachers of the freedmen. In the State of Virginia the schools already established increased largely in the number of their pupils, while many others were opened in different localities to meet the importunity of those newly liberated thirsters after knowledge. The abandoned homes of "the first families" were in many instances pressed into the service of their former bondmen, and their elegant mansions were occupied—like that of ex-Governor Henry A. Wise—as schools for colored children and homes for their instructors. It is safe to say that the number of these schools, including those held at night, was at least 50. One of them, in the city of Norfolk, was so large within the first week of its establishment as to compel the employment of 15 colored assistants, and, in the course of the year, its attendance attained to the number of 1,200 pupils. In the following year—1864—additional schools were opened and the force of teachers at least doubled.

The pecuniary outlays necessitated by these operations were cheerfully made by numerous freedmen's associations throughout the north, acting generally as auxiliaries to the two agencies already mentioned.

The year 1865 was marked by the fall of Richmond and the close of the rebellion. The extended opportunity thus offered for philanthropic labors was straightway embraced, and schools were opened at every feasible point. The aid of the government also was secured for their maintenance. On the 3d of March, of this year, the Freedmen's Bureau had been created by act of Congress, and through the kind ordering of an All-wise Providence, Major General O. O. Howard, the gallant Christian soldier, was, in the following month of May, assigned to duty as its Commissioner. In his circular No. 2, dated May 19, 1865, he said: "The educational and moral condition of the people will not be forgotten. The utmost facility will be offered to benevolent and religious organizations and State authorities in the maintenance of good schools for refugees and freedmen, until a system of free schools can be supported by their organized local governments." But the co-operation of the Commissioner with these benevolent agencies did not stop here. He gave them efficient aid by turning over for school purposes the disused government buildings, and those seized from disloyal owners, which were under his charge; by affording transportation for teachers, books, and school-furniture, and by assigning quarters and rations to all engaged in the work of instruction, at the same time that protection was given to them through the department commanders. By his directions, too, the "refugee and freedmen's fund" was used to assist in the maintenance of schools supported, in part, by the freedmen themselves, and in each State superintendents of schools were appointed, whose duty it was "To work as much as possible in connection with State officers who may have had school matters in charge, and to take cognizance of all that was being done to educate refugees and freedmen, secure protection to schools and teachers, promote method and efficiency, and to correspond with the benevolent agencies which were supplying his field." Thus, under the beneficent administration of General Howard, this bureau has been, in the matter of education, as in many other respects, of efficient service to the freedmen, and has helped to prepare them for a right exercise of the franchises with which they are now invested as citizens. To bring about this result, too, the various religious denominations of the country have all labored, to a greater or less extent, with commendable zeal; and to aid in securing it, the American Freedmen's Union Commission, which unites in its organization the various undenominational freedmen's aid societies of the land, with the exception of the American Missionary Association, has shown itself the worthy co-adjutor of that body. This commission was formed on the 16th day of May, 1866, and its object, as stated in its constitution, is "To aid and co-operate with the people of the south, without distinction of race or color, in the improvement of their condition, upon the basis of industry, education, freedom, and Christian morality."

In all the advantages that have been mentioned the State of Virginia has participated, and, as a consequence of the several influences at work, its schools have increased in number, and have prospered greatly, every year since the close of the rebellion. True, they have had to contend with much prejudice and opposition on the part of a large majority of the white population. But there is reason to believe, from present indications, that these hostile sentiments are gradually diminishing, and that many, who are bitterly opposed to the political equality of the negro, admit the expediency and justice of providing for his education.

The following tables, which present a statistical view of these schools for the last three years, will, on examination, give a very satisfactory exhibit of their increase, cost of maintenance, and the advancement of the pupils in the several studies pursued during that period:

Number of schools, teachers, and pupils, 1866 to 1868.

Year.	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars.			Average attendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1866.....			123			200			11,784	8,951	76
1867.....	195	56	251	197	98	295	8,076	8,039	16,115	10,890	68
1868.....	239	45	284	206	155	361	8,180	8,528	16,708	11,816	71

Studies and expenditures, 1867 and 1868.

Year.	Number of scholars in different studies pursued.							Expenditures in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading.	Advanced readers.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher branches.	To freedmen.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	1,986	7,953	5,162	7,119	4,221	6,409	960	*\$7,352 13	*\$85,792 57	*\$93,144 70
1868.....	1,397	7,532	6,750	8,240	6,214	7,877	754	12,472 15	84,079 28	93,551 43

* Estimated upon reports of the Bureau Superintendent of Education, for six months of the year.

A brief account of two normal schools recently established will form an appropriate conclusion to this sketch of school matters among the colored population of Virginia. The first of these in the order of their establishment is—

THE RICHMOND NORMAL AND HIGH SCHOOL

This institution was opened for the admission of pupils in October, 1867, having been duly incorporated, with a board of trustees consisting of five members, by charter granted by the circuit court. The principal building, which is a handsome new brick edifice, erected at a cost of about \$5,000, is 52 feet long by 32 feet wide, and two stories in height. Substantially built and amply provided with school furniture of the best modern styles, philosophical apparatus valued at \$350, and a judiciously selected library of about 500 volumes, it is rendered still better adapted to its purposes by having its different rooms adorned with historical paintings and other works of art. It accommodates 100 pupils, whose studies are directed by the principal, Mr. Andrew Washburn, aided by two assistant teachers. The course of study prescribed is that which is usual in our normal schools; and the moral effect of the institution is apparent, not only in the wholesome instruction and discipline afforded to its pupils, but in its influence upon the community at large, awakening the nobler aspirations of colored youth, and diminishing the blind and unreasoning prejudice entertained against them by their white fellow-citizens. This school derives its support from the normal school fund of the English Friends, the Peabody fund, the city council, and the Freedmen's Bureau. The ulterior design of its founders is to prepare competent teachers for the hoped-for public school system, which is to follow in the train of reconstruction in Virginia.

THE HAMPTON NORMAL AND AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE,

of which Mr. S. C. Armstrong is principal, is also designed to take part in raising up teachers; its purpose (as stated in a circular issued shortly after its establishment) being to prepare "youth of the south, without distinction of color, for the work of organizing and instructing schools in the southern States." It was opened in April, 1868, under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, and was duly incorporated in the following September. It is also a manual labor school, and connected with it is a farm of 120 acres provided with all the appliances needful for the instruction of its students, in both the theory and the practice of the most profitable methods of agriculture.

All of the house-work, too, in the boarding department is performed by the female students. The circular further states that "this 'Whipple farm' lies upon Hampton Roads. The school and home buildings, valued at \$20,000, occupy a beautiful site upon the shore. They are so furnished and arranged as to offer to the students the helps to right living which belong to a cultivated Christian home." There is a three years' course of study, embracing, among other branches, English grammar and composition, arithmetic and bookkeeping, geography and natural science, lectures, physiology, agriculture and agricultural chemistry, with analysis of soils and experiments by pupils, &c., &c. Opportunities for enabling students to acquire experience in imparting instruction are enjoyed through actual teaching in the Butler and Lincoln model schools, which are in the vicinity of the institution. Thus far this new enterprise has been attended with the most gratifying results.

Its students have earned, upon an average, a small amount per week above expenses to them; and its gross sales of produce in the northern markets have been over \$2,000. It possesses, too, the well-selected nucleus of a library; for enlarging which, as well as for providing scientific apparatus, together with cabinets of minerals and of natural history, it hopes to find the means in its own income, aided by the generous co-operation of friends.

The following report to the American Missionary Association, drawn up by President Hopkins, of Williams College, Massachusetts, calls special attention to this institution:

I. *Location.*—In this there is a historical fitness. It is within the capes, and not far from the spot where the first slaves brought to this country were landed. It is where General Butler first refused to deliver up the fugitives, calling them "contraband of war," and where a city of refuge was provided to which they thronged by boat loads, and wagon loads, and in caravans, and were housed and fed by the government. It was here, too, that the first school for freedmen was established. It was the site of the hospital barracks of McClellan's and Grant's armies, where fifteen thousand sick and wounded were under treatment at one time, and the farm connected with the institute includes the United States cemetery containing the bodies of nearly six thousand United States soldiers, together with the granite monument to those martyrs in the cause of freedom, which is in full view from the institute. Not far distant is seen the flag of Fortress Monroe, and it is within sight of the spot where the battle was fought between the Monitor and the Merrimac.

The location has also advantages as regards convenience, economy and the coast. It is accessible by water, and so by the cheapest possible transportation, from the region of the Chesapeake Bay, of the Potomac, York and James Rivers, and of the Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds, a region including a colored population which has been, if it be not now, of greater relative density than any other. With a steamboat landing on the farm it has ready access to the principal sea-board cities of the North, both as markets and as sources of supplies. It is also relatively beautiful, having the advantages of sea breeze and opportunities for sea bathing. The place was indeed formerly the seat of a large female seminary, and was a summer resort for health and recreation.

II. *History.*—As has been said, this was the site of the first school for freedmen, and here the Butler school is still kept in the large building originally built for it on the premises, and is taught by pupils from the institute. This, however, did not involve the idea of the institute as a normal school and a seminary of a high order. That was originated by General Armstrong, who had charge of the freedmen's bureau at this point, and who first comprehended the facilities afforded by the place, and the greatness of the work that might be done here. At his suggestion, and chiefly through his efforts, the American Missionary Association heartily co-operating, the estate now called the Whipple Farm, including a hundred and twenty-five acres of excellent land, together with the mansion used by the United States officers for their headquarters, the Butler school-house, and the hospital barracks, was purchased. The whole cost, including improvements, has been about \$45,000.

III. *Object and plan.*—The object of the institute, as stated in its act of incorporation, is "to prepare youth of the South, without distinction of color, for the work of organizing and instructing schools in the southern States." Its object is the diffusion throughout the South, where normal and agricultural schools have not been established as yet, of the best methods and advantages of education; and if the benefit of the colored people be more immediately anticipated, it is only from the apprehended unwillingness of others to avail themselves of the advantages of the institute. Whatever provision may or may not be made for the general education of the South, it is clearly among the most imperative duties both of the North and of the South to provide in the best manner practicable for the enlightenment, the more perfect christianization, and the full manhood of the freedmen. This is now the point of trial for this nation before Him who has begun to vindicate the rights of a long-suffering people, and scarcely more for their sakes than for our own, and for the sake of the whole African race, should this duty be accepted by us.

But if the duty be accepted, it is not seen how it can be performed without some institution which shall combine, as this institute proposes to do, education and training with opportunity for self-help. In these two, education and self-help, we have the object and plan of the institute. It would provide a body of colored teachers, the best and the only available agency for the work, thoroughly trained, not only in the requisite knowledge and in the best methods of teaching, but also in all that pertains to right living, including habits of intelligent labor. Emotional in their nature, unaccustomed to self-control, and improvident by habit, the freedmen need discipline and training even more than teaching; and the institute would avoid the mistake sometimes made on missionary grounds of so training teachers as to put them out of sympathy with the people in their present condition and in the struggle that is before them, if they are to rise. It would, therefore, make much of the feature of self help, not only as relieving the benevolent from a burden, but as inspiring self-reliance, and as tending to a consistency and solidity of character that are especially needed. It would aim at reaching (and to be effectual it must reach) those who cannot pay their way except by their own labor.

With these views a large agricultural interest has been organized both for instruction and profit. So far this has succeeded well in both respects, and with suitable management it cannot fail to do so in future. The soil is rich and varied, adapted both to fruits and vegetables. On the farm are large quantities of muck and sea mud and fish guano from the neighboring fisheries. It is intended to make the culture varied, and to introduce improved methods to be put in practice wherever the pupils may go. The farm, thus furnishing food for the school, in connection with the adjacent fisheries, which make living cheap, will enable the poorest youth to meet all his necessary expenses, and, at the same time, receive good educational advantages. This department is under the superintendence of Mr. F. Richardson, who is admirably qualified for the position.

The farm is for the men; but, as at the North so at the South, and more and more, the teaching is to be done by the women, and for their education and training too ample provision cannot be made. Young women at the institute are on equal footing in all respects with the young men, except that their opportunities for supporting themselves by their own labor are not as good. Something, much, indeed, has been done. An industry has been organized by which the pupils are paid for making up garments, which are sold at a small profit. This is beneficial in every way. About twenty can also be employed the greater part of the year in teaching. This department needs and should receive efficient aid.

IV. *Present condition and prospects.*—Of these we do not hesitate to speak with satisfaction and high hope. The school was opened in April, 1868, and there have since been sixty-six pupils in attendance, of whom fifty-two were boarders. Of these, eight have been employed as teachers in freedmen's day schools, doing, under careful superintendence, the work done in previous years by northern teachers, and giving good satisfaction in it, and thus, while keeping up with their classes in the normal school, paying their necessary expenses. Three hundred children have thus been taught during the past year by under-graduates of the institute, and it is expected that twice that number will be thus taught during the year to come. In the present vacation, including July and September, twelve pupils have gone out to teach, and will not have less than five hundred children in their schools.

The closing examination and exercises of the school indicated a thoroughness and faithfulness on the part of the teachers that nothing but missionary zeal could have inspired. Hitherto the teachers of the institute have all been ladies, and here, as in many places throughout the South, northern ladies of high character have done and are doing a most Christian and heroic work, looking for their richest reward in the thanks of the lowly and the smile of Him who came that the Gospel might be preached to the poor. On the part of the scholars there was indicated a diligence and proficiency quite remarkable, and that would have done credit to students similarly situated of any race or color. Not only has the teaching been diligent but of the highest order, and the results correspond. There was great correctness in reading and spelling. Nearly all wrote a good hand, and the blackboard exercises in map-drawing, with the new method of triangulation, would have been creditable to the pupils of any normal school at the North. The whole results furnish the fullest encouragement to future effort.

We are thus doing for the freedmen through this institute, with such modifications as their condition demands, just what we are doing for ourselves in those States that are furthest advanced in education: and if the southern people could but wisely co-operate, the experiment with the freedmen could at once be fairly made. Fortunate in its position, and comprehensive in its aims, the institute is adapted to do a great work for the African race, both in this and their fatherland. It is just the agency needed through which benevolent individuals and the fund of Mr. Peabody, now so magnificently enlarged, may work. In the plan of it nothing is wanting; to carry it out, executive ability and business talent of a high order will be needed, especially at first. These we think it now has in those at the head of each of its departments, and we heartily commend the enterprise to the confidence, to the prayers, and to the benefactions of the good people of the whole country.

WEST VIRGINIA.

The legislature of West Virginia, at its first session, December 9, 1863, passed an act forbidding slaves to be introduced into the State or removed from it, with intent to deprive them of the right to freedom guaranteed by the constitution. An act was also passed at the same session establishing a system of free schools, providing for the enumeration of "all the youth between the ages of 6 and 21 years, distinguishing between males and females." The township boards of education were authorized and required to establish one or more separate schools for free colored children when the whole number enumerated exceeded 30, the schools so established to be under the control of the board of education; but when the average attendance of free colored children was less than 15 for any one month, the school might be discontinued for a period not exceeding six months at one time; and the money raised on the number of free colored children, in case the attendance was less than 15 and the number enumerated was less than 30, was to be reserved to be appropriated for the education of colored children in such a way as the township should direct.

In 1865 the school law was revised, and the word "free" in connection with the colored people was struck out. In 1866 township boards of education were authorized to furnish school-houses for their respective towns, and to levy a tax, not exceeding \$7 on the \$100 of the taxable property for that purpose; but this proviso was added: "Provided colored children shall not attend the same school or be classified with white children."

The following tables exhibit the condition of the freedmen's schools:

Number of schools, teachers, and scholars, 1867 and 1868.

Year.	Number of schools.			Number of teachers.			Number of scholars.			Average attendance.	Per cent.
	Day.	Night.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1867.....	10	2	12	4	8	12	295	280	575	486	84
1868.....	11	1	12	4	8	12	326	304	630	515	86

Studies and expenditure of schools, 1867 and 1868.

Year.	Number of scholars in different studies pursued.							Expended in support of schools.		
	Alphabet.	Easy reading.	Advanced readers.	Writing.	Geography.	Arithmetic.	Higher branches.	By freedmen.	By others.	Total.
1867.....	48	287	143	299	247	278	23	\$30	\$5,915	\$5,945
1868.....	56	395	198	387	375	392	33	861	6,315	7,176

WISCONSIN.

This State had a population in 1860 of 775,881, of whom only 1,171 were colored. There are no constitutional or legal restrictions upon the colored people which are not shared alike by the whites. The colored people exercise the franchise in the same manner as others; their children attend the public schools with the white children, there being no separate schools for either class.

VERMONT.

There were in Vermont only 709 colored persons in 1860 out of a population of 315,093. The declaration of rights, after asserting that all men are born equally free and independent, concludes as follows: "Therefore, no male person, born in this country or brought from over the sea, ought to be holden by law to serve any person as a servant, slave, or apprentice, after he arrives to the age of twenty-one years, nor female, in like manner, after she arrives to the age of eighteen years, unless they are bound by their own consent after they arrive to such age, or bound by law for the payment of debts, damages, fines, costs, or the like." The constitution declares every man of the full age of twenty-one years, with certain conditions alike applied to all, to be entitled to all the privileges of a freeman; and the laws make no distinction in regard to color.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

There were in New Hampshire in 1860 only 494 colored persons out of a total population of 326,073. The constitution of this State makes no distinction in its provisions in regard to race or color, and the "bill of rights" declares that "all men are born equally free and independent;" but, in face of this declaration, in 1835, when the principal of the academy at Canaan admitted colored pupils to his classes, a mob could be raised, without rebuke and without resistance by the town or the State, to remove the building from its site and transfer it to a neighboring swamp.

NEW JERSEY.

This State had a population in 1860 of 672,035, of whom 25,336 were colored, and of these 18 were slaves. By the constitution the right of suffrage is limited to white male citizens of the United States of the age of twenty-one years; but it is provided that the funds for the support of public schools shall be applied for the equal benefit of all the people of the State. Colored children are entitled to the privileges of this fund and are admitted into the public schools.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON RACE IN EDUCATION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

BY PROF. WM. TAYLOR THOM,

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It is proper to state, in advance, that the term "negro" will be used throughout this paper for the sake of convenience, because, first, it is the *correct* term, "African" being too broad and tending to divert the mind away from this country; and because, in the second place, the term "colored man" is both somewhat ridiculous in itself, and has the very serious objection that it is *thoroughly misleading*, inasmuch as it suggests a false ideal.

The "colored man," as he is known to the northern part of the United States, is probably a fit subject for the educational experiments to which he has been subjected; but he is no more the negro of the southern and south-western States than the English aristocracy is the English people. Hence have arisen many misconceptions and many grievous mistakes; and accuracy of conception, truth, is what we most need and should most strive to attain in this, as in other matters. In a government, like ours, "of the people, by the people, and for the people," homogeneity in population and in ideals is of far greater consequence than in a monarchy or in an aristocracy. In those governments social caste, social customs, social restraints can and do, like outlying defenses, withstand assaults on the body politic, which in our government must be met and dealt with by the public conscience immediately. For a free, intelligent, homogeneous people, that should be a source of safety rather than of danger. But our population is diverse, so much so as to cause violent friction in our midst to be a thing dangerously probable. It has already caused one convulsion which will not be forgotten; for there is no parallel in recent history to the fratricidal war which ended almost exactly twenty years ago. Difference of race caused that strife. That difference still exists, and what it may produce in the future if left to itself, no man knows. Hence the greater need for homogeneity of ideals to obviate the dangers arising from diversity of population.

Of the great race ideals, that of the *Family* is, with the exception of the Mormon monstrosity, well settled in this country, although in some of our States the divorce laws seem contrived purposely to strike at this, the very foundation of our national existence.

But the thoughtful mind cannot, without disquietude, contemplate the contingencies which may arise should Mormonism once get a foothold among the negroes of America, by whom the ideal of the family is so frequently and so grossly disregarded. For if Mormonism is making such rapid progress among the whites, who have been predisposed against it by their laws, by their religious training, by their inherited race customs and instinct for a thousand years and more, what conse-

quences may not follow upon the dissemination of Mormon ideas among a people prone to embrace them from recent ancestral disposition, from still more recent slave habits and customs, and but ill protected against them by their necessarily crude conception of law and of religion.

The ideal of *Religion* as a system of morality is quite uniform in this country, in spite of the variations of dogmatic Christianity, the exceptions being this same Mormonism, and the crudeness of the negro conception of religion as a matter of emotion and as a matter of morality.

One *Language*, the strongest of all national bonds, the greatest of national ideals, as containing and modifying all others, our own masterful English, is supreme in our land; but it is not universal. Localities in the North and West are to be excepted, and also, and more important, those sections of the southern States where the divergence of the negro dialects from the standard of the vernacular is so great as partially to destroy by dialectic variety the uplifting idealism contained in the English tongue, so far, at least, as the negroes themselves are concerned.

Family, Religion, Speech, these are the three great limitations within which the genius of a people moves to work out its social and governmental organization and its destiny on earth. Their harmonious influence in this country is in danger of disturbance, chiefly from the partly involuntary opposition of the negro race in the ways already indicated. That opposition must be overcome—education is the best instrument to do it. The genius of our race, its mission, is Freedom. Toward the realization of that high calling it is pressing steadfastly on, as it has been unconsciously doing for ages past. This struggle for freedom has become anarchial, if not anarchy itself, again and again in our history, as some new phase of the national existence was developed, or as the extension of the principle of freedom was forcibly demanded by or for some additional class of population—which is the case here under consideration. The danger of anarchy lies crouching now at our doors, and will lift its bloody head again, should the negro race in America fail to learn the full lesson of freedom. True freedom is individual liberty, the largest, restrained by individual responsibility, the most exact—self-government, in one word.

Our people received the negro into this country, taught him in the stern school of slavery to give up barbarism for civilization, and then gave him personal liberty. Has he ever learned of himself, or been taught by us, the personal responsibility necessary to maintain social and governmental freedom? It is more than doubtful. And that is the duty which the white race of the United States owes to-day to itself and to the negro race. He must be helped and made to learn the lesson of personal responsibility. The development of *character* is the first and highest aim of any general system of education for him.

“To know something, to do something, to be something,—that is to be educated,” has been well said. *To do* and *to be* are more important for the bulk of mankind, and vastly more important for the negro and his interests, than *to know* knowledge, as such is for the few, not for the many, white or black.

What, then, is the proper type of public education in the southern States for the negro, as a class? It should be evidently on a *low plane*, and be confined to *elementary subjects and methods*. So much book instruction as is sufficient to give him a fair start as a citizen, that measures the present requirement of the State as to mere intellectual furnishing for the negro as a race. The American people cannot afford to let him remain ignorant of less than that. But why not go further?

Because, on the other hand, the public, as such, cannot afford to bring upon itself the risks consequent upon thrusting too much intellectual leaven, suddenly, into this already fermenting mass. From the evils of dense ignorance we are all suffering now, and have been these twenty years past. But the cramming of mere ideas into empty heads is not the true remedy. Some of the most disastrous experiences of mankind, in government and society, have resulted from the undue prominence of an idea or the spread of ideas among a people not possessing the substratum of inherited or acquired moral character necessary to modify and counteract the fatal logic of pure idealism. The later history of Athens, the histories of the Greek States generally, are illustrations of ideas impressed upon peoples and governments, and carried logically out to their consequences without regard to the character requirements of a people's growth. Precocious growth and premature decay were the result. The French Revolution passed from justifiable revolt, such as the American Revolution was, such as La Fayette hoped for, to merciless massacre because the compound theory, *Liberté, Fraternité, Égalité*, had fired the brains of the masses of Parisian populace, incapable of self-control by training or by inherited character.

The history of Russia since the freeing of the serfs is, on the side of the people, the history of ideas unduly exercising minds whose owners are not grown up, morally, to the full conception of liberty, and whose notion of it is therefore wrong and full of danger to the State and to liberty itself. Russian methods of education seem to be responsible, since the utter neglect of proper elementary instruction sends the youth of the country to the upper schools with minds incapable of resisting the dangerous doctrines which they find there.

The history of negro suffrage in our southern States, up to this time, is the story of a superb idea converted by over-hasty application into a blunder, working out its inevitable course of harm. With no previous education for this, the highest prerogative of free citizenship, with scarcely any instruction in its use since his liberation from slavery except that which appealed to his fears or his prejudices, the negro cannot know and understand the political, governmental, and social harm he does himself as well as others. Let us hope that he will speedily learn. That there has not been more outbreak is honorable alike to the amiability of the negroes and to the self-control of the whites. As time rolls on we see with clearer eyes how great was the loss this whole people sustained when Abraham Lincoln fell before a crack-brained assassin's pistol.

Half-educated, irresponsible thinking is the root of the nihilism and the savage socialism which are threatening the social fabric in Europe, and are beginning to make themselves felt in this country. The danger to American institutions from this wrong-headed thinking, when the negroes shall have ten times their present population, is not to be estimated, unless in the mean time they be educated, and unless some other than merely intellectual elements be made influential in their training. Naturally the first element which occurs is religious and moral training, but with that the community, as such, has in our society nothing to do. That teaching, as teaching, is forbidden in direct form; we must seek other means to our end. They are at hand in the kind of training which teaches how to be industrious, how to work intelligently; the boy who has learned *to do* something is apt to respect himself as being something.

The type of instruction at the cost of the community, then, in addition to rudimentary "book-learning," should be, as far as possible, *industrial*, both in the technical and in the moral sense of the word.

There seems no good reason why the State systems of public instruction should not include industrial institutions of low grade as well as agricultural and mechanical colleges; nor why these low grade institutions should not be available for each race; nor why some of the public money wasted annually in pushing studies beyond the reasonable limits of instruction at State expense should not be used in fitting the youth of the country for the actual demands of daily life by practical industrial training. If the intelligent among the young negroes could, along with their rudimentary book instruction, acquire the practical information necessary for them to become eventually good carpenters, and cooks, and house-maids, and mechanics, and dairy-maids, and bricklayers, and hostlers, and dining-room servants; could learn something real and tangible about the crops and the soils which they are to cultivate, and the horses, and sheep, and cattle which they are to tend, undoubtedly the public common school would become at once a prolific source of blessing to the country as well as to the negroes themselves, who are essentially an agricultural people. But such a scheme of education, perhaps it is objected, seems to relegate the negro, broadly speaking, to the *peasant* condition. Unquestionably it does, and rightly and wisely does; or rather it *recognizes this his actual condition as his proper condition*. His proper condition, if he is incapable of rising above it; and his proper condition, too, if his future be great. For it is impossible to imagine that the negro race, as a race and not as individuals, is to escape or ought to escape the burden which has been borne by every people in the history of the world who have achieved a commanding position. That he will be helped and favored beyond any other race in his struggle to make the most of himself, by being under the influence and protection of a people far in advance of his own, is evident. That he should be exempt from working out his own race-salvation himself, is neither to be expected nor to be desired. Our forefathers did this very thing for hundreds of years and lifted themselves gradually, by dint of the strength and virtues slowly acquired during that long time; our blood kin are doing this very same thing to-day in this very country, in England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and Germany.

King Alfred set his subjects the example of labor with hand and brain; William Shakespeare worked for his living; Ben Jonson was a bricklayer; John Bunyan was a roving, half-starved tinker; stalwart John Smith toiled and bled for the Virgin Land; George Washington worked for years surveying trackless forests; Abraham Lincoln mauled rails. It is in the sweat of such men's brows that our race has earned the bread upon which it has grown so great. For the negro race to escape this probation would mean to condemn them to rapid lapse back to barbarism, perhaps to extermination at the hands of the whites. Unless they know how to work and do work, their destruction seems a natural consequence. The history of the American Indians makes further insistence on this point unnecessary.

Freedom has usually been earned slowly, at the cost of such toil and blood as, in comparison, would laugh to scorn the worst features of American slavery. In this case, freedom came as a sudden gift, and in a way tending to disturb, if not destroy, character. Therefore let the negro race prove itself worthy of freedom by earning it over again, yet without ever again losing it. No amount of philanthropic good-will can do for them what they alone can do for themselves; but good-will and wise guidance can and should give them the help and encouragement not inconsistent with the principle of self-help. Some of the negro's

worst enemies have been among his most unselfish but misguided friends. In the education of a people the blunder as to *method* is usually fatal for the generation which makes it, though reaction is possible, and blunders many and weighty have been made about this people. I pause to note a brilliant exception. Not among the blunderers stands General S. C. Armstrong, of the Hampton Normal Institute in Virginia, who, so far as my information goes, is doing a more excellent work for and with the negroes than any man in the South. He teaches them to study, and he teaches them to work, and to respect themselves because they have duties and recognize them and perform them. It is a pleasure to refer to him and to his sensible and successful methods.

In this light alone does the solution of the negro problem look hopeful; that is to say, by means of a system of education confined, for the masses, to rudimentary instruction in text-books, supplemented by such instruction and training in industrial handicrafts, in real *work*, as will be practical and effective for the individual and for the community. This, of course, need not exclude provision for those proving themselves, capable of higher things. But private enterprise and philanthropy will provide for that, should the State not do so. That has been the history of education in this country, so far, and will continue to be¹.

It is by this means alone, further, that there can be formed, soon enough, a "better class," an "upper society," among the negroes themselves, who will become the natural leaders of their race, as has been the case with other races in the past. To the formation of this "better class" foreseeing men are looking with hope as the means of averting trouble and disaster between the two races.

As long as the negroes follow the lead of designing, selfish white men, so long must the antagonism of conflict continue, and so long must the negroes be thrown back upon their own race instincts and upon what is worst in the civilization of the whites. That is most unfortunate for them. Such a better class implies property, intelligence, and the sense of responsibility accompanying them. Under its lead the negro race will become more and more American and less and less African, since the very fact of the existence of these native leaders will show that they have themselves attained the white man's standpoint in attaining and successfully maintaining their own position. Led by this class, helped by the whites, the negro race may hope for the attainment of ideals homogeneous, perhaps identical, with those of the Anglo-American rulers of this country; not well otherwise; nor otherwise does harmonious co-existence of the two races seem probable. The formation of that class means the partial solution of the negro problem.

The history of the United States is that of a tremendous experiment in government, and on an enormous scale. The negro element is in itself a vast experiment in civilization, and its presence renders the general experiment much more complicated and difficult. It is the single element in our population containing dangerous tendencies which are *distinctly race tendencies*. The Indians are too few to affect us materially. The American-born child of European immigrants is, generally speaking, an American, the difference of race not being marked enough to prevent such rapid absorption. Not so with the negroes of

¹ The Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1882-'83 shows fifty-six normal schools, forty-three institutions for secondary instruction, eighteen universities and colleges, and twenty-four schools of theology, for the exclusive benefit of the negro race, which have been established and are supported by private persons or associations. That enumeration does not include the million-dollar Slater Fund, nor other large contributions made since the report was compiled.

the southern States. Race, previous condition of servitude, ingrained habits, all tend in the other direction. And besides, amalgamation under existing conditions would be most disastrous to both races. The peaceful solution of the problem depends upon the partial destruction of the inherited African spirit, by its absorption into the American spirit—upon the firm establishment of American race ideals as the common standard for all Americans, white and black, in the practical needs of life and of citizenship. That process is now going on; to hasten it is most desirable. For the completion of that process, lapse of time is necessary, and earnest, persistent, sober adaptation of means to the end in view, as contingencies may arise.

The limitations of the discussion of Race in Education in this paper, it will be seen, are twofold: as to the States representing the white race, the assumption that it should give the negro rudimentary instruction and industrial training; as to the negro, the assumption that, as a race, he should not be carried forward in mere intellectual instruction too fast. These limitations are arbitrary; they are in fact a compromise between the whole public and a part of it. They do not possess that logic of system so dear to the theorist. But it is believed that the ideas herein set forth are thoroughly in accord with the method of our Anglo-American race, which has ever shown its wisdom in dealing with great questions by recognizing plainly that life is not logic, either for the state or for the individual. The history of England and of the United States is one long succession of compromises between social theories and principles, either made to avoid impending logical results or brought about by means of these logical results. This paper moves, then, in the national course of procedure which is tentative, which would allow the race element time and opportunity to do its own work. That only is true liberty which is developed freely by a race itself. It cannot be made to order at once by a proclamation, by a school system, or by anything else; but it can be cultivated, helped forward, educed. The actual liberty of the negro is not true liberty, not American liberty. The proper education which will cultivate in him this true freedom, and at the same time train him to meet all its requirements, to use it and not to abuse it—that is a great part of the greatest problem before the American people today. To quote the language of a great thinker:

You are undertaking the greatest political experiment that has ever been performed by any people whatever. You are at this present centenary a nation of forty millions of people. At your next centenary rational and probable expectation may look to see you two hundred millions, and you have before you the problem whether two hundred millions of English speaking, strong-willed people will be able to hold together under republican institutions and under the real despotism of universal suffrage; whether States' rights will hold their own against the necessary centralization of a great nation, if it is to act as a whole, or whether centralization will gain the day without breaking down republican institutions. The territory you cover is as large as Europe, as diverse in climate as England and Spain, as France and Russia, and you have to see whether with the diversity of interests, mercantile and other, which arise under these circumstances, national ties will be stronger than the tendency to separation; and as you grow and the pressure of population makes itself manifest, the spectre of pauperism will stalk among you, and you will be very unlike Europe if communism and socialism do not claim to be heard.

Great will be your honor, great will be your position, if you solve [the problem] righteously and honestly; great your shame and misery if you fail. But let me express my most strong conviction that the key to success, the essential condition to success, is one and one only: that it rests entirely upon intellectual clearness and upon the moral worth of the individual citizen. Education cannot give intellectual clearness. It cannot give moral worth, but it may cherish them and bring them to the front.

Let every lover of our country take earnestly to heart Professor Huxley's words of wisdom.

Education, intellectual and moral, is the greatest need of a free, self-governing people. But it must be education adapted to the conditions of the people's life. When these conditions change the type of popular education can be changed or enlarged. One-sided or over-hasty intellectual growth is dangerous. Semblance becomes mistaken for substance. The negroes are essentially an agricultural race. Their education should proceed in accordance with that fact. Thereby will they be enabled to rise most surely to whatever attainment their race may be capable of under its very advantageous surroundings. Their education at present ought to be chiefly agricultural and industrial; such education must be to them power and not a delusion. Unfortunately, as a class, they already regard the mere smatterings of primary tuition, the simple going to school, as education. Let us beware of setting up for them a "fetich" to worship in mere school instruction, especially now just as our institutions in the higher education seem, under the wise lead of Washington and Lee University in Virginia, and of Harvard University in Massachusetts, on the point of breaking away from the too exclusive worship of the "college fetich," by substituting for it the cultivation of our mother tongue and of the sciences which prop civilization.

In conclusion, the point of view of this paper is American; it is neither Southern nor Northern, for educational questions know no such territorial limitations; and it is believed that the views herein set forth are in consonance with the present imperative needs of American popular institutions. Plain language has been used to make plain statements, not to imply censure nor to make harsh criticisms. The aim of the paper is educational, not controversial; to elicit truth, not to make a point; to avoid a race conflict, not to stir up strife. If anything contained in it should be found helpful in furthering the great interests which have called us together from so many parts of our common country, the purpose of its writing will be fulfilled.

MEMORANDUM RESPECTING SIMULTANEOUS AND UNIFORM EXAMINATIONS UNDER REGULATIONS OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT FOR THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO, CANADA.

BY ALEXANDER MARLING, LL. B.,

Secretary to the Education Department, Ontario, Canada.

In the Province of Ontario there are uniform and simultaneous examinations in the literary and scientific course required as a condition of obtaining certificates of qualification to teach in the public (or elementary) schools.

The candidates who pass these are eligible for admission to training schools, and after a period of such attendance they are examined chiefly in the branches that are more distinctly professional, their ability to teach the several subjects of a public school course being also practically tested.

The certificates granted are of Class III (lowest), Class II, and Class I.

The preliminary or non-professional examination is held annually in July. The question papers are prepared by a central committee of examiners appointed by the provincial Government on the recommendation of the Minister of Education, the present committee consisting of Prof. G. P. Young, of University College, Toronto, as Chairman, the inspectors of normal and high schools, and certain inspectors of public schools.

Suitable regulations are made for the conduct of the examinations, the presiding examiner for Class II and Class III examinations in each locality being a public school inspector or a substitute approved by the Minister. The papers are confidentially printed in the Education Department and transmitted to the several inspectors, who conduct the examinations at about one hundred centers. The place of examination is usually a high (secondary) school, the candidates being generally prepared at those institutions. The duty of the local examiner is simply to receive and distribute the papers, to preside, to enforce the observance of the regulations, and to transmit the answers to the Education Department in Toronto. The answers are then referred to the committee, assisted by about forty sub-examiners, also appointed on the recommendation of the Minister.

If a candidate is reported by the committee to have passed this examination, he is awarded a preliminary certificate of Class II or Class III, which does not, however, allow him to undertake teaching until he has been trained and examined at the county model school, and received his full (or professional) certificate.

Those awarded Class II at the non-professional examination are exempted from further examination in these subjects as a preliminary condition of admission to the provincial normal school, to be trained for the Class II professional (or full) certificate; but they are required, as well as the Class III candidates, to undergo training and examination before the local examiners at the county model school, for the Class III

Professor Hogg was followed by Mons. B. BUISSON, Representative of the French Ministry of Education at the Exposition, who presented a paper on "The Recent Reforms in Public Instruction, and especially in Primary Instruction, in France." (See p. 111.)

Before entering on the subject of his paper, M. Buisson, as delegate of the French Government and representative of several public and private educational institutions which took part in the Exposition, assured the members of the International Congress that he was the bearer of a warm and hearty message of sympathy to them, and was commissioned to salute in a spirit of true brotherhood the teachers of America in the name of the teachers of France.

After the reading of M. Buisson's paper the session adjourned.

SEVENTH SESSION.

The Seventh Session of the Congress was held in Tulane Hall, Friday, February 27th, at 2 P.M., Dr. M. A. NEWELL in the chair.

The first thing in order on the programme was the presentation of a paper by Miss ALICE C. FLETCHER, entitled "An Historical Sketch of Indian Civilization and Education." (See p. 508.)

The Chairman announced as next in order on the programme a paper by Dr. T. W. BICKNELL, entitled "History of Educational Journalism in New England." (See p. 517.)

Upon the completion of the reading of Dr. Bicknell's paper, it then being 4.15 P.M., the session adjourned.

EIGHTH SESSION.

The Eighth Session of the Congress was held in Tulane Hall, Friday, February 27th, at 8.30 P.M., Dr. M. A. NEWELL in the chair.

The first paper announced was read by Dr. L. G. BARBOUR of Virginia, on "Competitive Studies and Resultant Prizes." (See p. 532.)

After the reading of Dr. Barbour's paper, the Chairman announced a paper on "Race in Education," by Prof. W. T. THOM of Virginia. (See p. 537.)

Dr. E. E. WHITE said at the conclusion of Professor Thom's paper: I have been deeply interested in the paper just presented, and I rise to say that I do not feel entirely competent to speak on this great problem. The more I understand it, the more deeply I am impressed with that feeling. It is a problem requiring great wisdom, but there is one assertion in that paper which I think is an inadvertence, yet I have heard it once or twice, and that assertion is that moral education has no place in the public school. The paper assumed that position—that the moral education of the negro was to be treated as impossible under our American system of free schools.

As many of you know, for a good many years I have been quite familiar with American educational ideas and features. One of the

questions on which American teachers as a body are agreed, is that the vital moral training of the pupils of the public schools is its highest commission and its supremest duty, and we never concede that the work of the public schools is not open to this class of education, and it is vastly better that this generation of scholars shall go out alive to truth and virtue and honor and God, than that they should go out trained in the best methods in the scholastic phase of education. I go further. We never concede the point that virtue has no place in education. It is true that there have been some appearances which would indicate that religious influences would disappear, but that is exceptional. So far as my experience goes, the education of the schools is Christian. The great body of American educators bring to-day the influence of religion into the school. It may be that religion is not taught directly in the school, but everywhere, with few exceptions, there is the recognition of God as the supreme authority. There is the recognition of man's duty toward God everywhere, in the school. The conscience of our youth is fortified with religious influences. We do not teach denominational theology, but the recognition of God and the influence of religion must be in every school if you are going to have any vital moral training. Our whole system of moral training must be vitalized by religious influences breathed by the teacher from his life and spirit into it. I repeat that I think that statement of the paper was an inadvertence. The American school does not ignore the importance of vital moral training.

Hon. G. J. ORR: I feel a little as though I should like to trespass on the regular order. I feel so deeply upon this question that I rise to say a few words. There never has been a people put in the position of the people of the South. We feel this question much more deeply than our brothers coming from the other quarters of the nation can feel it. The question of what shall be done with the negro is the greatest question among us. The negroes are in our houses, they mingle with our children, they are of us, and this is our problem. It is the greatest question that has ever been considered in this country, or perhaps in any other. I agree with Dr. White. If you teach these people simply intellectual training, and the moral training is neglected, no one can tell the result. One great help to training that race is wanting. They know nothing of the family and its influences. The Bible teaches me that the family is at the foundation of the Christian Church. You cannot build up a church and make it such a church as it ought to be until all the obligations growing out of it are observed at home by the head of the family. The family rests at the bottom of everything in the Church, and at the foundation of everything valuable in the State. This feature has been entirely wanting. The moral training given in the homes of the American people has been what has saved this country in the past. These people have been without it, and we know the result. We know the morals of that people. I have not heard a paper during

the sittings of this body that was so very valuable, so full of suggestions, that discussed this greatest question of all questions with so much temperateness and in such a philosophical way. While saying this, I must also say that it was wanting, I think, just at the point Dr. White mentions. My notion of the treatment of that people is that the Christian Churches, all of them, must come in and labor with them, in order to form a proper sentiment among them and give them a religious training. Let us give them an intellectual training, and let every church come in and labor in their moral training. This is the missionary field of the churches. I have felt that myself in relation to this people. They have no truer friend upon this great continent than myself. Their presence among us incites this matter of national aid. But for their presence we would not ask any help, we would be able to manage that question ourselves. In my own State I believe we have 128,000 whites over ten years of age who are unable to write, and 392,000 colored, making a grand total of 520,000 out of a population of one and a half million. They call Georgia the Empire State of the South. She is a State great in resources, great in achievements, great in many directions, and, as the census shows, great in illiteracy. The Southern States, as I have said, are the States that are affected immediately by the presence of this population among them. I have been studying this question for years past; for seven long years I have been laboring in the cause of national aid to education; I have gone to every assembly of citizens where it was discussed; I have used all the influence I could in its favor. It is because I feel that we have a problem with which we are unable ourselves to deal. It is beyond our power to grapple with it, and a wise man hath said, "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick." I did hope that the present Congress would help us by the passage of the Blair Bill, but information comes to us from the Capitol that we are not to have it. Will you agree with me here to begin anew in that direction? Will you promise to take hold and labor with us?

I ask you as brethren to give us help. I feel that I can say that there is no longer a North and a South, no longer two sections. We are one people. While I say that, let me say a few words more in the same connection. I wish to make an appeal to you to-night that you take the same ground upon this question, which we feel to be essential. I said a while ago that this was our question. True, Massachusetts and Minnesota and all the States are interested, and if we go down we drag them down; we either sink or swim together; but while this is true, we are more immediately affected, and we will go down first. What I wish to say is this:—Numbers of us are studying the question. We are doing all that can be done, and we ask you simply for help. We feel that whatever is done must be put in the hands of some one. Now I do not object to discussion by my brethren from the North. They can give us valuable suggestions. But let me say to-night that it is im-

possible for you to understand this question as those of us who are connected with it understand it.

I should not feel that I was fully qualified to deal with the question of how the city of Boston should be managed in her school interest. I should feel that my friend Dr. Bicknell and others understood that question better than I did. But reared on Southern soil, and having mingled with the population from my earliest infancy to this hour, I think I know them. There are certain things connected with the question that no man can know who has not been a long resident among them. The Southern States are the States to work out this great question. We welcome aid from abroad, we feel that you are acting magnanimously when you rise up and help us. I think I understand the temper of the people of my own State, and I feel just as well assured as I can be of anything that is not an actual occurrence, that they would not accept outside help unless they are left to work it out themselves.

He who assumes to put conditions upon us will injure the people whom he seeks to benefit. I feel that we ought to be trusted. Let me say what I said to Senator Blair. I found him with a bill creating a commission, and I said this to him in reply to a conversation: "I am known all over the South as an advocate of universal education. I have labored in that field for thirteen years, but if you pass such a measure as that I tell you the people would not accept the tendered aid; it would be rejected." Twelve months ago, as a member of the sub-Committee of Education and Labor that traveled over this Southern country, he telegraphed me to come to the Parker House in Atlanta, as they wished to examine me. I went and was examined for an hour and a half. When I finished giving that testimony he said: "When I was here a few years ago I felt that we could not trust the South. I have been traveling over your Southern country. I have had men before me representing all conditions of society, and I feel thoroughly convinced that I was wrong in my estimate." He went back to Washington and framed a bill which the great majority of people in my State will accept gladly.

Professor THOM: I desire to correct a misapprehension. As far as I gathered from the remarks of the gentleman who followed me, it seems to have been understood that I was not in sympathy with the work done by the several denominations in the South. It is exactly this which I do appreciate. If I may be allowed to say so, I think they have wisely pursued the right course, and I am heartily in sympathy with them.

Professor BARTHOLOMEW next delivered an address, in which he made some remarks on educational progress in Kentucky; he said:

The work in Kentucky is to be judged by its results; and when you come to our State and see the results produced, that is sufficient to determine the character of the work. There is no man in this country to-day who stands higher morally than does Albert S. Willis, of Kentucky, and he is a graduate of the public schools of Louisville. We met with

opposition, but education was the victor; and when the Superintendent of Public Instruction made his report, after an earnest contest of nearly eighteen years, then it was that the existence of great illiteracy was demonstrated; then it was that the people appointed a convention to meet at Frankfort, out of which grew the inter-State convention of Louisville, and the State of Kentucky called to its aid in the solution of this problem gentlemen who are here to-night, the Chairman, Professor White, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Harris, and gentlemen from the South.

A committee was appointed to memorialize Congress in reference to Federal aid to assist us to bring our people up to the proper standard, and Kentucky to-night extends to you her profoundest gratitude for the work which you have done in influencing the State Legislature, which gave to the State a new law which has incorporated all good features, which has established systems of instruction, and which takes an interest in favor of popular education. If you will pardon me, I want to say something in regard to my native State, and I want to mention one point here which seems to me works in beautifully in reference to the discussion just had. If you are agreed that popular education is necessary for the white man in order that he may properly be prepared to exercise citizenship, how does it come to pass that the white man should have it and not the negro? If it is necessary in one case, it is necessary in the other. In Kentucky a colored man stands upon the same level as a white man.

I desire to say that we are proud of our system of public instruction. The city of Louisville has its primary schools, its intermediate schools, and its high schools, extending to the same level for each race, except that the negro is in a separate school. The same qualifications for teachers are required, the same rules are in force, the same course of study is pursued, and the same salary is paid; and I believe that the public school system of the city of Louisville to-day is built upon a foundation which will reflect honor and credit upon itself and upon the State.

It is not necessary for me to enlarge further in reference to the provisions which have grown out of the last convention held at Louisville. Nearly everything recommended by that convention was incorporated in the new school law. It only remains for me, in the spirit of our great son, Henry Clay, to place the hand of the northern brother in the hand of the southern brother, and say that the teachers of this country are the saviors of this country, and that in the work of removing illiteracy and elevating the intellectual and moral standards you must adopt the motto of my State, "United we stand, divided we fall."

Dr. HANCOCK, from the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

To the International Congress of Educators:

The undersigned committee, appointed to draw up suitable resolutions to express the pleasure and interest which the members of this body have derived from their inspection of the extent and perfection of this, the largest of world expositions ever

held, and to set forth in fitting terms their gratification at the friendly zeal and assistance manifested by its managers in the cause of education, which has thus been enabled to offer for study so complete a display of educational work and appliances; hereby offer the following resolutions :

Resolved, That this Congress bears its testimony to the fact that the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition is not only more extensive in its buildings and space occupied, but may claim precedence on the far more just grounds that it has applied the skill gained by former experience in similar expositions in such a way as to bring together all the valuable devices heretofore discovered for showing to the eye at a glance the resources of a country, the quality and peculiarities of mechanical construction, and usefulness of goods and machinery, offering in this respect an exhibition of new phases and aspects of national wealth not before thought possible to make objects of display.

Resolved, That this Congress expresses its feelings of grateful acknowledgment to the managers of this Exposition for the recognition they have extended to education as one of the important elements of national strength and development, especially as related to industry and the production of wealth.

Resolved, That this Congress hereby returns its sincere thanks to the citizens of New Orleans, to the members of the Louisiana Educational Society, the New Orleans Teachers' Association, and especially to the President, trustees and officers of the Tulane University, for the warm hospitality and obliging attention with which they have welcomed it to their city and provided it with all the facilities for holding its sessions.

JOHN HANCOCK.

WM. T. HARRIS.

J. W. DICKINSON.

Dr. M. A. Newell then read a list of papers which were received by the Congress, but which were not read.

Dr. M. A. NEWELL then said :

Before we adjourn I wish to express my personal thanks to the members of the Congress for the great kindness they have shown me in the arduous task I had in making the necessary arrangements, and also my gratitude to the citizens of New Orleans for the attention which I have received from them.

At the conclusion of these remarks, at 10 P. M., the Congress adjourned *sine die*.

FIFTH SESSION.

Thursday Evening, February 25, 1886.

W. E. SHELDON, Chairman of Committee on Resolutions, reported the following preamble and resolutions in memory of the death of John D. Philbrick, of Massachusetts, which were unanimously adopted by a rising vote:

Whereas, we the officers and members of the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association having learned of the death of John Dudley Philbrick, LL.D., of Massachusetts, who for more than twenty-five years has been an active and enthusiastic member, and an ex-President of the Association, and desiring to place upon record our appreciation, esteem, and love of him, adopt the following:

Resolved, That this association mourns the loss of one of its most devoted and intelligent workers in the cause of popular education. As a teacher, superintendent, and writer upon educational topics for more than a third of a century, he has ranked among the foremost educators of this country. Wise and discreet in counsel, energetic and enthusiastic in action, helpful and sympathetic in his relations with his co-workers, he has left behind him a record full of inspiration and worthy of imitation.

Resolved, That the cause of general education has sustained a heavy loss in being deprived of the zeal, energy, and wisdom which have pre-eminently characterized his long career.

Resolved, That the Department of Superintendence especially desire to recognize the eminent services of Mr. Philbrick in their special field of educational work, in which he labored for nearly a quarter of a century, achieving not only a national, but a world-wide reputation as a superintendent of public instruction.

Resolved, That these resolutions be entered upon the minutes of this association, and that a copy of them be sent to Mrs. Philbrick, to whom we tender our incere sympathy in her great bereavement.

W. E. SHELDON,
ANDREW J. RICKOFF,
R. W. STEVENSON,

Committee.

The following address was then delivered by the Hon. S. M. Finger, of North Carolina: *from circ. inf. No. 2, 1886.*

THE EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS INTERESTS OF THE COLORED
PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH.

Since the storms that beat upon our ship of state subsided, we find her anchored in the harbor of freedom and equality of all men before the law. Twenty-one years have elapsed, and as the clouds clear away, it becomes us to take our reckonings. Almost a generation has passed away, and other men control, other ideas prevail. It is wise that we lay aside all sectional feelings, and without crimination or recrimination discuss all the great problems that confront us, and especially the negro problem, which, I submit, is perhaps the most difficult of them all. I desire to have it understood that in anything I shall say it is furthest from my purpose to offend any man, white or black, north or south.

Born and reared in the South, having a southern ancestry ante-dating the Revolution of 1775, the son and the grandson of an owner of slaves, I have had opportunity of studying the negro in his home in the South, before and since the late war between the States.

Educated in New England, and having had business intercourse with the people of the northern section of the Union, I have had opportunity of studying the negro in the North also, both before and since his freedom.

Add to this the circumstance that I was taught by my father to look with suspicion upon the institution of slavery, and that consequently I had a degree of sympathy for the slaves.

In view of these facts, I trust that I can enter upon the discussion of the negro question with freedom from prejudice against the colored people, and with sufficient opportunity to have learned something about them from actual contact and to enable me to keep up with changing public sentiment about the negro, both North and South.

But with all these opportunities to study and observe the negro, I am free to confess that I do not know that I fully understand him; and I cannot, with satisfaction to myself, forecast his future or form a definite conclusion as to his capabilities. So far he is an undetermined quantity in the problem of civilization. Whether the size of his brain and his other peculiarities mark him as the white man's natural inferior, or only emphasize his want of opportunity, is an unanswered question, and it must remain an unanswered question until he shall have been tried and cultivated for more than one generation.

It is, however, but fair to state that when we consult history, any claim of the negro, or of any other of the colored nations, to equality in intellect or force of character with the Indo-European nations, rests upon a very slender foundation. History shows that the Aryan family of nations overcame all other nations with whom they came in contact. So far as the negroes in Africa were concerned, the grand, ancient civilization around the shores of the Mediterranean sea did not stir them. While the Egyptians built the pyramids and their magnificent cities; while the Carthaginians grappled in successful conflict with the Romans; while the Greeks and Romans made their arts of war and their fine arts felt and known throughout the then known world; while in later days, even down to the present, civilization and Christianity have been developed by the European and American people,—while all these things have been going on, the negroes in Africa have never, to any considerable extent, been aroused by them, notwithstanding in modern times special efforts have been made to civilize and Christianize them. History is against the claims of the negro to equality with the white nations. He would seem to be immovable, incapable of progress, except as he is brought into immediate personal contact with the whites.

However this may be, the white people of the southern section of the United States, as well as those of the northern, desire to give him a fair

trial. In this there seems now to be very fair unanimity of sentiment. So far as *the thing to be done* is concerned, there is not much diversity of opinion. He is a citizen, equal before the law to any other citizen in all the States of this Union. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that he must be educated, intellectually, industrially, and religiously, not alone for his benefit, but for the protection of our government.

But when we come to consider *how* this is to be done, intelligent and good people have different plans and theories. These plans and theories have foundation, in the minds of those who hold them, according to the glasses through which the negro is seen. One man sees in him capabilities equal to those of the white man, and he fits his plans and theories of education to his estimate of the negro's *natural* ability. Another man sees the negro as an *inferior* being, and he fits *his* plans and theories to his belief. Still another man sees him as an untried and unknown factor in civilization, now far behind in intelligence, morality, and religion, and so *his* ideas as to how to educate him take shape.

It is exceedingly interesting to watch these ever changing and developing views about the negro himself, and the consequent ever changing and developing plans and theories as to what is the best way to deal with him and educate him, both for his own benefit and for the benefit of the white people. Indeed, the whole matter would be amusing if we could forget the exceeding importance of the problem.

One man says, The race line is providential, and therefore it ought to be perpetuated. Another replies that the race line has already been broken down, and he goes on to argue that all laws that favor the separation of the races in schools, and all laws that forbid intermarriage between the races, ought to be repealed. He says that no harm would come to the body politic by allowing intermarriage, because there would be very little of it anyhow. Thus one of the reasons urged why intermarriage should not be forbidden, serves to show that legitimate social instincts have been given to the races by their Creator, which will perpetuate the race line in spite of law. Still another man says, This race question can never be settled until by intermarriage between the races the white race is made to absorb the colored race; and he advocates mixed schools and mixed churches, because he thinks this policy will lead to mixed marriages. I repeat that these different views would be amusing, if it were not for the momentous consequences involved in the adoption of a correct policy—such a policy as will be right in the highest sense of that word, and as will be for the best interests of both races.

Whether or not the negro is naturally equal or inferior to the whites is disputed, but his equality or inferiority need not now enter into the discussion as to how he should be educated. In a practical point of view, there is common ground enough to stand upon. The ground upon which this discussion should proceed is his real status now. We should recognize his intellectual and moral condition as it *is*, and not too eagerly

inquire what it will be after some generations of training shall have been given him. The future will take care of itself if we faithfully take care of the present.

Let us now inquire what his real status is. I do not think that any man who has not lived in the South for many years and observed the negro in his country home, as well as in the cities and towns, will be likely fully to understand his real condition, intellectual, moral, and religious. He may read all the literature touching upon it; he may travel through the South, and even sojourn for years in the South, and not comprehend it. Far the greater part of the negroes live in the country, on the plantations, and a traveler would be apt to form his opinions by what he saw in the cities and towns, where the most intelligent of the negroes congregate, and where their educational and religious opportunities are better than in the country. One who sees the negro in the cities and towns only will fail fully to comprehend his condition, even if he is free from any preconceived opinions about it.

Consider the case as it is. A race of the most barbarous people on the face of the earth, and perhaps the most ignorant, brought to the United States but a few generations ago at most; sunk into the lowest depths of heathenism; bound in all their worship by the most abject fear and degrading superstition; subjected to slavery without any effort, worth the name, to cultivate their intellects; suddenly released from their bondage in the condition of paupers; suddenly made citizens equal before the law to their old masters, who had been civilizing and developing for a thousand years; taught for twenty years in the bad school of politics; embittered against their former owners and for a time virtually ruling them; with only a few years of limited education by the impoverished South—with this history and this treatment, what in the very nature of the case must be their condition and disposition now, even if we assume their natural equality with the whites? Let any intelligent man free himself from any preconceived notions and answer as his reason dictates.

We could but expect them to be ignorant still; averse to labor, and so still living in poverty; ruled largely by superstition and fear in their worship; without providence for the future, spending their earnings, day by day as they receive them, if not for the necessities of life, for its pleasures and frivolities; inclined to immorality; the present generation, in large part, growing up in idleness and worthlessness, because of their surroundings and home life.

These surroundings and home life are, as a rule, of the most unfavorable kind. In the country, as well as in the cities and towns, in many cases whole families—fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters—live in small houses, often containing but one room, the parents exercising no restraint, or an impatient and passionate restraint, over their children, and the children having no elevating companionship. Of course there are exceptions, but I am not now noting the exceptions. With

such surroundings in the formative, family life of the colored children, before they reach the school age, and with such companionship, they have a most unfavorable start for the formation of character. Add to these home influences the physical inheritances transmitted to them—inheritanes that are apparent to the sight, and add to these still the inheritances of mind and soul which are invisible to mortal sight, but which are no less real than the physical, and we can have some appreciation of the real condition of these children.

I have drawn the general picture. I am glad that I can note many exceptions. As we visit the hotels and barber shops, we find almost all the service performed by well-behaved, intelligent, and decent colored persons, whose very service has brought the elevating contact with the white people, just as it does in the northern States. Then, too, we have in the South a large number of old negroes, industrious and well behaved—good men and women. The schools have elevated quite a goodly number into respectable teachers and preachers, and some have advanced in other walks of life. But all of these compose but comparatively a small proportion of the great mass.

In this connection it should be noted, too, that in those sections of the South where the farms were small before the slaves were freed, and where the whites labored with the slaves, the negroes are far more advanced in intelligence, good manners, and good morals, than are those who lived on the large cotton, rice, and sugar plantations. The difference is marked both as to the older negroes and their children. But I cannot now examine the different sections of the South in detail. I have time to draw only a general picture of what the negro's condition is in the South, and I desire to draw it strictly in the light of facts; and in making this list of exceptions, I am willing to leave a number of blank pages to be filled by any person to suit his section; and still the general picture, as I have drawn it, will be found substantially true. I am willing to concede that the negroes, as a whole, are improving slowly intellectually, and yet I want to impress the fact that the great mass of them are at the bottom round of the ladder of civilization, and that there are hereditary tendencies which any proper system of education must take into consideration.

One of the great mistakes many northern teachers made when they came South and took charge of colored schools was not to take note of these hereditary tendencies, both physical and mental; and the result was that the moral development of their pupils did not keep pace with their intellectual development. Some of these northern teachers, who have had charge of colored schools for years, now understand the real status of the negro children as to intelligence and character, and they hesitate about training their own children in association with them in the school-room.

These teachers had seen the negro in the North only, where the brightest of them had found their homes before the War; where they

did not number one in fifty of the population; where, from the very fact of there being comparatively so few of them, contact with the whites was a necessity in the daily labor of the negroes, because, wherever they turned to find employment, they rubbed against the whites; where they had the very best opportunities that any people so low down in the scale of civilization ever had in the whole history of the world; where, on account of the comparative smallness of their numbers, they had no appreciable effect upon the multitude of superior white people; where the one negro child, elevated by constant contact in every-day life with white people, had been educated with a multitude of white children without any appreciable deleterious effect upon them. These teachers, with ideas about the negro formed by what they saw of him under such circumstances, came south and expected to deal with him in the same way that they had dealt with him north. After years of labor, many of them, I think, are discouraged with the slow progress their pupils have made, especially in the development of character.

Aristotle wisely said, twenty-two hundred years ago, that the same education would not produce the same virtues in different persons, for the formation of character in each person is dependent upon three things—nature, habit, and instruction. This was true as applied then to the progressive Greeks, and it is true as applied to all people. Shall we not recognize it now as applied to the negroes? Shall we attempt to educate the negroes of the South in the same school-room with the whites? Shall we ignore the fact that the nature and habits of the colored children are widely different from the nature and habits of the white children? Shall a false philanthropy cause us to attempt to do an unnatural and an impossible thing?

Many things have been done since the War that have been damaging to the educational and religious interests of the negro. The passions of the hour ran so high that we went to work to advance him to a position far beyond what he was prepared for. He was given the ballot, of which he was not worthy. He was taught that to be free he must leave his old master's premises, if only to remove to an adjoining plantation; that he must leave his old master's church and organize a church of his own; that education was a panacea for all the ills of life; that he must have teachers and preachers of his own color; that the southern people would, if they could, put him back into slavery.

The color line was drawn in this way, and to a large extent it is kept up yet. Because of prejudices growing out of their bondage, and because the southern people resisted giving them the ballot at the time it was done and in the way it was done, it was easy to align the negroes against the whites in politics, and to separate them from the whites in every other way. This separation lessened their contact with the whites, and set them back in a religious point of view, because of the dense ignorance of those who assumed the office of preachers. In this respect they yet suffer great loss, for in very many cases their preachers

are still densely ignorant, and the preaching is unmeaning words—mere sound and fury.

But the prejudices between the two races, which were perhaps stronger on the part of the negroes against the whites than on the part of the whites against the negroes, are breaking down; and I do not think it will be long until a much better state of feeling will exist between them. What I desire specially to say in this connection is, that the American people have been pursuing a wrong policy with the negro, in that they have placed him in an unnatural state of advancement, and have spoiled him.

The negro's burden as a slave was forced labor; to him, freedom and the ballot and education meant exemption from manual labor, especially with such teaching and treatment as I have alluded to. With all this history as slaves and as freemen and citizens, and with their ignorance, it could but be expected that many of the negroes would become more and more worthless as laborers, and that their children would be trained to avoid labor as the curse of curses, and so be more worthless than their parents. The negro's head, so to speak, has been turned by the very novelty of his new condition.

In proportion, however, as they have been properly educated and have been led to see their condition as it is, and have learned that their freedom is secure, and that the white people of the South mean to assist them to such degree of elevation as they may prove worthy of, they become more contented. The state of feeling towards the whites is continually growing better. So, too, the white people are more and more adapting themselves to the situation. More and more there is a settled conviction that not only are the negroes citizens, and here to stay, but that they are best adapted to the development of, at least, the agricultural possibilities of the South. With a judicious system of education, and with just such treatment as they may merit from time to time, they will improve and make valuable citizens. Just now it is of the utmost importance that a determined effort shall be made to properly train the negro children in schools and Sunday schools, and to improve the home life of the colored people, and to inspire them with a higher idea of the Christian religion. Not only is this of the utmost importance, but it is a work of the utmost difficulty, and one in which the white people must guide.

In my judgment we must not only have separate schools for the colored people, but also have separate churches; and these schools and churches must be taught and ministered to by colored teachers and preachers, so far as colored people will prepare themselves to fill these offices. This is so because both races, as a whole, want it so, and because the relative condition of the races makes it a necessity. Any attempt at a general system of mixed schools and mixed churches would be a signal failure.

I know that some philanthropists claim that no aid should be given to schools or churches in the South except upon the condition of opening their doors to both races. They have a theory that must not be departed from. Judging them by their words and acts, they believe it to be wrong, a sin, to open a school for the colored people and at the same time not allow the white people to patronize it; also that it is wrong to open a school for the white people and not allow the colored people to attend it. Likewise they hold the same belief in reference to churches. They believe in the promiscuous mixing of the races in the churches, and in many cases this course is urgently advised.

The result of this teaching has been a continual clashing of the races, and it has threatened to break down the public schools of the South.

In some sections of the South strong efforts have been made to establish mixed congregations for public worship, and the colored people have been invited and even urged to join the white congregations, but they almost invariably refuse to do it as long as there is a colored congregation in the neighborhood. I see it stated that quite recently the Florida Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church North divided on the color line, forming two conferences in the same territory, one white and one colored. In making this division it was argued that this step had become a necessity for the progress of this church in the South. Thus slowly is the truth dawning upon men's minds that these races are so different in nature and habits that they are not now suited for such associations.

The colored people really prefer to have their schools and churches separate from those of the whites, and the whites demand that their schools and churches shall be separate from those of the colored people.

This disposition of the races to separate from each other is explained by those who advocate mixed schools and mixed churches by saying that at the bottom of the whole matter is race prejudice. Those who advocate separation say that this disposition rests upon legitimate social instincts, and not upon race prejudice. Whatever is the true explanation, the fact is hardly disputed by any intelligent person, and as a fact it must govern our policy.

The most intelligent of the colored people know that the policy of mixed schools would inevitably break down the whole public school system of the South, and so deprive them of the educational opportunities which they now have at public expense. They know, too, that a policy of mixed schools means that white teachers, and not colored ones; would be employed, if such a policy could be adopted without breaking down the schools entirely. They know, too, that mixed churches mean white ministers and not colored ones.

If the colored people are to make progress they must, as far as practicable, be thrown upon their own efforts, educationally and religiously, as well as in a material point of view. In these particulars the same rule applies as in the whole animal and vegetable economy—effort and

exercise. The colored people can never be made to stand alone unless they are encouraged to depend upon their own efforts and resources. Mixed schools and mixed churches inevitably take away the occupation of colored teachers and colored preachers, and continue the colored people's dependence upon the whites. There may be mixed schools and mixed congregations presided over by colored teachers and colored preachers, but, if so, I do not know where they are.

I do not mean to say that the colored people are far enough advanced educationally, morally, or religiously, to stand alone, and to make further progress in these particulars without the assistance and guidance of the whites. Indeed, I am free to say that I do not believe they are. I think it is evident now that if all assistance by the whites and all contact with them were withdrawn, the colored people, in the aggregate, would go backward instead of forward.

One thing, however, is very much to the negro's advantage: his faculty of imitation is very strongly developed. He seems naturally to imitate his white neighbors and to follow their guidance, especially when he is not controlled by prejudice. Therefore everything but principle should be conceded by the whites in order to break down all prejudice. That done, the whites will have access to the colored people and will be able to guide them. Then good examples will be imitated and good instruction will be heeded; then will the whites be able more successfully to teach colored teachers and colored preachers, and to gather colored children into Sunday-schools and instruct them in the principles of morality and the Christian religion.

But the colored people must be encouraged in every practicable way to help themselves. Just as a child, when being taught to walk, does not learn to walk, no matter how much its mother may help it, until it puts forth its own powers and tries to help itself; just so must the colored people, weak as they are, be led by the whites, but in such way as to cause them to try—cause them to call into exercise all their powers. In accordance with this principle, I think it best for them to have teachers and preachers of their own color so long as they may want them.

By pursuing this course the two races can, I believe, live in the South together in peace, each helping the other; and there will be some field of intellectual work open to the negro. In this country, where there are seven whites to one negro, with such a wide difference between them in every way, it is not reasonable to suppose that there can ever be any considerable field for intellectual work for the negro unless he finds it among his own people. Without some opportunity to exercise his intellectual faculties he will soon be discouraged, and lose his appetite for education, and become a mere serf or peon. Already there are signs of discouragement. As the negroes realize that labor is a necessity, and that education does not free them from it, they relax their efforts and are not so anxious to send their children to school; and under any system that it will be practicable to adopt, we will see more and more

of this as time rolls along. They, however, have a commendable race pride. They have always been dependent upon the whites, and the whites have always claimed that this dependence was natural and necessary for the welfare of both races, and have always claimed superiority. In more ways than one, since the War, the negroes have been taught that they are not naturally inferior to the whites, and that all they lack of being equal to the whites is education and a proper sense of self-dependence, or rather independence. Even if this is not so, their believing it stimulates their race pride and makes them struggle harder to advance. This is very much to their advantage upon the principle, universally acknowledged, that a faithful trial is half the battle, in every enterprise and with all people. I think, therefore, that so long as the negroes prefer teachers and preachers of their own race, they ought to be encouraged in their preference, provided colored persons will qualify themselves for the work; but there must be a rigid superintendence of all school work by the whites.

From another standpoint I insist that this is the correct policy. The negro's prejudice against the whites of the South has been intense for two reasons: (1) because he was held in the bondage of slavery, and (2) because in the days of reconstruction the whites resisted his being allowed to vote. These prejudices will sooner be broken down by allowing freedom of action in all particulars where no wrong principle is involved. To accomplish this end, it is better to allow them reasonably competent teachers of their own race, even if, for the time being, better qualified white teachers could be employed to serve them. After perfectly friendly relations are established, and after the negroes see that it may be better for them to have white teachers, they will seek them—then plenty will be found to serve them.

I have said that there are signs of discouragement among the negroes, because freedom, the ballot, and education have not brought the beneficial results which they so confidently expected. So, too, many of the white people are also discouraged. Out of their poverty, the southern States are spending for the education of the negroes perhaps as much as five million dollars per annum, without satisfactory results. In this work both the southern negroes and the southern whites deserve the encouragement of Congressional aid. But that question I do not propose to argue at length; it seems to me to be a self-evident proposition. It will encourage the negroes as well as the whites, and it should be given in such way as to allow a part to be used for building and furnishing school-houses. Comfortable and well-furnished houses are necessities, and of such the South is very sadly in need. The aid now proposed by Congress is confessedly mainly for the South, and I can see no good reason why it should be limited to the payment of teachers' salaries. It should, by all means, be put into the school treasuries of the States, and be used in common with State funds for all school purposes. If Congress will consent to encourage the school workers of the

South by extending this aid, let it be done in such a way as not to hamper them.

If it were not for the negroes, the southern States would not need this aid and would not ask it, and if it were not for the negroes no member of Congress would propose it. It is due to the South in common fairness, and the people of the South have shown that they are in earnest in educating the negroes and are worthy of it. I honor northern men who favor it, and I am surprised at southern men who oppose it. I honor northern men more who favor it without hampering restrictions, and I am the more surprised at southern men who oppose it when it is proposed that the funds shall be managed by State authorities.

So far as the question of civil rights as distinguished from social privileges is concerned, that is fast working itself out, and the less force applied to it the better.

It is no unusual thing now in the South to find negroes riding in first-class cars with the whites. I have seen negroes in the political conventions of both political parties; I have seen them serving with the whites as jurymen in the trial of important causes. Recently, in a city of the South, at the dedication of a public school building, I saw white and colored aldermen seated on the same rostrum during the ceremonies. In all such intercourse proper conduct and qualifications can be made requisites. Indeed, in all social and semi-social intercourse the correct policy is to apply as little force as possible, and let people's likes and dislikes and the free spirit of our republican institutions control.

The white people of the South insist rigidly upon but two things as to intercourse between the races: (1) That there shall be separate public schools for both races, and (2) that there shall be no inter-marriages between the races. The negroes, or rather the too sanguine friends of the negroes, who do not know them, will act wisely if they will make no contest on these two points. These are matters of public policy which the States have a right to control, and about which there is almost unanimity of sentiment.

In this paper I have spoken of education in a general way only, using the term in its broadest signification. While education in books, especially in the fundamental branches of English, is, perhaps, of prime importance, industrial education is of scarcely less importance, and it is pressing for proper recognition in our systems. How and to what extent it can be applied for the benefit of the negroes I cannot now discuss, more than to say that it is most highly probable that an unusually large proportion of them will always find their places on the farms, and that therefore special efforts ought to be made to teach them the most improved methods of farming. Farm life is itself a very fine industrial school, and as the general farming interests of the South are improved the negroes will share largely in the benefits.

SIXTH SESSION.

Friday Morning, February 26, 1886.

President EASTON called the meeting to order at All Souls' Church at 10 A. M. Prayer was offered by Prof. J. A. B. LOVETT, of Alabama.

HON. WARREN HIGLEY, President of the American Forestry Congress, read the following paper:

FORESTRY IN EDUCATION.

In appearing before you to discuss the subject of "Forestry in Education," and to advocate the introduction of its study into our American schools, I am not unmindful of the fact that the number and variety of subjects now taught in the public schools are quite alarming to those whose school experience was rounded by the "three R's"; nor do I forget that the spirit pervading the philosophy of our modern education prompts to the suitable introduction of all those branches of knowledge that are deemed essential to the highest usefulness of the citizen. I therefore trust that the importance of this subject may soon be so recognized as to be given a suitable place in the curriculum of public school instruction.

It is a trite saying, but no less a true one, that our public schools form the bulwark of our national strength; and "Education, the guardian of liberty" is a motto whose exalting truth we delight to recognize. But *how* the public schools shall continue to be the bulwark of our American institutions, and *what* education shall be the sure guardian of liberty, are the grave questions submitted to you for consideration and answer.

It is evident that the education of our American youth should be directed with reference to their future sovereign citizenship; that while they are trained into an accurate knowledge of the fundamental branches upon which science, literature, and philosophy rest, they shall also be led to observe the working of Nature's laws in her various manifestations, and the effects produced by man's violation of them.

Something of history and of the science of government are necessary to be added to the "three R's" by way of preparation for the intelligent exercise of the right of franchise; and instruction in those departments of American economics that most nearly touch the productive energies of the people and affect most seriously the results of their labors should by no means be omitted in the common school curriculum.

It is not so much the mere knowledge that is gained in the brief period of school life that educates, as the inspiration there given to know more, and the avenues there opened and the means pointed out by which that higher and larger knowledge can be gained through individual, persistent effort.

from circ. inf. 3, 1888
(Colyer Meriwether)

CHAPTER VI.

FREE SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

Although South Carolina was settled in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, there was no systematic effort of the people as a whole toward providing popular education until 1811. But it is not to be inferred from this that there were no educational advantages at all. Most of the people were able to educate their own children without aid, but the middle class needed assistance, although it was not large enough to warrant the maintenance of schools throughout the country for its especial benefit. The country was sparsely settled, as there had been from the earliest foundation of the colony a tendency toward the formation of large plantations. Owing to this condition of affairs the hand of charity was stretched forth to aid the poor white people at an early period.

EARLY FREE SCHOOLS.¹

The first free school successfully established in South Carolina was founded in Charleston in 1710. Previous to that time the people of the State had conceived the idea of establishing free schools, but it was not until 1710 that legislative action was taken in that direction. In 1712 another act was passed, incorporating certain persons under the designation of commissioners, for founding, erecting, governing, and visiting a free school for the use of the inhabitants of South Carolina, with full authority to receive all gifts and legacies formerly given to the use of the free school, and to purchase as much land as might be deemed necessary for the use of the school, and to erect thereon suitable buildings. The gentlemen named in this act constituted the first Board of Free School Commissioners in the State.

There was a feeling in favor of popular education with many of the leaders. Sir Francis Nicholson, the first Royal Governor, was a great friend of learning, and did very much to encourage it, and men of wealth bequeathed large sums for establishing free schools. The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts was active in founding schools and supplying books. It started a school at Goose Creek in 1710, and another at Dorchester in 1724, in response to a petition for aid. But as indicating the spirit of the people, it is important

¹ For a more detailed account of some of these schools, see Appendix III.

to notice the act of February, 1722. By this it was provided that justices of the county courts be authorized to erect a free school in each county and precinct, to be supported by assessments on land and negroes. Such schools were bound to teach ten poor children free, if sent by the justices.

The private donations, also, were liberal for a small colony. Richard Beresford, in 1721, bequeathed six thousand five hundred pounds for the education of the poor; in 1732 Richard Harris bequeathed one thousand pounds for the same object; and in 1728 Rev. Richard Ludlam gave his whole estate of two thousand pounds, which with other bequests amounted to over fifteen thousand pounds by 1778. "For nearly a century four schools were maintained with the proceeds of this latter bounty," and they were flourishing up to the War, when the fund was finally swept away. There were other funds, but it is needless to refer to them, as these are sufficient to show the state of feeling. There were a number of societies organized at intervals down to 1811 that were of great assistance in this work.¹ In 1798 another attempt seems to have been made by the Government, in the appointment of trustees to examine free schools in Orangeburg, but with no definite results.

GENERAL FRANCIS MARION ON POPULAR EDUCATION.

That there were prominent men who keenly felt the need of popular education by the Government is seen in a conversation that General Francis Marion, the "Swamp Fox," held with his biographer in 1795. The emphatic reference to the Legislature shows that some attempt had been made in that body to establish free schools. "God preserve our Legislature from such penny wit and pound foolishness. What! Keep a nation in ignorance rather than vote a little of their own money for education! * * * We fought for self-government; and God hath pleased to give us one better calculated, perhaps, to protect our rights and foster our virtues and call forth our energies and advance our condition nearer to perfection and happiness, than any government that ever was framed under the sun. But what signifies this government, divine as it is, if it be not known and prized as it deserves? This is best done by free schools.

"Men will always fight for their government according to their sense of its value. To value it aright they must understand it. This they cannot do without education. And, as a large portion of the citizens are poor, and can never attain that inestimable blessing without the aid of government, it is plainly the duty of government to bestow it freely upon them. The more perfect the government, the greater the duty to make it well known. Selfish and oppressive governments must 'hate the light and fear to come to it, because their deeds are evil.' But a fair and cheap government, like our republic, 'longs for the light

¹ See Davis's sketch in Hand-Book.

and rejoices to come to the light, that it may be manifested to come from God,' and well worthy of the vigilance and valor that an enlightened nation can rally for its defence. A good government can hardly ever be half anxious enough to give its citizens a thorough knowledge of its own excellences. For, as some of the most valuable truths, for lack of promulgation, have been lost, so the best government on earth, if not widely known and prized, may be subverted."

There are other evidences that there was a strong interest felt in the matter even among the great rank and file of the people. Although the daily papers of that time contained very little matter of any sort, and even less of a local nature, yet there is a complaint in the Charleston Courier of October 15, 1803, from a private correspondent, concerning the indifference to education shown by the editor of the paper. "We see great incomes made and great incomes wasted, great grandeur in equipage and household circumstances; * * * but we do not see the country studded up and down with those precious jewels of a state, *Free Schools.*" He regretted that everything hinged on politics; even the discussion on the yellow fever had taken a diplomatic turn, and we might expect to see the whole matter settled by a ruling of the State Department. Mr. Barnwell, a member of the Legislature, followed this in the next meeting of the Legislature with the introduction of a bill "for establishing public schools in the several districts of the State."¹

FREE SCHOOL ACT OF 1811.

Matters continued thus until the act of 1811,² when the people took hold of the question. This act was recommended by Governor Henry Middleton in his message of November 26, 1811. On the following day Senator Strother presented petitions for free schools from citizens of Fairfield, Chester, Williamsburg, Darlington, Edgefield, Barnwell, York, Saint Stephen, Saint James, Santee, Saint John's, Colleton, and Saint Peter's. Hon. Stephen Elliott, of Charleston, was chairman of the joint committee, and to him belongs most of the honor of the measure. The bill drawn by him passed the Senate without a roll-call, and was adopted in the House by a vote of seventy-two to fifteen. "The act established in each district and parish free schools equal in number to the representatives in the Lower House. Elementary instruction was to be imparted to *all pupils free of charge*, preference being given to poor orphans and the children of indigent parents. Three hundred dollars per annum were voted to each school. Commissioners varying in number from three to eleven in each district and parish, serving without pay and without penalty, were intrusted with their management. Until a sufficient number of schools should be established, the commissioners were permitted to move the schools annually, but no school should be established until the neighborhood had built a school-house. The funds

¹ Charleston Courier, December 26, 1803.

² Statutes, Vol. V, p. 639.

of the free school might be united with the funds of the public schools. The aggregate appropriation was about \$37,000 a year."

Two years after, in 1813, an attempt was made by a large minority to repeal the act, but it was saved through the efforts of one of Charleston's Representatives. The people of Charleston, as a whole, have always shown great willingness to uphold the State institutions. William Crafts, Jr., made a ringing speech in support of the act, and in reply to the charge that the population was too sparse in some places to derive any benefit from it, said: "This evil time will of itself remove, and what kind of inference is that which would abolish a general good to get rid of a partial evil?"¹ It was a fitting monument in after years to name one of the public school-houses of Charleston in honor of this gentleman.

The number of schools established the first year was one hundred and twenty-three. In 1821 a pamphlet was issued at Columbia containing an attack on the system.²

Up to 1821, \$302,490 had been expended by the State, of which at least one hundred thousand dollars had never been accounted for by the commissioners. In fact, the reports were so few that there were no checks at all on the system. It was probable that the commissioners and teachers had an understanding in the expenditure. Careless, inefficient teachers were employed, and it was said that "in some of the lower districts they have actually converted the schools into gymnastic academies, where, instead of studying philosophy in the woods and groves, as the Druids did of old, they take delight in the more athletic exercise of deer and rabbit hunting; and that it is a fine sight to see the long, lean, serpentine master * * * at his stand, * * * while the younger peripatetics are scouring the woods and hallooing up the game."

But the matter of free schools still attracted attention; legislative reports were almost annually made on the subject, and public men were deeply interested in the question. Nearly every Governor referred to it during his term in at least one of his messages.

NEED OF A SUPERINTENDENT.

George McDuffie used the following language in his message of 1835: "In no country is the necessity of popular education so often proclaimed, and in none are the schools of elementary instruction more deplorably neglected. They are entirely without organization, superintendence, or inspection of any kind, general or local, public or private." Governor after Governor sent in a stirring message urging an improvement of the system.

It is somewhat singular that nearly all the suggestions referred to the need of a central supervising head, corresponding to the present State Superintendent. Even as far back as 1822, Governor Thomas Bennett

¹ From Mayor Courtenay's Education in Charleston.

² Review of pamphlet in North American Review, Vol. XIV, pp. 310-19.

recommended the appointment of a "commissioner of the school fund," and believed that this would realize the anticipated benefits of the "immense sums annually appropriated." In 1838 a committee consisting of Rev. Stephen Elliott and James H. Thornwell was instructed to report to the Legislature after having conferred with the various commissioners. They incorporated in their report communications from the commissioners, the whole making a very interesting paper. A large part of it consists of the paper by Hon. Edmund Bellinger, of Barnwell, a graduate of South Carolina College in 1826, containing a great deal of information, historical, statistical, and otherwise. In the report of Messrs. Elliott and Thornwell, and in many of the communications from the commissioners, the need of a State Superintendent is strongly emphasized, and this is one of the suggestions formally made to the Legislature by the committee. The act itself, as pointed out by R. F. W. Alston in 1846, seemed to contemplate the appointment of such officer in the twelfth section, in providing for reports from the commissioners to "such person as the Legislature may direct." Henry Sumner, in a report to the Legislature in 1847, added another to the list of those favoring this suggestion. The report of the committee of the House of Representatives, to whom was referred the Governor's message on the subject of free schools, concurred in this view. Finally Governor Manning, in 1853, rose to the highest conception of the whole question, and recommended the establishment of this central office, declaring that the system "should not be an eleemosynary proffer, * * * but rather a fountain flowing for all, at which they may freely partake."

But a great obstacle to the appointment of such officer came from the "combination schools." The act allowed the commissioners to erect free schools entirely, or unite with schools already established. The teachers of such schools did not wish to have any authority over them. Yet in many such schools there was some good. The teacher acted almost as the agent of a compulsory system. It was to his advantage to have as many pupils as possible, and he practically forced the children into the school.

In spite of all the numerous suggestions, however, nothing of importance was done. In 1835 Judge Frost introduced an amendatory act, providing penalties for non-performance of duty by the commissioners, but no one was designated to enforce the law.

REPORT OF 1839.

Others also urged the appointment of a supervising officer; among these were Thornwell and Elliott, who strongly recommended it in the report of 1839. The committee of the Legislature reported at this time that although deep interest had always been manifested by the Legislature, yet there seemed to be a general opinion all over the State

that the system was a failure. Messrs. Thornwell and Elliott rejected the Prussian system on account of the sparseness of the population, and the New York system on account of its cost, and also the "manual labor system," since such schools had proved "egregious failures in almost every instance." They recommended the establishment of a "teachers' seminary," and the increase of the appropriation to fifty thousand dollars. They also showed how the original act was defective in apportioning the money according to representation in the Legislature, which was based on taxation and population. As a consequence, the richer a district the more schools it had, and the poorer the fewer it had.

But Edmund Bellinger's communication was the fullest. It brought out most clearly the defects of the system. Regular returns had been made in five years only, and in 1817 thirty-one of the whole forty-five failed to report. The amount spent bore no proportion to the scholars educated. In 1812 one dollar per scholar had been expended, but in 1819 about sixteen dollars per scholar. There was no regularity in the appropriation for a district. Barnwell County received one thousand one hundred and fifty-three dollars in 1825, and only seven hundred and twelve in 1826. Edgefield in 1818 received eleven dollars per scholar, but Laurens not quite two. The average attendance for the twenty-seven years was 6,018, while the average expenditure had been thirty-five thousand dollars. No wonder that one of the commissioners reported that "there is nothing systematic in the whole scheme but the annual appropriation for its support." Even in this year of special reports only one-half of them had made returns. Out of the twenty-two whose reports are preserved, it is interesting to note that thirteen favored the extension of the system to all children, and of the remaining nine only two or three were emphatic in restricting its operation to the poor children. As illustrating the feeling in the State, nearly all favored the study of the Bible, or other religious instruction, in the public schools. One was far in advance of the present even, in recommending the study of the form of government of the State and the United States. These were suggestions that have not been acted on to this day. One believed in the efficacy of "manual labor" schools as a solution of the public school problem. It is interesting to note that an attempt is now being made in the State to establish an agricultural school. All lamented the ignorance and inefficiency of the average teacher, and some strongly favored the establishment of a State normal school; this has not yet been done, as a separate department.

But the result of it all was "splendid nothings," as Mr. Henry Sumner said in his report to the Legislature in 1847. So little had been done up to that time that this gentleman could incorporate in his report: "It was declared on the floor of this hall during the last session of this body that the free school system was a failure; and no one contradicted it; it seemed to be conceded by all."

R. F. W. Alston had made a report to the Agricultural Society in 1816. Afterward, when he was Governor, he emphasized the importance of local taxation to supplement the State appropriation, even opposing a larger appropriation unless the right of local taxation for support of the schools was introduced. At last, in 1852, a forward step was taken in the increase of the appropriation to seventy-four thousand four hundred dollars, just double what it had been for forty years. This was only accomplished after a hard struggle, and a close vote in the Legislature.

LATER STATISTICS.

In order to see the growth of these schools, some statistics of attendance may be helpful. In 1828, seventeen years after their first establishment, there were 840 schools in the State, with 9,036 pupils. In 1840 there were 563 schools with 12,526 pupils. In 1850 there were 724 free schools with 17,838 pupils.¹

In 1860 there were 724 schools with 18,915 pupils, while the expenditures were \$127,539.41. It is interesting to compare these figures with the approximate number of children of school age:

Year.	Pupils of School Age.	Number in Free Schools.
1830 ..	51,000	8,572
1840 ..	52,000	12,526
1850...	56,000	17,838
1860...	60,000	18,915
1880 ..	101,000	61,219

The figures for the number of pupils of school age, except for the last year, are calculated at something over twenty per cent., as Dr. Warren, the statistician of the Bureau of Education, thought that the school population between six and sixteen would be about twenty-one per cent. The figures are for the whites all through, in order to preserve the same factor of comparison. The figures for 1880 are taken from the report of the State Superintendent of Education for 1886. From the above table one would be justified in calling the system a failure; it was indeed openly denounced as a failure all over the State; and it was a failure as far as furnishing a general scheme of education for the masses.

REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF THE SYSTEM.

The favoring of paupers was probably the greatest cause of the failure of the system. This was pointed out time and again by several, but the majority were opposed to any change. "The wealthier and higher classes * * * will not avail themselves of the free schools. * * * The poorer citizens, * * * from pride and delicacy of

¹ B. J. Ramage. Free Schools in South Carolina, Johns Hopkins Studies, I, No. 12.

feeling, will rather keep their children at home altogether than, by sending them to the free school, attach to them, as they think and feel, the stigma of being poor, and of receiving an education as paupers."

These words of Rev. Mr. Thrummell, of All-Saints, in 1839, express the feeling of both classes toward the system, though but few of the prominent men or of the commissioners saw the trouble as clearly as this gentleman. Even Mr. Bellinger, who made so elaborate a report in this year, emphatically called for the restriction to the poorer classes. Rev. James H. Thornwell, one of the most gifted men of the State, was just as emphatic in limiting the fund to the poor, though he never proposed to limit the college to that class, although it was a State institution. This spirit was an outgrowth of the class distinction in the State, a perpetuation of the antagonism of the two classes. The lower classes had sufficient pride to reject the proffer.

But there is one redeeming feature in this sketch of the system; and that is the recognition by some clear-headed observers of the urgent need of a general system of schools for all, and not for the pauper classes alone. While in different parts of the State many had seen this, only the commissioners in Charleston had attempted to supply the deficiency.

FREE SCHOOLS IN CHARLESTON.

The commissioners in Charleston had seen the intent of the original act, and had set to work to carry it out. Public schools had succeeded in Nashville and New Orleans, and why not in Charleston? This is what Mr. Barnard pointed out when he had prepared a communication on public schools at the request of Governor Alston, Mr. McCarter, and others. The schools in Charleston had followed the general course of the others in the State. Under the law, five houses had been erected and furnished by the teachers, on a salary of nine hundred dollars. The attendance had been, in 1812, 260; in 1818, about 300; in 1823, about 320; in 1829, about 467; in 1834, about 525.

But the Charleston commissioners, especially C. G. Memminger, A. G. Magrath, and W. Jefferson Bennett, roused from their lethargy, and in the face of bitter prejudice revolutionized the system. They worked on a totally different plan. Their aim was to provide schools for all, and not for pauper pupils only. In 1855 they built a house on St. Philip's Street, at a cost of twenty-five thousand dollars, to accommodate eight hundred pupils. Three years later they erected another, on Friend Street, at a cost of thirty thousand dollars. A kind of normal school for teachers was formed, to meet every Saturday, under the direction of the superintendent of public schools. They also built a high school for girls at a cost of twenty-five thousand dollars, of which the State paid ten thousand dollars and the citizens of Charleston the remainder. The expenses of its maintenance were ten thousand dollars annually, of which the city paid half, and the State guaranteed the

other half on condition of being permitted to send ninety pupils. A normal department was attached to this.

The whole system was inaugurated with appropriate ceremonies on July 4, 1856, when Dr. S. H. Dickson delivered an address. It was modelled on the "New York" plan, and the heads of the schools were brought from the North, so that teachers thoroughly acquainted with the system would direct the management. Miss Agnes K. Irving, an accomplished teacher from the Orphan Asylum on Randall's Island, was made principal of the Orphan House School. The native southern teachers were forced to take subordinate places at reduced salaries. In a short time the number of children in attendance was one thousand four hundred, and there were more applications than could be granted. In 1860 the attendance was four thousand.¹

This was done in the face of strong opposition. "Fair Play" openly charged that the change had been made in order that the new board might get the benefit of the "spoils," and claimed that they had overstepped their limits in setting up *common schools*, when the act only called for *free schools*. He also called attention to the resolutions of the last session of the Legislature, which had "re-announced the fact that the free schools are for the poor." He concluded by confidently venturing the prediction "that the new system, unsupported as it is by law, will not succeed." But it did succeed, and according to a writer in *Barnard's Journal*,² "revolutionized public sentiment in that city, and was fast doing it for the whole State when the mad passions of war consummated another revolution."

GRADUAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE SYSTEM.

A gradual but slow improvement is evident in the working of the system. When first begun, no qualifications for teachers were required, except what each board might impose of its own will. In 1828 a certificate of qualification signed by three persons in the vicinity was required, and in 1839 an examination by the commissioners in person. The appropriations had commenced with thirty-seven thousand dollars annually, but in 1852 had been increased to seventy-four thousand dollars. And, finally, the great success of the Charleston schools would seem to warrant one in believing that the system would have extended to the whole State in a few years. Moreover, the reports of the years immediately before the War show an increase in attendance.

SYSTEM SINCE THE WAR.

During the War and up to 1868, nothing of importance was done in the schools. In that year a new Constitution was adopted, and the *free schools* were superseded by the *public schools*. By this act of recon-

¹ Davis, in *Hand-Book*, p. 462.

² Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

struction it was provided that a State Superintendent, elected biennially, should have the general oversight of the whole system. It was also provided that a commissioner for each county, to be elected by popular vote, should have oversight, under the State Superintendent, of the school matters of the county, while trustees under him were appointed for each school district. By this instrument the people obtained the central supervising officer that so many prominent men had wanted for half a century.

Since the establishment of this excellent system the progress has been as fair as one could wish. That most efficient superintendent, H. S. Thompson, began to work in 1877 to disentangle the schools from the mass of debt and ignorance. He labored for six years, and gradually built them up. On his elevation to the Governor's chair in 1882, Col. Asbury Coward worthily filled his place until the election of Mr. J. H. Rice in 1886. The Superintendent from 1868 to 1876 was J. K. Jilison. From the last report of the Superintendent we may get some idea of the present condition of the public schools and the progress that has been made.

The whole number of children of school age (six to sixteen), by the census of 1880, was 281,664; the total enrolment in the schools last year (1888) was 193,434. The average length of session is three and one half months; this is short, but it is as much as the taxes will support, and the tax rate is as high as the average in New England. So they are doing as much as the people of that section. The number of schools is 3,922; teachers, 4,203. The average monthly compensation of teachers is, for males, \$26.68; for females, \$23.80.

SOME OPPOSITION.

It can not be denied that there is some opposition to the public schools in some retired places, and it is very justly charged that with their three months' free tuition they have broken up the old academies, while not substituting anything for those excellent training institutions. Many openly declare for the abolishment of the public schools on this ground; but if they could be improved this opposition would cease. There is some opposition also on grounds of religion, but it is no stronger than in any other section.

But a gratifying feature is the increase of the graded town schools, supported by local taxation. A constitutional amendment of 1876 had imposed a levy of two mills tax for school purposes, besides the poll tax. But this was found insufficient for the cities, and under the authority of an act so framed as to throw the matter into the hands of the property holders, several cities have a very improved system of graded schools. Some of them, especially in Charleston and Columbia, will compare favorably with those of any section of the country.

Another encouraging feature is the organization of State normal institutes each summer, one for white teachers and one for colored teach-

ers. These have been held annually since 1880, with one or two exceptions. So the outlook on the whole is very encouraging, and hopeful for the future.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.

Superintendent J. H. Rice, in his last report (1888), presents a hopeful view of the future of the public school system. His cheering words give every assurance that opposition will eventually cease, and that the efficiency of the system will be advanced.

He says: "There is an increase of 18,417 pupils in the enrolment of 1888. * * * There is also an increase of 14,036 in the average attendance, a most notable proportion. The last ten years have been a transition period in our educational work. The plans of private individuals crumbled to pieces, and many have lamented the decay of schools once prosperous. But the State Legislature has been quietly and firmly laying the foundations for broader work. South Carolina * * * desires that the advantages once bounded by the horizon of private effort should be widely diffused through the power and benevolence of a great State. The free school has been pushed into every locality."

He points with pride to the fact that there were one hundred and sixty-two more schools on the list than the year before, and refers to the ambition of the small towns in the State to establish graded institutions. "Winnsborough and Rock Hill have spent about twelve thousand dollars each on their school buildings. Greenville begins with eighteen thousand dollars and * * * Spartanburg levies a tax of twelve thousand dollars, with a special local tax for her schools. Smaller and larger towns, and country districts the State over, are rapidly putting their money into modern school-houses."¹

WINTHROP TRAINING SCHOOL.

During the years of trial with the free school system, the inefficiency of the average teacher was pointed out repeatedly, and the establishment of a normal school was urged. This has never been founded, chiefly for want of means. But in the last two years, through the munificence of George Peabody and the energy of the efficient superintendent of the schools of Columbia, facilities have been provided in the Winthrop Training School for training female teachers and thus largely meeting the demand. From a letter of John P. Thomas, Jr., in 1887, the following sketch of it is taken:

"The Winthrop Training School was opened in Columbia on November 15, 1886, in the buildings of the Theological Seminary, which have been temporarily secured for the use of the school. The school was organized under the general powers conferred by law upon the board of school commissioners of the city of Columbia. But the school

¹ Report for 1888, pp. 5-6.

had not been in operation long before the idea was conceived to enlarge its scope. With this view, application was made to the General Assembly for a charter. Under the provisions of this charter the school will be operated for the benefit of the whole State. The school is named in honor of the venerable and philanthropic chairman of the Peabody board, and it is by the liberality of this board that the school is mainly supported. It has been in successful operation since its opening under the following corps: Prof. D. B. Johnson, superintendent; Miss M. H. Leonard, principal; Miss A. E. Bonham, practice teacher; Mrs. T. C. Robertson, teacher of drawing.

"The school has been attended by twenty-one young ladies. The 'up-country,' 'low-country,' and middle section of the State have all been represented. During the short time the school has been in session, the following work has been accomplished: the pupils have been taught the methods of the various classes in the city graded schools, and they have had the opportunity to observe, by personal inspection, the practical working of these schools and their successful ways of management. In addition to this, each training pupil has had a week's practice in the school-room, instructing and controlling children, under the direction of the practice teacher.

"Their class work has included psychology, physiology, methods of teaching reading, arithmetic, English language, geography, history, penmanship, music, drawing, and calisthenics. Lessons on 'forms and plants,' as bearing on primary instruction, have been given. The school is open to all those in the State wishing to prepare themselves for the teaching profession."

The generous Legislature of 1887 again showed its public spirit by establishing thirty-four scholarships, one for each county, yielding one hundred and fifty dollars apiece. They are limited to those who have not the necessary means, and are chosen by competitive examination by the State Superintendent of Education. They may be held for a year, and the holders, on completion of the course, are required to teach for one year in the common schools of the counties from which they come.

TRAINING OF TEACHERS.

In addition to the Winthrop school, there are other facilities in the State for training teachers.

There is a normal college, with a two years' course, within the State University. The head of it is Dr. E. E. Sheib, of Baltimore, who studied for five years in Germany, and received the degree of doctor of philosophy in pedagogics at Leipsic. Previous to being called to Columbia, he was for several years president of the State Normal School of Louisiana.

Claffin University, at Orangeburg, has also a normal course of three years. There is, in addition, a special teachers' class every spring for

those who cannot take the full course. Five other institutions in the State also provide normal instruction for colored teachers.

The Saturday Normal School at Charleston has a four years' course of study, with free tuition. The teachers of Columbia hold monthly meetings for the study and investigation of the principles which underlie their science.

Besides these facilities, there are the State and county institutes, which continue for a few weeks during the summer, and are conducted by skilled and experienced teachers. Often there are educators from large cities, where their opportunities have made them acquainted with the most improved methods of teaching. These institutes are usually very largely attended.

The State is also entitled to ten scholarships in the Peabody Normal School at Nashville. The recipients of this bounty are under obligation to teach for a term of years in their native States after graduation.

There are other means for pedagogical instruction less definite in character, though their influence cannot be doubted. The Carolina Teacher, a pedagogical monthly at Columbia, and the reading circles voluntarily formed among the teachers, probably reach more of those engaged in training youth than the normal schools and institutes can.

PEABODY AND SLATER FUNDS.

South Carolina has been greatly benefited by the appropriations from the Peabody and Slater Funds, but especially from the former.

The awards of these philanthropical bequests have been devoted to the aid of the public, graded, and normal schools, teachers' institutes, and for scholarships in the Peabody Normal School at Nashville, Tenn. South Carolina is entitled to ten of these scholarships, which are conferred after competitive examination, and yield the holders free tuition and two hundred dollars each per annum. It is now the settled policy of the trustees of the Peabody Fund to expend the greater portion of the income in assisting to train teachers.

While the total amount received from the Peabody endowment is large, the advantage to the State cannot be measured in money. By means of these gifts a stimulus is furnished to local effort, and new and improved methods of teaching are introduced into places that would have known nothing of them but for the exertions of the General Agent.

The present Superintendent of Education for the State, in fitting words, makes acknowledgment of the debt of gratitude for the noble munificence of George Peabody: "I need not again call attention to the beneficent results flowing from the annual bounty of the Peabody Fund. It is difficult for us to see how we should have begun our higher school work without this aid, and it is surely true that we would have been compelled to abandon our county institutes. * * * Peabody,

dead, yet lives, radiant in the grateful hearts of his countrymen, and, more valuable than all, shrined in the many humble homes where his charity has lighted the lamp of knowledge."¹

The following amounts have been disbursed by the Peabody Fund in South Carolina for educational purposes: In 1868, \$3,550; 1869, \$7,800; 1870, \$3,050; 1871, \$2,500; 1872, \$500; 1873, \$1,500; 1874, \$200; 1875, \$100; 1876, \$4,150; 1877, \$4,300; 1878, \$3,600; 1879, \$4,250; 1880, \$2,700; 1881, \$4,050; 1882, \$5,375; 1883, \$4,225; 1884, \$4,400; 1885, \$5,000; 1886, \$5,000; 1887, 4,000; 1888, \$8,000—making a total of \$78,250.²

The Slater Fund has also distributed the following sums: In 1883, \$2,000; 1884, \$750; 1885, \$3,500; 1886, \$2,700—making a total of \$8,950.³

EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

The education of the negro is so largely elementary that it more properly falls under the subject of public schools than elsewhere.

Slavery came in with the first settlers of the province, and the negroes increased rapidly in population, until, by the eighteenth century, they outnumbered the whites. Coming directly from Africa, they first had to learn the language, and embrace the Christian religion.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was active in providing for their spiritual welfare. In 1705 the first missionary, Rev. Samuel Thomas, reported that about twenty negro slaves regularly attended church in Goose Creek Parish, and others were able to speak and read the English language. The first systematic effort made for their education was said to be the establishment of a school in 1744 by Rev. Alexander Garden, the building of which cost £308 8s 6d. This was perhaps for free negroes, of whom there were many throughout the State during the time of slavery who owned slaves themselves, and were as much affected by the results of the 9th of April, 1865, as the whites. This school was doubtless established by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, since it is stated in the Proceedings of the society for 1752, "that a flourishing negro school was taught in Charleston by a negro of the society, under

¹ Report of State Superintendent of Education for 1888, p. 18.

² All these figures, except for the last year, are taken from the Reports of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1885-86 and 1886-87. Those for 1888 are taken from the report of the State Superintendent of Education of South Carolina for that year. The amount for 1887 does not include the aid furnished by the Agent to public schools in the State. The last Report of the Commissioner of Education gives the sum total granted by the Peabody endowment for public schools in the ten States, but not the appropriation for each State. So the grand total would probably be several thousand dollars larger.

³ Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1885-86. There is no reference to this fund in the last Report, either of the United States Commissioner of Education, or of the State Superintendent of Education of South Carolina.

the inspection and direction of the worthy rector, Garden, by which means many poor negroes were taught to believe in God and in His son, Jesus Christ."¹

This good work was further carried on by the religious training of the negroes, on every plantation and in every household. But the idea arose that it was dangerous to educate the slaves, and this was strengthened by several insurrections, which, later, caused it to be forbidden by law to give the negro instruction in reading and writing. This act was passed in 1834, in spite of the earnest protests of many of the leading men of the State. But the God-fearing men and women, in defiance of the law and of public opinion, boldly taught some of their slaves to read, in order that they might know the way of life. A Baptist minister was threatened with expulsion from his church, but he went on with his work and overcame local prejudice.

But oral religious instruction went forward in every denomination, and "experiences" of several hours' length were reverently listened to by their devout, educated white brethren, who compared them with the visions of Ezekiel and Jeremiah. The two races sat under the same preacher and received the sacrament from the same hands. The different churches made reports of one race as regularly as of the other. Special missionaries, some of them very prominent, were sent to labor among the blacks. Every large plantation had its own house of worship for the slaves. The number of communicants, of marriages, of converts, of Sunday school scholars, of each race was reported regularly.

Their condition, while not equal to that of the working classes in the North, "compared favorably with the lower classes in many countries of Europe, at least."² All the trades requiring skilled labor were in their hands, and during Reconstruction they suddenly became orators, parliamentarians, and statesmen. With the War came the upheaval. The schoolmaster followed the soldier, and in the track of the army of destruction were erected the temples of peaceful education. On the spot where the first slave set foot on southern soil, two hundred and forty-one years later, only five months after Sumter, was established the first negro school. As the northern soldiers pushed their way down the Mississippi and gained a foothold on the Atlantic and the Gulf, the agents and missionaries of the different churches followed. Among the different agencies none were more active than the American Missionary Society, and the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Baptists also worked vigorously, and the Presbyterians were not behindhand. In all, the amount sent by the benevolence of the North to the negro in the South, up to the present time, is over twenty-six million dollars.

The first places in South Carolina where negro schools were established were Saint Helena and Beaufort. Northern benevolence, large

¹ R. Means Davis, in *Hand-Book*, p. 523.

² *Ibid.*, p. —.

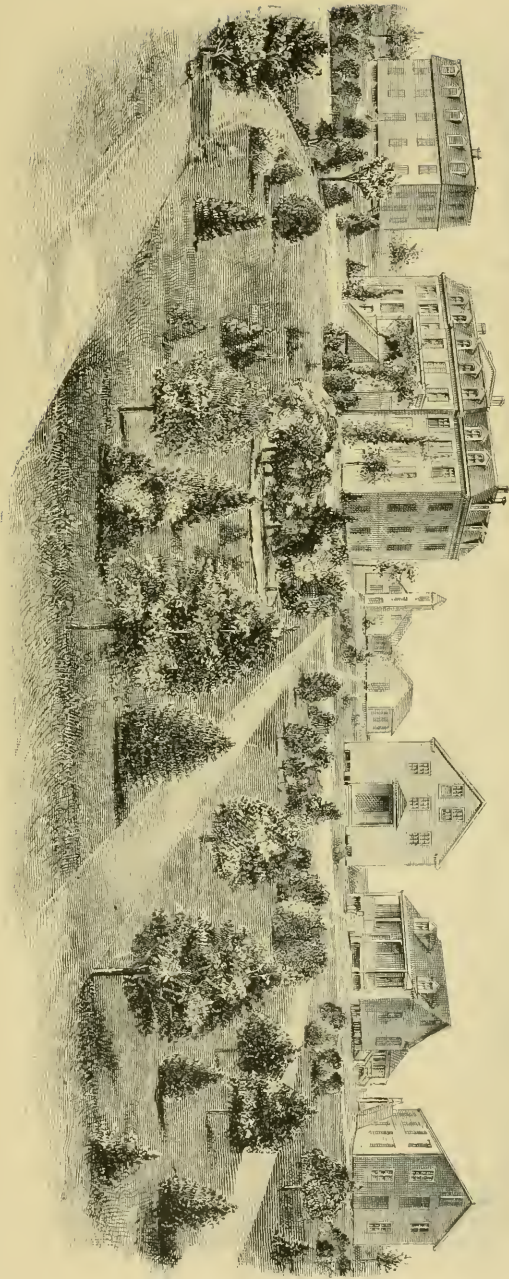
and generous as were its gifts, could never hope to do more than establish schools at widely distant points, and train a few who would be an example to the many. The general education of the masses had to be done by the people of the section, if ever done at all. On the reorganization of the State government in 1868 a public school system was provided, as far as the changed conditions would permit. The plan was thorough, but the administration during Reconstruction was inefficient. But still the enrolment of the negroes increased from 8,163 in 1870 to 103,334 in 1888.¹

But these schools give only the most elementary instruction, and can not give much of that, since the period of instruction lasts only about three months in a year. The State was so prostrated financially as to be unable to provide schools for advanced instruction, and these would probably not have been soon established without gifts from the North. The Baptists established Benedict Institute at Columbia, for the education of ministers of the Gospel, and of teachers, male and female; the Northern Presbyterian Church founded Brainerd Institute in 1874 at Chester, as a normal school, and also the Fairfield Normal Institute at Winnborough in 1869; the American Missionary Society established Avery Normal Institute in Charleston on the 1st of October, 1865; the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church North purchased the buildings of the Orangeburg Female College in 1869, and opened Claflin University; the African Methodist Episcopal Church organized Allen University at Columbia in 1881; while warm friends at the North established other schools, such as the Schofield at Aiken, and the Shaw Memorial School in Charleston. None of these, of course, could have a very advanced collegiate course, and most of them do not aspire to it, but are contented to give good high school training. One of them, however, does furnish a grade of instruction almost equal to that of any white college in the State.

CLAFLIN UNIVERSITY.

In 1869 the buildings of the Orangeburg Female College (white) were bought by Rev. A. Webster, D. D., and T. Willard Lewis. A charter was obtained from the Legislature on December 18, 1869, and the institution was named in honor of Hon. Lee Claflin, of Boston, Mass. It has been largely through his aid and that of his son, the Hon. William Claflin, that the University has reached its present efficient state. The body of trustees, as provided in the charter, could never be less than seven nor more than twenty-one, and was to be self-elective. Section five of the instrument contained this provision: "No instructor in said University shall ever be required by the trustees to have any particular complexion or profess any particular religious opinions as a test of office, and no student shall be refused admission to or denied any of the

¹ Report of State Superintendent of Education, 1888, p. 43.



CLAFLIN UNIVERSITY.

privileges, honors, or degrees of said University, on account of race, complexion, or religious opinions which he may entertain: *Provided, nevertheless*, That this section, in reference only to religious opinions, shall not apply to the theological department of said University."

The University was opened with a president and three assistants, besides several teachers in the primary department; the attendance the first year was three hundred and nine. In 1872, under the educational act of Congress, the State College of Agriculture and Mechanics' Institute was located at Orangeburg in connection with Claflin University, and a farm of one hundred and sixteen acres was provided. In 1876 the buildings, library, etc., were unfortunately burned, but they were soon replaced by structures of brick. On the change of party in 1877, the Agricultural College was made a branch of the State University, and was retained at Orangeburg in connection with Claflin University. The expenses are met in part by an income of \$5,800 from productive funds of the value of \$95,750,¹ portion of the Congressional land grant. Other assistance is given by the Slater and Peabody Funds, and by the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The departments of the University have been gradually increased. In 1877 the normal department was added, and shortly after this the grammar school, preparatory to the normal department, was established. The mechanical department, sustained by the Slater Fund, and the Girls' Industrial Home were soon provided, and good industrial training is furnished. A course in science and agriculture was instituted, and instruction in the latter is also practical.

As was to be expected from the condition of the race, the classical department is not very fully attended, there having been only eighteen students in 1886. But the work is of a high grade and thorough. For admission, plane geometry, Cæsar, Roman history, Greek grammar and history, and the Anabasis are required. The course covers four years. Latin and Greek are each studied three years; mathematics goes through conic sections, surveying, and mechanics. The other usual collegiate studies are included. The faculty now includes a president and thirteen assistants, and the attendance in 1886 reached four hundred and ten, all but two being from South Carolina. Both sexes are admitted, but there are no white students in the institution. The number of graduates reached fifty-three, of whom eleven were in the college proper and the remainder in the normal course. The expenses are marvellously low, being only about fifty dollars for the entire school year.

The Charleston News and Courier, the largest paper in the State, sent a staff correspondent to attend the commencement exercises in 1888, and gave four and a half columns to the report. The next day a column editorial was devoted to the University, in which it was said: "Claflin University is truthfully designated as the model University of the South for colored people. * * * There were ten thousand persons

¹ Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1884-85, p. 628.

at the commencement exercises. The University has seventeen teachers, fourteen superintendents, and nine hundred and forty-six students. It exceeds in size the famous school at Hampton, Va. More than five hundred students actually pay for their own education by the work of their hands. In the curriculum are six courses of study, with instruction in nine different industries, represented by the nine special schools of agriculture, carpentry and cabinet-making, printing, tailoring, shoe-making, painting and graining, blacksmithing, merchandising, and domestic economy. The University was founded by Mr. Claflin, of Boston, but it is upheld by South Carolina, which gives it both financial assistance and moral support."

Dr. Atticus G. Haygood, who delivered the address, said that it was the largest University between the Potomac and the Rio Grande, and the least expensive.

ALLEN UNIVERSITY.

This is chiefly controlled and managed by the negroes, and it is very interesting to note the high aim they have set in their efforts to educate themselves. The aim, as set forth by the Right Rev. W. F. Dickerson, is as follows: "To aid in the development of the highest type of Christian manhood; to prove the negro's ability to inaugurate and manage a large interest; * * * to train them not only for the pulpit, the bar, the sick room, and school-room, but for intellectual agriculturists, mechanics, and artisans; * * * to educate, in the fullest sense of that comprehensive word, is the work, mission, and cause for the establishment of Allen University."¹

The race has had to receive its instruction from the whites, so far. But as they are educated, they demand the places for the blacks, and very probably they will in a few years be trained by colored teachers alone. In Charleston nearly all the teachers in the colored public schools are white, and in the schools maintained there by northern charity the instructors are also of that race. In Allen University, on the other hand, the work is done by colored teachers.

¹R. Means Davis, Hand-Book, p. 527.

has been here over three years, and to-day the boy from school will do better, cleaner, neater, quicker work by far than the other boy. One boy learns the trade by imitation, while the other learns it by reason and study. The boy from the school is more precise and neat about his work, grasps a new idea more readily, looks upon new features of the business with greater intelligence, and is better able to direct others and to bear responsibilities. He has better command of language and can impart to others the ideas he wishes them to obtain. When a difficult point arises, the school boy will labor with it until he conquers it, while the other boy will study a while, then give it up. Were I to need a clerk, apprentice, or draughtsman, I would and do give the Manual Training School boys the preference, because I get much better results with less trouble.

The above letter I quote from my book, *The Manual Training School; its Aims, Methods, and Results* (D. C. Heath & Co. Boston, 1887). Chapters V and VI are devoted to the "Results." I am tempted to add, as a final word, the testimony of a graduate himself (one out of two hundred) and the work he is doing. He says:

The principal part of my work is the making of wood and brass patterns and core-boxes, and keeping them in order; I also do the greater part of the drawing for the shop; but I am by no means limited to these, as, for the last three or four days of each month, I am called to help get work out, and to help Mr. Jones figure, etc. * * *

I usually get the work that is out of the ordinary line.

Your obedient servant,

C. M. WOODWARD.

from circ. inf. 5, 1888

II.

THE NEED OF EDUCATED LABOR IN THE SOUTH.

AN ADDRESS BY W. H. COUNCIL, PRINCIPAL OF THE ALABAMA STATE NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, MONTGOMERY, ALA.

[The following address was delivered at a recent session of the Alabama State Teachers' Association (colored). As a plea for the industrial training of the negro, made by one who is himself of that race, it has been deemed to possess sufficient value to be published in this connection.]

Like the Sphinx, which stands peering down through the mists of ages, caste, founded upon occupation, is becoming a thing of the past, and will soon be found only in the dim and antiquated annals of Egyptian and Oriental aristocracy, monarchy, and oppression. Some of the deleterious atmosphere from this Upas of Orientalism was borne across the seas to mix with our new civilization; but affinity is lacking, and it is being driven out by the beams of our Christianity, which adorns, dignifies, and elevates honest labor. Here the honest toiler, faithfully filling his sphere in life, is a man, the equal of the Chief Magistrate of the nation.

The professions were long erroneously regarded as the ruling positions in industrial society. This place-worship caused manual labor to despise itself. The professions have been sought, also, on account of their supposed ease and affluence, and this mistaken idea has become a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence to countless thousands.

My paper will be confined to the South, because we are more immediately concerned about its welfare; and I hope that I shall not be considered narrow if I limit this necessarily brief discussion to the Negro of the South. We are to deal with him. It is to him that we must go, holding up high the torch of Christianity, education, and industry. In God's name we must bring him into the light of this age of Christian civilization. We are to seek him in the attics and damp cellars of the cities; we are to seek him in the fertile valleys and upon the unyielding hill-sides, and pour into him the elements of true manhood.

The conditions of labor in ante-bellum days had a tendency to create a wrong conception of the responsibility and honor of labor.

It is true that the planter, surrounded by his hundreds of slaves, dictated the policy of Southern institutions, and beside this planter professional gentlemen were social and financial pigmies. The planter was simply a nominal agriculturist. He did not even come in contact with his slaves. His children did not labor. The management of his affairs was generally committed to the charge of men who were regarded to be of humble birth and station in society. The negro performed all the work, until finally nearly all Southern whites came to regard labor as the natural inheritance of the negro, and they willingly conceded his right to monopolize it.

Black man was only another word for workman, and this idea, coupled with that of slavery, brought manual labor—in fact, labor of every kind—into great dishonor.

It was a natural sequence of this condition that the negro should regard labor and slavery connected by the unholy bonds of thralldom, and ease and leisure and unearned comfort as the concomitants of their divorcement, or the invariably necessary

attendants of emancipation. His ideal freeman was one of leisure, a man who could dress well, who stood idly around public places and discussed current events. For this reason 1870 found an unnaturally large percentage of the race engaged in politics, the ministry, and other supposed easy vocations. Those who are acquainted with the history of those times know these to be stubborn and stern facts, although painful to us.

But notwithstanding this unreliable and unsettled state of labor, there were certain influences which held the negro in the labor market, and which to-day give to him the control of a large part of that market in the South, and I hope he may keep this control forever.

As leaders of the race, as moulders of race character, as guardians of the interests of our people, we must strive to prepare them to maintain their present vantage ground in the labor market of the South. We want places for our boot-blacks, barbers, porters, cooks, washerwomen, chambermaids, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, farm hands, manual laborers, and domestics of every kind.

If we succeed in procuring and securing these for and to our people, the few ministers, lawyers, teachers, doctors, and journalists will care for themselves.

The negro population of Alabama is 600,102. Of this number 39½ per cent., or 237,000, are bread winners. Ninety-nine per cent. of these bread winners are engaged in agriculture, personal and domestic service, including a small but increasing per cent. in mining and manufacturing. It is thus clearly seen that not exceeding 1 per cent. of our race in this State is engaged in professional pursuits. What is true of Alabama is true of the whole South.

Our few professional laborers must realize the fact that they are dependent upon the 99-per cent. for support, and not the 99 per cent. upon them. But there is somewhat mutual dependence. The Brooklyn bridge, that mighty consummation of genius and architectural skill, has only a few massive pillars and great iron cables. These do not make the bridge. But there are hundreds of bolts, bars, screws, nuts, and nails, without which there would be no Brooklyn bridge to challenge the admiration of the mechanical world.

As I have above intimated, the conditions of labor in the South have produced abnormality in both servant and master classes—employer and employé. But with the new life coming into the New South, superior labor, and greater excellence and competency will be demanded. In every walk in life more skill and reliability will be required. Purely business principles are becoming the woof of our industrial warp. The abnormal standard of labor accomplishments is the outgrowth of ante-bellum institutions, and has been sustained by the frailest of props, sentimentalism. Those institutions being changed by the new conditions and relations of master and servant, the laborer of the future must stand or fall on his own merits.

Right here in the South a new element of competition is seeking to enter the labor market, formerly monopolized by the negro. The daughters of the ex-masters are learning to do work which formerly was performed only by the slaves. The sons are becoming expert in many things which, fifty years ago, were left exclusively to the negro. In fact, day by day shows that the negro is no longer conceded to be the sole and rightful ruler of the labor market. His heretofore undisputed right of inheritance is being sharply contested by Southern white boys and girls in every avenue which produces bread and leads to wealth. Besides this competition, there are a quarter of a million of able-bodied white men and women, common laborers and domestics, in the State of New York alone, who would be glad to seek occupations in Alabama if negro labor were not preferable. As I have said before, this preference for negro labor, at present, has its most powerful support in sentimentality, and the influx of Northern people introducing Northern white servants may lead to the displacement of the negro in such a measure as to drive him from many occupations which now supply his food and raiment.

Here is food for serious reflection on the part of those to whom God has given this important work of elevating the negro race in the South.

What shall we do to keep the negro laborer in the market?

We must educate him in the fundamental principles of a common school course; develop his consciousness of truth and justice implanted in every human heart by the Almighty, and give him that industrial training which will make him such a factor in our industrial mathematics that he can not be thrown out without serious detriment to the labor problem of the South. This education, development, and training should proceed, from the earliest intelligential susceptibility, conjointly and systematically. In regard to the period of commencement of the training of a child, Oliver Wendell Holmes says it should begin a hundred years before the child is born. Dr. Josiah Strong says: "If a community produces or fails to produce good citizens and able men, the records of the founders will rarely fail to afford an explanation, for the influence of the early settlers continues operative until their descendants are displaced by some other stock." As a body set in motion continues, unless acted upon by external influences, to move, so character and principle, good or bad, in a people move on from generation to generation, until a new race comes upon the stage, or external forces check the old motion and inaugurate reform. This external influence and reform is the need of the labor element of the South to-day, in view of the conditions and relations herein above mentioned.

The character of education necessary to check these baneful influences and set in operation new and healthful energies is no hard question for us to determine, if we can thrust aside the delusions and surmount the prejudices of centuries that have favored university and college education.

I do not undervalue the benefits of higher education to the world and science. But it is not only not a necessary ingredient in popular education, but it would prove a dangerous element under present methods. It always has been, and from its very nature and utility, always will be, confined to a puny minority of mankind.

The negro has poorly developed powers of discriminative judgment, and it is but natural that all should want their children taught branches of study without any reference to the future occupations of those children, often insisting that the classics be included in the curriculum. And strangely enough, many of our teachers are too willing to encourage this nonsensical worship of learning for learning's sake. We ought not to regard learning as an end, but as means to an end. The end of all knowledge should be the useful and the good.

In a healthful state of economy demand precedes supply. I fear that this principle is not observed by our universities and colleges. I greatly fear that we are throwing into the community many young people educated beyond the ability of effective assimilation with the balance of the race, and, must I say it?—educated beyond their legitimate sphere according to the demands of the age and the requirements of the race. Education in the hands of an evenly and roundly developed constitution, expanded in the line of truth and industry, is what a new sharp hatchet is in the hands of a good boy. It is an instrument to repair and build. But education under other conditions is as the hatchet is in the hands of a bad boy, a vicious boy—an instrument of destruction and mischief, by which the little criminal cuts and hacks his way into the prison and down to perdition. Industrious, virtuous ignorance is preferable to idle, vicious intelligence. Industrial training is as necessary to the education of an individual as oxygen is to the composition of common air.

We need not only the theory, but practical industry taught in all of our common schools. We must instil into the minds of the youth that "Labor is one of God's greatest gifts to man;" that labor has led man from the lowest grades of fetichism up to the true God. We want housekeeping taught as well as grammar. We need a cook-book in the hands of our girls as well as a geography, the mechanical arts as well as history. The battles of Thermopylæ, Marathon, Carthage, Babylon, and Waterloo, in which only a few millions were engaged and only a few hundreds of thousands

were left dead and dying upon the field, are not to be compared with the battle being fought to-day for bread by one and a half billions of souls, and where ignorance and wrong leave millions of dead and dying upon the field.

One Cuvier is sufficient to arrange the present animal life into tribes, and marshal into beautiful and symmetrical rationality the fossiliferous and fragmentary remains of ancient and extinct generations. But the nation needs one half of a million of persons to handle the animals required in our market.

One Linnæus is sufficient to discover the sexuality of plant life and give to vegetation a phytological classification. But seven millions of beings are needed to cultivate the plants necessary to supply our nation with food and raiment.

We need comparatively few young men who can grapple physico-theology and metaphysical sciences; young men who can take the wings of thought and imagination and sound the depths of the universe, measure the breadth of creation, and plow through the deep, sublime, serene ocean of limitless thought; who can grasp the flying clouds of erudition, and from them forge shafts of intellectual electricity to hurl from the mortars of logic, carrying admiration or consternation, reformation or revolution, into the ranks of mankind. But the plodding millions move on as they have moved since the human family set out on its plodding march through time, and the plodding millions will continue to be plodding millions until matter shall, at the command of God, creep back into the womb of nothingness. What most concerns these millions is the getting of bread—the struggle to occupy middle ground. We must teach them a way of getting a living, and of living. We can not hope to move the mass at once, but individual training will be found to be the lever by which the mass may be raised. Guizot says, "The prime element in modern European civilization is the energy of individual life, the force of personal existence."

A learned man has laid down the following educational platform, which I adopt:

"In order to the common weal there are, in general, four things that an adult man or woman ought to know; four things, therefore, that the State ought to see that its children have a fair opportunity to learn, namely, to think, to work, to behave, and to love their country."

Does any one doubt that is the correct principle of common school education? Will any one assert that this is the principle adopted and operated in our common schools? We have been giving our young people a certain class of learning at the expense of the hand and heart, and we have succeeded in throwing into the body politic the germs of agnosticism, idleness, and socialism.

Truth is a cardinal virtue, and should be the foundation of every human pursuit and institution. We all are painfully familiar with the appalling lack of this virtue among the laborers of to-day. Nine-tenths of our workmen never stop to think of the importance of faithfully keeping an obligation to begin work at a certain time, or finish it in a certain style, or complete it at a given hour. How often have our blacksmith, carpenter, and shoemaker disappointed us? Now, we seldom expect to find our roof patched according to agreement. We never expect the work to be begun until several days past the appointed time. This lack of truth, and the absence of a feeling of high responsibility on the part of the laborer, are a source of great annoyance and many losses. These things can not be overcome except by trained labor, guided by ethical rules.

There are two hundred and sixty-five occupations followed by the citizens of the United States. Only ninety-eight are plied in Alabama and most of the other Southern States. With the development of the varied natural resources of the State a very large percentage of the other occupations must be introduced, as well as the present ones improved. To meet these changes on a high ethical and skilled basis, labor must be trained by a wise method of common school instruction vigorously prosecuted.

The South is being transformed almost magically from the state of desolation in which slavery and the War of the Rebellion left it, to the most active industrial theatre of the world. On account of the advanced state of the civilization coming

into the South, our labor can not be developed by the old methods. This new wine of industrial fermentation will not be safe in the old labor bottles, any more than the skin bottles of the first century would subserve our chemical experiments of to-day.

If the laborer could have climbed up, step by step, through the centuries with this high civilization, he might have developed by the old processes. But this civilization has burst upon the South like a flood of golden light from the great sun, without premonitory dawn and mellow beams, the forerunners of the king of day, and the South has become one vast workshop in a single generation. Will any sane man say that our future laborer will be prepared to join this industrial procession without industrial training? The decision of experience, the judgment of time, dictate the wisdom of the popular drift in enlightened countries to industrial education. It is said that every member of the imperial family of the German empire must learn a trade.

When a boy leaves any one of our common schools he should go as well prepared to enter the battle of life, on biological principles, as the cadet who passes muster at West Point or Annapolis is to defend his country from invasion or to punish a disregard of its flag wherever its citizens tread the globe.

We need, most of all, educated labor to prevent crime. The old adage that an idle mind is the devil's workshop is as true as the philosophical axiom that all bodies are in space. I heartily agree with the writer who said, "Industrial ignorance is the mother of idleness, the grandmother of destitution, and the great-grandmother of socialism and nihilistic discontent." If the metaphysical triplicity of man is doubted by any, all will readily concede his trinity as to brains, hands, and legs. These, according to a necessary and universal law of our nature, must be constantly employed, and they produce good or ill according as they are engaged.

The State which fails to educate its children bequeaths to posterity paupers; the State which fails to give industrial training to its youth transmits to posterity paupers and criminals.

Statistics show that a lack of industrial education produces more criminals than a want of religious, ethical, and intellectual culture.

ASTOUNDING AS THIS STATEMENT MAY APPEAR, THE FACT IS EVEN MORE AMAZING.

Let us examine the records of the State of Illinois for a given year on this point. That State may be taken as a fair representative of the others. The number of convicts in the Joliet penitentiary was 1,492. Of this number only 151 were illiterate; 127 could read but not write; 1,087 had a fair education; and 129 were graduates of colleges or universities. Therefore 90 per cent. were educated, as the word goes, so that their crimes could not be due to the lack of intellectual training. Also 91 per cent. had been Sunday-school scholars, and 18 per cent. temperance men. Evidently they did not lack religious and ethical instruction. But 77 per cent. had no trades or regular occupations, 16 per cent. simply "picked up" trades, and only 7 per cent. had been systematically taught some trade.

Here is the root of the evil. Here is the foundation of crime. Here is the fruitful source of supply of the inmates of our prisons and alms-houses. Here is an appeal to legislators and others having control of the organizing and conducting of our systems of education. Here is an appeal, loud and clear, to parent, teacher, patriot, philanthropist, all, to awake and check this mighty rush of our children to the prisons, and from them to hell.

The fact that nearly 20 per cent. of the inhabitants of the State of Illinois are foreign born, does not favorably alter the case in the least; rather would it tend to aggravate the matter. An analysis of the foreign-born population of Illinois shows that nearly 50 per cent. are from the German empire, with its justly boasted common school system.

The fact that Illinois has very destructive labor troubles is certainly significant. The germs of anarchy, socialism, and nihilism are found in industrial ignorance. The failure of the South to nip these evils in the bud by a liberal and wise system of com-

mon schools will produce a race of communistic Broddingnags, who will defy law and stamp order and the sacred rights of person and property under their colossal feet.

The South has ample premonition. The warning notes from France, England, and Russia are borne across the sea. In our own country some of the older States, writhing and bleeding in the clutches of those evil monsters, admonish the new South to build her new institutions upon the sure foundation of industrial intelligence. Will the South heed now? Fools are taught by experience only, but wise men by the experience of fools.

Chicago (Ill.) pays \$18.93 per year for each pupil attending its public schools. This same city pays \$33 for each arrest of criminals, but up to the time of the collation of these statistics not one cent had been spent in industrial education. The city of London, England, expends annually \$385,000 for industrial schools. London had one arrest to every forty-eight of its population, while Chicago had one to every fifteen.

Must I uncover prostitution, and show that it prevails most in the ranks of the industrially ignorant? Must I spread before you the statistics showing that 95 per cent. of illegitimate births are found among mothers wanting industrial training?

These are startling facts, but are in accord with the economy of nature. Does not the remedy suggest itself to every thinking mind?

The laborer should be educated—should be trained, in order to protect his own life and health, to relieve him of many burdens which accompany inexperience and ignorance, and to enable him to carry law and system into his life and work.

“How beautiful and glorious to thought is law! Law governs the sun, the planets, and the stars. Law covers the earth with beauty and fills it with bounty. Law directs the light and moves the wings of the atmosphere, binds the great forces of the universe in harmony and order, awakens the melody of creation, quickens every sensation of delight, moulds every form of life. Law governs atoms and governs systems. Law governs matter and governs thought. Law springs from the mind of God.”

This system, this order, this law, this beautiful harmony, must be carried into the life of the laborer to insure competency, to guarantee reciprocity, and to sweeten toil. This must be done in the school, the training school, the industrial school.

What would you think of a man unacquainted with machinery assuming the conduct of a large mill, or moving carelessly among its wheels, bands, and shafts? Would you not expect each moment to see his body taken up by some swiftly-moving machinery and dashed again to the ground a lifeless and mangled corpse? And do you expect a man totally ignorant of the great and wonderful laws and systems and workings of nature to move unharmed among her machinery or enter her laboratory in safety?

Carpentering, blacksmithing, shoemaking, cooking, washing, fire-making, scrubbing, farming, and gardening are all governed by positive and immutable laws. They are as much science as mathematics, grammar, or natural philosophy, and should be taught with the same care that is bestowed upon these more favored branches.

There is science and art in fire-making. Has not our breakfast often been delayed and the whole day's plans disarranged because there was ignorance of the philosophy of fire-making? Has not our food often been brought to the table so completely divested of its native zest and sweetness that the most rapacious appetite and epicurean stomach would at once declare themselves in rebellion against the table? How many thousands go annually to premature graves by this system of cookery the great God alone knows.

Some poor victim of untrained cooks has said, “God sends the victuals, but the devil sends the cooks;” and Owen Meredith, in *Lucile*, exalts cooking thus:

We may live without music, poetry, and art,
 We may live without conscience, we may live without heart,
 We may live without friends, we may live without books,
 But civilized man can not live without cooks.

Who does not detest the work of a "jack-leg" mechanic? He would starve were it not for his cheapness, which is indulged by popular ignorance and stupidity.

A recent writer estimates that more people die of the want of properly ventilated homes than of any other cause. Here the science and art of house-keeping has not been taught. It is true that the death rate from this cause is two and a half times greater among the manual laboring people than any other class of our population.

Should a girl be sent from the school-room to take charge of a home—to rear children—who does not thoroughly understand the science and art of a thousand little but important things connected with her life-work, upon which her happiness and the comfort of others, here and hereafter, depend? Would not a knowledge of these things be of more benefit than at least half of the geography, grammar, geometry, and metaphysical speculation crammed into the mind at the expense of the methods of obtaining a livelihood?

It is more important for the present generation to understand the uses of the various hand tools, how to build houses, and how to live in them, than to write better Greek than Homer, better Latin than Cicero, or recite the transactions of antiquity in a more charming style than Xenophon or Herodotus or Cæsar.

From across the great ocean—from Rome—the cheering news comes: "His Holiness dealt with the industrial question, speaking unfavorably of state socialism, but insisting that governments should make the material interests of the working class of the population their care." And thus the cause of the toiling millions gains strength wherever thought is led out by Christianity. Let us throw ourselves abreast of these advanced thinkers, and endeavor to move the press, the church, and the powers of state in behalf of the cause of industrial education, and move the laborer to properly appreciate the dignity and responsibility of his calling.



CHAPTER XIII.

EDUCATION OF THE COLORED RACE.

I.—THE COMMON SCHOOLS.

The former slave States have a white population of 15,493,323, and a white school enrollment of 3,422,785, or 22.1 per cent of the white population.

The same States have a colored population of 6,954,840, and a colored school enrollment of 1,289,944, or 18.5 per cent of the colored population.

The colored form 30.98 per cent of the total population, but colored pupils form only 27.37 per cent of the total school enrollment.

These figures show that the colored school enrollment is not relatively equal to the white. It exceeds the white, as compared with the population, in the District of Columbia, North Carolina, and Texas; in the remaining States it falls behind the white—in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and West Virginia far behind.

The ratio of average attendance to enrollment is 63.3 for white and 62.4 for colored in twelve States.

TABLE 1.—White and colored schools compared—1889-90.

State.	Population.		Pupils enrolled in common schools.				Average daily attendance.				Teachers.			
	White.	Colored.	4	5	6	7	Per cent of population enrolled.		Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	
							Per cent.	Per cent.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Alabama	830,706	682,221	45.00	186,125	115,490	38.30	22.4	16.9	110,811	72,156	59.3	62.5	4,182	2,136
Arkansas	816,517	311,662	27.63	163,603	59,468	36.66	20.0	19.1	16,798	2,851	62.7	61.2	3,770	1,246
Delaware	134,429	29,064	17.25	26,778	4,656	14.81	19.2	16.0	18,105	10,079	76.9	75.6	609	250
District of Columbia	176,040	16,040	33.00	23,574	13,332	36.12	15.3	17.5	18,105	10,079	76.9	75.6	496	250
Florida	224,461	166,961	42.65	55,191	37,281	40.32	24.6	22.3	200,543	30,690	56.6	56.1	1,849	661
Georgia	973,462	863,891	47.02	230,595	150,702	33.52	23.7	17.4	50,391	35,645	64.2	47.3	5,009	2,500
Kentucky	1,585,526	273,109	14.70	354,250	54,716	13.38	22.3	20.0	85,149	17,202	57.6	47.3	7,701	1,891
Louisiana	554,712	563,875	50.41	84,456	48,137	36.31	15.5	8.9	94,836	106,454	63.2	60.3	3,210	616
Maryland	824,149	218,241	20.94	147,879	36,372	19.74	17.9	16.7	117,711	3,989	63.0	63.0	4,190	3,131
Mississippi	539,703	749,897	58.15	149,321	176,541	54.17	27.7	23.5	134,108	68,992	65.1	59.1	4,544	2,523
Missouri	2,524,468	154,716	5.77	587,810	32,804	5.29	23.3	21.2	67,185	50,614	72.0	72.0	2,688	1,676
North Carolina	1,049,191	668,756	35.15	205,844	116,689	38.18	19.6	16.2	256,669	66,879	73.5	67.6	6,438	1,790
South Carolina	1,488,454	692,695	69.17	80,372	111,883	55.59	19.5	16.2	129,973	68,317	50.0	56.0	5,550	2,462
Tennessee	1,332,971	434,547	24.58	348,941	69,009	22.10	26.2	22.8	117,711	3,989	63.0	63.0	5,313	1,178
Texas	1,741,180	641,333	22.11	352,401	104,471	22.38	20.8	21.1	129,973	68,317	50.0	56.0	5,550	2,462
Virginia	1,014,680	441,300	33.73	220,210	122,069	35.66	23.7	19.0	117,711	3,989	63.0	63.0	5,313	1,178
West Virginia	729,262	33,532	4.40	186,735	6,329	3.28	25.6	18.9	117,711	3,989	63.0	63.0	5,313	1,178
Total	15,463,323	6,954,840	30.98	3,422,785	1,289,944	27.37	22.1	18.5	-----	-----	63.3	62.4	78,992	24,009

^b Includes only States tabulated in the same column above.

^a In 1889.

TABLE 2.—White and colored teachers' salaries.

State.	White.	Colored.	State.	White.	Colored.
Alabama <i>a</i>	\$22.04	\$21.05	Missouri	(b)	(b)
Arkansas	(b)	(b)	North Carolina:		
Delaware	38.25	26.55	Males	\$25.80	\$22.72
District of Columbia: <i>c</i>			Females	22.95	20.36
Primary and grammar			South Carolina	(b)	(b)
schools	661.10	589.75	Tennessee	(b)	(b)
High schools	864.99	984.16	Texas:		
Florida			Males—		
Georgia			In community coun-		
Kentucky: <i>d</i>			ties	48.17	44.66
In counties	32.76	37.82	In district counties	50.80	40.33
In cities—			In independent dis-		
Males	126.11	67.35	tricts	81.19	53.32
Females	48.22	42.77	Females—		
In public high schools—			In community coun-		
Males	140.50	83.30	ties	38.10	35.12
Females	86.39		In district counties	38.58	34.20
Louisiana:			In independent dis-		
Males	38.20	28.98	tricts	47.67	37.97
Females	32.18	26.24	Virginia		
Maryland <i>c</i>	386.28	364.88	West Virginia	(b)	(b)
Mississippi: <i>d</i>					
Males	38.77	26.83			
Females	32.09	20.48			

a Country schools only.
b Not classified by color.

c Annual salaries.
d In 1888-'89.

ALABAMA.

Apportionment of funds between the races in Alabama.—The Alabama State distributable school fund has heretofore been apportioned among the townships and districts according to the number of children of school age, the fund of each race being kept separate. This has caused much dissatisfaction. "It is alleged that in portions of the State the colored race gets well-nigh all the school fund, whilst that race pays a very small per cent of the taxes that make up that fund; also that the colored race is as yet, in general, only capable of receiving and profiting by an elementary education, which costs comparatively much less than that suitable for the white race in its more advanced stages of civilization." The State superintendent, without discussing whether these complaints are well grounded or not, says that there are individual cases of peculiar hardship, and suggests the following plan: "Let the school fund be apportioned by this office to the different counties and townships in proportion to the number of children without regard to race, and let the township officers apportion the fund to the schools of the township in proportion to the number of children who will probably attend each school. They, being on the ground and acquainted with the wants of the different neighborhoods, can do this to better advantage than it can be done by this office. In addition to this, there should be fixed by statute a gradation of teachers' licenses, so that well-qualified and successful teachers should receive greater compensation than the teacher who can barely stand an examination for a third-grade certificate. In all other departments persons are paid in proportion to the quality as well as the quantity of work done by them, and why should not this rule apply in the payment of teachers? Under our present apportionment of funds such is frequently the case—that the poor teacher of the colored race gets much better salary than the well-qualified white teacher. If this were left to the local school authorities such injustice and inequality would not be allowed."

This is practically what is done at present in the larger Southern cities with the local school funds (city appropriation); the municipal school boards apply the local funds to the various schools, white and colored, in their discretion. It is believed that the city colored schools are amply provided for under this system. Whether it would work as well throughout the country districts, administered often by trustees prejudiced against negro education, and especially against negro education at the white man's expense, is problematical. That Superintendent Palmer does not think it would work injustice is evident, when he declares: "Allow me here to say that I have no sympathy with those who would deprive the colored race of an equal participation in the benefits of the public-school

fund. I believe that it is not only our solemn duty but best interest to see that the colored race is educated and elevated so as to fit him for good citizenship, of which, in my opinion, there is not the slightest probability that he will be deprived. Nor am I in sympathy with those who would apply only the tax raised from our race for the education of that race. Such a law or provision of a State constitution would be declared by the courts unconstitutional as being against public policy and as contravening the letter and spirit of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. The plan herein suggested will go far towards remedying the evils complained of, and that, too, upon sound principles—that teachers should be paid in proportion to the quality of the work performed by them.”

Superintendent Palmer's suggestion adopted—The law amended.—The legislature in 1891 changed the law so as to provide for three township trustees (instead of one) who are to dispose of the school funds derived from the State virtually as Superintendent Palmer has suggested. Mr. J. N. Hutchinson, himself a township trustee, explains their duties relating to the disposition of funds under the new law, as follows: They are required to “establish and apportion to each school just such an amount of the public funds as they deem just and equitable to carry on the schools in their township, not according to number of scholars pro rata as heretofore, but apportioning and giving unto schools as they deem best to promote free education in their township with due regard to all neighborhoods. For as the law was, where one school could get only ten pupils, in pro rating it was not sufficient to employ a suitable teacher to teach those children, and other schools had the advantage, especially the colored, which generally outnumbered the whites, receiving the most money, and the colored people paying less taxes. Hence some neighborhoods were deprived to a great extent of the benefit of schools, not being able to procure a suitable teacher on account of insufficiency of funds.

“I take the position that one teacher's time is worth as much to them as another teacher, without regard to the number of scholars they teach in the public schools, and the trustees should see that all children are offered the benefit of schooling, and that this is the intention of the law, which was wise in our legislature in so changing it, and now it becomes the duty of the trustees to carry out the law without regard to the whims and complaint of some.”

The new State superintendent, Hon. John G. Harris, further explains the situation as follows:

“It is the duty of the township trustees to establish a sufficient number of schools in their township to meet the necessities of school children according to justice and equity, having reference to the amount of money apportioned to such township, paying to the teacher of each school an amount which will secure continuation of all the schools of both races, the *same length of time*.

“This law confers upon the township trustees the power to contract with teachers at an agreed amount per month for three months or more. The entire amount belonging to each township must be divided among the white schools and colored schools by the trustees according to ‘justice and equity,’ not per capita. One teacher may be secured to teach a certain school at one price, while another teacher may be employed to teach a different school at a greater or less sum. Trustees must use their very best judgment, looking to the highest interest of all the children to be taught. The greatest good to the greatest number must govern. Such, in my judgment, is the spirit of the law. ‘Equal rights to all, special favors to none.’”

The words italicized, “same length of time,” are evidently designed to be the watchword under the new order of things.

The law only covers the State school fund proper. The apportionment of the State poll tax remains as before—poll tax collected from the whites goes to white schools exclusively, ditto colored.

Colored education in Alabama.—W. B. Paterson, conductor of colored teachers institutes in Alabama, says in his report to the State superintendent: “The county superintendents and other white citizens attended the sessions of the institute, and showed much interest in the education of the colored race. I find that where a colored teacher is competent and devotes himself strictly to the work of teaching, that he can depend upon the support of the best people of the community. The county superintendents, too, discharge their duty regardless of race, and everywhere they expressed a desire to get the very best teachers possible for the colored schools.

"The colored people are being encouraged to build school-houses, and their white neighbors are contributing liberally towards this object.

"These facts are given to make more forcible the following statement: The schools are retarded in their progress by a want of unity and harmony among the colored people themselves. Desiring to get control of the schools, they are imposed upon by incompetent teachers, who establish a denominational or a high school, with an absurdly long and very illogical course of study, and the means of the people, which might be used very profitably to double the public-school term, are wasted. I have reference here only to the efforts made in small towns to build up a college on local patronage at a tuition of \$1 per month. It would be good policy for the present to let Talladega College, Selma University, Payne Institute at Selma, and the State normals at Huntsville, Tuskegee, and Montgomery attend to the higher education and let the efforts of the people be directed to improving the public schools. Not one-tenth of the pupils entering the above institutions from the public schools are prepared to take up a normal course of study."

ARKANSAS.

Apportionment of funds between the races in Arkansas.—A statement in the Annual Report of this Office for 1888-89 was calculated to create an erroneous impression as to the distribution of the State school moneys. With reference to this subject State Superintendent Josiah H. Shinn writes to the Office:

"The law apportions to all children irrespective of color. Each child in Arkansas, black and white, of school age receives the same amount of money by State apportionment. Each county in the State, irrespective of color, gets an amount of money equal to the sum of the amounts given to its children of school age; or the multiple of the equal pro rata per child into the number of children of school age in the county. The county judge then apportions the fund received from the State in the same way to the districts. Each district gets from the State a sum of money in every case equal to the multiple formed by the pro rata into the number of children in the district.

"So far the money has been apportioned as though no color line existed. The money is now in the hands of the county treasurer, subject to the order of the [district] directors. Each district may have three funds, and must have two; (1) The State apportionment made by the State superintendent; (2) the poll-tax apportionment made by the county judge; (3) the local tax voted upon the property of the district and paid by the collector to the treasurer of the county for the use of that district alone.

"I desire to emphasize this point again. Up to this point in our financial management—the point when the directors are to open the schools—no distinction whatever has been made. It has been a question of cold calculation without one drop of blood. If any discrimination is made now, the fault will lie with the directors. The law requires them to hold separate schools for the races. There is no restriction upon the black man's right to hold the office of school director. In eastern Arkansas in a large majority of the districts the directory is black. Two plans have been adopted by directors, irrespective of color.

"1. To hold a three months' school for each color, and as much longer as their proportionate share of the district funds will continue it. This share is determined by taking the ratio of the black and white children of school age, respectively, to the whole number of children.

"2. To hold two schools of equal length, irrespective of these proportions.

"(a) As to the first proposition, the division is always more favorable to the colored race than to the white. Where but eight or ten children of either color were to be found in any district a trouble followed in nearly every case. Black directors saw little use in running a school for less than ten white children; so did the white ones. The legislature cured this last winter by permitting any number less than ten to transfer to the adjoining district.

"(b) The second proposition is on the broadest basis of fairness, and reaches the widest stretch of justice. No more can be claimed. It would be unjust to my fellow-citizens not to say further that the great majority of our school directors follow the second plan.

"In the following cities and towns the terms and all the other arrangements are equal: Little Rock, Helena, Marianna, Pine Bluff, Monticello, Lonoke, Camden, Texarkana, Hope, Nashville, Washington, Prescott, Malvern, Conway, Moulton, Newport, Augusta, Russellville, Fort Smith, Van Buren, and Hot Springs."

DELAWARE.

The colored schools of Delaware.—“There are only 46 [colored] schoolhouses in the State and 79 schools. Thirty-three of the schools are held either in private houses or churches, mostly the latter. All the schoolhouses occupied have been built by the colored people themselves, and some of the buildings are in the last stages of dilapidation. Some of the schools find it necessary to charge a tuition fee and others raise funds by subscription in order to secure sufficient money to pay the teacher's salary.”

The State superintendent suggests “that it would be wise to increase the State appropriation to these schools in order that they may be made free schools in fact. If education is a safeguard it would seem to need no argument that the colored schools should be made as efficient as possible.”

The sum of \$6,000 was appropriated for these schools in 1889-'90, or a little over \$1 for each colored child of school age in the State.

FLORIDA.

Capacity of colored students—Appreciation of school advantages.—The principal of the Florida State Normal College for Colored Persons reports: “The students are specially drilled in the abstract sciences in which they are the weakest, while their strong linguistic powers are given the fullest exercise. The imperfect attainments in the common studies which they bring to the institution are displaced by a severe training in the same studies, when they are carried through algebra to quadratics and through several books of geometry. In all these studies they can compete favorably with scholars of similar grade anywhere. In the Latin, the only classic thus far taught, they are carried through several books of Caesar's Commentaries, just enough to give them a proper foundation to continue the study of the thoughts of the iron-hearted masters of the ancient world after graduation. Although it is less than two years since the senior class began the study of Latin, several of them can now read Caesar with an ease and elegance that would do credit to scholars who have been engaged twice the length of time in studying this language.

“The surest test for the appreciation of the race for the school is in the sacrifices made by patrons in sending and maintaining scholars here, and the eagerness of the latter to avail themselves of the opportunity offered them for instruction. With limited means or from daily earnings parents send their children to this school from distant parts of the State and meet all the financial engagements incident to the education of a young person during the entire session of nine months. Although this is the second year since the school has had dormitory halls, not only has every patron met all his obligations, but the demand for more room in the dormitories is restricted by our inability to provide for any more new-comers.

“The promptness and regularity of attendance at the daily sessions of the school is another proof of high appreciation. No severer punishment for breach of discipline can be inflicted on any of them than to be ordered to leave school for even part of a day. They seem to feel that every day and hour are too precious to be lost from the prosecution of the purpose for which they have come hither from their homes. This strong regard and attachment for a school but lately established is one of the most pleasing features which promise for it, let it be hoped, a long career of usefulness.”

GEORGIA.

State School Commissioner James S. Hook: “It is due the colored people to say that everywhere in Georgia, as far as they have come within my observation, they are anxious for improvement, and in proportion as they become interested in the schools I note growth in moral sentiment, less interest in partisan politics, and more anxiety to make themselves useful and respected citizens.”

The University of Atlanta, as is well known, has, under the provision of the State constitution forbidding the coeducation of whites and colored, forfeited its State grant. Some of the prominent colored educators of the State are setting on foot a movement to obtain this suspended grant in order to establish a normal school for training colored teachers.

What the county superintendents say.

Crawford County.—Colored schools were well attended, but a decrease in number of schools, on account of not being able to get teachers that could make the required percentage in examination.

Houston County.—The colored people manifest a great desire to have their children educated; their schools were kept full and the average attendance was good. The colored children of our county outnumber the whites almost 4 to 1, and all their schools are full to overflowing whenever opened. In some parts of the county the white people are so sparsely settled that it is impossible for them to have schools.

Jasper County.—There is not a child of school age in the county, white or black, but what has a schoolhouse conveniently located and can attend school most any kind of weather.

Mitchell County.—The colored people of our county are very manifest in their interest of education. Many of our colored schools, if allowed, are crowded beyond accommodations.

Oconee County.—By no means tax the whites to educate the blacks. This has made a "skeleton" of what otherwise would have been a corpulent and muscular man—a giant [referring to the school system].

Putnam County.—We should have more money, negro or no negro. Something is necessarily obliged to be done or the whites will not keep up with the darkey.

MARYLAND.

The colored schools of Maryland.—Dr. James L. Bryan, school examiner of Dorchester County, Md., reports as follows: "There is great pleasure and just pride in stating that our colored schools are a credit to our system. When I began my work in this county in 1867 there were no colored schools connected with the public-school system. There were two or three run by friends outside of the State. The school board of that day made a small appropriation to two of those schools, and gradually increased the amount until the new school law of 1872 placed such schools directly under the control of the school board. Since that day these schools have increased from two or three to forty, and the teachers compare favorably with the white teachers, considering the poor advantages these schools occupy houses belonging to the school authorities, built generally for school purposes, and with comfortable furniture, blackboards, etc. One house, in Cambridge, used by colored pupils, cost nearly \$2,500; another, in East Newmarket, cost over \$1,000.

"There is small but a steady increase in the numbers attending the schools, and the results are quite gratifying.

"It is a great credit to the powers that be that this work has been done so well. It is honorable to the authorities, and should dispel all doubts of fairness in the matter of educating this class of our people."

And the examiner of Harford County says: "In a number of cases we lack suitable houses and furniture for the colored schools: but our greatest drawback in this line is an efficient corps of teachers. I do not hesitate to say that I have more difficulty in securing twenty-two suitable colored teachers than one hundred and fourteen white ones. I anxiously look forward to the day when we may rely upon the colored normal school of this State for our colored teachers.

"In many cases, too, it is difficult to secure prompt and regular attendance of colored children. Having satisfied their ambition by enrolling their names at school, the very ones most in need of its benefits are the ones most apt to be absent. Recognizing the large factor they have become in some sections, I see no higher duty the State has to perform than to do what she can to educate this large class of her citizens."

NORTH CAROLINA.

Causes of opposition to negro education.—State Superintendent S. M. Finger, of North Carolina, says: "There is much opposition to public schools in the State, and in the South generally, because of the small amount of the taxes paid by the negroes. The opposition is intensified by the belief, that is more or less prevalent, that education spoils the colored people as laborers, to their own damage and the damage of the white people. It is said that when you 'educate a negro you spoil a field hand.'

"On this point it may be said with truth that the negro's sudden freedom and citizenship, for which he was unprepared, the privileges of education, and all the new experiences he had at and soon after the war, including much bad leadership, completely turned his head, so to speak. Forced labor to him had, during slavery, been his peculiar hardship. In his ignorance he thought the new conditions, and especially the privilege of education, were to relieve him from this curse of labor. The old negroes went earnestly to work to learn to read. They failed, but attributed their failure to lack of early opportunities. But they resolved that they would secure education for their children, and, with this special end in view, the escape from manual labor. The present generation of younger negroes has been educated too much with this purpose in view, and, because of this wrong idea, it is true that a smattering of education to many of them has caused idleness and laziness. If education is to be given them in any liberal sense by the State they must show a much higher appreciation of it. They must recognize it not as a means of relief from labor, but as a help to successful labor.

"Many of their best teachers are striving now, by precept and example, to correct these wrong ideas as to what education is to do for them, and my earnest advice to school committeemen is that they do not employ teachers who are above manual labor. A man or a woman who depends upon the money he can make by teaching a three or four months school per annum and will not apply himself to some useful labor during the balance of the time is not fit to direct the education of children and should not be employed to teach.

"The colored people must not lose sight of the fact that manual labor is the lot of almost all people, white and colored, and that this is now and will be their lot to a larger degree than that of the white people, because of the peculiar conditions and circumstances that surround them. The destiny of the negroes of the United States is in their hands, with the powerful help of the white people as they may show themselves worthy of it. Let them pay their taxes and show that education does not spoil them as laborers, at least to any greater degree than it does the whites, but that it does add to their efficiency as laborers and to their usefulness as moral and upright citizens, and all the help they need that the State can, in her financial condition, reasonably afford will be extended them.

"The white people must not lose sight of the fact that it is the labor of a country that makes its wealth, and that, therefore, the education and elevation of the children of the laborers is a proper charge upon the property of any country. If we did not have the negroes we would have some other poor people, whose children would have to be educated in the public schools. But, whatever may be said about educating the negroes, we can not afford not to improve our educational facilities, whether we consider our financial condition and progress or the perpetuation of our civil and religious liberties.

"If it is said that we are too poor, then I reply that the way to get rich is to educate our people intellectually and industrially, so that they may be able successfully to apply labor to the development of our many resources. The history of the world points out this way, and we can not fail if we walk in it. With good schools in the country districts there will be less incentive for the country people to crowd into the cities and towns to educate their children, much of the discontent and restlessness will disappear, and better success will attend their labors."

TENNESSEE.

Reports of Tennessee county superintendents.

Marshall County: Our colored schools are improving very fast. At their institute this year there was an increase of teachers and an increase in interest. All of them seem to be striving for an education, and we have some very bright minds in the colored race.

McNairy County: I have held four institutes—three for the whites and one for the colored. They were all well attended. We had some excellent workers at the normal institute at Purdy in June. I have the colored teachers better organized than the whites.

Morgan County: There are only forty-seven colored population, and they are promiscuously scattered along the railroads; hence no colored schools.

Tipton County: There seems nothing at present that promises to discourage the advancement of the public schools in this county further than that there is a growing disposition on the part of the white people of the county, who pay

ninety-five one-hundredths of the taxes, to discontinue the public education of the "brother in black," who, notwithstanding the fact that he pays less than five one-hundredths of the taxes of our county, receives more than 50 per cent of the public-school moneys. This, the white people argue, is wrong, and should be remedied; and I heartily agree with them, and join them also, in the further opinion that the negro should bear the burden of his own education.

Wayne County: Our colored schools are progressing very well. We have some very good teachers among the colored population of our county. They are creating quite an enthusiasm among their race of people for education.

"We can build our own schoolhouses."—The New York Age (edited by a colored man): Vast sums have been given by philanthropists to sustain such moral, religious, and intellectual work in the Southern States as are usually supplied from the general tax funds of the State affected and by the charity of the benevolently disposed citizens of such State. The past and the present generations of Afro-Americans have, therefore, been educated to look to the Federal Government for the protection usually afforded to the citizen by the State in which he resides and which does not inhere at all in the Federal authority as one of its conceded rights; and, worse yet, they have been educated to look to others to think and do for them to such an extent that self-reliance has been hampered in its development, so that if we want money for educational, religious, or other laudable purposes, we appeal too often to white men or to the Federal Government, instead of relying upon ourselves for it and working in combination and coöperation to secure it as others do. We can build our own churches and colleges and schoolhouses, and support them, if we would do so, out of the money wasted by us upon unnecessary pleasures and upon downright humbug; and we have got to do it in the not remote future, because the opinion is steadily gaining vantage that we are getting old enough to stand upon our own heels in this matter of self-help.

II.—SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION.

OCCUPATIONS OF GRADUATES.

The question is sometimes asked, What does the colored man do after completing a regular course in one of the universities or colleges? In order to answer this question somewhat definitely, a table has been prepared showing upon what lines of business the graduates of 17 institutions reporting this item had entered. These 17 institutions represent very fairly the work of the colored schools. Howard University is not included in this statement, as a considerable portion of its graduates are white.

The first thing to attract attention is the large number engaged in teaching, more than one-half being thus employed. As these institutions were mainly founded to supply the demand for competent colored teachers and preachers, they seem to have well accomplished their purpose. The whole number of graduates of these 17 institutions is 1,542. If from this number we subtract 82 deceased, 46 engaged in post-graduate studies, 97 married women, and 74 not reported, of the remaining 1,243 there are 720, or 58 per cent, engaged in teaching, 27 of these being professors in colleges and universities. Of preachers there are 117, or 9 per cent; of lawyers, 116; doctors, 163. Five have their whole time employed as editors of papers, while others are partly engaged in editing. There are 36 in the United States Government service, employed as clerks in the departments at Washington, as postmasters, as custom-house inspectors, as mail-carriers, etc.

Although in all of the institutions given in the list, without exception, instruction was given in different kinds of industrial work, such as carpentry, tinning, painting, brickmaking, plastering, shoemaking, tailoring, blacksmithing, farming, gardening, etc., and in many of them special attention was given to such instruction: still out of the 1,243 graduates only 12 are farmers, only 1 a carpenter, and 2 mechanics. The painters, tanners, brick-makers, shoemakers, plasterers, tailors, and blacksmiths seem to have graduated from their trades when they left their *alma mater*. It should not be inferred, however, that their handicraft availed them nothing, for it is frequently stated in the catalogues that those graduates who are engaged in teaching so long as the school term continues immediately enter upon their trades at the close of the term. The evidence of the table, however, is that a full collegiate education tends to draw away the colored student from the class of pursuits mentioned and to lead him into professional work; and as greater opportunities are annually being offered him for medical and legal education the number in these professions is yearly increasing.

TABLE 3.—Occupations of graduates of universities and colleges.

Institution.	Whole number of graduates.	Deceased.	Teachers.	Ministers.	Physicians.	Lawyers.	College professors.	Editors.	Merchants.	Farmers.	Carpenters.	U. S. Government service.	Druggists.	Dentists.	Bookkeepers.	Printers.	Mechanics.	Butchers.	Graduate students.	Other pursuits.	Not stated.	Married and keeping house.	
Allen University, South Carolina.....	69	2	25	5	5	5	2	2	2	3	4	4							12		5	2	
Atlanta University, Georgia.....	215	19	116	8	4	2	1	1	4	14	14										2	43	
Berea College, Kentucky.....	45	8	13	0	1	2	3	2	1	2										3	6	2	
Central Tennessee College, Tennessee.....	260	3	38	25	138	14	2	2	1	2										4	6	11	
Clalin University, South Carolina.....	174	8	109	15	6	5	2	2	6	1	3	1	4	14	1			3	8	3		9	
Fisk University, Tennessee.....	158	8	87	13	5	5	5	1	1	6	6	1	3	1	1			3	3	11	2	11	
Knoxville College, Tennessee.....	83	8	68	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1			2	1	2	1	
Livingstone College, North Carolina.....	44	1	19	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1							2	1	13	1	
New Orleans University, Louisiana.....	30	2	8	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1							2	1	2	1	
Paul Quinn College, Texas.....	6	0	5																				
Phalander Smith College, Arkansas.....	5	0	2				1																
Roger Williams University, Tennessee.....	34	2	19	7	2	1	1				1	1									1	2	
Rust University, Mississippi.....	70	3	23	6	3	2	2		1											6	16	2	
Southern University, Louisiana.....	616		616																				
Straight University, Louisiana.....	155	4	49	1	2	81	2	1	1	1	2	1			1					13		1	
Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Alabama.....	64	1	52	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2							2	1	1	2	
Wilberforce University, Ohio.....	110	13	37	18	1	2	10	1	2	1	1	1							1	5	11	8	
Total.....	1,542	82	693	117	163	116	27	5	15	12	1	36	5	14	2	2	2	3	46	30	74	97	

a Number of graduates of the normal department.

COLLEGIATE STUDENTS.

The number of universities and colleges for the education of the colored race given in the tables of 1889-90 is 22, with an attendance of 811 students. The number of institutions is the same as reported in 1888-89, but in the number of students there is quite a reduction. This reduction is owing to the fact that students in the preparatory departments have been classed under the list of institutions for secondary instruction. It is well known that in many of the colored universities and colleges there are only a dozen or so of students in the college grade, while there are, perhaps, several hundred in the preparatory and primary grades. To include the latter among university and college students would be misleading.

On this point President Horace Bumstead, of Atlanta University, says: "It is a mistake to suppose that the higher education of the colored people is being overdone. There is a very grave misapprehension on that point among the good people of our land. We have so many institutions in the South that are named universities and colleges that the idea prevails that all the students in these institutions are learning Latin and Greek and the higher mathematics and getting in general the higher education. This is not so. Dr. Haygood a few years ago investigated this matter with some care and arrived at the conclusion that in these institutions with the high-sounding names not over 5 per cent of the pupils are really getting a strictly 'higher education.' Commissioner Harris thinks there may be as many as 10 per cent, but even that is a very small proportion.

"Take Atlanta University, for instance. We have had this last year about 600 students enrolled, whose names are printed in our catalogue. How many of these are getting the higher education? Just 20 of them are in the college course; 51 more are in the college preparatory course; 71 out of 600 are getting the higher education, and this is probably a larger proportion than can be found in almost any other institution in the South. When one remembers the comparatively small number of the colored people who are in these schools and then considers the small proportion of those in them who are getting the higher education it does not seem as though the thing were being overdone."

In 1888-89 the number of institutions for secondary instruction was 53 and the number of students 11,480; in 1889-90 the number of institutions was 71 and of students 12,420, an increase of about 1,000. This increase is to be accounted for, to some extent, in the same way as the decrease in the number of university and college students, viz, the including college preparatory students in the tables of secondary institutions.

Hence, although there was apparently a decrease in the number of collegiate students, it was only an apparent one; but at the same time the actual number given is so small that it may well serve to stimulate the friends of colored education to renewed efforts in their behalf.

In the number of theological students there was apparently a decrease, but there was an increase of about one-third in the number of both law and medical students.

The value of the grounds and buildings of the 22 universities and colleges, as reported, was over \$2,700,000, but only a few of them had any endowment fund, the endowment funds of all of them only aggregating \$807,425. Benefactions to the amount of \$167,591 were received during the year. Only three of them received any State aid—Southern University, New Orleans, \$7,500; Wilberforce University, Ohio, \$6,000; and Claflin University, South Carolina, \$10,800. The tuition fees received by all of them only aggregated \$47,216. Without the aid extended by missionary societies and other benevolent funds they would have labored under great difficulties. The American Missionary Association was one of the largest contributors towards the support of these schools. It gave help to six chartered institutions—Fisk University, Atlanta University, Talladega College, Tougaloo University, Straight University, Tillotson Normal Institute—with 2,871 students in all the departments; also to 21 normal and graded schools, with 5,797 students, and to 53 common schools, with 4,727 pupils. The Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church also contributed a large amount towards the education of the colored race, but it is impossible to determine the amount accurately, as the expenditures for institutions of the white race and for ministers' salaries are included in the same accounts with those for colored schools. The whole amount disbursed from the Slater fund from 1883 to 1891, inclusive, was \$321,991.

The apportionment among the institutions receiving aid from the John F. Slater fund in 1889-90 was as follows:

Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.	\$1,600	Mount Hermon Female Institute, Clinton, Miss.	\$1,000
Ballard Normal School, Macon, Ga.	500	New Orleans University, New Orleans, La.	1,000
Benedict Institute, Columbia, S. C.	1,000	Paul Quinn College, Waco, Tex.	460
Biddle University, Charlotte, N. C.	1,000	Payne Institute, Augusta, Ga.	600
Brainerd Institute, Chester, S. C.	700	Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark.	800
Central Tennessee College, Nashville, Tenn.	1,100	Roger Williams University, Nashville, Tenn.	1,000
Claflin University, Orangeburg, S. C.	1,800	Rust University, Holly Springs, Miss.	1,100
Clark University, Atlanta, Ga. (general appropriation)	1,600	Schofield Normal Institute, Aiken, S. C.	500
Clark University, Atlanta, Ga. (special appropriation)	3,200	Scotia Female Seminary, Concord, N. C.	700
Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.	1,800	Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.	1,800
Gilbert Seminary, Winsted, La.	800	Spelman Female Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.	2,000
Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va. (general appropriation)	1,500	State Normal School, Montgomery, Ala.	1,200
Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va. (special appropriation)	1,000	State Normal School, Tuskegee, Ala.	1,000
Hartshorn Memorial Institute, Richmond, Va.	650	Straight University, New Orleans, La.	1,500
Jackson College, Jackson, Miss.	800	Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.	1,400
Jacksonville Graded School, Jacksonville, Fla.	800	Tillotson Institute, Austin, Tex.	900
Leonard Medical School, Raleigh, N. C.	500	Tougaloo University, Tougaloo, Miss.	1,500
Le Moyne Institute, Memphis, Tenn.	1,800	Training School, Knoxville, Tenn.	600
Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C.	700	To special objects.	500
Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn.	1,000	Total.	42,910

The sum of \$47,428.27 was received from the income of the Daniel Hand fund, and was used in extending aid to deserving and promising students, in providing good school buildings at different places, and in securing teachers for places where they could not otherwise be obtained.

The Daniel Hand fund at the time it was granted consisted of interest-bearing securities to the amount of \$1,000,894.25. It was placed in charge of the American Missionary Association, and only the income of it is to be used. The bonds and property are "to be received and held by said American Missionary Association upon trust, and for the following purposes, viz: To safely manage the said trust fund, to change investments whenever said association may deem it necessary or advisable, to reinvest the principal of said trust fund in such securities, property, and investments as said association may deem best, and to use the income thereof only for the education of colored people of African descent residing in the recent slave States of the United States of America hereinbefore specified.

"Such income to be applied for the education of such colored people as are needy and indigent, and such as by their health, strength, and vigor of body and mind give indications of efficiency and usefulness in after life."

In December, 1891, at his home in Guilford, Conn., occurred the death of Mr. Daniel Hand, the donor of the above fund, who with intelligent foresight gave from the living hand that which probably for years to come will confer its benefits upon deserving youth.¹

¹ "Daniel Hand was born in Madison, Conn., July 16, 1801, and was therefore in the eighty-eighth year of his age when he made his gift for the education of the colored people at the South. His ancestors resided in that town for several generations, and were always landholders, industrious, quiet, and respectable. To this ancestry Mr. Hand is probably indebted under God for his physical vigor, long life, strength of character, and success in business. He was the fourth son of seven, and was on the farm under his father's direction until he was 16 years of age, when he was put in charge of his second brother, Augustus F. Hand, who was then a merchant at Augusta, Ga., and whom he succeeded in business. In 1854 Mr. Hand went to New York in connection with his Southern business, and remained there in that capacity until the beginning of the war in 1861. He resided in some portion of the Southern Confederacy during the entire war, and was never treated with violence in any way, and no Confederate officer ever offered him indignity or even an unkind word.

"Mr. George W. Williams, a native Georgian, was, at about the age of 16, employed by Mr. Hand as a clerk in Augusta, and in a few years was taken in as partner. Mr. Williams suggested a branch of the business in Charleston, and conducted it successfully. When the war came on Mr. Hand's capital was largely engaged in the Charleston business, which Mr. Williams, as a Southern man, continued, having the use of Mr. Hand's capital, which the Confederate government vainly endeavored to confiscate by legal proceedings against Mr. Hand as a Northern man of pronounced antislavery sentiments. After the war Mr. Hand came North and left it to his old partner, Mr. Williams, to adjust the business and make up the accounts, allowing him almost unlimited time for so doing. When this was accomplished Mr. Williams came North and paid over to Mr. Hand his portion of the long-invested capital and its accumulations.

"Mr. Hand, having been early deprived by death of wife and children, decided to devote a share of his large fortune to benevolent purposes. At one time he intended to make bequests to some Northern colleges, but at length, recalling the fact that his property was accumulated in the South, and knowing so well the needs of the ignorant negroes, he turned his attention to them.

"The well-known and magnificent gift of \$1,000,894.25, October 24, 1888, to the American Missionary Association, for the benefit of the colored people of the Southern States, was the result."

George R. Smith College, Sedalia, Mo.—On March 27, 1888, two daughters of Gen. George R. Smith, Madams Smith and Cotton, donated 25 acres of land, valued at \$25,000, in Sedalia, Mo., for the establishment of an institution of learning for the colored race, on condition that a \$25,000 building should be erected on it by January 1, 1892. The building was partially erected within the required time, but the donors kindly extended the time to January 1, 1894. As the institution is to be in charge of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society of the M. E. Church, it will very probably be completed within the required time. It will be the first institution of higher grade in Missouri for colored people.

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING.

In nearly all, if not all, of the institutions for the secondary and higher education of the colored race of the South industrial training forms a very important part. It is one of the conditions required before aid can be received from the John F. Slater fund. The cost of its introduction was very considerable, in the purchase of sufficient grounds, in the erection of suitable buildings, and securing the necessary machinery and apparatus for the different kinds of work. And not only was its introduction expensive, but its maintenance as well, for it has not been the purpose to make profits, or even in many cases to meet expenses, but to impart the largest amount of useful and practical knowledge and to train in habits of carefulness, diligence, and order. But at the same time many indigent students were instructed in branches of industry by which they were soon able to contribute largely towards defraying their expenses, and afterwards to earn a good livelihood. It was found, too, that the physical exercise and the temporary mental diversion from studies was very conducive to health and vigor and was a source of enjoyment to students, while it in no way hindered progress in their studies. It also indicated that hard labor on the farm or in the workshop was not to be confined to the ignorant, poverty-stricken wretch, but that there was nothing in it inconsistent with an educated, progressive, Christian character.

As to industrial training, Dr. A. G. Haygood, general agent of the Slater fund, says: "The essential goodness of industrial training in connection with the ordinary school training is now universally admitted by experienced and practical people. In the schools aided by the Slater fund during the school year 1889-90 as many as ten thousand young people were taught in books and in some branch of useful industries. This sort of training is vital now. Mere book schooling with poor and illiterate people breeds wants faster than it develops the ability to provide for them. The outcome is misery. Tool-craft helps to realize the aspirations that book learning inspires."

TABLE 4.—Amount and distribution of the sums disbursed from the Slater fund, from 1883 to 1891, inclusive.

States.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	Total.
Alabama.....	\$2,100	\$2,450	\$5,000	\$3,800	\$4,400	\$4,600	\$3,600	\$3,600	\$4,900	\$34,450
Arkansas.....					600	800	800	800	1,000	4,000
Florida.....						1,000	800	800	1,000	3,600
Georgia.....	6,200	500	6,814	5,100	6,200	6,850	9,700	9,700	10,500	61,564
Kentucky.....		1,000	1,000	700	700	700				4,100
Louisiana.....		592	1,400	1,000	3,100	3,500	4,100	3,100	3,700	20,492
Mississippi.....	1,000	2,600	2,000	2,000	4,450	4,800	4,400	4,400	5,300	30,950
North Carolina.....	2,000	740	4,400	3,600	4,200	5,300	5,100	4,700	5,700	35,740
South Carolina.....	2,000	750	3,500	2,700	3,660	4,300	4,000	4,000	5,000	29,910
Tennessee.....	950	4,325	7,600	5,800	6,500	6,500	6,800	6,800	7,400	52,675
Texas.....		600	600	600	900	1,360	1,360	1,360	1,500	8,280
Virginia.....	2,000	2,000	3,000	3,650	4,190	4,190	3,150	3,150	3,150	28,480
District of Columbia.....										
Special.....		1,000	1,000	600	600	600				3,800
		550	450	450	500	500	500	500	500	3,950
Totals.....	16,250	17,107	36,764	30,000	40,000	45,000	44,310	42,910	49,650	321,991

TABLE 5.—*Distribution of money derived from Daniel Hand fund in 1889-90.*

Alabama:		Mississippi:	
Student aid.....	\$2,592.85	Student aid.....	\$2,100.00
Teachers.....	4,100.55	Teachers.....	1,088.20
Buildings.....	728.21	Buildings.....	1,500.00
	\$7,421.61		\$4,688.20
Florida:		North Carolina:	
Teachers.....	1,037.66	Student aid.....	772.00
		Teachers.....	3,564.44
		Buildings.....	400.00
Georgia:			4,736.44
Student aid.....	2,116.44	South Carolina:	
Buildings.....	7,154.62	Student aid.....	115.00
	9,271.03	Building.....	7,719.91
Kentucky:			7,834.91
Student aid.....	86.95	Tennessee:	
Teachers.....	1,258.58	Student aid.....	2,658.67
	1,345.53	Teachers.....	1,173.75
Louisiana:			3,232.42
Student aid.....	2,000.00	Virginia:	
Building.....	5,460.44	Teacher.....	400.00
	7,460.44	Total.....	47,428.27

TABLE 6.—*Statistics of institutions for the instruction of the colored race, for 1889-90.*

Location.	Name.	Religious denomination.	Instructors.	Students.
NORMAL SCHOOLS.				
Huntsville, Ala.....	Central Alabama Academy	M. E.....	5	126
Do.....	State Colored Normal and Industrial School	Nonsect.....	5	89
Mobile, Ala.....	Emerson Institute*	Cong.....	10	289
Montgomery, Ala.....	State Normal School for Colored Students	Nonsect.....	a18	a886
Tallahadega, Ala.....	Normal Department of Talladega College*	Cong.....		35
Tuskegee, Ala.....	Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute	Nonsect.....	15	225
Little Rock, Ark.....	Normal Department of Philander Smith College	M. E.....		13
Pine Bluff, Ark.....	Branch Normal College of Arkansas Industrial University	Nonsect.....	4	176
Washington, D. C.....	Miner Normal School	Nonsect.....	5	40
Do.....	Normal Department of Howard University	Nonsect.....	14	136
Tallahassee, Fla.....	State Normal College for Colored Teachers	Nonsect.....	3	10
Atlanta, Ga.....	Normal Department of Atlanta University	Nonsect.....		81
Augusta, Ga.....	The Paine Institute	M. E. So.....	6	50
New Orleans, La.....	Normal Department of New Orleans University	M. E.....		36
Do.....	Normal Department of Straight University	Nonsect.....		59
Holly Springs, Miss.....	Mississippi State Colored Normal School	Nonsect.....	3	75
Jackson, Miss.....	Jackson College	Bapt.....	8	263
Tougaloo, Miss.....	Normal Department of Tougaloo University	Cong.....	3	33
Ashboro, N. C.....	Ashboro Normal School	Friends.....	2	86
Fayetteville, N. C.....	State Colored Normal School	Nonsect.....	3	140
Franklinton, N. C.....	do	Nonsect.....		137
Goldsboro, N. C.....	do	Nonsect.....	4	115
Plymouth, N. C.....	do	Nonsect.....	3	47
Salisbury, N. C.....	do	Nonsect.....	4	119
Do.....	Normal Department of Livingstone College	A. M. E. Z.....	5	33
Aiken, S. C.....	Schofield Normal and Industrial School		8	185
Charleston, S. C.....	Avery Normal Institute	Cong.....	7	260
Greenwood, S. C.....	Brewer Normal School	Cong.....	6	300
Knoxville, Tenn.....	Training School of Knoxville College	Nonsect.....	12	37
Memphis, Tenn.....	Le Moyne Normal Institute	Cong.....	5	155
Morristown, Tenn.....	Morristown Normal Academy	M. E.....	12	201
Nashville, Tenn.....	Normal Department of Central Tennessee College	M. E.....		21
Do.....	Normal Department of Fisk University	Cong.....	8	37
Do.....	Normal Department of Roger Williams University	Bapt.....	6	221
Austin, Tex.....	Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute	Cong.....	8	198
Hempstead, Tex.....	Prairie View State Normal School	Nonsect.....	5	138
Hampton, Va.....	Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute	Cong.....	40	559
Petersburg, Va.....	Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute	Nonsect.....	11	320
Harper's Ferry, W. Va.....	Storer College	Nonsect.....	8	176
	Colored normal students in various Northern schools.			144
	Total.....		256	6,201

* In 1888-89.

a In all the departments.

TABLE 6.—Statistics of institutions for the instruction of the colored race, for 1889-90—Continued.

Location.	Name.	Religious denomination.	Instructors.	Students
INSTITUTIONS FOR SECONDARY INSTRUCTION.				
Athens, Ala.	Trinity School	Cong	5	49
Prattville, Ala.	Prattville Male and Female Academy	Nonsect.	3	41
Selma, Ala.	Preparatory Department of Selma University.	Bapt	5	530
Talladega, Ala.	Talladega College	Cong	2	33
Little Rock, Ark.	Preparatory Department of Philander Smith College.	M. E.	2	28
Washington, D. C.	Preparatory Department of Howard University.	Nonsect.	5	40
Jacksonville, Fla.	Cookman Institute.	M. E.	7	100
Key West, Fla.	Convent of Mary Immaculate	Cath	3	60
Live Oak, Fla.	Florida Institute	Bapt	5	118
Athens, Ga.	Jewel Normal School		2	90
Do	Knox Institute		1	20
Do	Pierce Chapel*		1	77
Atlanta, Ga.	Atlanta Baptist Seminary	Bapt	2	56
Do	Preparatory Department of Atlanta University.	Nonsect.	21	436
Do	Preparatory Department of Clark University.	M. E.	8	430
Do	Spelman Seminary	Bapt	12	288
Cave Spring, Ga.	Mercer Female Seminary*	Bapt	1	25
La Grange, Ga.	La Grange Academy		3	229
Macon, Ga.	Ballard Normal School		13	581
Thomasville, Ga.	Industrial Institute	Cong	9	266
Waynesboro, Ga.	Haven Academy		2	177
Berea, Ky.	Preparatory Department of Berea College.	Nonsect.	10	324
Lexington, Ky.	Lexington Colored Normal School*	Cong	7	300
New Castle, Ky.	Christian Bible School	Christ	1	27
Williamsburg, Ky.	Williamsburg Colored Academy*	Cong	7	307
Alexandria, La.	Alexandria Academy		3	150
New Iberia, La.	Mount Carmel Convent		1	15
New Orleans, La.	La Harpe Academy		2	89
Do	Preparatory Department of Leland University.	Bapt	6	328
Do	Preparatory Department of New Orleans University.	M. E.	12	330
Do	Preparatory Department of Southern University.	Nonsect.	9	407
Do	Preparatory Department of Straight University.	Cong	16	545
Winsted, La.	Gilbert Academy	M. E.	14	379
Baltimore, Md.	Morgan College	M. E.	10	151
Clinton, Miss.	Mt. Hermon Female Seminary	Nonsect.	2	29
Holly Springs, Miss.	Preparatory Department of Rust University.	M. E.	10	225
Meridian, Miss.	Meridian Academy	M. E.	2	95
Tougaloo, Miss.	Tougaloo University		13	352
Beaufort, N. C.	Washburn Seminary	Cong	4	248
Blowing Rock, N. C.	Colored Academy	Cong	1	107
Charlotte, N. C.	Preparatory Department of Biddle University.	Presb	4	103
Concord, N. C.	Scotia Seminary	Presb	4	112
Greensboro, N. C.	Bennett Seminary	M. E.	6	172
Raleigh, N. C.	Preparatory Department of Shaw University	Bapt	1	42
Salisbury, N. C.	Preparatory Department of Livingston University.	A. M. E. Z	4	174
Winton, N. C.	Chowan Academy	Bapt	1	42
South New Lime, Ohio	New Lime Institute		7	161
Wilberforce, Ohio	Preparatory Department of Wilberforce University.	A. M. E.	9	109
Lincoln University, Pa.	Preparatory Department of Lincoln University.	Presb	4	77
Oxford, Pa.	Oxford Academy	Nonsect.	3	63
Charleston, S. C.	Wallingford Academy	Presb	2	51
Chester S. C.	Braided Institute		11	383
Columbia, S. C.	Benedict Institute	Bapt	7	203
Do	Preparatory Department of Allen University.	A. M. E.	4	272
Frogmore, S. C.	Penn Industrial and Normal School	Nonsect.	2	36
Orangeburg, S. C.	Preparatory Department of Claflin University.	M. E.	9	131
Bells, Tenn.	Bells Male and Female Academy	Nonsect.	2	52
Knoxville, Tenn.	Knoxville College	U. Presb	12	54
Mason, Tenn.	West Tennessee Preparatory School*	M. E.	3	149
Morristown, Tenn.	Morristown Seminary and Normal Institute.	M. E.	7	286

*In 1888-89.

TABLE 6.—Statistics of institutions for the instruction of the colored race, for 1889-90—Continued.

Location.	Name.	Religious denomination.	Instructors.	Students.
INSTITUTIONS FOR SECONDARY INSTRUCTION—continued.				
Nashville, Tenn	Preparatory Department of Central Tennessee College.	M. E.	4	43
Do.	Preparatory Department of Fisk University	Cong	14	400
Do.	Preparatory Department of Roger Williams University.	Bapt	8	185
Hearne, Tex	Hearne Academy	Bapt	2	11
Marshall, Tex	Bishop College.	Bapt	4	25
Do.	Wiley University	M. E.	9	292
Waco, Tex	Paul Quinn College.	A. M. E.	13	185
Walnut, Tex	Central College	Nonsect.	5	83
Norfolk, Va	Norfolk Mission School	U. Presb	5	160
Richmond, Va	Moore Street Industrial School.		4	95
Do.	Hartshorn Memorial College	Bapt	5	86
	Colored pupils attending various other secondary schools.			82
	Total		415	12,420
UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES. ^a				
Selma, Ala.	Selma University	Bapt	5	9
Little Rock, Ark	Philander Smith College.	M. E.	3	12
Washington, D. C	Howard University	Nonsect	6	22
Atlanta, Ga	Atlanta University	Nonsect	7	18
Do.	Clark University	M. E.	5	7
Berea, Ky	Berea College	Nonsect	9	33
New Orleans, La	Leland University	Bapt	7	21
Do	New Orleans University	M. E.	4	7
Do	Southern University	Nonsect	3	7
Do	Straight University	Cong.	5	3
Holly Springs, Miss.	Rust University	M. E.	4	40
Rodney, Miss	Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College.	Nonsect	7	62
Charlotte, N. C	Biddle University	Presb	9	45
Raleigh, N. C	Shaw University	Bapt	4	42
Salisbury, N. C	Livingstone College	A. M. E.	4	20
Wilberforce, Ohio	Wilberforce University	A. M. E.	6	7
Lincoln University, Pa.	Lincoln University	Presb	10	96
Columbia, S. C	Allen University	A. M. E.	4	14
Orangeburg, S. C	Claflin University	M. E.	6	16
Nashville, Tenn	Central Tennessee College	M. E.	2	9
Do.	Fisk University	Cong	7	49
Do.	Roger Williams University	Bapt	5	34
	Colored students attending various Northern universities and colleges.			238
	Total		6122	811
SCHOOLS OF THEOLOGY.				
Selma, Ala.	Theological Department of Selma University.	Bapt	4	25
Talladega, Ala.	Theological Department of Talladega College.	Cong	1	10
Tuscaloosa, Ala.	Institute for Training Colored Ministers	Presb	2	29
Little Rock, Ark	Theological Department of Philander Smith College.	M. E.	3	20
Washington, D. C	Theological Department of Howard University.	Nonsect	7	40
Do	Wayland Seminary	Bapt	3	40
Atlanta, Ga.	Atlanta Seminary	Bapt	3	47
Do	Gammon Theological Seminary	M. E.	4	75
New Orleans, La.	Gilbert Haven School of Theology (New Orleans University).	M. E.	3	17
Do	Theological Department of Leland University.	Bapt	2	20
Do	Theological Department of Straight University.	Cong	2	19
Holly Springs, Miss.	Theological Department of Rust University	M. E.	4	26
Charlotte, N. C	Theological Department of Biddle University.	Presb	3	9
Raleigh, N. C.	Theological Department of St. Augustine's Normal School.	P. E.	2	12
Do	Theological Department of Shaw University.	Bapt	2	50

^aStudents in preparatory departments are not included here. See Secondary schools.

^bMany of these gave instruction to students in the preparatory departments also.

TABLE 6.—Statistics of institutions for the instruction of the colored race, for 1889-90—Continued.

Location.	Name.	Religious denomination.	Instructors.	Students.
SCHOOLS OF THEOLOGY—continued.				
Wilberforce, Ohio	Theological Department of Wilberforce University.	A. M. E.	4	18
Lincoln University, Pa.	Theological Department of Lincoln University.	Presb.	7	25
Columbia, S. C.	Benedict Institute.	Bapt.	1	43
Do	Theological Department of Allen University.	A. M. E.	3	10
Orangeburg, S. C.	Parker Theological Institute.	M. E.	2	16
Nashville, Tenn.	Theological Department of Central Tennessee College.	M. E.	2	27
Do	Theological Department of Fisk University.	Cong.	1	14
Do	Theological Department of Roger Williams University.	Bapt.	2	32
Richmond, Va.	Richmond Theological Seminary.	Bapt.	4	64
	Colored students in theological schools designed for whites.			46
	Total		71	734
SCHOOLS OF LAW.				
Washington, D. C.	Law Department of Howard University.		5	29
Raleigh, N. C.	Law Department of Shaw University.		1	8
Wilberforce, O.	Law Department of Wilberforce University.		2	3
Columbia, S. C.	Law Department of Allen University.		1	9
Nashville, Tenn.	Law Department of Central Tennessee College.		2	8
	Colored students attending law schools designed for whites.			6
	Total		11	63
SCHOOLS OF MEDICINE, DENTISTRY, AND PHARMACY.				
Washington, D. C.	Howard University:			
	Medical Department		16	107
	Pharmaceutical Department			5
	Dental Department			9
New Orleans, La.	Medical Department of New Orleans University.		4	11
Raleigh, N. C.	Leonard Medical College, of Shaw University.		7	44
Nashville, Tenn.	Central Tennessee College:			
	Meharry Medical Department		14	59
	Dental Department		7	7
	Pharmaceutical Department		4	5
	Colored students attending schools designed for whites.			63
	Total		52	310
SCHOOLS FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB AND THE BLIND.				
Little Rock, Ark.	Arkansas School for the Blind (colored department).		a15	15
Do	Arkansas Institute for Deaf Mutes.			7
St. Augustine, Fla.	Florida Institute for the Deaf and the Blind.		a2	11
Cave Spring, Ga.	Georgia Institute for the Deaf and Dumb (colored department).		a6	33
Macon, Ga.	Georgia Academy for the Blind (colored department).		a10	17
Danville, Ky.	Kentucky Institution for the Education of Deaf Mutes (colored department).		a17	37
Louisville, Ky.	Kentucky Institution for the Education of the Blind (colored department).		a9	26
Baltimore, Md.	Maryland School for Colored Blind and Deaf Mutes.		5	48
Jackson, Miss.	Institution for Education of the Deaf (colored department).		a8	18
Raleigh, N. C.	North Carolina Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind (colored department).		a10	56
Cedar Spring, S. C.	South Carolina Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind (colored department).		a5	23
Knoxville, Tenn.	Tennessee School for the Deaf and Dumb (colored department).		a10	22

a Instructors in both white and colored departments.

TABLE 6.—*Statistics of institutions for the instruction of the colored race, 1889-90—Continued.*

Location.	Name.	Religious denomination.	Instructors.	Students.
SCHOOLS FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB AND THE BLIND—continued.				
Nashville, Tenn.....	Tennessee School for the Blind (colored department).	-----	c10	14
Austin, Tex.....	Institution for Deaf and Dumb and Blind Colored Youth.	-----	2	65
	Colored students in various institutions designed for whites.	-----		96
	Total.....	-----	100	468

a Instructors in both white and colored departments.

TABLE 7.—*Summary of statistics of institutions for the instruction of the colored race, for 1889-90.*

States.	Enrollment in common schools.	Normal schools.			Institutions for secondary instruction.		
		Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.
Alabama.....	115,490	6	53	1,699	4	15	617
Arkansas.....	59,468	2	4	189	1	2	28
Delaware.....	4,656	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
District of Columbia.....	13,332	2	19	176	1	5	40
Florida.....	37,281	1	3	10	3	15	278
Georgia.....	159,702	2	6	131	12	75	2,673
Kentucky.....	54,716	-----	-----	-----	4	25	958
Louisiana.....	a 48,137	2	-----	95	8	63	2,293
Maryland.....	36,372	-----	-----	-----	1	10	151
Mississippi.....	176,541	3	14	371	4	27	701
Missouri.....	32,804	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
North Carolina.....	116,689	7	21	677	3	23	1,062
Ohio.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	2	16	270
Pennsylvania.....	-----	-----	-----	-----	2	7	110
South Carolina.....	111,888	3	21	745	6	35	1,076
Tennessee.....	99,009	6	43	672	7	50	1,169
Texas.....	101,471	2	13	336	5	33	596
Virginia.....	122,059	2	51	879	3	14	341
West Virginia.....	6,329	1	8	176	-----	-----	-----
Other States.....	-----	-----	-----	144	-----	-----	82
Total.....	1,289,944	39	253	6,201	71	415	12,420

a In 1889.

TABLE 8.—*Summary of statistics of institutions for the instruction of the colored race, for 1889-90.*

States.	Universities and colleges.			Schools of theology.			Schools of law.		
	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.
Alabama.....	1	5	9	3	7	64	-----	-----	-----
Arkansas.....	1	3	12	1	3	20	-----	-----	-----
District of Columbia.....	1	6	22	2	10	80	1	5	29
Georgia.....	2	12	25	2	7	122	-----	-----	-----
Kentucky.....	1	9	33	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Louisiana.....	4	19	38	3	7	56	-----	-----	-----
Mississippi.....	2	11	102	1	4	26	-----	-----	-----
North Carolina.....	3	17	107	3	7	71	1	1	8
Ohio.....	1	6	7	1	4	18	1	2	3
Pennsylvania.....	1	10	96	1	7	25	-----	-----	-----
South Carolina.....	2	10	30	3	6	69	1	1	9
Tennessee.....	3	14	92	3	5	73	1	2	8
Virginia.....	-----	-----	-----	1	4	64	-----	-----	-----
Other States.....	-----	-----	238	-----	-----	46	-----	-----	6
Total.....	22	130	811	24	71	734	5	11	63

TABLE 9.—*Summary of statistics of institutions for the instruction of the colored race, for 1889-90.*

States.	Schools of medicine.			Schools for the deaf and dumb and the blind.		
	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.
Arkansas.....				2	15	22
District of Columbia.....	1	16	121			
Florida.....				1	2	11
Georgia.....				2	16	50
Kentucky.....				2	25	63
Louisiana.....	1	4	11			
Maryland.....				1	5	48
Mississippi.....				1	8	18
North Carolina.....	1	7	44	1	10	55
South Carolina.....				1	5	23
Tennessee.....	1	25	71	2	20	35
Texas.....				1	2	65
Other States.....			63			96
Total.....	4	52	310	14	109	483

TABLE 10.—*Number of schools for the colored race and enrollment in them by institutions without reference to States.*

Class of Institutions.	Schools.	Enrollment.
Public schools.....		1,289,944
Normal schools.....	39	6,201
Institutions for secondary instruction.....	71	12,429
Universities and colleges.....	22	811
Schools of theology.....	24	734
Schools of law.....	5	63
Schools of medicine.....	4	310
Schools for the deaf and dumb and the blind.....	14	488
Total.....	179	1,910,971

NEED OF GREATER ACCOMMODATIONS.

The number of students in the colleges and schools for secondary instruction of the colored race does not show the rapid increase from year to year which would naturally be expected, when we consider the large number of children that have been attending the common schools, many of whom should now be qualified for entering higher institutions. But an examination of the reports of colored schools and of journals devoted to colored education soon discloses one reason why there is not the increase expected, viz, the want of accommodations for more students. Many of the colored schools of higher grade are already badly overcrowded; some of them are so crowded as to seriously endanger the health of the students and hundreds of others have been refused admission on account of want of room, while others still have not applied because they already knew there was no place for them. Very few new schools of the higher grades are established for colored students, as the colored people themselves have not the means for doing so, and the missionary societies generally content themselves with sustaining or at least strengthening the institutions they have already established. Many of the schools adopt all sorts of expedients to make room for applicants begging for admission, allowing them to sleep on cots in the halls, making use of old buildings which had been discarded as no longer fit for occupancy, and very generally crowding the students in excessive numbers in the buildings designed for them. Judging from the accounts given it would seem reasonable to suppose that the number of colored students would be largely increased immediately if there were accommodations for them. A want of accommodations is especially to be regretted when it is considered how anxious the young men and women are to receive an education and what sacrifices both students and parents willingly make in order that they may receive one.

A few quotations on this subject are given from various sources. Dr. C. H. Parkhurst, editor of Zion's Herald, says: "We should have ten schools where

we now have one. Every institution is crowded to overflowing. If God is saying anything in this jubilee hour to the church it is, *enlarge, enlarge, enlarge* your beneficence; enlarge the scope of operation; enlarge the teaching and boarding capability. We rejoice over the achievements of these twenty-five years; but at the same time we are humbled that the church has done so little."

Morristown Normal Academy, Tennessee; number of students, 306.—"This institution is situated in the midst of a colored population of not less than 250,000. To meet the educational requirements of this vast number of people, there is only one other school of a similar grade within a radius of 300 miles. The people are realizing, as never before, their great need of an education, and are crowding every room to its utmost capacity. Last year scores of bright, earnest, and self-sacrificing young people were sent away for want of room."

"The present dormitory is entirely too small for the number of students crowded into it. For the last two years we have been compelled to put three students in each bed, and to place cots in the halls. Even then it was difficult to satisfy applicants that we were crowded and could not accommodate them."

Grand View, Tenn.—"The classes are full and the accommodations inadequate. The school numbers one hundred and eleven. It is necessary to crowd four boys into each room of the boys' hall. Four boys are boarding themselves in a shakily log building at the foot of the hill. Their grit is admirable."

Tougaloo, Miss.—"Both the dormitories are crowded. The ladies' hall is supposed to accommodate 75 girls. One hundred and six are crowded into it to-day. We have turned away nearly one hundred more because we had not room for them. Every indication is that the crowd of applicants will be greater next year than ever. Already applications are coming in."

Meridian, Miss.—"The work of the school is hindered by lack of room. We have enrolled this year 232 pupils, and many have been turned off because we could not seat them. We opened in December of 1888 with 23 pupils. A school for more advanced pupils is needed in this part of Mississippi. We have 30 young people in school who come from the five adjoining counties."

Straight University,¹ New Orleans.—"It has been a golden year for Straight University. Financially it has been our best year. A larger proportion of students able to pay came to us. We want to grow, and have every opportunity to do so save that our quarters are too small. We have turned away during the year probably 200 applicants, many of them for the boarding department. We have had to put cots in nearly all the rooms, packing them too full for comfort, as it was very hard to say No to young people who came hundreds of miles and begged tearfully for admission. The school has grown during the last eight years from 200 to 600 and is not 1,000 only because we had no room for them. Our graduates are filling important positions all over the South. Several are superintendents in Texas, Kansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. One holds an important office in Honduras; others are doing good work in Cuba and Mexico. Eight are filling important positions in this city. We have no trouble in getting positions for our young people. Indeed, we can not supply as fast as demanded. Often as many as twenty are called for when we have none to send."

Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.—"Our chief need is a new dormitory building. The present building, though large, is far too small for the increasing demands upon us for more commodious quarters. Students are pouring in upon us every day, and still we hear of others coming."

Wiley University, Marshall, Tex.—"There should be at once erected a large central building, which would be at once filled with students."

Gilbert Academy, Winsted, La.—"We could have an attendance of a thousand students within a year if we had buildings to accommodate them."

Central Tennessee College.—"The attendance during the past year (1889-90) is such as to encourage the thought that the desire for education, and that more advanced, is growing rather than diminishing among the colored people. The number in attendance during the past year has tested our buildings to their utmost capacity. We need additional accommodations. This educational work has really just begun, and the outlook is that all our schools will be crowded more and more. We need a new chapel. Our present one is not sufficiently large to seat our students. We have been compelled to fill up the platform and crowd every seat, and yet have not room for all our students. We need a larger chapel for our ordinary purposes, and a much larger one for our public occasions."

¹In January, 1892, the main building of Straight University, New Orleans, La., was consumed by fire. Fortunately, however, the property was adequately insured, and a larger structure is now being erected in its stead.

"For our young women we need dormitories; and for the purpose of teaching, cooking, nursing, domestic economy, we need enlarged facilities. We need these, not for our necessary school purposes only, but to create a desire for neatness and pleasant surroundings in the homes that these young women are to make in the future. The need of additional buildings is more especially evident when it is understood that every room on the grounds is occupied by students or teachers."

From the Daniel Hand School, New Orleans.—It is the old story—200 turned away for lack of room. A few have come from the country without ever thinking that they might not find a place, and stand hopelessly on the street corner talking it over.

Another teacher says: "We are crowded to overflowing in every grade of the school but one, in which we have three unoccupied seats. In the normal department twenty pupils are without desks. Yesterday one of the ministers of the city applied for admission of his two daughters, who had completed the course in the public schools—just the class of pupils we like to have come—but I could not admit them for want of room."

From report of President T. D. Tucker, of Florida State Normal College for Colored Students.—"The surest test of the appreciation of the race for the school is in the sacrifices made by patrons in sending and maintaining scholars here and the eagerness of the latter to avail themselves of the opportunity offered them for instruction. With limited means or from daily earnings parents send their children to this school from distant parts of the State, and meet all the financial engagements incident to the education of a young person during the entire session of nine months. Although this is the second year since the school has had dormitory halls, not only has every patron met all his obligations, but the demand for more room in the dormitories is restricted by our inability to provide for any more newcomers.

"The promptness and regularity of attendance at the daily sessions of the school is another proof of high appreciation. No severer punishment for breach of discipline can be inflicted on any of them than to be ordered to leave school for even part of a day. They seem to feel that every day and hour are too precious to be lost from the prosecution of the purpose for which they have come hither from their homes. This strong regard and attachment for a school but lately established is one of the most pleasing features, which promise for it, let it be hoped, a long career of usefulness. * * * Wherever the services of our undergraduates have been once had, there they are held most in demand—a testimonial to their efficiency and the need of them as workers in the common schools."

From report of the American Missionary Association committee in 1891.—"The total number under instruction during the year has increased by several hundred, and almost every school is crowded to overflowing, compelling in many cases the sad necessity of sending away great numbers of applicants from lack of room for their accommodation. It is evident that the thirst of the colored people for knowledge, shown so remarkably from the moment of their emancipation, has not diminished, but is constantly increasing."

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING.

At *Clafin University, South Carolina*, a large number of students were instructed in trades and industries; in agriculture, including gardening and horticulture, 40 students; in architectural drawing, 13; in art needlework, 20; in blacksmithing, 98; in brickmaking, bricklaying, plastering, and frescoing, 92; in carpentry and cabinetmaking, 185; in cooking, 35; crocheting and lacemaking, 120; domestic economy, 13; dressmaking, 36; mechanical engineering, 15; merchandising, 1; nurse-training, 14; painting, graining, and glazing, 81; printing, 69; steam laundrying, 50; steam planing, sawing, turning, 26; steam milling, grinding cereals, 4; shoemaking, 21; plain sewing, 190.

President L. M. Dunton, of *Clafin University*, says: "In the past the negro has been a laborer. For years to come he must be a laborer. A few of course will be educated and will enter the ministry, the law, the medical profession; but the vast majority must labor with their hands. It is therefore very important to give them this manual training. We are very enthusiastic about this, and we do not allow any young woman to graduate until she can measure, cut, fit, and make a dress, and make it in style. They also learn cooking and artistic needlework. The young men are required to learn the principles of different trades, and to learn one trade thoroughly. We require a certificate from some

one of the industrial departments that they have accomplished the required work before they can graduate from the institution. During the vacations these young men and women work at these trades that they have learned at the institution. We have boys now earning a dollar and a half a day at house painting, others earning \$2 a day laying brick or at carpentry. In our blacksmith department they make all the tools they use; they even make their own razors. This industrial feature has been an inspiration to the literary department."

At *Gilbert Academy, Winsted, La.*, there are 12 students in the printing office, 14 in the carpenter shop, 16 on the farm, 53 girls in the sewing room, 3 in the bakery, besides a large number in the laundry.

Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark.—"The industrial department is carried on in a two-story frame building erected by the students. In this department there are 114. The citizens of Little Rock have given over \$800 towards paying for the building. A large number of young men have been taught the use of tools. In the printing department several young men and young ladies have been taught."

Rust University, Mississippi.—In the carpenter shop 35 young men were instructed in the use of tools and methods of construction, from the most common articles in use in home and on farm to fine cabinet work. Twenty-seven were taught shoemaking, from the making of cheap shoes to the finest French kid boot. Eleven were instructed in the printing office, and a monthly paper was published. The young men below the college course, who were not assigned to some trade, were put in the department of agriculture. In the sewing department 102 girls received useful instruction in that line.

Clark University, Atlanta, Ga.—"At Clark University we have one of the best located as well as one of the best equipped industrial schools south of the Ohio. We have one large brick building, Ballard Hall, 100 by 40 feet. The first floor is divided into two parts; one-half is occupied by the wheelwright shop. The second floor is divided into four rooms, one occupied by the printing office, one by the varnish and finishing department, another by the harness and trimming shop, while the remaining one is devoted to an office and mechanical drafting. The machinery is driven by a 30 horse-power engine. We have a blacksmith shop 40 by 30 feet, brick, three forges, drills, benches, etc. We have a foundry, 60 by 40 feet, supplied with the latest improved cupola.

"The Woman's Home Missionary Society has a building worth \$6,000, built after the best models and thoroughly equipped with appliances for teaching in the culinary department, needlework, dressmaking, and all that a wife in a well-regulated home ought to know. The university physician has a class in nurse-training in this home also. A shoe shop and a machine shop are among the things now under contemplation."

Central Tennessee College.—"On October 15, 1890, the mechanic arts shop was dedicated to the training of young men for useful work in wood, iron, brass, and steel; in the manufacture of steam engines, scientific, and philosophical apparatus. Rev. H. G. Sedgwick, M. S., who is a genius himself in mechanics and can readily impart instruction to others, has during the year had excellent work done by students in wood-turning, shaping and planing, castings, steel, and brass. One engine has been built and considerable repair work done. This is the best shop, and the only one of the kind, open to colored youth in this country."

Dr. Atticus G. Haygood, general agent of the Slater fund, says: "It has been demonstrated that an hour or two a day in the workshop or the sewing room does not hinder in the least education in books. It has been found, as a rule, that the best men in the shop are the leaders in the class room. Experienced teachers say that industrial training fosters good discipline and the upbuilding of strong and reliable personal character. Outside the important fact that a great number have learned enough of the trades to pursue them profitably, it is certain that thousands have learned enough to be independent as citizens and far more capable as heads of families. That 'head, heart, and hand training' should go on together in these institutions is now the accepted doctrine in all quarters.

"It can not be doubted that the success of industrial training in the negro schools has had much to do with the development of opinion throughout the Southern States of the importance of this part of education in the white schools of the country."

Gen. S. C. Armstrong on industrial training.—"Labor is a great moral and educational force. Next to the grace of God, hard work, in its largest sense, is the most vital thing in Christian civilization. Subtract from any neighborhood,

within a radius of ten miles, all industry, and in six months, in spite of churches and schools, what would become of order and decency? Look at the fairest civilization, and you will see that the worst lives are at the top and at the bottom—those who are too rich and those who are too worthless to work. Wherever you find industry you find character and morality.

"The main thing, then, in the industrial system is to open as widely and broadly as possible opportunities for agricultural, mechanical, and household industries, which shall provide negro students means to support themselves and to develop character. Character is the foundation. The training that our pupils get is an endowment. An able-bodied student represents a capital of perhaps a thousand dollars. We propose to treble that. When they learn a trade they are worth threefold more in the labor market. Last Saturday I gave my final words to our graduating class. I said to those 45 scholars, 'How many of you can go out into the world, and, if you can not get a school, how many can work in some line of industry and so support yourselves?' There was a roar. Every one said, 'I can,' and every one laughed. They go out into the world smiling at difficulties, happy in their pluck and purpose and skill.

"We are convinced that the negro needs physical as well as mental and Christian training. He needs the ten hours' drudgery which he gets in the shops to put him in shape for the struggle of life. He must go to his work with an appetite."

Rev. R. H. Allen, Concord, N. C.—"We have now a large boarding school for colored girls. If you ever save the negroes you must save the girls and women. You will not elevate any race until wives and mothers can teach the gospel in their families. You must save the daughters of the freedmen. They are to be the wives and mothers and home-makers of the future. At Concord you will see 234 girls in a seminary, with all the appliances for education and the industrial arts. They do the whole work of the school—all the washing, ironing, cooking, scrubbing, and dressmaking. We take a girl for \$45 a year. We say to her, Go to work during the vacation and make \$15 or \$20 and we will help you to the balance of the \$45. In such schools, by a practical education of the head, hand, and heart, the girls are all well prepared to take their part in life. We help them to make character."

Rev. Frank G. Woodworth, president Tougaloo University, Mississippi.—"The ordinary laborers on plantations do not often receive more than from 75 to 90 cents per day. I want to speak of the value of industrial education. Boys who come to us untrained, often able to earn only 75 cents a day, are sent out as carpenters, blacksmiths, or tinsmiths, able to earn from \$1.25 to \$2.50 a day. We are having that repeated constantly. That is the bread-and-butter view of industrial education, and it is worthy of mention. The mechanics who receive \$2 a day do not live in a one-room cabin. They are getting to have good little homes of their own."

The higher education helps the elementary.—President Horace Bumstead, of Atlanta University: "It is a mistake to forget that the higher education of the few is contributing most efficiently to the elementary education of the many. What are the graduates of these higher institutions doing? Are they going out and enjoying their culture, and making a selfish use of it? Take Atlanta University. We have sent out, in the last 16 or 18 years, over 200 graduates from our collegiate and normal courses, two-thirds of whom are to-day engaged in teaching. They are doing this very work that we are reminded is the most important work to do—helping up the masses, educating the people. One must remember the relationship between the higher and the more elementary work. Where would these Southern States get their teachers for the colored public schools if it were not for these higher institutions?"

Colored teachers wanted.—President E. C. Mitchell, of Leland University, New Orleans: "More colored teachers must be educated. The appeals made to our institution to furnish teachers qualified for the higher work, or even the common work, are far beyond the power we have to meet. If we had four times as many graduates, we should not be able to meet the demand made upon us for teachers of the higher grade. All the institutions of the South must be carried on by colored teachers."

What kind of education the negro needs.—Dr. A. G. Haygood: "That many half-taught and unwisely-taught negroes 'go to the bad' and seek money by 'short cuts' is not surprising. In these matters the negro's weakness illustrates his brotherhood to his white neighbors. The prisons show enough half-educated white people to prove that merely learning the rudiments does not secure virtue.

In all races it is true that with new knowledge new temptations come; strength to resist comes after, if at all. In all this a man of sense finds no argument against the education of the negro, but a demonstration of the need, for him and for the white race, of more and better education.

“‘Better’ is not the same as ‘more;’ the imminent need for the negro is to find out what education is now-fittest for him. Nothing in these statements means the exclusion of the negro from the highest and widest studies of which some of them are capable; it does mean, as I see it, that the ‘regulation college curriculum’ is not what most negro students need. I would exclude, by arbitrary and prescriptive rules, no negro from whatever he can achieve, but I am persuaded that, in overlooking the hard facts of this case and in pressing the ‘college’ idea overmuch, there has been much waste of money, labor, time, opportunity.

“The educated negro man gravitates to the pulpit or the schoolroom. To the pulpit first, because here he may gratify, without hindrance, his inborn love of speaking. He is oratorical by instinct, and this race will more and more develop great orators. The educated negro woman goes to the schoolroom by preference, but she would rather be wife to the preacher. Along here are perils that wise negroes understand.

“Why should such indications and tendencies surprise us? No man lives by the labor of his hands who can live by his wits, least of all American white men. The negro’s dangers are greater because his opportunities outside the labor of his hands are few. No arguments, nor frettings, nor denunciations, nor laws, nor force can multiply them; time and new conditions, possible only to the ‘time element,’ can increase them.

“The educated negro finds it difficult to succeed in the practice of law. White people employ attorneys of their own race, and a negro will have none but a white man for lawyer when large sums are at stake, or life or liberty are imperiled. But he has ‘made a beginning’ in the law.

“Next to teaching and preaching, medicine among professional pursuits offers the best field and the best opportunity for the capable negro. The reason is, there is a generally recognized and felt need of negro doctors. Two of the institutions in connection with the Slater fund—Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn., and Leonard Medical School, Raleigh, N. C.—are thoroughgoing schools of medicine and command the respect of the medical profession. The large majority of the graduates of the schools are doing admirably in the practice of medicine. They are a blessing to their race and are successful and useful citizens.”

The following, from the *Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier*, gives some idea of how the negro appreciates an education at Clafin University, South Carolina: “The students come from all parts of the State, and a better class of colored families are represented than usual. From the number of students (902), their condition and their work, it would seem as if the colored people are taking more than ordinary interest in the cause of education. Many parents are making great sacrifices to send their children to Clafin, and many of the students are in much better circumstances than their parents at home. The students lack early home training. They do not have access to daily papers, magazines, or books like most white children. As a rule subjects of importance and interest are not discussed in the family circle, and on account of these drawbacks the colored student labors under disadvantages. A lack of general information is noted by the professor. Their behavior is, as a rule, very good. There is not, in the knowledge of the officials of the institution, a single student who visits a bar-room, smokes in the campus or in the streets.

“A student probably has less expense at Clafin than at any other educational institution in the country. Think of it—all actual expenses for a session covered by \$52! What can be cheaper? This is popular education. The figures seem to be hardly credible. Here is the itemized bill for a month: Rent, \$1; incidentals, 50 cents; tuition, 50 cents; board, \$3.50; washing, \$1; total, \$6.50 per month and \$52 per session. You may think that dormitory rent at \$1 and washing at \$1 are reasonable. But you, as many others, will ask how can a living working being be fed for \$3.50? Well, it is done at Clafin, and here is how it is accomplished. Fifty students club together and get a table at the dining hall for which they pay no rent. They are not afraid of work and agree to do all the washing, waiting, and setting of tables in turn. A purchasing committee is appointed, and they have potatoes, meat, corn, and rice at the cheapest market price. The only expense besides the food is that of a cook. It seems almost incredible, but the students eat substantial meals and the bill of fare shows what they eat.”

From the report of the American Missionary Association committee in 1891.—“One of the greatest needs of the colored people is coming to be that of competent, educated, Christian leaders of their own race, preachers, teachers, and other professional men, a need not likely to be adequately supplied except by the colleges and higher schools sustained by this and other Christian bodies. It may be safely assumed from the history of other races that no leadership will be permanently accepted by the colored people except such as shall come from their own ranks. In furnishing through its higher institutions such a thoroughly equipped leadership to take the place of its own at the earliest moment, this association will make one of its best contributions to the welfare of the colored race. Another encouraging fact in the same direction is the growing interest in the theological department. As an ignorant ministry has been and still is the curse of the colored people, a thoroughly educated ministry is the highest boon we can possibly confer upon them.”

“*Straight University* has numbered 582 students, who come from a wide area. It is not uncommon for students who can speak no English to seek this institution from Cuba, Central America, Mexico, or some parts of Louisiana. It is an inspiring thought that they will return to their homes, as some have returned, with Christ in their hearts and thrifty thoughts in their heads to radiate good influences in those revolutionary states. This institution has been more than filled. Hundreds have been refused admission. Every year shows marked improvement in the quality of student life in this, as in all our schools. Pupils come better prepared. They are more earnest and more energetic. The demand for teachers from this institution is greater than the supply. Seventeen of its former students are now teaching in the city schools of New Orleans. Many others are filling important places as teachers, superintendents, and preachers in neighboring States. Various industries for men and all kinds of needlework and housework for women are well taught.”

Temperance is taught in all the higher colored schools.—Rev. J. C. Roy: “In all of these schools the principle of temperance is taught and the students go out and propagate these sentiments among their people. In this way they produce an immense amount of temperance sentiment among the colored folks.”

The Negro Conference at Tuskegee, Ala.—A negro conference made up of representatives from that district of the South known as the “Black Belt” was held at Tuskegee, Ala., on February 23, 1892. About 450 colored farmers, ministers, and teachers were present, and a full and candid discussion was had of questions affecting the industrial, moral, educational and religious future of the negro population.

In dealing with the question of the proper means to be adopted for the correction of the existing unsatisfactory order of things, the conference suggested various remedies, which may be summarized, in the language of those assembled, as follows:

- (1) That, as far as possible, we aim to raise at home our own meat and bread.
- (2) That as fast as possible we buy land, even though a very few acres at a time.
- (3) That a large number of our young people be taught trades and that they be urged to prepare themselves to enter as largely as possible all the various avocations of life.
- (4) That we especially try to broaden the field of labor for our women.
- (5) That we make every sacrifice and practise every form of economy that we may purchase land and free ourselves from our burdensome habit of living in debt.
- (6) That we urge our ministers and teachers to give more attention to the material condition and home life of the people.
- (7) We urge that our people do not depend entirely upon the State to provide schoolhouses and lengthen the time of the schools, but that they take hold of the matter themselves where the State leaves off, and by supplementing the public funds from their own pockets and by building schoolhouses bring about the desired results.
- (8) We urge patrons to give earnest attention to the mental and moral fitness of those who teach their schools.
- (9) That we urge the doing away with all sectarian prejudice in the management of schools.”

The Lake Mohonk Conference.—In June, 1891, there was held at Lake Mohonk, N. Y., a conference of distinguished editors and educators on the negro question. It was presided over by ex-President Hayes, and among those present were Dr. Lyman Abbott, of the Christian Union; Dr. W. H. Ward, of the Independent; Dr. W. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education; Gen. O. O. Howard, Dr. Charles H. Hall, Mr. Morris K. Jessup, and Rev. R. T. Middleditch, of the Christian Enquirer. At the conclusion of the conference the following platform was adopted.

1. The accomplishing of the primary education of the negro by the States themselves, and the further development of means and methods to this end, till all negroes are creditably trained in primary schools.

2. The largely increased support of schools aided by private benevolence, which shall supply teachers and preachers for the negro race.

3. The grounding of the vast majority of these teachers and preachers in common English studies and in the English Bible, with the further opportunity for any of them to carry on their studies as far as they may desire.

4. The great extension of industrial education for both men and women.

5. The encouragement of secondary schools established, maintained, and conducted by negroes.

6. The purchase of homesteads by as many negro households as possible, with an increased number of decent houses to replace the old one-room cabin.

7. The establishment by the Government of postal savings-banks, in which negroes can be encouraged to save their earnings until they can purchase homes.

8. The aid of public education by the National Government for the special benefit of those sections in which illiteracy most prevails.

9. The removal of all disabilities under which negroes labor by the sure forces of education, thrift, and religion.

HAMPTON NORMAL AND AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE.

A pamphlet has been published giving a sketch of the twenty-two years' work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Va., a full and extended account of which is soon to be issued. As this institution has a very important part in the work of educating the colored race, having been one of the pioneer colored schools, and having at the present time nearly 1,000 students in attendance, 650 of whom are boarding pupils, it may be well to learn from this pamphlet something of the character which was so active in its establishment and also of the early history of the enterprise.

Dr. S. C. Armstrong, who has had charge of the institute from its foundation, was born in the Hawaiian Islands in 1839. His parents had been missionaries there for eight years at the time of his birth, and his father was the minister of public instruction from 1847 till the time of his death, in 1860. Dr. S. C. Armstrong, then a young man, left the islands and went to Williams College, Massachusetts, to complete his education, and he attributes whatever measure of success he has attained to the instruction there received from Dr. Mark Hopkins. When he undertook the work at Hampton his purpose was to put in operation there the same plan and system of education that he had become acquainted with in the Hawaiian Islands under his father's superintendence. His statement of the disordered condition of the country at that time shows that he had many serious difficulties to contend with.

"In March, 1866, I was placed by Gen. O. O. Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, in charge of ten counties in eastern Virginia, with headquarters at Hampton, the great contraband camp, to manage negro affairs and to adjust, if possible, the relations of the races.

"Colored squatters by thousands and Gen. Lee's disbanded soldiers returning to their families, came together in my district on hundreds of abandoned farms which Government had seized and allowed the freedmen to occupy. There was irritation, but both classes were ready to do the fair thing. It was about a two years' task to settle matters by making terms with the landowners, who employed many laborers on their restored homes. Swarms went back on passes to the 'old plantation' with thirty days' rations, and nearly a thousand were placed in families in Massachusetts as servants through the agency of a 'home' in Cambridgeport, under charge of a committee of Boston ladies.

"Hardest of all was to settle the ration question; about 2,000, having been fed for years, were demoralized and seemed hopeless. Notice was given that in three months, on October 1, 1866, all rations would be stopped, except to those in hospital, for whom full provision was made. Trouble was expected, but there was not a ripple of it or a complaint that day. Their resource was surprising. The negro in a tight place is a genius.

"It was my duty every three months to personally visit and report on the condition of the ten counties; to inspect the bureau office in each in charge of an army officer; to investigate troubles and to study the relations of the races. The better class of whites were well disposed, but inactive in suppressing any misconduct of the lower class. Friendliness between the races was general, broken

only by political excitement, and was due, I think, to the fact that they had been brought up together, often in the most intimate way, from childhood; a surprise to me, for on missionary ground parents, with the spirit of martyrs, take every pains to prevent contact of their children with the natives around them.

"Martial law prevailed; there were no civil courts, and for many months the bureau officer in each county acted on all kinds of cases, gaining generally the confidence of both races. When martial law was over and the rest were everywhere discontinued, the military court at Hampton was kept up by common consent for about six months.

"Scattered families were reunited. From even Louisiana—for the whole South was mapped out, each county officered, and as a rule wisely administered—would come inquiries about the relatives and friends of one who had been sold to traders years before; and great justice and humanity were done in bringing together broken households.

"Gen. Howard and the Freedmen's Bureau did for the ex-slaves from 1865 to 1870 a marvelous work, for which due credit has not been given; among other things, giving to their education an impulse and a foundation, by granting three and a half millions of dollars for schoolhouses, salaries, etc., promoting the education of about a million colored children. The principal negro educational institutions of to-day, then starting, were liberally aided at a time of vital need. Hampton received over \$50,000 through Gen. Howard for building and improvements.

"On relieving my predecessor, Capt. C. B. Wilder, of Boston, at the Hampton headquarters, I found an active, excellent educational work going on under the American Missionary Association of New York, which, in 1862, had opened, in the vicinity the first school for freedmen in the South, in charge of an ex-slave, Mrs. Mary Peake. Over 1,500 children were gathering daily: some in old hospital barracks—for here was Camp Hamilton, the base hospital of the Army of the James, where, during the war, thousands of sick and wounded soldiers had been cared for, and where now over 6,000 lie buried in a beautiful national cemetery. The largest class was in the Butler School Building, since replaced by the fine John G. Whittier Schoolhouse.

"Close at hand, the pioneer settlers of America and the first slaves landed on this continent; here Powhatan reigned; here the Indian was first met; here the first Indian child was baptized; here freedom was first given the slave by Gen. Butler's famous 'contraband' order; in sight of this shore the battle of the *Monitor* and *Merrimac* saved the Union and revolutionized naval warfare; here Gen. Grant based the operations of his final campaign. The place was easily accessible by railroad and water routes to the north, and to a population of 2,000,000 of negroes; the center of prospective great commercial and maritime development—of which Newport News, soon to have the largest and finest shipyard in the world, is beginning the grand fulfilment—and, withal, a place most healthful and beautiful for situation.

"I soon felt the fitness of this historic and strategic spot for a permanent and great educational work.

"The suggestion was cordially received by the American Missionary Association, which authorized the purchase, in June, 1867, of Little Scotland, an estate of 125 acres (since increased to 190), on Hampton River, looking out over Hampton Roads.

"Not expecting to have charge, but only to help, I was surprised one day by a letter from Secretary E. P. Smith, of the American Missionary Association, stating that the man selected for the place had declined, and asking me if I could take it. I replied, 'Yes.'

"Till then my own future had been blind; it had only been clear that there was a work to do for the ex-slaves, and where and how it should be done.

"The thing to be done was clear; to train selected negro 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. And it seemed equally clear that the people of the country would support a wise work for the freedmen. I think so still.

"The missionary plan in Hawaii had not, I thought, considered enough the real need and weaknesses of the people, whose ignorance alone was not half the trouble. The chief difficulty was, with them, deficient character, as it is with

the negro. He is what his past has made him; the true basis of work for him and all men is the scientific one—the facts of heredity and surrounding: all the facts of the case.

“There was no enthusiasm for the manual-labor plan. People said, ‘It has been tried at Oberlin and elsewhere, and given up; it don’t pay.’

“‘Of course,’ said I, ‘it can not pay in a money way, but it will pay in a moral way, especially with the freedmen. It will make them men and women as nothing else will. It is the only way to make them good Christians.’

“The school has had from the first the good fortune of liberal-minded trustees, who accepted its unformulated, practical plan when it opened, in April, 1868, with 2 teachers and 15 pupils, and adopted my formal report of 1870, the year of its incorporation under a special act of the assembly of Virginia.

“By the act of incorporation the school became independent of any association or sect and of Government. It does work for the State and General Government, for which it receives aid, but is not controlled or supported by them.

“From the first it has been true to the idea of education by self help, and I hope it will remain so. Nothing is asked for the student that he can provide by his own labor, but the system that gives him this chance is costly. The school depends on charity for \$60,000 a year; the student gets nothing but an opportunity to work his way. While the workshops must be made to pay as far as possible, instruction is as important as production.

“Steadily increasing, its full growth, just reached, is 650 boarding students, from twenty-four States and Territories, averaging 18 years of age, 136 of them Indians; 80 officers, teachers, and assistants, of whom half are in the eighteen industrial departments and shops; 300 children in the Whittier (primary) department.

“The school is maintained at a total annual cost of about \$155,000. Deducting the labor payments of negro students (say \$55,000), \$100,000, which is \$154 apiece, is the net annual cost to the public. This is provided, first, by annual appropriation from Virginia of \$10,000, interest on the State Agricultural College land fund (act of Congress, 1862); second, by an appropriation of \$20,000 by Congress for the maintenance of 120 out of our 136 Indians at \$167 apiece; third, by an income of about \$10,000 from our endowment fund (of \$194,000) and from rents; fourth, by about \$60,000 contributed by the people, in the form of \$70 scholarships, donations for general purposes and occasional unrestricted legacies. The school is never closed, but reduced nearly one-half in the summer; many colored students go out to find work, and 60 or more Indian students have ‘outings’ among Massachusetts farmers.

“A great stimulus to this institute and to all like work has been the 16,000 negro free schools of the South—nearly 2,000 in Virginia alone—costing the ex-slave States nearly \$4,000,000 a year in taxation.

“Northern charity, at the rate of about \$1,000,000 a year, with liberal Southern State aid in some cases, is supplying over twenty strong normal and collegiate institutes, mostly under church auspices, where not far from 5,000 adult select negro youth of both sexes are being fitted to teach and lead their people—industrial education being more and more appreciated and introduced. The Slater fund has been a great stimulus to their technical training. The negro girl has proved a great success as a teacher. The women of the race deserve as good a chance as the men.

“So far it has been impossible to supply the demand for negro teachers. Scholhouses and salaries, such as they are, are ready; but competent teachers are the great and pressing need, and there is no better work for the country than to supply them.

“But the short public school sessions, of from three to seven months, do not give full support, and skilled labor is the only resource of many teachers for over half the year. As farmers and mechanics they are nearly as useful as in the schoolroom. Hence the importance of industrial training.

“Hampton’s 720 graduates, discounting 10 per cent as disappointing, with half that number of undergraduates, are a working force for negro and Indian civilization. To fit them for this field has cost, since April, 1868, the round sum of \$1,350,000, not including endowments, of which over \$500,000 is represented by the school’s ‘plant,’ which is good for generations to come.

“Every year an account of funds received has been rendered in detail.

“It was not in the original plan of the school that any but negroes should be received, though the liberal State charter made no limit as to color; but when, in 1878, a ‘Macedonian cry’ came from some Indian ex-prisoners of war in Flor-

ida—once the worst of savages—through Capt. R. H. Pratt, whose three years' wise management of them in Fort Marion had resulted in a wonderful change, seventeen were accepted at private expense, Bishop Whipple providing for five of them. The Hon. Carl Schurz, then Secretary of the Interior, was quick to appreciate the success of their first few months at Hampton, and sent us more Indians from the West; then Congress, on the strength of the results at Hampton, and of Capt. Pratt's proved capacity, appropriated funds to start the great work at Carlisle, where over five hundred Indian youth, under Capt. Pratt, are being taught the 'white man's way.'

"The annual Indian attendance at Hampton is now 136, of whom 120 are aided by Government, the rest by charity. The death rate, once alarming, has, for six years, been not quite one a year. Of the 345 returned Indians, but 25 are reported as unsatisfactory, but 4 of them bad; the rest are employed as farmers, catechists, preachers, teachers, mechanics, clerks, etc.; 35 seeking further education, 6 of them in Eastern normal schools and colleges, and 42 of the girls are married, in good homes.

"The old homesickness of Indians at eastern schools is nearly over. The three years' period at school, which was formerly too much like a prison term, is more and more ignored, and the idea of fitting for life, whatever time it takes, gains strength. Indians are no longer coaxed to come. Twice as many as we can take wish to come; yet the really desirable ones are not very many, and we do not care to increase our numbers. Our Indian work is illustrative rather than exhaustive.

"In the twenty classes—of 1871 to 1890, inclusive—723 graduates have received diplomas, 280 young women and 443 young men. Of these, 25 are Indians—8 young women and 17 young men—the first Indians graduating in 1882.

"Of the 723 graduates, 604 report as teachers; 80, a trifle over 11 per cent, report failure to teach. Of these 80, 9 are Indians, which brings down the per cent of colored graduates failing to teach to almost exactly 10 per cent. That 16 out of the 25 Indian graduates have taught is a very good showing for them, considering the fewer opportunities to teach which have been open to them.

"Of 39 graduates (colored) we have been unable to obtain any report.

"The total number of those who report having other regular occupation than teaching is 271. Of these, 191 have taught as well. While the balance—413—do not report other regular occupation than teaching, the great majority find employment as they can—at farming, trades, or service—between school terms, or cultivate their own land and keep house.

"The principal regular occupations reported besides teaching and the number reporting in each are as follows:

Of the young men:	
Professions: Ministry, 16; law, 17; medicine, 6; total.....	39
Missionaries in Africa.....	2
Mechanical trades.....	42
Agriculture (as an exclusive occupation).....	36
In business for selves (merchants, etc., other than above).....	23
In Government or civil service (U.S. Army, United States Department clerks, custom-house clerks, postal clerks and carriers, policemen, light-house keeper, county surveyor, superintendent of schools).....	35
Bookkeepers and clerks, 13; treasurers, 3.....	16
Music.....	4
Of the young women:	
Physician (an Omaha Indian).....	1
Missionary in Africa.....	1
Trained nurse (2 colored, 1 Indian).....	3
In business for selves (store, millinery, laundry, gardening).....	6
Dressmaking and sewing.....	9
Printing.....	1
Music (organist and singing).....	5
Housekeeper (exclusively), but many more are keeping house for themselves.....	19
Matron.....	3
At service (exclusively).....	8

"The total number of children reported as having been taught by our graduates is 129,475. This number is, of course, approximate.

"Some light on the frequent question as to the comparative mental endowment of black and 'colored' in the negro race is perhaps to be gathered from the unforeseen and rather striking result of an investigation of the distribution of the highest class honors since 1874, when they were first awarded.

"At Hampton, salutatory and valedictory are equal honors, the one for the young women, the other for the young men.

“Leaving out the Indian salutatorian of '86 and valedictorian of '89, and one year when the programme was made up from graduates of previous years, we find that, of the fifteen colored girl salutatorians, four were black, three dark, seven light, and one 'apparently white.' Of the fifteen young men valedictorians, seven were black and one dark, and seven were light. In other words, of young women, seven were dark and eight light; of young men, eight were dark and seven light; which divides the honors as nearly equally as possible; fifteen to the dark and fifteen to the light. After the first decade of the school, investigation was made with a precisely similar result. That it should again appear over the whole period of seventeen years is surprising and seems significant.”

In Arizona one of the most important questions with which the farming communities have to deal is that of irrigation. The manner in which this is made a prominent feature in the engineering course of the University of Arizona is here shown, beginning with the second term of the junior grade:

JUNIOR YEAR.		
Winter term.		Spring term.
Higher algebra.		Analytical geometry.
Chemistry of soils.		Physics.
Geology.		Irrigation hydraulics.
German.		Hydraulic practice.
Drawing.		German.
SENIOR YEAR.		
Fall term.	Winter term.	Spring term.
Calculus.	Farm and irrigation laws.	Canals, reservoirs.
Meteorology.	Hydraulics.	Political economy.
Astronomy.	Calculus.	Strength of materials.
Hydraulics.	Constitutional history.	German.
German.	German.	Field practice.
Hydraulic practice.	Engineering practice.	

The following course in mechanic arts, offered by the Pennsylvania State College, illustrates the manner of division of studies and shopwork and drawing adopted in that college. The department is thoroughly well equipped for its work:

Pennsylvania State College, course in mechanic arts.

Year.	Sessions.	Studies.	Hours per week.	Shopwork and drawing.	Hours per week.	
First	Fall	United States history	3	Carpentry	6	
		Arithmetic	4	Free-hand drawing	4	
	Winter	Advanced English analysis	5			
		Algebra, begun	5	Carpentry and joinery	3	
	Spring	English	5	Model and object drawing	5	
		United States history	5			
Second	Fall	Algebra	5	Wood turning	8	
		English analysis	5	Designing	4	
		Book keeping	4			
	Winter	English composition	5	Pattern making	4	
		Algebra	5	Geometrical drawing	4	
		Physics	4			
	Spring	Geometry	5	Forging	4	
		Algebra	5	Orthographic projection and intersections	5	
		Physics	4	Forging	4	
	Third	Fall	Geometry and algebra	7	Mechanical drawing	6
			Applied arithmetic	3		
			Civil government and English	5		
Winter		Algebra and geometry	6	Vise work	8	
		Workshop appliances	4	Mechanical drawing	8	
		Geometry	3	Machine tool work	8	
Spring	Trigonometry	3	Detail drawing	8		
	Rhetoric	4				
	Trigonometry and surveying	5	Machine tool work	10		
	Mechanism	3	Machine drawing	10		

AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL INSTRUCTION FOR COLORED STUDENTS.

In section 1 of the act of Congress approved August 30, 1890, for the more complete endowment of colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts, it is especially provided—

That no money shall be paid out under this act to any State or Territory for the support and maintenance of a college where a distinction of race or color is made in the admission of students, but the establishment and maintenance of such colleges separately for white and colored students shall be held to be a compliance with the provisions of this act, if the funds received in such State or Territory be equitably divided as hereinafter set forth.

And further, that the legislature of any State or Territory establishing and maintaining such separate institutions for white and colored students, respectively—

May propose and report to the Secretary of the Interior a just and equitable division of the fund to be received under the act, between one college for white students, and one institution for colored students established as aforesaid, which shall be divided into two parts and paid accordingly.

As a matter of fact, in only sixteen of the States has any division of the fund received been even considered. In most of the Southern States institutions for the education of persons of the colored race had already been in operation before the passage of the act; and this was notably the case in Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia. In the few instances where no such school was supported or subsidized by the State, institutions of the character designated in the act of Congress have recently been established or selected as State beneficiaries of the Federal endowment. All of these are not, however, recognized as separate and distinct institutions, several of them being organized as branch colleges or departments of the colleges or universities for whites. This is true in Arkansas, in Georgia, in Maryland, in North Carolina, in Tennessee, and in Texas. There are thus in the South, including these branch colleges, sixteen schools receiving both State and Federal aid and offering industrial and agricultural training to the colored youth. They are:

1. State Normal and Industrial School of Alabama, at Normal P. O., Ala.
2. Branch Normal College of Arkansas, at Pine Bluff.
3. Delaware Agricultural College, for colored students, at Newark, Del.
4. Florida State Normal School, at Tallahassee.
5. Industrial College of University of Georgia, at Savannah.
6. State Normal College of Kentucky, at Frankfort.
7. Southern University of Louisiana, at New Orleans.
8. Eastern Branch of Maryland Agricultural College, at Princess Anne, Md.
9. Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College of Mississippi, at West Side.
10. Lincoln Institute of Missouri, at Jefferson City.
11. Shaw University of North Carolina, at Raleigh.
12. ————
13. Industrial Department of University of Tennessee, at Knoxville.
14. Prairie View Normal College of Texas, at Hempstead.
15. Hampton Normal Institute of Virginia, at Hampton.
16. West Virginia Institute at Farm, Kanawha County.

The manner in which the fund received from the Federal Government has been divided between the races has differed somewhat in the several States. The act provides for legislative acceptance of the terms thereof before any part of the first installment could be paid to any State; but where this was not possible, no legislature being in session, the governor of the State was allowed to signify the consent of the State. In several instances this gave rise to some difference of opinion as to what constituted "a just and equitable division."

It thus soon became apparent that for the satisfactory and successful working of the law, some definite rule of division should be adopted. The Secretary of the Interior, therefore, suggested that the ratio of the school population of the races be fixed upon as a basis of apportionment, and this has been generally agreed to. In some cases this ratio is determined by the States themselves, in others the ratio as fixed by the last census has been accepted. Again, in several instances, where the colored school receiving Federal aid is established as a department of the white institution, no regular division has been made at all, it having been decided that the maintenance of such a colored department meets the requirements of the law as making no distinction of race or color.

Much, of course, may be said as to whether, after all, the division according to school population is the most just and equitable that could be devised, especially in such States as Louisiana and Mississippi, where the proportion of colored students in the schools of the State is greater than that of white students; for it must be remembered that the aid offered by the Government is for *colleges*, that is, for purposes of higher education, and the number of white students receiving collegiate instruction is clearly greater than that of colored students receiving similar instruction. In Louisiana, for instance, even in the Southern University—the colored beneficiary of the act of Congress of 1890—the course of study pursued by the greater number of the students is really that of the common school. It would thus seem that an apportionment upon the basis of the numbers respectively enrolled in the higher institutions of learning would more nearly comply with the spirit of the act of Congress; certainly, however, it must be conceded that the ratio of school population forms the most stable and the simplest basis for the division, and since but little objection has been made to it, perhaps no more satisfactory division and none more politic is possible. Indeed, it seems not unlikely that one of the ultimate effects of the endowment of the schools for the education of colored students will be to raise the percentage which the number of colored students enrolled in higher institutions of learning bears to the total colored school population, until it more nearly equals the ratio which exists between the number of students enrolled in the white colleges and the total white school population. When this shall have been accomplished, then such apportionment can truly be said to be most equitable.

The following table will show the manner in which the last—the third—yearly installment has been divided. It will be understood that the act provides for an annual increase of \$1,000 in the amount to be paid to each State, beginning with 15,000 in 1890, such yearly increase to continue until the annual appropriation to each State reaches \$25,000.

States.	Amount of third installment received by white institutions.	Amount of third installment received by colored institutions.	Percentage received by white institutions.	Percentage received by colored institutions.
Alabama	\$9,557.76	\$7,442.24	.56+	.43+
Arkansas	12,363.64	4,636.36	.72 $\frac{1}{2}$	.27 $\frac{1}{2}$
Delaware	13,600.00	3,400.00	.80	.20
Florida	8,500.00	8,500.00	.50	.50
Georgia	11,303.33 $\frac{1}{3}$	5,666.66 $\frac{2}{3}$	.66 $\frac{2}{3}$	.33 $\frac{1}{3}$
Kentucky	14,535.00	2,465.00	.85 $\frac{1}{2}$	.14 $\frac{1}{2}$
Louisiana	8,232.66	8,767.34	.42+	.57+
Maryland				
Mississippi	7,621.37	9,378.63	.44+	.51+
Missouri	15,058.38	1,941.62	.88+	.11+
Tennessee				
Texas	12,780.00	4,250.00	.75	.25
Virginia	11,333.33 $\frac{1}{3}$	5,666.66 $\frac{2}{3}$	.66 $\frac{2}{3}$	.33 $\frac{1}{3}$
West Virginia	14,000.00	3,000.00	.82 $\frac{1}{2}$	.17 $\frac{1}{2}$

a Fund not divided.

It is a fact worthy of notice that of these schools no less than seven have the distinctive title of "normal" institutions, and almost all of them offer some normal training as part of their course of study. The explanation, however, is not far to seek. It is simply the outcome of the educational conditions prevalent in the South immediately after the civil war. The idea was quite generally accepted that in order to secure the success of the attempts to educate the newly freed race it was necessary that they should find leaders and teachers among their own number—an idea that was adopted as the policy of many of the States, and material assistance was given to the movement by the establishment and partial support of schools for the training of colored teachers. Each State soon had its colored normal school, although the introduction of manual and industrial training has to some extent encroached upon the normal course and diverted the schools from their original singleness of purpose.

This normal education, indeed, has had a certain salutary effect upon the colored public school system of these States, not so much perhaps from the real efficiency of the so-called "normal training" as from the fact that the general standard of the students sent out to fill the positions of teachers in the public schools has constantly tended to become higher, and their work as a consequence has been more intelligent. One of the greatest dangers of normal education—unless it be based upon purely scientific principles—is its tendency to destroy individuality, to substitute a rigid adherence to methods for the free exercise of judgment and natural common sense. It is almost invariably true, however, that the colored student, transplanted from the normal institute into the schoolroom, soon loses whatever effect of "teaching by

rule" he may have acquired, and conducts his school precisely as he would have done did no such thing as normal training exist. Not that his sojourn at the institute has been of no service to him—quite the contrary, but the real benefit he has derived from it is the advantage of the thorough course of instruction in the various branches of a liberal education there afforded.

But with the introduction of the agricultural and mechanical features and of the provisions for the industrial training of women, these normal schools to-day perform a different and perhaps a more important function. Thanks to the liberal assistance of the States and of the General Government, they are at present very fairly equipped with facilities for instruction in the useful arts. Especially since they have become the recipients of a portion of the endowment fund of 1890 have they made rapid strides toward the thorough fitting out of their farms and workshops. Since tuition is generally free, and students are given every opportunity to support themselves while attending the schools, there is now really very little to stand in the way of any young colored man or woman who desires to secure the benefits of an industrial education.

As a rule the claims and avowed purpose of these institutions are very modest. Their aim is in most cases simply to turn out practical men and women. Their graduates are able to step from the school into the workshop or the field as skilled mechanics or farmers, or, in the case of women, are able as teachers, housekeepers, domestics, or needlewomen, to earn for themselves a competent and respectable livelihood.

About twenty-five hundred pupils of both sexes are now being educated in these schools at the least possible expense, and it may not be too much to predict that their popularity will increase to such an extent with the further development of the industrial departments that the next five years will see their attendance almost doubled and their sphere of usefulness greatly extended.

The trials through which such institutions have had to strive to reach a footing of comparative security have been truly great; there have been periods in the history of almost everyone when failure seemed inevitable. The acts of Congress have now made their position a very safe one. One of their most serious difficulties has heretofore been that of securing continuous attendance on the part of students. Only during the months when farm hands were not needed—a very brief period of the year in the Southern States—would the rolls reach satisfactory figures. The same trouble was of course experienced with girls. As a remedy for this serious hindrance to the school work, the establishment of farms and workshops in connection with the institutions themselves, where labor is offered and reasonably paid for, has worked most admirably. Since 1890 the complaint of irregular attendance is heard much less frequently.

But the most widely felt check to progress in the schools for colored students is the almost total lack of preparation with which the pupils enter the course. As a consequence, a great part of the four or five years of their attendance is occupied in getting them ready for the real work of the school. The conditions responsible for this trouble are, it is true, to some extent improving, but the question is still a burning one. Until more efficient work is secured in the lower grades of the colored public schools, the standard of the colleges, at least in those branches which go to make up a liberal education, must remain unfortunately low.

In several institutions three or four distinct courses of study are offered, but in most the instruction is nearly uniform, except in the industrial training of the sexes. The basis of the course is laid in the study of the English language and literature, mathematics, elementary natural and physical sciences, and generally the duties of citizenship. To this foundation three different kinds of practical instruction are added, namely: Agricultural science, with labor in the field; the principles of mechanics, with labor in the shops; and the industrial training of girls in the departments of household economy and the domestic arts.

And here it seems proper to state, that to institute any comparison between the work of these schools for the industrial education of the colored race and the work of those colleges and universities which, as beneficiaries of the Federal endowment acts, are designed for the training of the white youth of the land would be manifestly unjust to both classes of institutions for two very logical and sufficient reasons: First, the students, drawn from widely separated walks of life, reach the school with preparation wholly unlike, both in kind and in degree; they must therefore receive entirely different treatment. Secondly, whatever may be the dreams of those philanthropists interested in the elevation of the colored race, the fact remains a stubborn one that the positions in the social fabric which they respectively may expect to fill can never be the same; hence the instruction offered must be designed for different purposes. In the schools for whites we may almost say that all practical instruction is but to demonstrate the theory; in the colored schools, that all theoretical instruction is but to explain the practice.

The facilities for instruction in those branches which form the basis of scientific agriculture have, until the last few years, necessarily been somewhat meager in the colored schools; nor have the conditions under which most of the colored youths find place in these institutions admitted of much detailed laboratory work; and yet the instruction given in agriculture has been of no less real value than that of other agricultural colleges, for the lack of time for technical work is more than counterbalanced by the greater amount of practical information acquired by constant farm labor.

All of the colored agricultural schools have some farm land; many of them possess really valuable farms, and upon these the students do not merely observe the manner in which the farming operations are conducted, but they are themselves the actual farmers. In more than one such college all the labor expended in the cultivation of the soil is performed by students. The same plan is very generally followed in the mechanical shops, where, after receiving instruction in the handling of tools and the first principles of mechanics, the student is expected to labor productively. The furniture and household utensils used in the college, the simpler implements of husbandry, and often the shoes which they themselves wear are the products of student labor. To such an extent is this utilitarian idea sometimes carried that they are able to build and furnish any new buildings required for the use of the school. Among the trades most commonly taught are carpentry, brick making and laying, blacksmithing, shoemaking, mattress-making, house-painting, turning, and printing.

It of course follows, that while such schools may and do turn out many skilled laborers, they produce but few master mechanics. Their graduates have no difficulty in securing work, as the demand for intelligent skilled labor is a constant quantity. As long, then, as they send forth young men, who, with a sound general education and the self-respect which the consciousness of such a possession is sure to engender, have been thoroughly trained in the management of farms, the use of machinery and the handling of tools, there can be no reasonable objection raised to the manner in which they fulfill the purposes of their organization, and no legitimate excuse for any change in their policy and their methods.

MILITARY INSTRUCTION IN COLLEGES OF AGRICULTURE AND THE MECHANIC ARTS.

Perhaps no department of instruction maintained by the institutions whose work is described in the present report has been the subject of more criticism and adverse comment than that which aims to add to the general and technical education offered by them some knowledge of military science and some training in the use of arms and the discipline of the field and barracks.

As we have seen from our examination of the several acts of Congress in aid of colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts, and from the preceding review of the growth and development of these colleges, and the already highly satisfactory results achieved by them, the General Government has maintained towards such institutions a most generous policy from the first. Instruction in the liberal arts and practical industrial training have been thus placed within the reach of all desirous of profiting thereby. A great stride has been made towards the goal at which all enlightened modern nations have been aiming—

the higher education of the industrial classes. In this we have an exhibition of what the State has done for the individual.

In speaking of the heretofore somewhat widespread feeling of aversion to the introduction of military training in colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts—a feeling which, while by no means confined to the farming element of their patronage, has certainly received its most frequent and open expression from that quarter—it is but just to the spirit of fair-minded American patriotism to say that such opposition has arisen from ignorance of the ends proposed by such instruction and from a lack of appreciation of the true value to the body politic of the military training of the youth of the land. To convey as clear an idea as possible of the purpose and plan of these departments of military science and tactics and the beneficial results to be derived from them by the State and by the students, it will be well to consider the subject under the following distinct heads:

I. How they have been provided for, and how these provisions have been met.

II. What is expected of them on the part of the State.

III. The manner in which they are of benefit to the college of whose organization they form a part.

IV. The manner in which they benefit individual students.

PROVISIONS FOR DEPARTMENTS OF MILITARY SCIENCE.

In section 4 of the original land-grant act of Congress of 1862 it is provided that the interest of the invested proceeds from the sale of granted land or scrip shall be appropriated "by each State which may take and claim the benefit of this act, to the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college, where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, etc." The act of 1890 being for the more complete endowment of colleges established in accordance with the act of 1862, may fairly be considered as containing the same provision.

In order to render practicable the carrying out of the purpose in thus including military tactics in the course of study to be offered by the endowed colleges, an act was passed and approved July 2, 1866, providing for the detail of army officers to act as instructors in such colleges. This act, as amended by the act approved September 26, 1888, is as follows:

SEC. 1225. The President may, upon the application of any established military institute, seminary or academy, college or university within the United States, having capacity to educate at the same time not less than one hundred and fifty male students, detail an officer of the Army or Navy to act as superintendent or professor thereof; but the number of officers so detailed shall not exceed fifty from the Army and ten from the Navy, being a maximum of sixty, at any time, and they shall be apportioned throughout the United States, first, to those State institutions applying

CHAPTER XXVI.

EDUCATION OF THE COLORED RACE

I. PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The following table gives in detail the public school statistics of the former slave States, classified by race:

Public school statistics, classified by race, 1890-'91.

State.	Number of persons 5 to 18 years.		Percentage of the whole.		Enrolled in the public schools.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Alabama <i>a</i>	290,935	249,291	53.85	46.15	186,125	115,400
Arkansas <i>a</i>	296,117	112,472	72.06	27.94	163,603	59,468
Delaware <i>a</i>	38,755	8,736	81.60	18.40	26,778	4,656
District of Columbia.....	40,307	21,633	64.51	35.49	24,239	14,147
Florida.....	75,310	59,690	55.79	44.21	56,677	37,342
Georgia.....	336,525	315,817	51.59	48.41	236,595	150,702
Kentucky.....	527,800	90,400	85.38	14.62	370,913	55,574
Louisiana.....	187,600	199,900	48.42	51.58	75,688	55,921
Maryland.....	239,455	69,045	77.62	22.38	154,418	34,796
Mississippi.....	195,200	284,200	40.71	59.29	154,477	173,373
Missouri.....	802,400	48,900	94.26	5.74	605,107	34,622
North Carolina.....	362,000	217,000	62.52	37.48	214,908	115,812
South Carolina.....	161,963	271,837	37.34	62.66	93,024	116,535
Tennessee.....	461,600	155,800	74.77	25.23	377,879	105,458
Texas.....	621,900	190,500	76.55	23.45	394,150	121,929
Virginia.....	334,885	238,315	58.43	41.57	219,141	123,579
West Virginia.....	251,600	10,400	96.04	3.96	191,948	6,428
Total.....	5,218,352	2,543,936	67.23	32.77	3,539,670	1,324,937

State.	Per cent of persons 5 to 18 years enrolled.		Average daily attendance.		Per cent of enrollment.		Length of school year in days.		Number of teachers.	
	White.	Col'd.	White.	Color'd.	White.	Color'd.	White.	Color'd.	White.	Color'd.
1	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Alabama <i>a</i>	63.88	46.33	110,311	72,156	59.27	62.48	73.9	72.8	4,182	2,136
Arkansas <i>a</i>	56.39	52.87	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,770	1,246
Delaware <i>a</i>	69.10	53.30	16,798	2,851	62.73	61.23	175	109.5	605	96
District of Columbia.....	90.14	65.40	18,504	10,506	76.34	74.26	<i>a</i> 173	<i>a</i> 177	530	265
Florida.....	75.26	62.56	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,956	685
Georgia.....	68.52	47.72	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,009	2,500
Kentucky.....	75.28	61.48	213,816	31,593	57.65	56.85	<i>b</i> 100	<i>b</i> 100	7,915	1,246
Louisiana.....	40.34	27.53	53,503	38,317	70.69	69.64	104	946	2,116	887
Maryland.....	64.49	50.40	88,897	17,273	57.57	49.64	185.7	175.2	3,331	636
Mississippi.....	79.15	61.01	93,282	104,298	60.39	60.16	.....	.....	4,334	3,212
Missouri.....	75.41	70.80	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13,258	722
North Carolina.....	59.37	53.37	130,747	71,016	60.84	61.32	60.7	59.5	4,177	2,358
South Carolina.....	57.44	42.87	67,599	81,004	72.67	69.51	.....	.....	2,592	1,671
Tennessee.....	81.86	67.69	265,136	72,682	70.16	68.92	.....	.....	6,505	1,745
Texas.....	63.37	64.01	.....	.....	.....	.....	118.74	111.30	8,556	2,553
Virginia.....	65.44	51.86	126,818	66,688	57.89	53.96	116	116	5,710	2,008
West Virginia.....	76.23	61.81	120,176	3,811	62.76	59.29	.....	.....	5,416	184
Total.....	67.83	52.08	.....	.....	62.48	62.14	.....	.....	79,062	24,150

a In 1889-'90.

b Estimated by State superintendent.

From the foregoing table it appears that during the school year 1890-'91 there were 3,539,670 white pupils enrolled in the public schools of the States under consideration, and 1,324,937 colored pupils.

The white pupils formed 67.83 per cent of the total number of white persons 5 to 18 years of age, and the colored pupils only 52.08 per cent of the colored persons 5 to 18.

The per cent of the colored population 5 to 18 enrolled exceeded that of the white only in Texas and the District of Columbia. In nearly all the remaining States the per cent of colored enrollment fell largely short of the white enrollment.

In Louisiana scarcely more than one-fourth of the colored population 5 to 18 years of age were enrolled in school (27.53 per cent). This is only about two-fifths of the general average for the United States. Nowhere else in the Union is there so poor a school attendance as among the colored people of Louisiana.

The regularity of school attendance, as indicated by the relation of the average daily attendance to the total number of pupils enrolled, was nearly the same for both races. About five-eighths of the whole enrollment of each race were present daily on an average.

The percentage of the school population (5 to 18) enrolled, both white and colored, has made some gain since the preceding year. The change is slight, it is true, but the movement is in the right direction, as will be seen from the following:

	1889-90.	1890-91.
Percent of population 5 to 18 years enrolled in the public schools: { White	66.28	67.83
{ Colored	51.66	52.08

II. SECONDARY AND HIGHER INSTITUTIONS FOR THE COLORED RACE.^a

States.	Normal schools.						Institutions for secondary instruction.			Universities and colleges.					
	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.				Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Schools.	Teachers.	Students.			
			Normal.	Preparatory.	Primary.	Total.						Collegiate.	Preparatory.	Primary.	Total.
Alabama	7	70	877	692	805	2,374	4	32	949	1	7	10	35	420	525
Arkansas	3	18	160	46	80	286	.....	.....	.....	1	15	14	29	264	307
Delaware	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida	1	3	14	52	0	66	2	13	536	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia	3	13	154	39	67	260	11	94	3,473	2	38	23	74	843	940
Kansas	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	7	242	1	18	31	67	258	356
Louisiana	3	9	156	0	0	156	4	31	655	4	63	16	95	1,571	1,682
Maryland	1	4	77	0	0	77	1	3	62	1	9	4	50	40	94
Mississippi	4	33	293	156	403	852	3	9	583	2	17	119	90	286	495
Missouri	1	7	42	163	0	205	1	2	65	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina	10	53	937	184	182	1,303	7	46	1,459	3	23	107	159	240	506
Ohio	1	5	27	27	0	54	.....	.....	.....	1	9	12	25	127	164
Pennsylvania	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	6	300	1	14	143	63	0	206
South Carolina	5	29	613	201	523	1,337	4	28	1,544	2	25	25	139	1,108	1,272
Tennessee	6	46	440	149	566	1,155	1	8	306	4	72	93	194	1,153	1,440
Texas	2	14	168	2	168	338	4	26	937	1	5	27	11	147	185
Virginia	2	51	501	467	59	1,027	2	18	666	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia	1	8	185	.....	.....	185	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dist. of Columbia	2	12	160	.....	.....	160	.....	.....	.....	1	9	24	40	0	64
Other States .....	.....	.....	207	.....	.....	207	.....	.....	89	.....	.....	160	.....	.....	160
Total	52	375	5,011	2,178	2,853	10,042	47	317	11,837	25	324	808	1,071	6,517	8,396

^a For further statistics of education of the colored race, see Part III of this Report.

Secondary and higher institutions for the colored race—Continued.

States.	Schools of theology.			Schools of law.			Schools of medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy.			Schools for the deaf and dumb and the blind.		
	Schools.	Teachers.	Students.	Schools.	Teachers.	Students.	Schools.	Teachers.	Students.	Schools.	Teachers.	Students.
Alabama	3	7	57									
Arkansas	1		20				1	1	10	2	23	32
Florida										1	6	15
Georgia	2	7	145							2	19	50
Kentucky	1	2	19							2	26	59
Louisiana	3	7	46				1	6	18			
Maryland	1	3	8							1	4	22
Mississippi	1	2	24							1	11	18
Missouri										2	33	17
North Carolina	3	7	69	1	1	9	1	7	48	1	10	57
Ohio	1	3	6	1	2	2						
Pennsylvania	1	7	22									
South Carolina	2	7	65	1		20				1	2	24
Tennessee	3	7	65	1	3	7	1	18	93	2	20	42
Texas	0									1	4	68
Virginia	1	4	60									
District of Columbia	2	16	78	1	5	63	1	15	74			
Other States			71			20			63			132
Totals	25	79	755	5	11	121	5	47	306	16	158	556

Number of each class of schools for the colored race, and enrollment in them.

Class of institutions.	Schools.	Enrollment.
Normal schools	52	
Normal students		5,011
Preparatory		2,178
Elementary		2,853
Total		10,042
Institutions for secondary instruction (including elementary pupils)	47	11,837
Universities and colleges	25	
Collegiate students		808
Preparatory		1,071
Elementary		6,517
Total		8,396
Schools of theology	25	755
Schools of law	5	121
Schools of medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy	5	306
Schools for the deaf and dumb and the blind	16	556
Grand total	175	31,993

Amount and distribution of the sums disbursed from the State fund from 1883 to 1892, inclusive.

	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	Totals.
Alabama	\$2,100	\$2,450	\$5,030	\$3,830	\$4,400	\$1,600	\$3,600	\$3,600	\$4,900	\$4,700	\$39,150
Arkansas					600	800	800	800	1,000	600	4,600
Florida						1,000	800	800	1,000	1,000	4,600
Georgia	6,200	500	6,814	5,100	6,200	6,850	9,700	9,700	10,500	8,400	69,964
Kentucky		1,000	1,000	700	700	700					4,100
Louisiana		532	1,400	1,030	3,103	3,590	4,100	3,100	3,700	3,500	23,992
Mississippi	1,000	2,600	2,000	2,000	4,450	4,800	4,400	4,400	5,300	4,967	35,917
North Carolina	2,000	740	4,490	3,600	4,200	5,300	5,100	4,700	5,700	5,300	41,010
South Carolina	2,000	750	3,500	2,700	3,660	4,300	4,000	4,000	5,000	5,000	31,910
Tennessee	950	4,325	7,600	5,800	6,500	6,500	6,800	6,800	7,400	7,100	59,775
Texas		600	600	600	900	1,360	1,360	1,360	1,500	1,500	9,780
Virginia	2,000	2,000	3,000	3,650	4,190	4,190	3,150	3,150	3,150	3,150	31,600
District of Columbia		1,000	1,000	600	600	600					3,800
Special		550	450	450	500	500	500	500	500		3,950
Total	16,250	17,107	36,764	30,000	40,000	45,000	43,100	42,910	49,950	45,217	367,208

III. PRESENT STATUS OF COLORED EDUCATION AS RECORDED IN STATE SCHOOL REPORTS.

ALABAMA.

Observations of W. H. Council, conductor of institutes for colored teachers in Alabama: The night mass meetings, held at all the institutes, were largely attended—crowded—and always encouraged by the best white people in the communities, many of them attending all the meetings.

While holding these meetings from year to year I have observed: (1) That there is great progress among the colored teachers in every way. (2) That the desire for industrial instruction is firm and widespread. (3) That the masses are making marked progress in general intelligence and in support of education. (4) That the white people and colored people are increasing in good feelings on all moral, religious, temperance, and educational questions, and that the whites everywhere are willing to aid the colored people along the lines. (5) That the proper kind of moral, industrial, and intellectual training is a check on any inclination or temptation to racial conflict, and guarantees an honest, peaceful, industrious citizenship to the State. (6) That the institutes are of incalculable good to popular education.

KENTUCKY.

Encouraging prospects.—The superintendent of Mason County: The condition of the colored schools in our county has been to me a matter of surprise and congratulation. The capacity of the negro children for acquiring education surpasses any thing I had supposed concerning this race. There are fifteen colored districts in our county, and most of them are taught by well-educated and trained teachers. At present our teachers mostly come from Cincinnati, Dayton, Cleveland, and Steubenville, Ohio. They bring with them a knowledge of common school training and drill which enables them to conduct their schools successfully, and I am able to report the colored schools of our county as being in a very encouraging condition.

The superintendent of Nicholas County also reports that the colored schools are progressing very well, and that the colored people seem to take a greater interest in the schools than the whites do.

Superintendent of Scott County: The colored people are making material progress in regard to schoolhouses and equipments. Several houses will be improved this year, and two new ones built. They are very much in earnest in the matter of educating their children, and are doing probably as much as they are able to do to accomplish that end. Teachers are improving in efficiency and qualification for their work. I am very hopeful of our colored schools. The people have the right spirit, and respond to all school demands to the limit of their ability.

The trouble with colored trustees.—Superintendent of Bourbon County: A public school was taught in every colored district the past year. The colored people are too poor to support a private school. However, in a few places, school is continued beyond the public term, though with little profit to the teachers. The trustees are ignorant, and, in reality, not competent to select a teacher. With many applicants before them demanding the same compensation, they often pass over the best for poor teachers. They do not understand, and can not properly appreciate, the difference between the several grades of certificates. I may also add that in some cases I have had strong suspicion that the trustees of the colored schools have been bribed. But it is impossible to get any information on a subject as to which all parties, trustees and teachers, are equally interested in keeping quiet. So that the guilty go unpunished for want of sufficient evidence. It would be well if the superintendent could, out of the applicants for a school, select a certain number—say two or three—out of which number so selected the trustees would be compelled to employ. This would enable the trustee to get a qualified teacher, and at the same time allow some margin for their choice in the matter. Without some limitation of the kind, or some guard of this nature thrown around them, they are wholly at sea, unable to discharge their duty. The colored teachers are improving, but they are not, as a class, well qualified to teach. The list of certificates granted show that few get over a third-class certificate. This is an evil which can be cured only by time. In a few years we will doubtless have capable colored teachers. The younger teachers are generally the best qualified. Better training of teachers is much needed.

LOUISIANA.

The relations between the races.—State Superintendent W. H. Jack: The relations of the two races are harmonious and happy, and each seems actuated by a true spirit to reach the highest possible standard of mental and moral culture. We are educating

the negro in the same way that we are educating our own children, and are succeeding in developing him to an extent that is highly gratifying. Our method of solving the race problem is not by amalgamation or deportation, but by educating the negro children and bringing them under the renovating influences of white civilization. I would take occasion to observe, just here, that there is no such thing, in point of fact, as "race antagonism." The very kindest relations naturally exist between the two races, and there is not, and has never been, any such innate prejudice or antipathy on either side as would prevent the two races from living happily together. They understand each other perfectly, and govern themselves accordingly. The white man feels the native superiority of the Caucasian heightened by centuries of civilization, and the negro knows and recognizes the fact in all its meaning. * * *

I know of no reason why the negro, by proper training and direction, can not be made a good citizen and his race be elevated to a much higher plane than he now occupies.

Ignorance of negro teachers; one of two things should be done.—At a meeting of the Louisiana Educational Association, July, 1890, Col. T. Sambola Jones, of Baton Rouge, said:

"Multiplicity of tongues and differences of religion have made private, public, and sectarian school interests seem to retard rather than advance the cause of education. But there is no influence that has so reduced our general average, scattered our funds, or weakened the efficiency of our system half so much as the colored contingent in the public schools. Like the rain from heaven, that falls alike upon the just as well as upon the unjust, the funds obtained almost exclusively from the Caucasian element of the population are divided, share and share alike, with the children of their brothers in black. With a furtive glance at duty we do not consider binding, we appropriate funds for colored country schools and employ the ignorant and superstitious to teach ignorance and superstition. Better have no education whatever than be organized into schools and clans where falsehood takes the place of truth, where virtue is turned to vice, and prejudice and hatred of their white superiors encouraged and taught."

Here Col. Jones related some ludicrous incidents which occurred that forcibly demonstrated the capacity and standing of the average teacher of a negro public school, showing how unfit they were to advance the ignorant under their charge. He went on to say:

"If, indeed, poverty and dejection occasionally drive a belated soul to such a profession, the finger of shame is pointed, and while we pity we scorn and despise. No young man or woman here or elsewhere dares cross the black line or take a stand at the head of a negro school to teach good morals, sound philosophy, or beautiful rhetoric. If we must educate the negro let us no longer follow the unwise and suicidal policy of importing aliens, impractical, half-educated men and women, unacquainted with the relationship of the races and the duties and responsibilities of one toward the other, to teach the inferior race heresies, to poison and prejudice them against their own welfare and our safety."

Turning to the president, Col. Jones said: "It is your duty as the head of the educational interest of Louisiana, as molders of public opinion and directors of public thought upon the question of education, to do one of two things. You should stimulate public opinion in behalf of honest, upright, competent, and learned white instructors for the colored schools, or you should prick the huge bubble that claims for them equal rights, equal education, and an equal share of the public funds with the children of our own white race."

White teachers for colored schools.—The following resolutions were adopted by the Louisiana Educational Association at its Shreveport (1890) meeting:

Resolved, That we recognize it as the duty of those interested with the employment of teachers for our public colored schools to select only those whose moral and intellectual worth shall fit him or her to the task of attempting to elevate the colored race.

Resolved, That we henceforth bend our energies to having teachers thus qualified employed in the colored schools regardless of color.

In another resolution the same association affirmed the ability and the duty of the people of the State of Louisiana to educate all its children.

MARYLAND.

Schools for colored pupils.—Dr. James L. Bryau, school examiner of Dorchester County, says in his report:

The same generous and just appreciation of the rights of our fellow white men, leads naturally to the fair appropriation of common State funds for educational purposes to the colored people of the State. The school law, in Chapter XVIII, section 96, says: "It shall be the duty of the board of county school commissioners to

establish one or more public schools in each election district for all colored youths between 6 and 20 years of age, to which admission shall be free, and which shall be kept open as long as the other public schools of the particular county, provided the average attendance is not less than 15 scholars."

And yet the necessary funds for the purpose are not provided. The State appropriates more pro rata to the colored pupils than to the white ones, but the county appropriations are not so divided, nor are they sufficient to carry out the purposes of the law in this regard.

We should never forget that public school systems result from the conviction that the education of the whole people of a State can not be accomplished in any other way than by a State system and by State aid. That to be of benefit to the very class which would be most injurious to a true republican statehood, the very means of education must be furnished systematically, regularly, and fairly, and this can best be done by a tax upon all the property of the State. Such tax once raised becomes the property of the cause or interest for which it was levied, and then there can be no difference between white and colored pupils. Separate schools for the two races are a necessity, but there the difference ends, and all the expenses of the schools, their accounts, reports, are and should be upon a common basis and fairly proportioned.

IV. INDUSTRIAL TRAINING.

In all of the twenty-five universities and colleges except two, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, and Morgan College, Baltimore, Md., instruction was given in different lines of industry. In some of the institutions special attention was given to such instruction. In Claflin University, South Carolina, more than a dozen industries are taught and \$20,000 have been expended in procuring the necessary outfits, and no student is allowed to graduate until he or she has mastered some line of industry. At Clark University, Atlanta, Ga., and Rust University, Mississippi, great attention is also given to training in the industries. Among the young men carpentry and printing, and among the young women plain sewing and dressmaking are the favorite branches. This is what was to be expected. Carpentry affords opportunities for earning good wages, besides having other inducements, while printing furnishes a good livelihood and at the same time offers excellent opportunities for educational advancement. Carpentry is taught in all but five of the institutions, and printing in all but six. Sewing also is taught in all but five. Farming, gardening, shoemaking, and cooking were the other most frequent employments.

A statement of the carpentry work done at Claflin University represents very fairly the work at other institutions. The carpenter shop at Claflin University is furnished with several sets of tools. But little machinery has been introduced, as it is the purpose of the managers to make the students familiar with hand tools, such as they would be most likely to use after leaving school. Students are taught the names and uses of tools and how to keep them in order. A great variety of work has been performed, such as building cottages, shops, repairing buildings, making and repairing furniture, ornamenting buildings and campus, building and repairing fences, making and repairing agricultural implements, making wardrobes, etc.

At Clark University, Atlanta, Ga., students are taught how to make carriages and harness, which are sold in the market in competition with other manufacturing establishments. Buildings are fully equipped with tools, machinery, and steam power for the prosecution of the following industries: (1) General blacksmithing, (2) carriage-making and carpentry, (3) carriage-painting, (4) carriage-trimming, (5) harness-making, (6) shoemaking, (7) printing, (8) iron and composition molding, (9) planing-mill work, (10) drawing and designing.

"These courses of instruction are designed to fit pupils to become journeymen and foremen in the trades represented. The student is employed in model work until he acquires a sufficient knowledge of the use of tools to engage in the actual production of goods for the market. The sales of goods manufactured in these shops during the present year will amount to about \$15,000. We compete with other shops and factories, and find sale for more than we can make. This is one of the very few schools in the South which combine theory, or model work, and the actual manufacturing of articles for the markets. The graduates from our shops go at once as full journeymen into regular manufacturing establishments, and some of them as foremen. We could find places for ten times as many as we send out."

Industrial training in universities and colleges; number of students in each industry.

Institutions.	Printing.	Carpentry.	Painting.	Tinning.	Brickmaking.	Shoemaking.	Farming.	Gardening.	Blacksmithing.	Nurse-training.	Dressmaking.	Cooking.	Sewing.	Other.	Total.
Selma University	(a)	(a)				(a)	(a)						(a)		
Phlander Smith College	21	60								(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)		
Howard University	(a)	(a)		(a)		(a)					(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	
Atlanta University	(a)	(a)				(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)		(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	
Clark University	10	20	7			6			10	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	14	
Berea College	(a)	(a)												(a)	
Leland University	(a)	(a)				(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)		(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	
New Orleans University	14	61		19						(a)	(a)	(a)	108	(a)	
Southern University		(a)					(a)	(a)					(a)		167
Straight University	(a)	(a)	(a)								(a)		(a)	(a)	
Morgan College	0		0											0	
Rust University	(a)	(a)				(a)	(a)			19	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	
Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College.								(a)	(a)						(a)
Biddle University	(a)	(a)												(a)	
Shaw University	(a)	(a)									(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	292
Livingston College.	(a)	(a)				(a)					(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	
Wilberforce University		35									(a)		53	(a)	
Lincoln University.	0	0					(a)							0	
Allen University.															(a)
Clafin University	79	165	92		92	21	40	12	93	15	36	35	190	305	1,180
Knoxville College	(a)	(a)					(a)				(a)	(a)	150	(a)	
Central Tennessee College.	14	34		2					9	(a)	(a)	(a)	168	(a)	
Fisk University	19	(a)	(a)							(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	
Roger Williams University	8	21	3		1						(a)		(a)	(a)	
Paul Quinn College	5	(a)					(a)	(a)			(a)	(a)	(a)		

a Indicates that instruction was given in that branch, but the number of students was not given.

At the meeting of the general committee of the Freedman's Aid and Southern Education Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Harrisburg, Pa., November 7, 1892, the report on manual training in 23 colored schools was as follows: Male students in manual training and trade schools as follows: Printing, 123; tailoring, 6; painting, 43; carpentry, 325; cabinetmaking, 9; machine shop, wood, 6; machine shop, iron, 14; blacksmithing, 43; wagon-making, 1; tin shop, 8; masonry, 23; bakery, 4; shoemaking, 28; harness-making, 25; laundry, 95; agriculture, 91. Female students in domestic economy: Housekeeping, 195; sewing, 1,117; cooking, 276; dressmaking, 248.

V.—COEDUCATION OF THE RACES.

In the catalogues of many of the colored institutions it is stated that students will be received regardless of race or sex. Usually, however, there are not many white students in colored schools. In quite a number of Northern institutions there can be found from one to five colored students, but generally these are in schools where the students are grown young men and where their intercourse is practically limited to the lecture room. So far as reported the number of colored students in Northern and Western schools in 1890-91 was as follows: In secondary schools, 80; universities and colleges, 160; normal schools, 207; theological, 71; law, 20; medical, dental, and pharmaceutical, 63. Most of the normal students here reported were attending normal schools supported by the State or city. Wherever a sufficient number of colored students are found for a separate institution, there is apt to be an institution for each race.

On this subject of coeducation of the races, Rev. J. E. Rankin, D. D., president of Howard University, Washington, D. C., said at the Mohonk Conference in 1891:

"It is true that the colored man can go to Northern institutions of learning. That is, as an individual, one of him. But ten of him together would break up any college class. Even Harvard would cease to elect him class orator. He can not be educated in large numbers, except in institutions established and maintained especially for his benefit. He can go into a few of the white churches, but not in any large number. There is scarcely a white church in the land that could exist long with 50 colored people as members, if they came en masse, if there were a colored revival. I am not complaining of this. I am speaking cold facts, frozen facts. I am not looking for it at present to be otherwise. Christian as are our theological seminaries, I believe that while the white students of a class would regard 1 colored man as a curiosity,

a phenomenon, and 2 colored men as a double enigma, 10 colored men would put 10,000 of them to flight. If, therefore, you want to give colored men higher theological training, it must be provided for in schools established for colored men."

Rev. Samuel W. Boardman, president of Maryville College, Tenn., says: "Not long ago there were said to be about 20 Afro-Americans in the different departments of Harvard University. Nowhere have I seen such students appear to be more at home than in the libraries, reading rooms, and on the shady walks of Cambridge. It is well known that they are made welcome in the universities of England, France, Germany, and other countries of Europe. At Yale, Cornell, and other American colleges, they have been well represented. They have won prizes, and received in some cases the especial recognition of their classmates in appointments to class honors."

There is probably a greater intermingling of the races at Berea College, Ky., and at Orange Park, Fla., than at any other places. Both of these institutions are assisted by the American Missionary Association, and it is stated in the catalogue of Berea College that the school is intended as a source of educational, moral, and social reform. The number of colored male and female students at Berea was 188, and of white students male and female, 166. They mingle together both in the school rooms and in the boarding departments.

"At the Orange Park, Fla., school there are about 35 colored boys and girls and almost as many whites who *board*, together with many day pupils of both races. It seems that the majority of the whites in Orange Park are New Englanders, who have been there for some years. Having spent their money to fix themselves in the South and, after getting there, failing to realize what they had hoped, they became poor—too poor to send their children off to school. Not satisfied that their children should forego the training given in the Orange Park School, they were, because of circumstances, forced to send there. It is a bitter pill, however, because many of them are Southernized Northerners. At first they strongly objected, and more than once used their influence to have the colored pupils withdrawn, but with no effect.

"In the beginning the white pupils separated themselves as much as possible from the colored pupils. As the school work progressed and all the pupils became interested in the common cause of education, the differences were forgotten, the storm outside abated, and the white pupils naturally became more intimately associated with the colored pupils in class work."

VI. VARIOUS EXPRESSIONS OF OPINION REGARDING NEGRO EDUCATION AND ADVANCEMENT.

THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

[From an article by W. T. Harris in the *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1892, with annotations by representative men to whom it had been submitted for criticism.]

The negro was brought to this country as a slave almost from the date of its first settlement. Two hundred and fifty years of bondage had elapsed when the issue of civil war set him free. He had brought with him from Africa the lowest form of civilization to be found among men—that in which the most degrading superstition furnishes the forms of public and private life. His religion was fetichism. But by contact with the Anglo-Saxon race in the very close relation of domestic servitude, living in the same family and governed by the absolute authority which characterizes all family control, the negro, after two and a half centuries, had come to possess what we may call the Anglo-Saxon consciousness. For the negro of the South, with the exception of a stratum of population in the dark belt of large plantations, where he has not been brought into contact with white people through domestic servitude, but segregated as oxen and horses are—the negro of the South, with this exception, I repeat, is thoroughly imbued with nearly all the ideals and aspirations which form the conscious and unconscious motives of action with the white people among whom he lives.¹ It would be very easy to convince one's self of this by free conversation with any specimen of the colored race, and a comparison of his thoughts with those of a newly arrived immigrant from Ireland, Italy, Germany, or Scandinavia. It would be found that the negro is in thorough sympathy, intellectually and emotionally, with our national point of view, while the immigrant looks through the dark glass of his own national presuppositions, and misinterprets most that he sees around him here. Only in the second generation, and after association with the native pop-

¹ It is a matter for discussion whether the negro has come into the possession of what may be called "the Anglo-Saxon consciousness." I can not see how, so long as the people of this race constitute a distinct and insoluble entity in our political society, it will be possible for them to acquire the characteristics which it has taken such a long period of time to develop in the Caucasian race. (*R. L. Gibson.*)

ulation in common schools, the workshop, and the political meeting, does the European contingent of our population become assimilated.¹

Of course I do not say this in disparagement of the European immigrant, for he stubbornly resists our national idea only in proportion to the value of his own. But I do insist on the practical fact that the negro of the South is not an African in his inner consciousness, but an American who has acquired our Anglo-Saxon consciousness in its American type through seven generations of domestic servitude in the family of a white master. That this has been acquired so completely because of the inherent aptitude of the African race to imitate may be admitted as probable, and it follows from this that the national consciousness assumed by the black race is not so firmly seated as in other races that have risen through their own activity to views of the world more advanced than fetishism. Hence we may expect that the sundering of the negro from close domestic relations with the white race will be accompanied with tendencies of relapse to the old fetich worship and belief in magic; and this would be especially the case in the dark belt where the large plantations are found. * * *

Here is the chief problem of the negro of the South. It is to retain the elevation acquired through the long generations of domestic slavery, and to superimpose on it the sense of personal responsibility, moral dignity, and self respect which belongs to the conscious ideal of the white race. Those acquainted with the free negro of the South, especially with the specimens at school and college, know that he is as capable of this higher form of civilization as in slavery he was capable of faithful attachment to the interests of his master.

The first step² towards this higher stage which will make the negro a valued citizen is intellectual education, and the second is industrial education.³ By the expression "industrial education" I do not refer so much to training in habits of industry, for he has had this discipline for two hundred years,⁴ but to school instruction in arts and trades as applications of scientific principles. Nor do I refer even to manual and scientific training, valuable as it is, so much as to that fundamental training in thrift⁵ which is so essential to the progress of industry. The negro must teach himself to become a capitalist. There are two stages to this: First, that of hoarding; second, that of profitable investment. The first stage of thrift may be stimulated by adopting the postal savings device. If it be true, as is plausibly asserted, that the so-called poor white of the South is less thrifty than the negro, such adoption by our Govern-

¹ Withdrawn by force from his original physical and moral environment, the negro has adapted himself to his American surroundings, and in doing so has necessarily acquired, so far as his lower intelligence permitted, the ideals and aspirations of the people to whom he was bound so long in slavery; but he is essentially still an African in the controlling tendencies of his character. When left to an exclusive association with his own people, there is a powerful inclination on the part of the Southern negro to revert to all of the distinctive features of his African ancestors. This is a fact of the utmost importance in the consideration of the proper means to be employed for the improvement of his character. The principal cause of the many failures which have been made in the effort to produce this improvement has been the unfortunate misconception that the Southern negro of to-day is simply an ignorant white man with a black skin. The American descendants of European immigrants are, in the second generation, thoroughly assimilated with the surrounding white population. The grandsons of an American, a German, and an Englishman differ but little, if at all, in the basis of their character. It can hardly be said that the negroes even of those Northern communities in which their race has enjoyed freedom for five generations are so assimilated with the surrounding white population that they are not to be discriminated from it in racial characteristics. (*P. A. Bruce.*)

² The first step really to be taken must be by the whites about him in letting the negro feel that he possesses inalienable rights. What he now possesses is by sufferance only. He knows that he is neither a citizen nor a man, in the full sense. (*L. H. Blair.*)

³ I should prefer to define the course thus: First, religious; second, industrial; and third, intellectual. An ideal public-school system for the Southern negroes for many generations to come would be a system under the operation of which each schoolhouse would be devoted to the religious instruction of the colored pupils, with a sufficient amount of industrial training to impart habits of industry, and a sufficient amount of intellectual training to facilitate the inculcation of the religious teachings. As far as possible the public-school system should be made supervisory of the moral life of the pupils; it should take the place of the parental authority, which is so much relaxed, now that the watchful eye and firm support of the slaveholders have been withdrawn. (*P. A. Bruce.*)

⁴ One of the discouraging features in the character of the young Southern negro is that apparently he has inherited but a small share of the steadiness and industry which were acquired under compulsion by his fathers. I am referring now to the young negro to be found in the agricultural communities. He is in a marked degree inferior to the former slave in agricultural knowledge and manipulating skill, for the very simple reason that his employer is unable to enforce the rigid attention to all the details of work which he would do if the young negro were his property. (*P. A. Bruce.*)

Dr. Harris seems to me to overestimate the value of the slave's experience in developing the habits of punctuality and obedience in descendants who were never slaves. I fear that the result is far other; that in the descendants of the slave there is an inherited disposition to be disobedient to law as a proof of the newly acquired freedom. (*Anon.*)

⁵ There is need of the inculcation and of the adoption in home life, in daily conduct, of sounder principles of economy and of consumption. What to eat, what to wear, how to cook, how to provide and preserve home conveniences and comforts, how to lay by for a rainy day, must be indoctrinated, ingrained, and become a habit. In other days the African slave was cared for from cradle to coffin, and literally took no thought for the morrow. Comparatively few negroes now living were ever slaves, but the habits of servitude have been transmitted. (*J. L. M. Curry*)

ment of the postal savings institution would be a blessing to both races.¹ We know, indeed, that the poor white in the North is chiefly in need of the thrift that has a habit of hoarding—that is, the habit of saving something from its weekly pittance, no matter how small.

The introduction of manufacturing industries throughout the South is favorable to the rise of the poor white from his poverty. In the early days of cotton manufacture in New England, the unthrifty white people, who hitherto had lived in cottages or hovels near the large farms, removed to the villages that were springing up near water privileges. They learned how to "work in the mill," all the members of the family, from the oldest to the youngest, and the aggregate wages was wealth compared with what they had known before. In fact, they earned more than the well-to-do farmers in whose service they had formerly labored. The children now earned more wages than the parents had earned before. The work on the farm was varied and intermittent, depending upon the season. Plowing, planting, weeding, haying, harvesting, thrashing, marketing, wood-cutting, etc., are regulated by the farmer's calendar. There are rainy days, when the day laborer loses his hire; and, besides these, there are intervals between the season of one species of work and that of the next, in which no employment is offered him by the farm proprietor. If he had thrift he would find work of some kind for himself at home; he would save money and own his house. But thrift he does not possess. Hence, what he earns in the days of the working season is prodigally expended while it lasts, and the days of idleness after harvest are days of want in the household. The children are educated in the same habits of unthrift.

The rise of manufactures² and the removal of the ill-to-do families from the farm to the mill put an end to the periodic alternation of want and plenty in the house. Plenty now prevails, but does not generate thrift, for there is less occasion for it. The week's wages may be expended as fast as earned, thanks to the demoralizing institution of credit at the grocery kept by the proprietors of the mill. But, notwithstanding this drawback, there is more self-respect on the part of the children, who now have the consciousness that they earn their living. Manufactures and commerce bring about urban life as contrasted with rural life. The village grows into the city; the railroad carries the daily newspaper from the metropolis to the suburbs and to all towns on its line, and thus extends urban life indefinitely.

The difference between these two orders of life, the urban and rural, is quite important, and its discussion affords us an insight into a process going on rapidly throughout the South. The old régime of the large farm, with its cordon of dependent families, rendered possible a sort of patriarchal constitution. The farm proprietor, in the North as well as in the South, wielded great power over the unthrifty families of day laborers who lived near him. He helped them do their thinking, as he mingled with them in the daily work. He was called upon to assist whenever their unthrift pinched them. His intellect and will in a measure supplanted the native intellect and will of his hired laborers, not merely in directing their work on his farm, but also in their private matters, it being their habit to consult him. The farm proprietor thus furnished a sort of substantial will power that governed his small community as the head of a family governs his.

This semi-patriarchal rule which exists in the exclusively agricultural community produces its own peculiar form of ethical life. The head of the farm, who does the thinking and willing for the others in all matters that are not fixed by routine, so penetrates their lives that he exercises a moral restraint over them, holding them back from crime of all kinds. Such ethical influence is, however, of the lowest and most rudimentary character in the stage next above slavery. It presupposes a lack of individual self-determination in the persons thus controlled. They are obsessed, as it were, by his will and intellect, and fail to develop their own native capacities. He rules as a clan leader, and they are his henchmen. They are repressed and are not educated into a moral character of their own. There is little outward stimulus compelling them to exercise their independent choice. Hence agricultural communities are conservative, governed by custom and routine, taking up very slowly any new ideas.

The change to urban life through the intermediary step of village life breaks up

¹ Until the negro learns thrift he will never be a man, no matter what his scientific or industrial education may be; therefore postal savings banks are especially desirable, indeed necessary, for him. (*L. H. Blair.*)

² It is vain to look for manufactures in the South. Manufactures flourish only in a cool climate. Manufacturing has for years been diminishing in the South, press reports to the contrary notwithstanding. (*L. H. Blair.*)

The recent statistics of American cotton manufacture issued from the Census Office show that great strides have been made by the Southern States between 1880 and 1890. The amount of capital invested in that industry in the Southern group has advanced from \$21,976,713 to \$61,124,066; the number of hands employed has advanced from 20,827 to 41,481, and the value of the manufactured products has been raised from \$21,033,712 to \$46,971,503. This compares very favorably with the progress made by any other group of States within the same interval. (*J. S. Means, in the "Southern States" for March, 1893.*)

this patriarchal clanship, and cultivates in its place independence of opinion and action. The laborer in the "mill" recognizes his right to choose his employer and his place of labor, and exercises it to a far greater degree than the farm laborer. He migrates from village to village; in the city he has before him a bewildering variety of employers to choose from. The city employer does not act as patriarch, nor permit his laborers to approach him as head of a clan. The urban life protects the laborer from the obsessing influence of the employer, and throws a far greater weight of responsibility on the individual. Hence the urban life stimulates and develops independence of character.

In the case of the Southern slave there was none of this alternation between idleness and industry, plenty and want, that comes to the poor white at the North and South by reason of his freedom. But his will and intellect were obsessed more effectually because the slave could not be allowed the development of spontaneous, independent, self-activity. Since the civil war, however, the condition of the negro has changed, and in the agricultural region it now resembles more nearly the status above described as that of the poor white in rural in contradistinction from urban surroundings. Where the country is sparsely settled the proprietor farmer retains the dominant influence. Where the villages are getting numerous the tendency to independence manifests itself in a partial revolt from the patriarchal rule of the plantation, and the struggle leads naturally to an unpleasant state of affairs for all parties. But the urban factor in the problem is certain to gain the ascendancy, and we must see in the near future, with the increase of railroads and manufacturing centers, the progressive decadence of the patriarchal rule. The old system of social morality will perish, and a new one will take its place. In the formation of the new one the present danger lies.

If the negro separates entirely from the white classes so far as domestic relations are concerned, and forms his own independent family, he separates from the clan influence also, and loses the education of the white master's family in manners.¹ He loses, too, the education of the master's counsel and directing influence. Unless this is counterbalanced by school education, it will produce degeneracy; for to remove the weight of authority is productive of good only when there has been a growth of individuality that demands a larger sphere of free activity. In case of entering upon village life and mechanical industries greater freedom from authority is demanded, and its effects are healthful; but with the isolated life on the plantation the opposite holds.

The remedy for evils incident to these changes is, as before said, school education, provided it is inclusive enough to furnish industrial and moral as well as intellectual training.

Education, intellectual and moral, is the only means yet discovered that is always sure to help people to help themselves. Any other species of aid may enervate the beneficiary, and lead to a habit of dependence on outside help. But intellectual and moral education develops self-respect, fertility of resources, knowledge of human nature, and aspiration for a better condition in life. It produces that divine discontent which goads on the individual, and will not let him rest.²

How does the school produce this important result? In what way can it give to the negro a solid basis for character and accomplishments? The school has undertaken to perform two quite different and opposite educational functions. The first produces intellectual training, and the second the training of the will.

The school, for its intellectual function, causes the pupil to learn certain arts, such as reading and writing, which make possible communication with one's fellow-men, and impart certain rudimentary insights or general elementary ideas with which practical thinking may be done, and the pupil be set on the way to comprehend

¹ The increasing isolation of the negro of the South from the whites is, so far as his own advancement is concerned, the most significant fact connected with his present condition. In one point only does he come in contact with the white man, and that is in the formal relation of employed to employer. The negro and the white man are driven into this relation of necessity. In their social spheres they are as wide apart as if they inhabited different countries. They have separate churches and separate schools, and it is only a question of time for them to have, in all parts of the South, separate public conveyances. The two races resemble two great streams that flow side by side, never commingling nor converging. There is no disposition to unite. On the contrary, the tendency is to swerve still further apart. This is a fact of supreme importance in its bearing upon the prospects of the negro race in the South, for that race is essentially imitative and adaptive in its character, showing a parasitic loyalty to its environment. In a state of servitude, the negro was disciplined into a fixed and industrious life by the regulations of the system which enslaved him; he was improved in manners and elevated in his general conceptions by his daily association with the individuals of a superior white caste. This semi-military discipline of slavery is gone, and no social or personal tie now unites the home of the negro with that of the white man. (*P. A. Bruce.*)

² Self-respect is near akin to self-support. Any one who has lived in a foreign land where class distinctions prevail knows how ineffaceable is deference to rank, sometimes approaching servility. The negro seems to assume, to feel, to act on, his inferiority. The action of the Government, of party managers, of religious organizations, of givers of pecuniary aid, of administrators of charitable benefactions, has tended to make him look to and rely upon Hercules. Slavery subordinated will, repressed intelligence, did not cultivate individuality or self-determination, and what is needed for the African is a strengthening at weak points so as to build up self-reliant character. (*J. L. M. Curry.*)

his environment of nature, and of humanity and history. There is taught in the humblest of schools something of arithmetic, the science and arts of numbers, by whose aid material nature is divided and combined—the most practical of all knowledge of nature because it relates to the fundamental conditions of the existence of nature, the quantitative structure of time and space themselves. A little geography, also, is taught; the pupil acquires the idea of the interrelation of each locality with every other. Each place produces something for the world-market, and in return it receives numerous commodities of useful and ornamental articles for food, clothing, and shelter. The great cosmopolitan idea of the human race and its unity of interests is born of geography, and even the smattering of it which the poorly taught pupil gets enwraps this great general idea, which is fertile and productive, a veritable knowledge of power from the start.

All school studies, moreover, deal with language, the embodiment of the reason, not of the individual, but of the Anglo-Saxon stock or people. The most elementary language study begins by isolating the words of a sentence, and making the pupil conscious of their separate articulation, spelling, and meaning. The savage does not quite arrive at a consciousness of the separate words of the language, but knows only whole sentences. All inflected languages preserve for us their primitive form of language consciousness, the inflections being the addition (to the roots or stems) of various subjective or pronominal elements necessary to give definiteness of application. The Turanic languages are called "agglutinative," because the power of analytic thinking has not proceeded so far as to differentiate the parts of speech fully. Every sentence is as it were some form of a conjugation of its verb.

Now, the steps of becoming conscious of words as words involved in writing and spelling, and in making out the meaning, and, finally, in the study of grammatical distinctions between the parts of speech, bring to the pupil a power of abstraction, a power of discriminating form from contents, substance from accidents, activity from passivity, subjective from objective, which makes him a thinker. For thinking depends on the mastery of categories, the ability to analyze a subject and get at its essential elements and see their necessary relations. The people who are taught to analyze their speech into words have a constant elementary training through life that makes them reflective and analytic as compared with a totally illiterate people.

This explains to some degree the effect upon a lower race of adopting the language of a higher race. It brings up into consciousness, by furnishing exact expressions for them, complicated series of ideas which remain sunk below the mental horizon of the savage. It enables the rudimentary intelligence to ascend from the thought of isolated things to the thought of their relations and interdependencies.

The school teaches also literature, and trains the pupil to read by setting him lessons consisting of extracts from literary works of art. These are selected for their intensity, and for their peculiar merits in expressing situations of the soul brought about by external or internal circumstances. Language itself contains the categories of thought, and the study of grammatical structure makes one conscious of phases of ideas which flit past without notice in the mind of the illiterate person. Literary genius invents modes of utterance for feelings and thoughts that were hitherto below the surface of consciousness. It brings them above its level, and makes them forever after conscious and articulate. Especially in the realm of ethical and religious ideas, the thoughts that furnish the regulative forms for living and acting, literature is preëminent for its usefulness. Literature may be said, therefore, to reveal human nature. Its very elementary study in school makes the pupil acquainted with a hundred or more pieces of literary art, expressing for him with felicity his rarer and higher moods of feeling and thought. When, in mature age, we look back over our lives and recall to mind the influence that our schooldays brought us, the time spent over the school readers seems quite naturally to have been the most valuable part of our education. Our thoughts on the conduct of life have been stimulated by it, and this ethical knowledge is of all knowledge the nearest related to self-preservation.

The school, even in its least efficient form, does something on these lines of intellectual insight. For the most fruitful part of all intellectual education is the acquisition of the general outline and the basal idea—the categories, so to speak, of the provinces of human learning. This intellectual part of school education could not well be more accurately directed to aid the cause of civilization. For the kind of knowledge and mental discipline that conserves civil life is the knowledge that gives an insight into the dependence of the individual upon society. The school is busied with giving the pupil a knowledge of the conditions of physical nature and human nature; the former in mathematical study, the latter in language study.

The school also educates the will through its discipline. It demands of the pupil that he shall be obedient to the rules of order, and adopt habits that make it possible to combine with one's fellows. The school is a small community, in which many immature wills are combined in such a way as to prevent one from standing in the way of another, while each helps all and all help each. For the pupil learns more

by seeing the efforts of his fellows at mastering the lesson than he does by hearing the teacher's explanations. In order to secure concert of action, the semimechanical moral habits of regularity, punctuality, silence, and industry are insisted on. Moral education is not accomplished by lectures on morals so much as by a strict training in moral habits. The American school is proverbially strict in the matter of these semimechanical moral habits. They constitute the basis of self-control as related to combination with one's fellows. Leave out punctuality and regularity, and no combination is practicable; leave out silence and industry, and the school work is not possible. Without industry and abstention from meddlesomeness (and this is the equivalent of silence in the school) there can be no combination in civil society at large. The school secures peaceful coöperation, repressing the natural quarrelsome-ness that exists among boys who are strangers to one another, and insuring civil behavior. Good behavior is the general term that characterizes the ideal aimed at by the school in the matter of will-training. A mastery of the "conventionalities of intelligence," as the "three R's" are called by a thoughtful observer, characterizes in like manner the ideal of its intellectual training.

From these considerations we can see how the common school may work, and does necessarily work, to civilize the intellect and will of the child, and how it must affect any lower race struggling to master the elements of civilization. For this scholastic training gives one the power to comprehend the springs of action that move the races which possess the directive power, and thus he can govern himself. It enables the pupil to see the properties and adaptabilities of material things, and he can subdue nature and convert things into wealth.

Here is the ground for the addition of industrial training to the traditional course of study in the common schools. The negro must learn to manage machinery, and make himself useful to the community in which he lives by becoming a skilled laborer.¹ Every physical peculiarity may be converted by the cunning of intellect into some knack or aptitude which gives its possessor an advantage in productive industry. But the skill to use tools and direct machinery is a superior gift. Invention is fast discounting the value of special gifts of manual dexterity. Science is the seedcorn, while artisan skill—yes, even art itself—is only the baked bread.

The first step above brute instinct takes place when man looks beyond things as he sees them existing before him, and begins to consider their possibilities; he adds to his external seeing an internal seeing. The world assumes a new aspect; each object appears to be of larger scope than in its present existence, for there is a sphere of possibility environing it—a sphere which the sharpest animal eyes of lynx or eagle can not see, but which man, endowed with this new faculty of inward sight, perceives at once. To this insight into possibilities there loom up uses and adaptations, transformations, and combinations, in a long series, stretching into the infinite behind each finite real thing. The bodily eye sees the real objects, but can not see the infinite trails; they are invisible except to the inward eye of the mind.

What we call directive power on the part of man, his combining and organizing capacity, all rests on this ability to see beyond the real things before the senses to the ideal possibilities invisible to the brute. The more clearly man sees these ideals, the more perfectly he can construct for his behoof another set of conditions than those in which he finds himself.

The school, in so far as it gives intellectual education, aids the pupil by science and literature. Science collects about each subject all its phases of existence under different conditions; it teaches the student to look at a thing as a whole, and see in it not only what is visible before his senses, but also what is invisible—what is not realized, but remains dormant or potential. The scientifically educated laborer, therefore, is of a higher type than the mere "hand laborer," because he has learned to see in each thing its possibilities. He sees each thing in the perspective of its history. Here, then, in the educated laborer, we have a hand belonging to a brain that directs or that can intelligently comprehend a detailed statement of an ideal to be worked out. The laborer and the overseer, or "boss," are united in one man. Hence it is that the productive power of the educated laborer is so great.

The school may indefinitely reënforce the effect of this general education by adding manual training and other industrial branches, taking care to make the instruction

¹ It is well to understand clearly the formidable character of the obstacles which the negro mechanic will be called upon to overcome before he can acquire, in the mechanical trades, any substantial advantage from the prosperity which may surround him. In the first place, he will encounter race prejudice; employers will prefer mechanics of their own race, if other conditions are equal. Then he will have to submit to the stress of modern competition. The skilled white mechanic protects himself by his trade union; into that he is not likely to admit the negro mechanic. If the skilled negro mechanics form their own trade unions, the superiority of the members must be of the most striking character to create a preponderating influence in their favor in the mind of the employer, who naturally leans towards individuals of his own race. Let the negro unions work at cheaper rates and the white mechanics be forced to come down to the same wages, the former would at once be exposed to those destructive conditions to which I have referred. These are the influences that diminish the prospect of the negro taking an active part in the manufacturing development of the South, except in those branches of labor which are distinctly below such as require special skill and training. (*P. A. Bruce.*)

scientific; for it is science that gives scope and power of adaptation to new conditions. The instrument of modern civilization is the labor-saving machine. The negro can not share in the white man's freedom unless he can learn to manage machinery. Nothing but drudgery remains for a race that can not understand applied science. The productive power of a race that works only with its hands is so small that only one in the hundred can live in the enjoyment of the comforts of life. The nations that have conquered nature by the aid of machinery can afford luxury for large classes. In Great Britain,¹ for example, 30 per cent of the families enjoy incomes of \$1,000 and upwards per annum, while the 70 per cent, constituting the so-called "working classes," have an average of \$485 to each family. When we consider how much this will buy in England, we see that the common laborer of to-day is better off for real comforts than the nobleman of three hundred years ago. In France, 76 per cent, including the working classes, receive \$395 per family, while the 24 per cent, including the wealthy, get an average of \$1,300 and upwards. But in Italy the income returns show (in 1881) only 8,500 families with incomes above \$1,000, while more than 98 per cent of the population average less than \$300 for each family.² Agriculture without manufactures and commerce can not furnish wealth for a large fraction of the people. But with diversity of industry there is opportunity for many, and will be finally for all. The increased use of machinery multiplies wealth, so that production doubles twice as often as the population in the United States.

This is the significance of manual training in our schools. The youth learns how to shape wood and iron into machines, and thus how to construct and manage machines. The hand worker is to be turned into a brain worker; for the machine does the work of the hand, but requires a brain to direct it. Human productive industry needs more and more directive power, but less and less mere sleight of hand. The negro, educated in manual training, will find himself at home in a civilization which is accumulating invention of all sorts and descriptions to perform the work necessary to supply the people with food, clothing, and shelter at so cheap a rate as to have a large surplus of income to purchase the means of luxury, amusement, and culture.

The friends of the education of the negro, North and South, have seen the importance of providing industrial education for him. So long as he can work only at the cultivation of staple crops he can not become a salutary element in the social whole.³ When he acquires skill in mechanical industries his presence in the community is valued and his person respected. Many colored institutions have been founded for the special promotion of skill in the arts and trades, and nearly all of the higher institutions have undertaken to provide some facilities for industrial education. * * *

With the growing isolation of the negro in his state of freedom comes the necessity of a well educated clergy⁴ to counteract an increasing tendency to relapse into fetichism and magic and all manner of degrading superstitions. The profession of Christianity in empty words does not avail anything, and the practical interpretation of those words by means of the ideas of fetichism secures and confirms the lowest status of savagery. The more highly educated the colored clergy, the more closely are the masses of the people brought into intelligent sympathy with the aspirations and endeavors of the white race with whom they live. For it is not the abstract dogma that gives vital religion, important though it be as a symbol of the highest. It is the correct interpretation of that dogma in terms of concrete vital issues which make it a living faith. One must be able to see the present world and its Sphinx riddles solved by the high doctrines of his creed, or he does not possess a "saving faith." The preacher who can not, for his illiteracy, see the hand of Providence in the instruments of modern civilization—in the steamship, the railroad, the telegraph, the morning newspaper, the popular novel, the labor-saving machine, the investigations in natural science—is not likely to be of much help in building up a

¹ See Mülhall's Dictionary of Statistics (new edition, 1890-'91), pages 320-322. (W. T. H.)

² The English laborer has a greater income than the Italian, because England is the common manufacturer for Italy. Southern climates, whether occupied by negroes or Caucasians, are fatal to the rigorous demands of scientific industry. (L. H. Blair.)

³ As yet public sentiment confines him principally to agricultural or other similarly unremunerative employments. (L. H. Blair.)

⁴ The improvement of the character of the negro preachers is even more important than the improvement of the character of the negro teachers; but it is an end more difficult to reach, because the preachers can not be selected like the teachers after submission to an ordeal that tests their fitness for the positions to be filled. As a rule, the present spiritual guides of the Southern negroes are self-appointed. The most feasible plan for promoting this improvement of character seems to be the establishment of a large number of seminaries, to be controlled absolutely by the white religious denominations, in which the general system of instruction now pursued in the normal institutes, with religious courses predominating, shall be employed for the education of the students. A second Peabody or Slater, instead of leaving a large fund for the advancement of the usefulness of the normal schools for the Southern negroes, should set aside the same amount for establishing new seminaries for the education of negro preachers or enlarging the scope and improving the methods of those already in existence. (P. A. Bruce.)

new civilization, although he may, it is true, administer consolation to souls world-sick and weary.¹

The Christian religion, as interpreted by the modern spirit, means not only the preparation for death, but, more than this, a preparation for living. The true missionary spirit is thoroughly of this character. It bids each human being help his brother in all ways that may secure his self-help. Hence the conquest of nature, first by means of natural science, and secondly by means of useful inventions, to the end that man may be lifted forever above a life of drudgery into a life of intelligent, directive power, where brains count more than hands—this conquest is demanded by religion as a preliminary missionary movement.

The labors in social science directed to the end of discovering the best means of administering charity so that it may create activity and enterprise rather than demoralize society's weaklings; the improvement of tenement houses, hygienic precautions, public parks, and innocent amusements, all that goes to increase the interest of man in his fellow men, and especially all that goes to lift the burden from childhood—the burden that is premature and causes arrested development, stunting the soul in its growth—these are Christian instrumentalities, and are seen to be such by an educated clergy. But an illiterate clergy condemns them as works of Antichrist, because it can not see the spirit of the doctrines which it preaches. It sounds like a paradox to say that the illiterate is bound by the letter and can not see the spirit, but it is true.

It is quite important that the higher education of the negro should include Latin and Greek. The Anglo-Saxon civilization in which he lives is a derivative one, receiving one of its factors from Rome and the other from Athens. The white youth is obliged to study the classic languages in order to become conscious of these two derivative elements in his life, and it is equally important for the colored youth. A "liberal" education by classic study gives to the youth some acquaintance with his spiritual embryology. * * *

It is clear, from the above considerations, that money expended for the secondary and higher education of the negro accomplishes far more for him than similar expenditures accomplish for the white people. It is seed sown where it brings forth a hundred fold,² because each one of the pupils of these higher institutions is a center of diffusion of superior methods and refining influences among an imitative and impressive race. State and national aid as well as private bequest should take this direction first. There should be no gifts or bequests for common elementary instruction; this should be left to the common schools, and all outside aid should be concentrated on the secondary and higher instruction, inclusive of industrial education. * * *

The three symbols of our most advanced civilization are the railroad, the morning newspaper, and the school. The rural population everywhere is backward in its sympathies for these "moderns." The good school is the instrumentality which must precede in order to create this sympathy. But the good school will not spring up of itself in the agricultural community. It must be provided for by the urban influence of the State and nation. By judicious distribution of general funds, coupled with provisions requiring local taxation as a condition of sharing in these funds, even the rural districts may be brought up to the standard. The State as a whole gains in wealth and in the priceless increase of individual ability by education.

It was revealed by the census of 1880 that the colored race furnished a disproportionate share of illiterates even in the Northern and Pacific groups of States. In the Northern group the percentage of colored illiterates was nearly five times as large as the percentage of white illiterates—16 per cent for the colored and 3¼ per cent for the white. In the Pacific group the same disproportion prevailed. In the Southern section of the colored population of the ages 15 to 20 years the illiterates amounted to 67 per cent, while the white illiterates were only 17 per cent of their quota; colored illiterates from 10 to 14 were 70 per cent and the white 30 per cent of their respective quotas.

The illiterate person is apt to be intolerant and full of race prejudice, and to this cause we may attribute the larger portion of the feuds³ between the races wherever they have existed in the South. But the worst feature of illiteracy is to be

¹ One of the chief drawbacks to higher civilization in the negro race is the exceeding difficulty of giving a predominant ethical character to his religion. In the black belt religion and virtue are often considered as distinct and separable things. The moral element, good character, is eliminated from the essential ingredients of Christianity, and good citizenship, womanliness, truth, chastity, honesty, cleanliness, trustworthiness, are not always of the essence of religious obligation. An intelligent, pious, courageous ministry is indispensable to any hopeful attempt to lift up the negro race. (*J. L. M. Curry.*)

² The wisest course to pursue at present is to employ every means to widen the scope and perfect the methods of the normal schools for the negroes. The Hampton Institute represents in an eminent degree the true principle to be applied in this age to their improvement through the public school, that principle being embodied in the careful selection of the best material which the race affords for instructors of the young. (*P. A. Bruce.*)

³ The feuds spring almost wholly from the enmity of the whites. The negroes generally stand for the lamb drinking below and muddying the stream above. (*L. H. Blair.*)

found in the fact that it is impenetrable to the influence of the newspaper. Enlightened public opinion depends so much on the daily newspaper that it is not possible without it; and lacking this, an ideal self-government is not to be thought of.

The most advanced form of government is that by public opinion. This is essentially a newspaper form of government. The extension of the railroad system into all parts of the South will carry the urban influence to the towns and villages, every station being a radiating center for the daily newspapers of the metropolis. The education that comes from the daily survey of the events of the world, and a deliberate consideration of the opinions and verdicts editorially written in view of these events, is a supplement or extension of the school. It takes the place of the village gossip which once furnished the mental food for the vast majority. School education makes possible this participation in the world process of thought by means of the printed page. The book and periodical come to the individual, and prevent the mental paralysis or arrested development that used to succeed the school days of the rural population.

With the colored people all educated in schools and become a reading people interested in the daily newspaper; with all forms of industrial training accessible to them, and the opportunity so improved that every form of mechanical and manufacturing skill has its quota of colored working men and women; with a colored ministry educated in a Christian theology interpreted in the missionary spirit, and finding its auxiliaries in modern science and modern literature—with these educational essentials, the negro problem for the South will be solved without recourse to violent measures of any kind, whether migration or disfranchisement or ostracism.¹ Mutual respect for moral and intellectual character, for useful talents and industry, will surely not lead to miscegenation, but only to what is desirable, namely, to civil and political recognition.

Susceptibility of the negro to advancement.—Prof. H. Clay Armstrong, jr. (Alabama): We have but to look at his condition to-day and the illustrious examples of negro achievement in individual instances and compare these with the barbarian of two hundred and fifty years ago and less, or even twenty-five years ago, to convince us that chopping cotton is not the limit of negro capability. * * * In fact there are dangers that in some sections of the South the negroes may win in the race for educational advancement. They are worshipful of intellect, and ambitious, you may say, as a race, and especially so in some communities; fond of exhibit, perfectly able and willing to live scantily and send their children to school when their white neighbor would think it necessary to have his sons to help him maintain his more pretentious standard of life; perfect children in their love of approbation; with these characteristics we need never fear that the negro will lose the effects of all our educational efforts for him. We had rather fear that the result of the race between the negro and the plebeian class that now, as noticeably as before the war, stand between the slave owner and the former slave will be victory for the negro.

Race characteristics of the negro.—Dr. J. T. Searcy, in an address before the Alabama Educational Association: In the acquiring department, as exhibited on the plantations and in the schools, negroes are very apt up to a certain age—when they begin to reach adult life. In the plays of childhood and in the acquisitions of the primary schools, the negro children show abilities which compare very favorably, and taken as criteria of mental abilities to come they are often misleading. The negro children who show the same acquiring abilities in childhood, fall further and further behind, as a rule, as the activities incident to adult life come into play. They fall behind then in acquiring abilities, further behind in judgment and reason, and still further behind in tenacity of purpose and decision of character. Such differences come into strong relief as age advances, and as the tests of competitive life bring them into view. I believe it is very evident that the more advanced the type of race, the later in life do brain capacities ripen, or fully mature. This is another point in which individuals in the same race differ, and one in which races differ.

These facts all contribute to explain the manifold disappointments of those enthusiastic friends, who in the past twenty-five years rushed into the field, filled with the wildest expectations, believing, on the basis of old-fashioned philosophy, that all that is necessary in his case is to give him instruction and education, when he would stand out in all the capacities of the highest manhood, fully able to hold his

¹Freedom itself is educatory. The energy of representative institutions is a valuable schoolmaster. To control one's labor, to enjoy the earnings of it, to make contracts freely, to have the right of locomotion and change of residence and business, have a helpful influence on manhood. These concrete and intelligible acts affect the negro far more than abstract speculations, or effusive sentiment, or the low processes of remote and combined causes. They require prompt and spontaneous action, and one learns from personal experience that he is a constituent member of society. Unquestionably, he sometimes makes ludicrous mistakes, is guilty of offensive self-assertion, but despite these errors there is perceptible and hopeful progress. (J. L. M. C.)

own in the competitions of the European society which surrounds him. I have been showing that such ideas are often a delusion as regards the children of European parents, and it is the most natural of all facts that it should be the case with the African children.

The philanthropists of the past have held these ideas to their practical disappointment in a great many cases as regards the civilization of the so-called heathen races.

They have thought that all that is necessary, in their several cases, is that some one shall be sent to instruct them in the ways of the civilization of the advanced races of Europe, when they would be equally as capable. The history of such work all over the world has shown that the races civilize just to the level of their several inherent abilities, and afterwards maintain civilization in accordance with their capacities. The ethnologist could almost anticipate the degree of the success of the missionary by a study of the type and lineage of the race, and by giving an opinion on their inherent mental abilities. * * *

I have said that no race or people is uniform in membership. There are some notable exceptions to the general average among the negroes, which can be accounted for on natural principles. There are higher and lower grades among the negroes, because there were to some extent differences among them when first imported and, secondly, to their forced artificial culture and improvement during their servitude; thirdly, to causes known nowadays as natural and sexual selection, and, fourthly, to miscegenation. These causes have produced some lines among them pointing towards excellent ability to compete, safety, and survival, but the very large majority hold the level, in the European society that surrounds them, of the classes pointing towards elimination. In intellectual and in ethical abilities they occupy the ranks of the eliminating classes as a rule.

Like all such classes of men, white or black, the negro does not bear success well. Acquisition of property, more rapidly than among the whites, begets at once inactivity and idleness, and consequent rapid deterioration of line. The children of fortunate parents among them, by reason of idle deterioration of ability, rapidly lose their property, and when in some lines examples of excellent intellectual abilities are shown, because it is exceptional in the course, the next generation seldom show it.

Time and the same natural processes that are of universal application over the whole world, by which races have risen into excellence and again fallen into decadence, prevail among the negroes as well, notwithstanding sympathy and sentiment have endeavored to show their case as an exceptional one. There is abundant latitude in this country for the negro, as well as everybody else, to help himself. Self-help improves. Strength and accomplishment come only by practice and exercise. The auto-activity of the line of descent alone gives permanency to capacity, and it can not be donated, it can only be acquired.

Progress of the negro.—Samuel J. Barrows (Boston): My recent trip through the South covered about 3,500 miles. It led me through portions of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Kentucky. I spent proportionately more time in the black belt. I visited the great centers and went through the agricultural districts. I paid special attention to social, industrial, and educational conditions. One question was constantly before me: What is the result of twenty-five years of freedom? Four lines of inquiry were constantly pursued: What is the negro doing for himself? What is the white man doing for him? How are the two races getting on together? What is the negro's view of the situation?

Industrially.—There were many who predicted that, when freedom came, Uncle Ned, in the spirit of the old song, would "lay down de shobel and de hoe;" but Uncle Ned did nothing of the kind. He took a firmer grip upon it, and advertised for a situation. He did not have to go far to seek one. His old master was the very one who wanted him. I was impressed in the South with the general fact that the negro had remained pretty much where the war left him. He was at first only a farm laborer. Many have since become farm renters, and others are on the way to become farm owners. The economic conditions are hard. The negro is handicapped by the mortgage system, or the lien upon the crop. He buys his goods on time. The time price is twice as high as the cash price. He pays exorbitant rates of interest, and heavy commissions for freightage, storage, etc. Zacheus still exists, but it is the colored man who is up the tree. Yet there are thousands of negroes who have shown that they can break from this commercial bondage. In the mechanical trades, in commercial life, in the professions, the doors stand open to them, and they are entering into them. There is a new stimulus to inventive genius.

Socially.—It is possible to see the negro in all stages of social evolution. In the black belt you find the one-roomed cabin without windows; but cabins with one window, or two windows, with two rooms instead of one room, are becoming more common in the agricultural districts. Home-buying is rapidly going on. There is

a steady accumulation of property. Social refinements are increasing with the better environment. Gradually a prosperous and moneyed class is rising. The love of color and the love of music, two fine tastes of the negro, may be expected to become important factors in his development.

Educationally.—The interest of the negroes in education is immense. They have discovered that it is the ladder on which they must rise. Both children and parents are making great sacrifices to secure it. They are not only availing themselves of the primary schools, but are supplementing the school fund and establishing and supporting higher schools. The enrollment of colored children in schools has immensely increased. In some districts they literally fill the doors and windows of the schoolhouses. Their capacity for higher education has been demonstrated. A new interest in industrial education is exhibited.

Religion.—The negro has always been marked by strong religious feeling. It has found expression mainly in emotional forms. His religion has been marked by voodooism and other superstitions. With his growth in education, he is breaking away from these. There is a marked difference between the rising generation and their parents in this respect. In the cities, especially, the extravagant emotionalism that characterized the slave days is much less frequently found.

Ethically.—Before the war the negro had no rights of property. He therefore could have little conception of what rights pertained to property. With the acquisition of property he is learning the difference between mine and thine. The family relation was not respected. There is still a great work to be done in elevating the moral standard of the colored race, but a gain is evident. Too much dependence must not be placed upon criminal statistics. A great many negroes are put into prison or the chain gang who do not belong there. The fault is more with the system and its administration than with the offender. Indeed, the prison system of the South, both as relates to white and colored people, greatly needs reformation.

Coöperative tendencies.—The negro has had to learn how to organize. The growth of building associations, benevolent associations, banks, and, in a few cases of coöperative organizations, illustrates the development of the organic spirit.

What is the white man doing for him? I have spoken of what the negro is doing for himself, but a chapter might be written also on what the white man is doing for him. Statistics will show how large a sum proportionately to their means the white people are paying for the education of the negro. The Southern whites of the better class recognize the fact that the colored man must be educated. This sentiment is finding fresh expression in educational, religious, and political gatherings. Many instances might be given of the individual generosity and helpfulness of Southern whites toward their colored neighbors. I simply wish to recognize in a general way the kindly, helpful, and sympathetic spirit which the better class of Southern white people exhibit toward the education and development of the negro.

My third question, How are the two races getting on together? will, perhaps, be sufficiently answered in the fourth, What is the negro's view of the situation?

In going through the South I was greatly interested to find what the average negro and the great mass of colored people, educated and uneducated, think of the situation. I visited the centers of negro population and sought the testimony of their acknowledged leaders in social, industrial, and political matters. * * * What impressed me in these conferences was the cheerful, manly tone of the students when they gave their own opinions. Their grievances were the last thing they spoke of. In one respect their testimony was nearly unanimous—that the colored people can do more to settle the negro problem than the white people can do for them.

Another fact seems equally evident to the negro and to the intelligent white man. It is that the problem, such as it is, is to be settled in the South. The negro is there, and means to stay there; and the white man means to have him there. The problem can not be shifted by emigration or any other device; first, because the negro is taking root just where he is; and, secondly, because the white man is rooted alongside of him. A colored man in Alabama said: "If a colored man knows how to use his muscle, I think he can do as well in Montgomery as in any other place." Another said: "In regard to living in the South, I think if a man has a trade he can get along there as well as anywhere else. He can do better than in some places." Another man from Georgia said: "A good point in the South is that all trades are open to colored people. They do not seem to be shut out of any. My brother is a carpenter, and he builds as many houses for whites as for colored. I have just received a letter," he said, "from my brother, saying that he had bought a white man's home place. The white men are going to the cities, and the colored men are buying their property." The same man from Georgia said: "I do not think our condition in the South is so bad. Under the circumstances, I think it is very good. The prospects of the colored man in the South are better than in the North. It is for him to come up, and show himself worthy of what he has got." Similar testimony was given by a colored lawyer in Baltimore:

"My belief is that the best avenue for the colored man is in the South. In the North he gets a better show for civil privilege, but in the South he gets a better chance to accumulate something." This man was born in Virginia. In a public address he said: "The best friends of the colored man are at the South. The colored people are not among the Northern people in sufficient numbers for them to line a policy in regard to them. Baltimore is a city intensely Southern in sentiment, but this city offers every opportunity that the white man has. I have almost as much white practice as colored practice. We find members of all the learned professions to be of the better class of people. If they meet a man, they expect him to be up to his profession. If they are going to meet him on equal grounds, they expect him to be equal to them. I do not ask anything for the colored man except an equal opportunity with the white man; and then, if he can not keep up, let him take a back seat." Such testimony might be multiplied. It is the testimony of the colored people on the ladder, the men who have climbed and the men who are climbing.

The colored man is rapidly learning another lesson: That the dollar will buy not only food and clothing, but social position and influence. The colored preacher does not now often preach that "the love of money is the root of all evil."

Arcnues of employment.—Rev. J. Braden, president of Central Tennessee College, Nashville, at Colored Educators' Convention, December, 1891: To the query, What can the highly educated colored man do? What places of honor, trust, responsibility are or will be opened to him? We answer that we need not cross a river till we reach it, nor climb a mountain till it is in our path. Let us give the white people a little credit for the usual amount of common sense and common selfishness which belong to our common humanity. In the days of slavery they knew how to avail themselves of our labors, of our skill as mechanics. They took some pleasure in employing us because we could do the work they wanted done. They found that we could clear and plow their plantations, and they let us do it. We could cook their food, wash their clothes, nurse their children, and we did it. They found we could mend their plows, shoe their horses, make their wagons, build their fences, their pens, their stables, and even their houses, and they let us do it. They found that we were good to black shoes, brush their clothes, wait on table, drive their carriages, and they let us do it.

As freedmen they have been equally as willing to employ us in all these avocations. They have done more. They have let us work their land as renters, work on shares, paying for rent often as much as the land was worth. Sometimes we have come out a little ahead, but more frequently behind. But what is that when we have been trusted with the responsibility of managing a plantation in our own way? We have bossed the job, and have nobody to blame, perhaps, but ourselves, the man who weighed the cotton, and the merchant who sold us the corn meal and bacon. But they have done more than this; they have taxed themselves to build schoolhouses for us, and have actually put thousands of us in these schoolhouses as teachers of our own children. They have done more; they have permitted us to educate many of our young men in medicine on this sacred southern soil, and have licensed them to practice medicine without limiting that practice, by law, to colored people; they have turned these colored M. D.'s loose in this southland to practice on patients who may choose to call on them, when needing medical aid.

They have admitted our young men to practice in all the courts of the country, and the gentlemanly, cultured, well-equipped lawyer who has the ability to command the respect of the bench and other members of the bar, has it, though he be black enough to be invisible. The white man has found it to his interest to use us as slaves, as servants, and to open the higher avenues of labor to us in the professions. If he has done all this for us, will he not use us in any capacity in which we can serve him, when we are prepared for it?

What cares the sick man for the color of the man whom he believes is most skillful in diagnosing his disease and prescribing the proper remedies? What cares the injured man, whose broken bones need the skill of the experienced surgeon, about the color of the hands that set the bones and give him back the use of his limbs? What does the dying man care about the color of the hand that ties an artery and saves his life? What does the man care for the color of the lawyer who wins his case, saves his home, and keeps his family from want? What the country is waiting for is white men or black who have developed to the utmost their intellectual power, who have schooled themselves to think soberly, deeply, righteously; who have convictions on the great, live questions of the day, and who have both the ability and courage to maintain these convictions.

Training schools.—Rev. J. E. Rankin: Schools of training for the African are especially needed, because no man will take him as an apprentice, and no man wants to work by his side as only his equal. This is one of the fangs of slavery which will be slow to come out. Here are 8,000,000 of people. Shall they not have the privi-

lege of building houses for themselves and for each other? Must the Anglo-Saxon insist upon the great industries as his monopoly? The problem which Afro-Americans have to solve is not really solved without that independence which can come only from a knowledge of handicrafts. Intellectual culture should go hand in hand with industrial training. The African ought to be supplied with men of his own color, competent to plan houses and build them, to take the lead in any of the trades. Thus, and thus only, can he stand alone; wherever you throw him he will land on his feet.

Need of colored dentists.—G. W. Hubbard, M. D., of Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn.: It was formerly supposed that colored people seldom required the services of a dentist; however this may have been in the past, it certainly is not true now, and at the present time one or more well qualified colored dentists would be well patronized in every large city in the South; and as the people increase in intelligence and wealth they will realize more and more the importance of caring for and preserving their teeth. Owing to public sentiment the Southern white dentists can not, in many localities, treat colored patients, and they would gladly welcome well-educated colored dentists who could relieve them of this embarrassment.

Industrial excellences of the colored man.—Judge A. W. Tourgee, at the Mohonk Conference: So much has been said this morning about the industrial deficiencies of the colored people of the South that I have been greatly surprised at the omission of any reference to the other side of the question—their industrial excellences. I have always been less impressed with the industrial needs of the colored man than his industrial achievements. From 1865 until 1880 I had a peculiarly good opportunity for observing his qualities both as an agricultural and mechanical laborer, having first and last had some hundreds in my employ, and during much of the time each year travelling in different parts of the State in which I then lived. As a result of constant study of their conditions since emancipation, I do not hesitate to say that the colored people of the South have accomplished more in twenty-five years, from an industrial point of view, than any people on the face of the earth ever before achieved under anything like such unfavorable circumstances.

The manner in which they live and the things they do not do have been alluded to here as if they were racial qualities, and not fortuitous, resulting conditions. I was much impressed with the suggestions of more than one who has spoken as to what they should be taught to do, as if they were industrial babes. I would like to see any of their advisers give the colored man lessons in the management of a mule, or teach him to raise a crop of corn or cotton or tobacco, or work a bad hillside at the South. In those forms of industry which they have had an opportunity to acquire, they have shown an aptitude and success which are simply amazing, when we consider their previous lack of opportunity to learn management, thrift, and economy. The Northern man is always prompt to criticise their agricultural methods, yet the Northern farmer who goes South and relies upon his own judgment and his own labor is very generally a failure.

Industrial education.—Gen. S. C. Armstrong: The main thing, then, in the industrial system is to open as widely and broadly as possible opportunities for agricultural, mechanical, and household industries, which shall provide Negro students means to support themselves and to develop character. Character is the foundation. The training that our pupils get is an endowment. An able-bodied student represents a capital of, perhaps, a thousand dollars. We propose to treble that. When they learn a trade they are worth threefold more in the labor market. Last Saturday I gave my final words to our graduating class. I said to those forty-five scholars: "How many of you can go out into the world and, if you can not get a school, how many can work in some line of industry and so support yourselves?" There was a roar. Every one said, "I can," and every one laughed. They go out into the world smiling at difficulties, happy in their pluck and purpose and skill.

CHAPTER XXVII.

EDUCATION OF THE COLORED RACE.

Public school statistics, classified by race, 1891-'92.

	Estimated number of persons 5 to 18 years of age.		Percentage of the whole.		Enrolled in the public schools.		Per cent of persons 5 to 18 years enrolled.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama <i>a</i>	290,935	249,291	53·85	46·15	186,125	115,490	63·98	46·33
Arkansas.....	302,600	117,300	72·06	27·94	187,261	64,191	61·87	54·71
Delaware.....	39,850	8,980	81·60	18·40	23,316	4,858	71·03	54·07
Dist. of Columbia..	42,320	23,280	64·51	35·49	25,188	14,490	59·51	62·34
Florida.....	78,150	61,950	55·79	44·21	57,181	36,599	73·13	59·07
Georgia.....	347,020	325,680	51·59	48·41	240,979	156,836	69·43	48·16
Kentucky.....	535,900	91,800	85·38	14·62	332,160	57,700	61·97	62·86
Louisiana.....	190,930	203,370	48·42	51·58	80,972	59,261	42·40	29·15
Maryland.....	242,120	69,880	77·62	22·38	154,855	34,274	63·97	49·10
Mississippi.....	197,700	488,000	40·71	59·29	161,986	178,941	81·92	62·13
Missouri.....	819,540	49,860	94·26	5·74	606,286	34,513	73·98	69·20
North Carolina.....	364,650	218,650	62·52	37·48	215,919	119,439	59·21	54·64
South Carolina.....	164,330	275,770	37·34	62·66	92,430	113,219	56·25	41·06
Tennessee.....	467,700	157,800	74·77	25·23	380,456	107,051	81·34	67·84
Texas.....	644,000	197,200	76·55	23·45	395,517	132,797	61·42	67·33
Virginia.....	359,360	241,440	58·43	41·57	218,946	116,700	64·52	48·34
West Virginia.....	255,700	10,500	96·04	3·96	194,332	6,457	76·00	61·23
Total.....	5,322,805	2,590,851	67·26	32·74	3,558,909	1,352,816	66·87	52·21

	Average daily attendance.		Per cent of enrollment.		Length of school year in days.		Number of teachers.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama <i>a</i>	110,311	72,156	59·27	62·48	73·9	72·8	4,182	2,136
Arkansas.....	b 19,746	b 2,947	69·74	60·66	b 166	b 126	4,468	1,173
Delaware.....	18,929	10,833	75·17	74·75	185	185	734	106
Dist. of Columbia..							562	283
Florida.....							2,006	776
Georgia.....	142,289	91,942	59·04	58·63			5,383	2,731
Kentucky.....	210,684	35,508	63·43	56·34	c 180	c 100	8,204	1,296
Louisiana.....	56,372	40,103	69·63	67·66	109·8	96·8	2,255	930
Maryland.....	88,007	17,056	56·82	49·76	184·9	179·6	3,384	667
Mississippi.....	96,818	100,457	59·77	56·14			4,634	3,288
Missouri.....							13,634	711
North Carolina.....	132,001	66,746	61·14	55·87	63·3	60·7	4,524	2,426
South Carolina.....	67,934	80,827	73·50	71·38			2,611	1,787
Tennessee.....	274,482	75,001	72·15	79·07			6,783	1,829
Texas.....	261,549	74,708	66·11	56·25	107·3	100·8	8,647	2,374
Virginia.....	123,545	62,481	56·43	53·54	118	118	5,752	2,041
West Virginia.....	124,181	3,863	63·90	59·83			5,560	187
Total.....			d 63·77	d 60·09			83,325	24,741

a In 1890.

b Approximately.

c Average of most of the schools.

d Average of 14 States.

SECONDARY AND HIGHER INSTITUTIONS FOR THE COLORED RACE, 1891-'92.

States and Territories	Normal schools.					
	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.			Total.
			Normal.	Secondary.	Elementary.	
Alabama.....	5	67	780	95	1,395	2,270
Arkansas.....	3	15	407		8	415
Florida.....	1	6	79			79
Georgia.....	1	5	43			43
Louisiana.....	3	18	142			142
Mississippi.....	3	39	191		504	695
Missouri.....	1	7	42	163		205
North Carolina.....	6	28	434	22	313	769
South Carolina.....	3	24	83	153	620	856
Tennessee.....	6	37	392	125	676	1,193
Texas.....	1	9	34		140	174
Virginia.....	2	43	456		277	733
West Virginia.....	1	7	171			171
District of Columbia.....	2	19	222			222
Other States.....			75			75
Total.....	38	324	3,551	558	3,933	8,042

States and Territories.	Institutions for secondary instruction.					Universities and colleges.						
	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.			Schools.	Teachers.	Students.				
			Secondary.	Elementary.	Total. <i>a</i>			Collegiate.	Secondary.	Elementary.	Total.	
Alabama.....	5	24	46	315	815	1	8	12				191
Arkansas.....	5	21			901	1	13	7	30	292		329
Florida.....	2	10	44	539	583							
Georgia.....	11	65	226	1,562	3,563	2	41	16	168	716		900
Kentucky.....	2	11			277	1	15	31	77	225		333
Louisiana.....	12	19	6	193	274	4	71	12	115	1,602		1,729
Maryland.....	1	5			84	1	10	4	49	137		190
Mississippi.....	6	32	257	435	919	2	21	97	143	230		470
Missouri.....	1	2	54	11	65							
North Carolina.....	9	43	209	933	1,721	3	33	129	120	267		803
Ohio.....						1	9	21	30	114		165
Pennsylvania.....	1	6	50	250	300	1	14	143	63			206
South Carolina.....	12	60	104	596	3,289	2	37	29	185	240		1,034
Tennessee.....	5	25			755	4	77	96	221	1,015		1,332
Texas.....	4	39	305	688	1,219	1	12	30				215
Virginia.....	6	34	90	603	1,403							
District of Columbia.....						1	8	27	55			82
Other States.....			69		69			137				137
Total.....	72	396	1,460	6,125	16,237	25	369	791	1,256	4,838		8,116

States and Territories.	Schools of theology.			Schools of law.		
	Schools.	Teachers.	Students.	Schools.	Teachers.	Students.
Alabama.....	3	6	70			
Arkansas.....	1	1	17			
Georgia.....	2	9	94			
Kentucky.....	1	1	10			
Louisiana.....	3	6	32			
Maryland.....	1	2	8			
North Carolina.....	3	8	74	1	1	9
Ohio.....	1	3	10	1	3	2
Pennsylvania.....	1	8	28			
South Carolina.....	1	4	5	1	2	4
Tennessee.....	2	4	38	1	5	8
Virginia.....	1	4	60			
District of Columbia.....	2	9	87	1	5	77
Other States.....			44			19
Total.....	22	65	577	5	16	119

a Totals larger than sum of elements because in some schools the whole number of pupils only was given.

Higher institutions for the colored race, 1891-'92—Continued.

States and Territories.	Schools of medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy.			Schools for the deaf, dumb, and blind.		
	Schools.	Teachers.	Students.	Schools.	Teachers.	Students.
Arkansas.....	1	1	10	2	20	36
Florida.....				1	4	13
Georgia.....				2	17	48
Kentucky.....				2	23	57
Louisiana.....	1	12	22			
Maryland.....				1	5	39
Mississippi.....				1	9	25
Missouri.....				2	32	18
North Carolina.....	1	7	73	1	10	60
South Carolina.....				1	5	23
Tennessee.....	1	13	137	2	17	40
Texas.....				1	4	83
District of Columbia.....	1	18	137			
Other States.....			78			139
Total.....	5	51	457	16	146	581

Number of each class of schools for the colored race, and enrollment in them.

Class of institutions.	Schools.	Enrollment.
Normal schools.....	38	
Normal students.....		3,551
Secondary.....		558
Elementary.....		3,933
Total.....		8,042
Institutions for secondary instruction (including elementary pupils).....	72	16,237
Universities and colleges.....	25	
Collegiate students.....		791
Secondary.....		1,256
Elementary.....		4,838
Total (including unclassified).....		8,116
Schools of theology.....	22	577
Schools of law.....	5	119
Schools of medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy.....	5	457
Schools for the deaf and dumb and the blind.....	16	581
Grand total.....	183	34,129

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES FOR THE COLORED RACE.

There are twenty-five universities and colleges, located mainly in the Southern States, devoted to the education of young men and women of the colored race. These twenty-five institutions have grounds and buildings estimated at \$3,054,433, and they have permanent productive funds to the amount of \$757,446. The two universities in Atlanta, Ga., have property valued at half a million dollars, while the three in Nashville, Tenn., have property valued at considerably more than half a million, Fisk University alone having a valuation of \$350,000. Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, has property valued at \$185,000 and an endowment of \$237,450.

The most salient point in connection with colored education in professional schools is the rapid increase in the number of students engaged in the study of medicine and law in the last few years. In theology the number has not increased of late years; in fact, there seems to have been a slight decrease. In 1886-'87 there were 933 theological students; in 1889-'90 there were 734; in 1891-'92 there were 577. In the law schools, however, the number has been increasing; 81 students in 1886-'87 and 119 in 1891-'92. But in the medical schools we find a still larger increase; 165 students in 1886-'87, 310 in 1889-'90, and 457 in 1891-'92. It is very probable that there will be an increase for some years in all of these lines, for, notwithstanding the occasional avowal of moral obliquity in some of the clerical order, the devout will only recognize the greater need of earnest, consecrated men to proclaim the saving truth and to establish the people in the paths of rectitude, while the less punctilious will feel that there should be more of that charity which hopeth all things and is not easily

provoked, and all will be attracted by the opportunities of coming before the people and exercising the oratorical gifts which they so frequently possess. It is but natural to expect, too, that the thousands of colored people will furnish employment to many of their race both in healing the sick and in representing their claims in the courts, and so long as there shall be room for more in these pursuits the candidates will probably not be lacking.

For the last three years the number of students reported as engaged in collegiate studies has been about 800. The question may be asked, why is it there are not more collegiate students when there are twenty-five universities and colleges prepared to receive them? In the first place, a large number of colored boys and girls, especially those living in the rural regions, do not have the opportunity of finishing even the elementary studies with much success, on account of the brief term of three to five months in the public schools and the defective instruction imparted therein. This eliminates a very large number of possible candidates for higher education. In many of the schools for white children, when the public term expires, the school is continued without interruption, each pupil paying a small tuition fee; but heretofore the colored people have not been able to continue their schools in this way.

Again, in the Southern States it is comparatively easy for a young colored man of energy and a good secondary education to find employment which at once enables him to begin saving up something and to get a start in the world. When he once begins to accumulate means, the desire to increase the amount comes to him just as to others, and consequently he soon has plans formed in which farther education is not considered, especially when he sees that it would take several years to secure the funds and finish the course. He naturally concludes to let well enough alone. As there are comparatively few colored parents able to bear the expense of sending their children through a college course, those who are qualified to begin higher studies fall in the number just mentioned and do not attend for the reasons there stated.

The work of the colored universities and colleges, therefore, is at present to a large extent, below the grade of a university, but they are now only laying the foundation of their future work. Many of their students who are grown young men and women are only engaged in secondary work, and they are entitled to commendation for that degree of progress. The colored boy in getting an education encounters many difficulties. The school which he first enters probably continues three or four months; the rest of the year he labors at whatever he finds to do, and if he fortunately gets a good place he probably keeps it for a year or two. Then he spends another short term in a school which probably scarcely deserves to be called a school—the teacher incompetent, no apparatus whatever, possibly not a single blackboard, and children of all ages and sizes crowded into a building seemingly constructed to avoid any financial loss when the cyclone shall have leveled it to the ground. After several years spent in this haphazard way of getting an education, he resolves to enter a college, but as his parents have little means, he has to work his way through. But all through the course and in after years he labors under difficulties on account of his defective elementary education. But notwithstanding the difficulties under which they labor, many young colored men manage to acquire a very valuable training.

“A law student at Shaw University helped to support a widowed mother and worked his way up, teaching a school of 80 scholars 4 miles in the country, walking both ways, and yet studying law and reciting at night, nearly a mile away from home. He was finally graduated with honor and admitted to the bar, sustaining decidedly the best examination in a class of 30, all the others white, mostly from the North Carolina State University, and he as black as you will often see, yet complimented without stint by his white competitors and by the chief justice himself.”—*American Missionary, June, 1893.*

While the controversy is going on as to whether the negro is capable of receiving the higher education, and while many reasons are being advanced why he is not, the colored man himself is saying nothing about it, but is going forward learning all he can and endeavoring to increase the number of object lessons with which the theorist must contend. The number of highly educated colored ministers, lawyers, doctors, and educators is small, indeed, as yet, and they are scattered over a wide expanse of territory, but each year sees the number increasing, for the very rarity of the highly educated colored man is best known by his own race, and hence when they see one of their number possessing talents so cultivated as to command the admiration of all, or when one of them is able to secure a position of high honor and distinction, it is observed by none more quickly than by the colored people themselves. One colored man in the House of Representatives of the U. S. Congress will excite a thousand hopes and aspirations in the breasts of his admiring friends, and for every one who is thus able to rise to distinction hundreds of others will enter the doors of some university or college resolved that if they shall not be able to reach the acme of their ambition, they will at least attain to the highest point their oppor-

tunities and diligence will permit them. The colored parent, too, will be stimulated to give his children the advantage of every educational facility possible, even though he recognizes that it will require great sacrifices on his part, for he feels that in so doing he will be assisting in the elevation of his race, something in which he takes a personal interest.

NORTHERN AID TO COLORED SCHOOLS.

The great work of educating the colored race is being carried on mainly by the public schools of the Southern States, supported by funds raised by public taxation and managed and controlled by public school officers. The work is too great to be attempted by any other agency, unless by the National Government, the field is too extensive, the officers too numerous, the cost too burdensome. Societies and churches may temporarily take hold of places neglected by public-school officers and show by their work what is needed, but they can not attempt the work legitimately belonging to the public schools. This aim is kept steadily in view by the societies which have been long engaged in helping the colored child lift itself up in the world and begin work on a higher plane.

But while the work as a whole can be carried on only by public taxation, it is being aided very substantially by the societies and churches in the Northern and Western States, which have had their missionary teachers engaged there since the first opportunity was offered them, even before the war had ended. Most of the aid given by these States goes through the regular channels of some organization, but there are quite a number of colored schools which depend entirely on appeals to individuals for help.

At the close of the war the different denominations began to vie with each other in the education of the freedmen, who had hitherto not been allowed in a schoolroom. Young men and women full of missionary spirit left home and friends to go into distant parts of the South to educate children, parents, and grandparents, for they were all in the same classes, and they began at the beginning. These teachers soon found that it required a missionary spirit indeed, for there was something of pathos as well as romance in the work. Now, scattered all over the South, at one place representing one denomination, at another place some other denomination or society, are to be found schools filled to overflowing with eager learners, taught generally by teachers selected for their competency and missionary zeal. These schools are not intended to antagonize the public schools. Generally they are of a higher grade than the public schools, and when not they serve as model schools and are carried on in a way to enable needy children to work out an education. Not only have such schools been established and maintained and help given to deserving pupils, but with almost every school a church has also been established to furnish religious instruction. But reference is intended to be made here to school work only.

The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was one of the earliest to enter upon the work of colored education, and it is now one of the most important factors in the work. The extent of its effort among colored people in 1892-'93 is indicated by the following summary of institutions, teachers, students, and property: Schools, 23; teachers, 214; students, 5,396; property, \$1,183,000. In addition to the regular teachers, 165 practice teachers were employed from the normal departments. Its expenditure for colored schools in 1892-'93, after deducting tuition fees paid by the pupils and the amount paid by the State of South Carolina to the agricultural school at Claflin University, was about \$200,000.

Another very important factor in the work is the American Missionary Association, one of the pioneers in entering upon this work of education and one of the largest contributors up to the present time. The Daniel Hand fund, amounting to \$1,000,894, was placed in the hands of this association by Mr. Hand himself, while still living, and the income (but the income only) is to be used in educating colored boys and girls in the recent slave States.

The John F. Slater fund is held by a board of trustees, of whom Dr. J. L. M. Curry is the general agent, and the income is distributed to various schools, but not necessarily to the same schools each year. It is intended mainly to supplement local funds and to stimulate local effort. The Peabody fund also aids very materially in this work.

The Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church is taking an active part in the education of the colored race. During the year 1892-'93 it had 86 schools, 15 of them being boarding schools, 252 teachers, and 10,520 pupils. Biddle University, Charlotte, N. C., Scotia Seminary, and Mary Allen Seminary were among those supported by it. Schools have also been established by the Baptists, Lutherans, United Presbyterians, Catholics, Episcopalians, and Friends.

There is a wonderful contrast in the character of the schools established for colored children. Many of the schools, especially those in the remote rural regions, are as defective as one could imagine a school to be; but, on the other hand, most

of those established by the missionary societies, are better managed and have a better class of teachers. These teachers have generally been educated in the best Northern schools, and coming as they do from different States, they combine the best methods of different schools. Frequently, too, they have undertaken the work from philanthropic motives and are filled with aspirations not only to elevate the intellectual capacity of their pupils, but to implant in them high and ennobling principles, and by means of this training given at school to elevate the entire race. In some cases these teachers have refused much larger salaries, in order to continue what had become to them a labor of love; they preferred the satisfaction of helping to build up a race rather than to enter into the contest for self.

SCHOOLS CONDUCTED BY COLORED INSTRUCTORS.

That the institutions for the colored race are beginning to accomplish the purpose for which they were mainly founded, namely, that they might train up leaders for the colored people from their own race—preachers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, etc.—is shown by the fact that there are now some institutions of high grade and of growing popularity that are conducted entirely by colored instructors, and these are educating others who will be able to fill their places with equal if not greater success. While many schools are being conducted wholly or in part by colored teachers, a few conspicuous examples are given of what they sometimes accomplish.

Allen University, Columbia, S. C., was established in 1881 by the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and has been conducted solely by colored teachers. From the very first it has enjoyed great success, and during the year 1891-92 there was an attendance of 465 students.

In Biddle University, Charlotte, N. C., all of the eleven instructors except one in the industrial department, are colored. This institution ranks among the very best in the land for colored education of high grade. Although it is a school for colored students and taught by colored teachers, it has some of its strongest friends among the white people who live in that part of the State, and who are therefore well acquainted with the work accomplished by it. Senator Zebulon B. Vance and Dr. Drury Lacy, lately president of Davidson College, North Carolina, have spoken of it as accomplishing great good for both the educational and religious welfare of the race. (Further notice of this school on page 869).

One of the most conspicuous results of colored enterprise and ability is the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial School, of Tuskegee, Ala. This institution is an achievement of Mr. Booker T. Washington, a graduate of the Hampton Normal Institute. Opened in 1881 with 1 teacher and 30 pupils, it attained such success that in 1892 there were 44 officers and teachers and over 600 students. It also owns property estimated at \$150,000, upon which there is no incumbrance. Gen. S. C. Armstrong said of it: "I think it is the noblest and grandest work of any colored man in the land. What compares with it in genuine value and power for good? It is on the Hampton plan, combining labor and study, commands high respect from both races, flies no denominational flag, but is thoroughly and earnestly Christian; it is out of debt, well managed and organized." In Alabama Mr. Booker T. Washington is recognized by all as one of the leaders of the race, *facile princeps*. His efforts and influence are not confined to building up and sustaining the large institution which he has established. Several conventions of leading colored men have been held at Tuskegee, at his suggestion, to consider ways and means for the moral, educational, and financial elevation of the colored people in general.

INDUSTRIAL INSTRUCTION.

Most of the colored institutions bear a close resemblance to a large household which carries on the work of education, the cultivation of the farm, the building and repairing of houses, the raising of cattle, and in which the pupils are furnished an object lesson in the proper management and conduct of a household of which they form part, and can therefore continue afterwards when opportunity shall present itself.

Tougaloo University, Mississippi, for instance, is situated about half a mile from the Illinois Central Railroad, and 7 miles north of Jackson, the capital of the State. The grounds embrace about 500 acres of land, and furnish a temporary home for a family of about 200 persons, who have built the houses in which they live, who raise the large quantities of corn, wheat, potatoes, fruits, and vegetables necessary to supply their table, who raise their own cattle, milk their own cows, cook their own food, laundry their clothes, and, lastly, provide for their own instruction. In a word, they are, to a large extent, independent of the rest of the world. This method of training is the kind specially needed by them, for, on account of their meager circumstances, they are too little acquainted with model home and family life. Once

having felt and learned to appreciate its elevating influences, however, they have an ideal to which they ever afterwards aspire and without which they can never rest contented.

Moreover, the education they receive in these collective households will enable them to earn good wages, teach them how to use their earnings to the best advantage, and consequently they will in all probability have the opportunity of carrying out on a smaller scale their ideal home methods.

In fact, the desire to own a home is already quite common among the colored people, and that many of them are beginning to do so is shown by the great increase during the last decade in the amount of property which they own in Georgia. In that State there is kept a separate account of the assessed property of colored people. In 1882 the amount of assessed property held by colored people in Georgia was \$6,589,876; in 1892, the amount was \$14,869,575, an increase of more than 100 per cent.

In Claflin University, South Carolina, is to be found the same family life as that of Tougaloo University, but on a still larger scale.

Although specially adapted to the needs of the race, it is probable that this method of conducting an educational institution was not selected as being the most desirable, but rather because it was well recognized that in no other way could the attendance of a large number of students be expected. What would be regarded as a very moderate cost of education in most of the institutions for white students would have been beyond the reach of most colored students, but by the plan adopted at Claflin the expenses for board and tuition are reduced to \$8.50 per month, and at Allen University to \$5.50 per month. Quite frequently, too, part of these expenses is paid by manual work, either for the institution or for adjacent residents. It is by reason of this low cost of education that we find over 600 boys and girls attending Claflin University, and in fact that we find all of the colored schools filled to overflowing. Many of the students begin a school year with about as much means as would be thought sufficient for a month or two, but they manage to pull along the entire year, and after three more months of work, instead of that much time spent in idleness, they are again found on the grounds of the institution, happy on account of their growing independence and ability. They have no fear of not being able to find some work to do, for they know how to work and above all are willing to work, and when one possesses these two qualifications he will rarely lack employment.

INSTITUTIONS FOR THE COLORED RACE.

Value of grounds and buildings and amount of permanent productive funds, in 1891-'92.

Institutions.	Value of grounds and buildings.	Amount of permanent productive funds.
Selma University, Selma, Ala.....	\$30,000	.....
Philander Smith College,* Little Rock, Ark.....	20,000	.....
Howard University, Washington, D. C.....	400,000	\$185,000
Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.....	207,000	27,873
Clark University, Atlanta, Ga.....	250,000	.....
Berea College, Berea, Ky.....	125,000	100,000
Leland University,* New Orleans, La.....	150,000	95,000
New Orleans University, New Orleans, La.....	100,000	.....
Southern University,* New Orleans, La.....	33,533	.....
Straight University, New Orleans, La.....	100,000	.....
Morgan College,* Baltimore, Md.....	45,000	22,000
Rust University,* Holly Springs, Miss.....	40,000	.....
Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, Rodney, Miss.....	51,400	.....
Biddle University,* Charlotte, N. C.....	80,000	.....
Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.....	175,000	31,000
Livingstone College,* Salisbury, N. C.....	100,000	.....
Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio.....	92,500	20,623
Lincoln University,* Lincoln University, Pa.....	185,000	237,450
Allen University, Columbia, S. C.....	20,000	8,000
Claflin University, Orangeburg, S. C.....	100,000	.....
Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tenn.....	75,000	500
Central Tennessee College, Nashville, Tenn.....	90,000	15,000
Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.....	350,000	15,000
Roger Williams University, Nashville, Tenn.....	200,000	.....
Paul Quinn College,* Waco, Tex.....	35,000	.....
Total.....	3,054,433	757,446

* In 1889-'90.

Lincoln University, Pa.—Rev. W. P. White, in Church at Home and Abroad says: Of institutions making the advanced education of colored youth and their training as teachers and preachers to their own people a chief end and aim, one of the foremost, as well as the earliest established, is Lincoln University.

It is located in eastern Pennsylvania, on the line of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Central Railroad, 46 miles from Philadelphia and 61 miles from Baltimore. No better physical or geographical location could be found.

It is near enough to the border line of the South to be easily accessible to the great majority of those needing and desiring its benefits, and yet far enough from the associations and influence to which they have all their lives been subjected.

It was founded in 1854, six years before the war which gave emancipation to the colored race. During this period it had to contend with prejudice strong and bitter. The negro's right to be a man and to receive the blessings which Christ offers freely to every race was not then so universally admitted.

Previous to 1864 it was known as Ashmun Institute, but in that year an amended charter, with additional privileges, was obtained for it, and a new name was assumed, one that will be forever linked with the freedom of the negro and with the most eventful crisis of American history.

Since then the institution has grown largely in resources, in influence, and in adaptability to the end for which it was established. The results of its work will compare favorably with those of any institution of like age in the history of our country. Five hundred young men have been sent from the preparatory department and from the lower classes of the collegiate department, many of whom are engaged in important positions as teachers in the Southern States.

Nearly 400 have been graduated from the collegiate department after a course of instruction extending through four and in many cases seven years. Most of these graduates are engaged in professional and educational labors in the South.

About 200 have graduated in the theological department and received ordination as ministers in different evangelical denominations. Thirteen have gone to Africa as missionaries of the cross.

The institution has so commended itself to noble men and women of wealth during the past twenty-five years as to lead them to place it upon a firm financial basis, thus securing to it a large degree of success in its work.

Mr. Fayerwether, in including it, a few years since, with other representative institutions of the land, for a share in his munificent bequest to the extent of \$100,000, testified in the most striking way to its importance and usefulness.

The campus or grounds of the university consist of 78 acres, on which are four dormitories for students; Livingston Hall, for commencement assemblies, capable of seating 1,000 persons; University Hall, a four-story building, containing eighteen rooms, designed largely for recitation and class purposes, carefully constructed and conveniently arranged, and surmounted by a revolving observatory for the reception of the telescope recently presented to the university; and the Mary Dod Brown Memorial Chapel, containing an audience room for Sabbath services, seating 400 persons; a prayer hall for daily use, communicating with the chapel by sliding frames, and two class-rooms similarly connected with the prayer hall.

The nine professorships, including the president's chair, are all endowed and filled by able and efficient scholars and teachers.

For twenty-seven years Rev. Isaac N. Rendall, D. D., has been its president, and to his eminent fitness for the position is owing largely its success and present proud position among institutions of its kind.

The connection with it in earlier years, as instructors, of such men as Revs. E. E. Adams, E. R. Bower, Thomas W. Cattell, and Casper R. Gregory served to give it its wide reputation.

Each successive year of its history has brought to it an increased number of students, until now 240 crowd its halls and tax to the utmost its measure of accommodation and means for their support. These 240 students represent twenty-two States of the Union, the West Indies, South America, and Africa. Among them are seven sons of alumni. Three-fourths of them at least are professing Christians. Perhaps one-half of them will study for the ministry.

In their eager desire for knowledge and in their aptness of reception of it, in their application to study and their readiness in recitation; in their observance of the rules of the institution and in the conduct of their devotional meetings, little difference is observed between them and those of white institutions.

From the Howard Quarterly, January, 1893.—The fact that the 141 colored students in white colleges keep up with their classes without difficulty, and in many cases have been the recipients of special honors for proficiency in their studies, shows that they can pursue these higher branches with a success equal to that of their white classmates. Many individual examples may be cited besides that of the colored class orator of Harvard two years ago. The last one is from the Chicago University, where a colored girl led the entire entrance class in the December examinations. and

received a very substantial reward in a scholarship which will pay all expenses of the four years' course. This young lady prepared for college at Howard University.

Private schools should not antagonize public schools.—J. L. M. Curry: In some of the towns and cities there is, possibly, an unwise multiplication of denominational or independent schools. Christian denominations are rivals in their establishment, in getting the largest number of pupils, and in making the most attractive exhibition. It seems to be a weakness and an error common to all to seek to catalogue as many names as possible. The aggregate means not the habitual and average attendance, but all who, for any time, one day or several months, have matriculated. This militates against the usefulness and popularity of the free schools. In so far as these institutions, not under State control, impair the efficiency of, or divert attendance from, the public schools, they are mischievous, for the great mass of children, white and black, must, more in the future than at present, depend almost exclusively upon the State schools for the common branches of education. These schools, permanent, not subject to caprice or varying seasons, incorporated into the body politic, into the organic law, must be the chief factor in the education of the people. At great sacrifices, the Southern States have provided means of education, constantly improving and enlarging, for the colored children. The large number at school, over 1,200,000, is the proof that no obstacles are thrown in the way of their getting such rudiments as the common schools impart, and of occasionally rising to higher grades. An educational charity would sadly fail of its purpose if any, the least impediment were placed in the path of free schools.

George R. Smith College, Sedalia, Mo.—The cornerstone of George R. Smith College was laid June 1, 1893, Rev. J. C. Hartzell, of the Christian Educator, being master of ceremonies. This institution dates its inception from the gift of 25 acres of land, valued at \$25,000, at Sedalia, Mo., by two daughters of Gen. George R. Smith. The building, when completed and furnished, it is estimated, will cost \$35,000. The superintendent of construction, Mr. La Port, will take a lively interest in the work, not only from his connection with it, but on account of his own dramatic history. Born a slave, he ran away at 12, but afterwards worked fourteen years to obtain the money necessary to secure his freedom. He is now worth \$75,000, and supports his aged mother and the widow of the master from whom he purchased his freedom.

Of the amount required for building, the conferences of Missouri assumed \$14,000, of which amount \$3,000 was paid at the time the cornerstone was laid. Rev. P. A. Cool was appointed president of the institution, and will devote his attention to raising funds until the building is completed.

American Missionary, December, 1892—We have one woman 48 years old, mother of 9 children, who walks daily to and from her house, 3 miles distant. She brings with her 2 daughters and an adopted son, but leads them all in her classes. This woman was a slave before the war and having brought up a family since, this is her first chance to attend school.

The Tribune.—It is an interesting and significant circumstance that the highest honor at Boston University this year has been awarded to a colored man, Thomas Nelson Baker, who was born a slave in Virginia in 1860. He has paid his own college expenses by teaching, and the disadvantages under which he has labored account for the fact that his age is considerably greater than that of the average college graduate. He was fond of books from his boyhood, and was bound to get an education. What he has accomplished should be an inspiration to others of negro blood.

Straight University, New Orleans.—On the night of November 30, 1891, the university building of Straight University, New Orleans, was destroyed by fire, together with the library of 2,500 volumes, printing press, chemical and philosophical apparatus. A new building, however, was soon planned and has been finished. It is three stories high, of a pleasing style of architecture, and contains on the first floor the chapel (seating 350 persons), four recitation rooms, a large college room, music room, libraries and offices of the president and treasurer; on the second floor are the rooms set apart for the chemical department; and on the third floor are dormitories for theological students and their reading room.

Biddle University, Charlotte, N. C.—Rev. E. P. Cowan: The present faculty of 11 men, all of whom are colored but one, are not only engaged in attending to the duties of their respective places as professors, but they are also engaged in demonstrating before the world the proposition that educated colored men are capable of successfully carrying on the education of other colored men.

The proposition to many is so simple that it seems hardly to need demonstration; yet some have doubted.

As not all educated white men are capable of successfully administering the affairs of large institutions designed for the education of their kind, so it is not claimed that every educated colored man is capable of becoming a successful educator; but it is claimed that out of the product of our educational work of the last twenty-eight years more than enough selected men can be found perfectly competent to do

the work to be done even at so large and important an educational center as Biddle University.

The best argument in favor of Biddle University, as at present organized, is the good condition in which it now is, and the good work that is now being done. This can be seen by any one who will take the time and trouble to visit the place and examine for himself. The number of students has largely increased, and the graduating class will be the largest that has ever gone out from the college since it obtained its present charter.

The order and decorum of the students is remarkable. The rules are stringent, and are obeyed. The buildings are well kept, as far as the age and dilapidated condition of some of them will allow.

The industrial department is better organized and more efficient than it ever was before in the history of the institution. Prof. Hunt, a graduate of Atlanta University, is a practical carpenter. Under his direction the students have just finished building a dwelling house for one of the professors.

Look into the shoe shop and you find a dozen young men (the room will hold no more) who, an hour before, were reading Greek and Latin; now they are sitting on cobbler's benches and are driving wooden pegs. In the next room a dozen more are setting type, while two others are turning a large printing press, and a third man is "feeding" the machine.

In all these industrial departments the students spend one hour a day that is regarded as practice, and this is set down to "tuition." Later in the day the same student gives an hour to some industrial work, which is regarded as "service." For this he is paid, or rather he is allowed so much to his credit on his individual account with the institution. If a young man receives pecuniary aid, as many do, he does not get this help for nothing. He must render service, either in Prof. Hunt's industrial department or Prof. Carson's home department, of which service an accurate account is kept and the worth of his work is charged up to his credit. In this way the student does indeed get aid; but he also is made to feel that he is, at least partially, working his way. This arrangement is admirable, and is all that could be desired.

The institution is now running up to its utmost capacity as regards numbers. The enrollment so far this year, 1893, is 236. The boys are stowed away in their cheap dormitories, in many cases eight in a room. Two students sleep in the engine room and over thirty in the main building, which was never intended for dormitory purposes. If the university only had the necessary accommodations and scholarships, the roll would easily run up to 500.

Higher education of the negro race.—Dr. F. G. Woodworth: For the sake of the race as well as for their own sakes, those individuals who have the capacity should have opportunity for and be urged to seek the so-called higher education, and the highest and broadest culture they can obtain.

There will be constant and increasing need of leaders for the negro race, men who will be able with wise forethought and ripe judgment to guide the people on an upward way. The great uplifters of the race must be from the race. They must be men who can be in wholly sympathetic touch with those whom they would benefit, a sympathetic touch found only in kinship, understanding their needs fully, feeling their heart-beats, the stirring of their aspirations, able to touch their natures, as we can not touch them who are cast in the Saxon mold. If the white race, with its advantages and its inheritances of culture, needs the stimulus of men of high education, how much more the colored people?

Perhaps I may be met by the skepticism whether the negro can take on this higher culture. This rests on the assumption that the negro is essentially inferior. It is an assumption. No *a priori* assumption can determine the question either way. It must be settled by facts as time shall bring them to light. To-day the evidence of facts points in the direction that some of the negro race can and do take on the higher education, and make valuable use of it. Each year sees additions made to the small army of cultured and successful doctors, lawyers, teachers, and preachers.

comprehend the profound significance of this mission wrought in their midst by their sisters of the North, or on the other hand recognize what a service has already been rendered to the welfare of Southern society by the young Negro men and women in the common schools; while different classes in both sections are sometimes pushing this work in a narrow spirit of sectarian proselytism and mutual distrust; and while the lower strata of politicians, by their miserable jealousies and malignant misrepresentations, have arrested the wise and benevolent scheme of national aid for the overcoming of Southern illiteracy; and the so-called upper strata of whole sections of the country proclaim a boycott of the New Testament law of love by drawing the social line at a white woman teacher in a negro school; yet the good Providence that has waited on our national development from the first has been calmly superintending and directing all beneficent endeavors for the ultimate good of the children and youth, bringing nearer the time when all these conflicting parties will confess, with wondering gratitude, that they have been the instruments of a higher power.

It is not strange that a work so difficult, gigantic, and original, begun amid the receding waves of a prodigious civil war, should, for a time, have separated its best workers into hostile camps, apparently striving for irreconcilable ends. As a noble fleet caught by a tempest in mid-ocean may be threatened with wreck by collision or blown apart by raging hurricanes, only to find itself together in some far distant haven on another slope of the globe, so the powerful rival forces engaged in educating the Negro for American citizenship, even yet almost incapable of mutual understanding, are destined, even in our day, to a great awakening, when all shall cry out with joyful amazement, "Stand still and see the salvation of God."

XLIV.

The fit appreciation of this educational work depends on some knowledge of its origin and growth. With this view we invite the reader to a brief sketch of the beginning and progress of the effort to educate the Southern Negro successively as "contraband of war," "freedman," and "citizen of the United States," during the past thirty years. With no attempt at detail, the account of this interesting experiment is offered from authentic sources.

Negro slavery was not established in the British American Colonies as a missionary institution, but never in human history was a transformation so vast and rapid effected in the life of any great body of people as in the condition of the ancestors of the seven millions of our Negro American citizens. During the past two hundred and seventy years these people have been transported from a condition of absolute barbarism and paganism in the dark continent, 3,000 miles away, to the only country that had ever been in fit condition to attempt their emancipation and elevation to republican citizenship. For, in spite of the roman-

tic legends which captivate the imagination of some of the historians of this people, our British and colonial fathers, three centuries ago, only knew the Negro as an African savage and pagan, gathered at home into contentious tribes and nationalities, "easy to be entreated" to sell his own flesh and blood to supply the greed of servile labor for a new country. From 1620 to 1808 a steady current of these people was pouring across the Atlantic into our Southern States, how many can only be guessed. The legal suppression of the slave trade, in 1808, only checked the current. The traffic lingered in New England till 1820 and was never entirely suppressed in the Gulf region of the South until the final abolition of slavery. Whatever may have been the horror and waste of life in the transfer, the African slave "increased and multiplied," until in 1860 there were hardly less than five millions of servile and a quarter of a million of free Negro population in the country, all but 200,000 of whom were to be found south of Mason and Dixon's line.

With such a people, so circumstanced, education through books and schools could have little to do. The majority of the Northern States, up to 1860, were shamefully negligent of their duty to their colored people, and schooling was an impossibility for the slaves. In the earlier periods there seems to have been less public opposition to the teaching of the Negroes in the South, perhaps from general indifference to education. But after the first great political division over slavery extension in 1820, with the growth of the abolition sentiment in the North, the lines were more closely drawn. The leading Southern States enacted severe laws against the instruction of the slaves, and, in the absence of law, public opinion forbade it in them all. Later, the free blacks found the slave States no place for comfortable living.

Yet, by the nature of the case, such laws were liable to frequent evasion. The slaves were owned by the cultivated and ruling class of the South. Probably at no time were more than 2,000,000 of its white people directly concerned with the institution. These 2,000,000 largely monopolized the educational, social, religious, financial, and civic forces of fifteen States. With the 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 of nonslaveholding whites, the Negroes had little to do. Thus it was practically impossible to prevent any slaveholder, especially of those who lived in the open country, from giving to favorite servants such instruction as his good nature or sense of religious duty might demand. A considerable number of superior house servants, in this way, picked up a good deal of instruction, and the schooling of free Negroes was not absolutely neglected in the larger cities.

In Washington, for thirty years before the war, there had been persistent and successful efforts to establish schools for the free Negroes. The result of this schooling was a body of remarkable colored people in the District who took up the work with the advent of freedom. The present excellent colored schools of Washington are supervised by the

the son of one of these old schoolmasters, assisted by two young men who were born in freedom in Louisiana. The heroic effort of Myrtilla Miner to establish a normal school for colored girls in Washington was for several years represented by the training school for teachers, built up by an excellent woman of that race, Miss Briggs, born and educated in Massachusetts. The Catholic Church had also done something in this direction in Washington, Baltimore, and Louisiana.

But the chief educational training of the southern Negro before 1860 was in the severe university of slave life. It could not be otherwise than that a savage people thus distributed through the superior class of fifteen republican States should greatly profit by the contact. Apart from occasional exceptions, the condition of these people was not one of special hardship; indeed, it was favorable to the growth of the strongest attachments in the more favored household servants. For more than two centuries the American Negro received the most effective drill ever given to a savage people in the three fundamental conditions of civilized life: First, regular and systematic work; second, the language; and, third, the religion of a civilized country. During the same period the American Indian, in the exercise of a haughty independence, rejected all these conditions and, with exceptions that emphasize the rule, remains a savage to-day.

It was a prodigious step towards civilization when these Africans were put to steady labor and trained even to the slow and unskilled type of agricultural industry developed in the South. Their abler workmen became mechanics, and at present the leading builders in some of the Southern communities are of the same class. The plantation of the Davis families was once owned and well managed by a man who before 1860 is said to have become the commercial agent for the sale of the plantation products in New Orleans. It was another step towards civilization to learn the English language, the great language of freedom. It was imperfectly learned by the masses, but the upper class learned and used it with better effect than a considerable portion of the present inhabitants of the British Islands, and along with this came a marked cultivation from the conversation and social life of the superior sort of white people. The better-off Negro was really the humbler member of the family in thousands of the best homes of the South, and with his great natural aptitude for language and manners his education went on apace.

The most important element in his training was his reception of the Christian religion at the hands of the ruling Southern people. It is easy to ridicule the mixture of pagan and Christian faith which is the actual religion of multitudes of our colored citizens, and they have fallen too easily into the crowning heresy of white Christianity, the separation of religion and morality; but no man except a professional enemy of Christianity can doubt the prodigious influence for good of the religious training of the Negroes in their estate of slavery. The Chris-

tian master and mistress, and a large portion, often the most distinguished of the clergy, wrought faithfully on this line; and never was a more genial soil for profound religious impression than the tropical nature, intense imagination, and kindly social aptitude of this child of the sun.

XLV.

So when the ruling class of the South made war for the disruption of the Union and the establishment of a new confederacy, they were not only able to bring in a majority of the nonslaveholding whites, but to control the valuable services of an equal number of slaves for the conduct of things at home. It was not because the Negro was cowardly and stupid that he stood by the South everywhere until liberated by the advancing armies of the North. As fast as the Nation set him free he worked and fought, 200,000 strong in the Union Army, for freedom. But he stood by "the old folks at home," till he saw the Stars and Stripes, as the best thing to do. He loved the women and children, served them with beautiful fidelity, and loves them to-day best of all on earth. Bishop Haygood, the foremost educational observer in the South, declares that the conduct of the Negroes during the war was largely owing to their sense of religious duty. But they were wise enough to know that this "white man's war" was all for them. No body of people, 5,000,000 strong, so circumstanced could have gone through that awful period as they bore themselves, without a most effective schooling in the fundamentals of civilized life, the result of their training in the university of Southern society through two hundred and fifty years.

By one stroke of the pen slavery was abolished, on paper, and by the fall of the Confederate armies, in fact, in 1865. Within the subsequent five years these 5,000,000 emancipated freedmen found themselves citizens of the world's chief Republic, voters, members of legislatures, filling every office but the highest in State and Nation. And, as by a dramatic change of scene, a plantation of the Confederate presidential family became the property of a family slave, and the immediate successor of Mr. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, in the Senate of the United States was Mr. Revels, the first colored member of that body. The fact that this prodigious revolution, apparently the wildest experiment in human affairs, did not swamp the Southern States in hopeless anarchy and destroy the Nation, we owe, first, to the training of the Northern people in republican institutions and the rapid development of the American idea of self government which, in 1876, practically forbade the persistence in the insane attempt to govern 15,000,000 of people by their own emancipated slaves. We owe it also to the republican training of the Southern white people, who, through a good deal of violence, did place their State governments right side up and compelled the Northern people to stand by the rule of the upper strata of society.

But now comes in another element in the problem, even yet half developed, *the education of the freedmen for reliable American citizenship*, and this is the last word concerning Southern affairs. If the Southern Negro, within half a century, can be reasonably trained in the education of the heart, the head, and the hand, he will find his own place, and an honorable place at that, in the great brotherhood of our new republican life. Otherwise, the most thoughtful man has the most profound concern for the woes that will befall that devoted portion of our land. The education of the freedmen now involves the whole question of republican civilization in our Southland, not only the success of free labor and free government, but the higher question of the social, mental, and religious progress of the white population of these States; for the grandest work given to any people to-day is the duty and privilege offered to the Southern people to educate the Negro citizen for the Republic that is to come. The effectual doing of this work, with the help of the North and the Nation and the sympathy of all civilized peoples, will lift it into the highest place in the confidence and love of Christendom.

XLVI.

In the stormy years of the past centuries we read of the priesthood of the Catholic church following the conquering armies of the European powers on two hemispheres to convert the conquered peoples to the Gospel of Christ. But in the history of the human race there is no record like that of our great civil war; when, in the very midst of the conflict, the Christian people of the North and the National Government sent forth an army of teachers and poured forth money without stint to carry the knowledge of letters into the very heart of a hostile country, among a population in revolt against the existence of the Union itself.

It was inevitable that, at first, the helping hand thus offered should be taken by the colored people that were thrown across the track of the advancing Union armies. Very early in the war, the Government forces came in possession of large districts along the Southern Atlantic coast, of the city of New Orleans, the valley of the Mississippi as far as Vicksburg, and a good portion of Tennessee. At the same time, multitudes of vagrant freedmen and destitute whites were thrown across the border, often a serious incumbrance to military operations at critical points. With an instinct that seemed to behold the outcome of this great conflict the friends of Christian education in the North pressed in wherever there was an open door.

As early as September, 1861, the American Missionary Association, representing the evangelical Congregational church, opened its first school for "the contrabands," at Hampton, Va. In the following January schools were opened at Hilton Head and Beaufort, S. C. In March, 1862, 60 teachers were sent to the eastern Atlantic coast from Boston and New York and in June, 1862, 86 teachers were at work at ya-

rious points between Hampton Roads and Hilton Head. The great influx of destitute colored people along this shore compelled the military authorities to appoint Gen. Rufus Saxton to the superintendency of these people in the Carolinas and the work grew apace. In March, 1862, the American Tract Society gathered 50 destitute contrabands in a building near the Capitol at Washington, D. C., with Dr. Johnson for instructor. Under the encouragement of Gen. Wadsworth this school increased and multiplied until more than 2,000 pupils of all ages were being instructed in 1864, partly by act of Congress appropriating a portion of the taxes of the District, but largely by the free gift of the people from the North.

Early in 1862 teachers were sent to Tennessee, who began the work of instruction in the same way. In 1863 the gathering of vast crowds of colored people threatened the most serious embarrassment to the armies of Gen. Grant advancing upon Vicksburg. With the remarkable power of laying his hand upon the right man for important military duty, characteristic of this great commander, Gen. Grant called to his office in Holly Springs, Miss., the young chaplain of an Ohio regiment, the Rev. John Eaton, a native of New Hampshire, teacher in Cleveland, and superintendent of public schools in Toledo, Ohio, and placed in his charge perhaps the most distracting task given to any man in those days: the duty of superintending the colored people through the entire region included in the Army operations. This meant, first, the separation of these people from the active Army, the employment of their effective men and women in various kinds of labor, the support of the myriads of their poor, with an indefinite military authority to do all things possible for their welfare. Gen. Grant had not mistaken his man, and to John Eaton the country owes the largest and most effective system of educational operation in any one district of the Southern States between 1863 and 1865.

Without definite instructions the military authorities in the Valley of the Mississippi began to encourage the teachers from the Northwest. They gave them transportation, rations, opportunities to gather their schools; turned over vacant buildings to their use, and, in various ways, assisted in their work. The desire of the freedmen to learn was something marvelous. In their ignorance they associated knowledge with power, and multitudes of their adult people flocked to these schools. When enlisted in the army, their white chaplains became schoolmasters, and 20,000 of the 80,000 enrolled in the armies of the Southwest were thus taught to read.

The work assumed vast proportions, and in 1866 Col. Eaton had 770,000 of these people under his superintendency, with several subordinate officers in charge, and a vast system of instruction in four States. In Memphis nearly all the colored children of school age were gathered in schools, and multitudes of adults were willing to pay from 25 cents to \$1.25 per month for tuition. Within six months the freed-

men paid \$87,000 for schooling and perhaps a quarter of a million dollars was first and last gathered from their scanty earnings for the instruction of themselves and their children in school. Industrial schools were also opened for women, and orphans were gathered in temporary asylums. The teachers who thronged to this work were an excellent representative of the best mind and heart of the North. Many of the men who went in at that time have become the presidents and principals of important seminaries for both races, and hundreds of the choicest women from Eastern and Western homes gave their time and often their life to this beneficent work.

The poor white people were not neglected whenever it was possible to include them in this dispensation of letters. Indeed, there was never in the history of Christendom a movement that had in it less of any base alloy, more thoroughly born out of the heart of Christian good will, than this spontaneous advance to the educational front by the Christian people of the North.

The churches of every denomination engaged at once in this most Christian endeavor to give the Negro that mental and moral training without which his new-found freedom would be only a curse to himself and a peril to the country. Foremost in this effort was the American Missionary Association, for many years the most thorough, intelligent, and successful of all our Christian agencies for the schooling of the colored race. This association had its central support from the Congregational churches, though, at first, assisted by people of all creeds and assisting wherever its means would permit. The Freedman's Education Commission, including all churches, was established, with branches in the New England, the Middle and the Western States. Large sums of money and vast stores of provisions and clothing were disbursed through these channels. One book-publishing house in Cincinnati, Ohio, sent \$15,000 worth of school books to the front for free distribution at the occupation of Nashville, Tenn. The beginnings of the colored school which has since grown to Fisk University were laid in the barracks of that city; and Nashville, which had already gained an enviable reputation for its public and private schools for white people, before 1860, rapidly grew into the great educational center for the Southwest which it has now become.

XLVII.

But already the educational work was outgrowing the ability of the military authorities to control it, while the zeal of rival organizations in the North threatened complications at every point. In 1865 the Government of the United States appeared upon the field in the organization of the Freedman's Bureau. For seven years, under the superintendence of Gen. O. O. Howard, this organization besides doing a great deal of other work was the central agency through which the Government and various organizations among the people of the North and

foreign lands contributed to this great work of education. All funds in the hands of the military superintendents of freedmen, rents, licenses, fees from abandoned plantations, and properties of various sorts thrown into the hands of the Government during the war, were consolidated into the "refugees and freedmen's fund." The sale and rents of property belonging to the Confederate States were, by act of Congress in 1866, turned over to the Freedman's Bureau for the support of schools. Another large source of income was the direct appropriation of money by Congress. From these three sources, beginning with the moderate sum of \$27,000 in 1865, the income of the Freedman's Bureau reached nearly a million dollars (\$976,853.89) in August, 1870. Between January 1, 1865, and August 31, 1871, when the Freedman's Bureau ceased to exist, the sum of \$3,700,000 in money passed through its hands, which, added to \$1,500,000 worth of other than cash appropriations, amounted to more than \$5,000,000 expended under the direction of the Government of the United States for the education of the Negro in seven years.

At the close of its labors not less than a quarter of a million of pupils were receiving instruction in the various schools under its supervision. Normal schools for the instruction of teachers and the foundations of academical, collegiate, and professional schools were then laid, which have since risen to commanding importance in the various Southern States. There is no record more intensely interesting to every friend of humanity or more deeply instructive to the student of pedagogy than the enormous literature which grew up around this work between the years 1861 and 1871. In the reports of Supt. John Eaton and others in the early period, and in the subsequent voluminous documents issued by Secretary Alvord, of the Freedman's Bureau, and the various agents in all the Southern States; in the records of a score of Christian and other educational associations that vied with each other and with the Government in this great enterprise, and in the enormous amount of writing in the newspaper and periodical press, Congressional debates, political and educational addresses of the period, will be found the materials for a volume of thrilling incident and instructive history in the record of that eventful time.

In 1864 Gen. N. P. Banks, in command in Louisiana, made the first regular attempt to tax the Southern people for the support of a system of free schooling, and for a time the scheme had as much success as could be expected under such circumstances, 50,000 colored people having learned to read. During the existence of the provisional governments the national authority was invoked for the protection of these systems of popular education established in several of these States.

While much can doubtless be said in disparagement of this early effort to plant the common school in these conquered Commonwealths without the consent of their leading classes of people who were still disfranchised, there is no doubt that much was accomplished in the way of

awakening an interest in popular education among the humbler classes of the people. The men from the North in official position during this period were not veteran schoolmasters, but young soldiers. Their Southern associates in office, of both races, were largely untrained, either in civic or educational affairs. It was a hazardous experiment to impose a complete school system, like that in the North, upon a people who never had enjoyed and were largely distrustful of it, and to support it by a taxation often absurdly beyond the means of the country. In some quarters the attempt was made to force the coeducation of the races. In others dishonesty and ignorance made a wreck of the enterprise. It was well that this great effort to push the cause of popular education finally gave place to the proper activity of the Southern people, restored to their civic duties. Yet this effort, revolutionary as it might be, was largely instrumental in preparing the ground for the work of coming years.

XLVIII.

Meanwhile, it may be well to follow out the work of the National Government incidental to the Freedman's Bureau, and show how far the South is indebted to national interest in education to-day. From 1861 till the present year Congress has given a great deal of incidental aid to education in all these States. In many cases, as at Harpers Ferry, Hampton, and other points, it gave valuable Government property and facilities for both races. At Charleston, S. C., it passed over to the hands of Dr. Porter a valuable property, the United States Barracks, to be used in his admirable school for white boys, the sons of reduced people in that State. Every session of Congress has witnessed more than one grant of this sort for the encouragement of education in the South. Some of the more recent of these appropriations are the gifts of valuable military properties in Fort Smith, Ark., and Baton Rouge, La., also Government swamp lands in Louisiana, and a rich mineral tract in Alabama. All these have been donated outright by Congress for the common school, secondary, and university, and, in one instance, denominational education of white youth.

In 1862 Congress paused amid the tumult of war to make a new appropriation of public lands for the establishment of agricultural and mechanical colleges in all the States, and the sixteen Commonwealths of the former slaveholding region have received 3,420,000 acres of land from this munificent donation. Every State has made some use and several a valuable use of this fund both for its white and colored people. In 1890 Congress supplemented this gift of public lands by voting a sum of money to the agricultural and mechanical colleges of all the States—\$15,000 a year at first, increasing in ten years to \$25,000, with a proviso that the colored citizens should be fairly considered in the distribution. Every Southern State is now supporting or preparing to support industrial education for the Negro under this form of national aid.

The National Government has also established and contributes largely to the support of the admirable system of public schools for white and colored children in the city of Washington. These schools for colored pupils are a model for all similar communities in the States southwest of the national capital. The system includes all grades, with a high school and training school for teachers of both races, which are attended by many children of the most distinguished officials of the Government, and are, beyond question, the best schools in the city. The Government also laid the foundation of and still subsidizes Howard University, Washington, which offers the most ample opportunity for collegiate, legal, medical, and normal training at moderate cost to colored youth of both sexes from the whole country.

XLIX.

With the close of the Freedman's Bureau, in 1870, the direct action of the National Government upon the growing education of the South came to an end. One by one the Southern States were organizing a system of elementary common-school instruction for both races, which, although painfully inadequate to grapple with the fearful illiteracy of the poorer classes and not entirely in favor with the leaders of public opinion, was yet gaining ground and promised to become the same permanent agency of Southern society as it had long been in the North. The various private and church movements that had been largely occupied with elementary education now gradually withdrew, and for the past ten years there has been no general habit of aiding in the schooling of Southern children below the age of twelve, either by the contributions of money or the supply of teachers from the North. But it soon became evident that, for many years to come, the impoverished Southern people would not be able to offer to the freedmen any general system of secondary or higher education, or even the normal training of teachers to take charge of the common schools for the colored race. And upon this point especially has the Northern private and church work for the freedmen been concentrated since 1870.

The great mass of work now done by the North for the colored people is concentrated in a score of associations, representing the different religious bodies, acting without interference, in a field so vast that there is room enough for all. The Catholic Church has not forgotten its old habit of bringing instruction to the colored people, and is represented in several useful establishments, latterly by the munificent gift of Miss Drexel, for the training of the superior children which are the upper grade of its system of parochial schools. The Episcopal Church seems waking up to the same obligation, and at Raleigh, N. C., supports a flourishing seminary for the training of colored clergymen, besides efforts in various localities through these States. The Friends, in proportion to their numbers and means, for the past thirty years, have done a great deal for both the colored and white children of the South, and still

are supporting a considerable number of schools. It is not unlikely that this small religious body has contributed near half a million dollars to these efforts since 1860. The Presbyterian Church, North, now supports 58 schools, with 6,000 pupils, white and colored. Of these, the most important are of the higher sort for the freedmen. The Baptist Missionary Society has several large and flourishing colleges for the freedmen, and its labors and expenditures for the last twenty years must be estimated at many hundred thousand dollars. Several of the smaller denominations, both of the evangelical and liberal churches, have contributed with great generosity; the latter chiefly through the constant donations of their wealthy people to institutions like Miss Bradley's school for whites at Wilmington, N. C., the Hampton, Va., Normal and Industrial Institute for Negro and Indian students, and the excellent Normal Institute at Tuskegee, Ala.

L.

But the most prominent of these agencies has been the Freedmen's Aid Society, representing the Northern Methodist and the American Missionary Associations, chiefly supported by the Congregational churches of the country.

At present the Freedmen's Aid Society supports 21 schools for colored pupils, at an annual expense of \$220,000. During the past twelve years \$1,577,917 have been expended in its colored and white institutions of learning in the South. Its 21 schools for colored pupils employ 233 teachers and contain 4,971 students. Several hundred thousand children are now being taught by the colored teachers trained in its seminaries. Several of these larger schools have valuable departments for educating ministers, for housework for girls and farming and carpentry for boys, and support an excellent school of medicine. This organization also is establishing schools of superior grade for white pupils, and seems on the point of a prodigious effort to which its present achievement is only the introduction.

But perhaps the most notable success in the secondary, normal, and higher training of colored youth has been achieved by the American Missionary Association. Since the day, in 1861, when it set up its first little school for "the contrabands" in sight of the beach vexed by the first slave ship that landed at Hampton, Va., this association has been indefatigable in developing that peculiar type of academical and collegiate education among the freedmen which has made the Congregational body of Christians so famous in the higher educational life, first of New England, and afterwards of the northern portion of the West. The American common school was established in New England when this denomination was in the ascendant, and it is only justice to say that no body of Christians has, on the whole, been so firm in its allegiance to the common school. At present its labors in the South are largely directed to training superior colored youth of both sexes for the work

of teaching in the new public schools. It now supports six institutions called colleges and universities; in which not only the ordinary English studies are pursued, but opportunity is offered for the few who desire a moderate college course. In each, special attention is given to training common-school teachers and in most of them a valuable department of education for boys and girls is under way. There are besides, 73 schools of a less pretentious type, being practically high schools, for the colored people in the larger cities of the South. Last year this association disbursed \$287,000 for 13,395 pupils of various grades. During the past thirty years, \$10,000,000 has thus been wisely and economically administered for the colored people of a dozen States, and probably more than a million children have been taught by its graduates.

LI.

Nearly all these institutions educate young men and women together, and the majority, theoretically, are open to white pupils; but only at Berea, Ky., and a few smaller schools, is there a noticeable mingling of the races. Their school buildings are uniformly the most striking and modern of any in the South, occupying conspicuous positions, often surrounded by spacious grounds, and in many cases including a well-cultivated farm and workshops. Their teachers are almost entirely white people from the North, although colored and white Southern teachers are being introduced. They all require tuition fees, and the larger schools furnish board, in spacious dormitories, where the young women are instructed in domestic pursuits. The ordinary expense is usually within \$100 a year, and a considerable proportion of their pupils are able, by work at the schools and teaching at vacations, to raise that sum, although the majority are more or less supported by student aid from the North. The presidents, professors, and teachers in all these schools are an excellent representative of American schoolkeeping, the men and many of the women being graduates of leading colleges, normal schools, and higher institutions. Through all these schools is constantly passing a throng of distinguished visitors from North and South, who contribute valuable addresses and sometimes courses of lectures. Several years ago the Congregational and Baptist schools were placed under the able supervision of superintendents of instruction, and all are rapidly improving as educational institutions. They are all under the most pronounced Christian influence, each with its church affiliation, and the moral, religious and social training is perhaps the most valuable part of the work.

It is impossible to estimate the widespread influence of this group of 22 colleges and 100 normal and academical schools, dispersed from Harper's Ferry to Texas, with 25,000 of the superior young colored people under instruction. No less than \$15,000,000 have, first and last, been put into this special work. Already the leading people of the South are thoroughly awake to the great value of these establishments. Each of

them includes distinguished Southern men on its board of trustees and the States of Virginia, West Virginia, South Carolina, and Mississippi make an annual appropriation for the industrial and normal departments of several of them.

At present the chief support of this class of schools comes from the North. Within the past few years large sums have been contributed for new buildings and facilities, Mrs. Valeria Stone of Massachusetts being one of the largest contributors. Mr. John F. Slater, of Connecticut, made a bequest of \$1,000,000 for the education of colored youth, and a corporation similar to the Peabody education fund, with ex-President R. B. Hayes for president and Bishop Atticus Haygood, of Georgia, and Dr. J. L. M. Curry, of Washington, as secretaries, has been formed for the distribution of its income. Mrs. Mary Hemenway, of Boston, has been conspicuous among the large number of Northern women who have been known as generous contributors to these institutions. Mr. Rockefeller has largely aided Spelman Seminary, in Atlanta, Ga., and United States Senator McMillan, of Michigan, has made a generous contribution to the Mary Allen school for colored girls in Texas. The most conspicuous of these recent gifts is the great donation of \$1,000,000 by Mr. Daniel Hand, of Connecticut, to the American Missionary Association, to be used largely for student aid. Indeed, it would be impossible to do justice to the wise and persistent benevolence of the Northern churches and individuals, moved by the Christian and patriotic impulse of training these 2,000,000 of colored children and youth for American citizenship. The present policy of all these associations seems to be the development of these great colored seminaries for the permanent use of the South, encouraging the Southern people to unite in their management and support, until they shall become the future universities for the higher professional and industrial education of the superior class of the colored race.

In this way have the North and the Nation extended the helping hand to the South in giving, first, to the freedman the elements of knowledge, and, of late, that higher training which has raised up a body of many thousand colored teachers, clergymen, and enlightened young people, who are now the most powerful agency in the new leadership of the race.

When it is objected that all this schooling, above the primary grade, has been of little value to the Negro, the objector forgets that no people can get on without a head; a genuine aristocracy of character, intelligence, and executive power. The head that the great body of our colored citizenship will ultimately follow is not found on the shoulders of any class of white men. The American white man can do, just now, but one radical thing for the colored man, outside respect for his equality before the law, and that is to help him to that education which shall develop a genuine upper class which will lead him to his own place in American affairs.

LII.

With the information afforded by this brief sketch of the rise and progress of this vast adventure of educating the American Negro for his new American citizenship, I now proceed to record my own experience in a twelve years' careful observation of that portion of the work especially in charge of the Christian churches and people of the Northern States. In a subsequent chapter of this circular I will treat of the corresponding effort of the Southern people, in the establishment and support of a system of free common schools for the Negro in every State, now supplemented by normal and industrial training for the same race.

In the winter of 1880, after a previous summer tour of observation in Virginia and North Carolina, I finally entered upon the "ministry of education," which for the past twelve years has engrossed my entire energies and carried me into all the sixteen States once known as the South. I came up to this deeply interesting ministry through many years of observation, study, journalism, lecturing, and service on educational boards of all departments of school life that occupied the leisure of a crowded ministry in the Universalist and Unitarian churches in the Eastern, Middle, and Northwestern States. For the past twelve years the Southern work in the field has occupied two-thirds of each year, the remaining months having been spent in the equally important service, through speech, the press and private communication, of giving to the Northern educational public a truthful account of Southern life, as far as it is involved in the great educational movement for the last twenty years; the most interesting and characteristic feature in what is sometimes called the New South. The work done in the Southern States has almost entirely been "a labor of love," including the visitation and careful observation of all varieties of educational institutions, constant school talks to children and students of every age, courses of lectures to teachers in all classes of seminaries, common schools, normal schools, and institutes, with frequent public addresses and preaching and constant intercourse with all classes of people of both races. For six years this work was combined with an important position as chief editorial writer in the *New England and National Journal of Education*, and the press of all sections has been with great unanimity opened for my use. A small library of pamphlets has also been written and distributed containing the results of my observation; two of these published by the National Bureau of Education. Several of these pamphlets, now out of print, by the suggestion of the United States Commissioner of Education, are included in this circular, as throwing additional light on the subject and further illustrating the work of Southern and Northern women in this department.

It should be said, in justice to my own religious denomination, that, for the past twelve years, this ministry of education has been supported

by the American Unitarian Association and benevolent men and women, chiefly with a view to its operations in behalf of the common-school system and the education of the colored people. It should be understood, in this connection, that, outside its own theological schools and a somewhat indefinite connection for a time with Harvard University, Antioch College, Ohio, and an occasional undenominational academy, the Unitarian is the only Christian church in the country that has never seriously attempted the work of what is called denominational Christian education. Its distinguished representatives in the educational field, following the leadership of Horace Mann, in every State, have been foremost in the support of the people's common school and every phase of popular education. It is, therefore, perfectly in the line of this educational policy that the present representative of this ministry of education has been probably the only educational missionary supported by the people of one religious denomination for a work through the Southern States entirely disconnected with theological or ecclesiastical obligations, the primary object of which is the development of the American system of common schools, in their best practical methods of operation, in every community of these sixteen States. The universal approbation with which this ministry has been received by all classes of the Southern people, with full understanding of its meaning, is one of the most significant indications of the steady growth of public confidence through all these great Commonwealths in the people's common school; a warning that may well be taken to heart by every class of the opponents of this, the most radical, essential, and indestructible of the foundations of republican government and American society.

LIII.

Under these circumstances, I have regarded it a subject of personal congratulation and an evidence of a growing liberality in the religious public that, through the past twelve years, almost every religious denomination—Christain, Hebrew, or Ethical—has cheerfully afforded me the most ample opportunities for my work, with constant invitations for public addresses on every day in the week. But the most valuable of these opportunities have been found in the universal invitation to visit every class of educational establishment, with the most thorough opportunity for observation of their work; with friendly and even confidential communication with their teachers and managers. The first invitation of this kind, and one of the most important in its results, was the proposition in the year 1880, the first year of my continuous work, by the American Missionary Association (Congregational) and the Freedmen's Aid Society (Methodist) to visit all their mission schools for the Negro in the Southern States, deliver courses of lectures to their students and teachers on the art of instruction, meanwhile carefully inspecting their entire educational management. These schools were estab-

lished in every Southern State at the most vital centers, and in no way could such correct information be obtained concerning the entire status of the Negro population of the South as by this familiar communication with their students, drawn from every portion of this vast area. For two years this engagement held, only suspended because the special work contemplated was accomplished. It involved a residence in these institutions during a considerable portion of these years, with every opportunity for close observation. It was soon apparent that, without official invitation, I was expected to visit the similar schools of all the religious denominations of the North on my line of operations, with substantially the same opportunities.

The intimate connection with this class of schools was no bar to the most friendly reception by every class of educational institutions through these sixteen States. Armed with the best testimonials, I placed myself at once in connection with the public-school authorities, State, municipal, and local. I also found the "latchstring out" of every important private and Protestant denominational and collegiate school for white students in every Southern State, with opportunities for observation and work only limited by personal ability. I was constantly among the new Southern common schools for the Negroes, and in constant and friendly relations with the educational public of the section. In this way I was saved from the chronic temptation to a partial view, enabled to compass the entire circle of life in which the question of Negro education is involved. Meanwhile I have never lost my hold on this body of Northern Mission Schools, which still remains practically the citadel of the whole system of the schooling of the seven millions of these people, furnishing a large majority of their superior teachers and professional leaders.

I regard it a peculiar advantage in the just estimate of this department of Southern education that I have been able to study it from a point of view singularly favorable. I have traversed all the Southern States as an educational observer, fully committed to the most advanced ideas of universal education, with no question concerning the essentials of American civilization; with as little partisan, sectarian, or sectional prejudice as is consistent with a devout belief in the religion of Jesus Christ and an immovable faith in American republican civilization; with a sincere and growing appreciation of and affection for all classes and both races of the Southern people.

My first impression of Negro education at Hampton, Nashville, Memphis, New Orleans, Austin, Montgomery, Talladega, Atlanta, and other important centers of the secondary and higher instruction was a profound astonishment at the intelligence, mental vivacity, teachableness, remarkable subordination to discipline, and general good conduct of the pupils in all these great schools. During these first two years I probably saw in them 10,000 colored students in all the Southern States east of the Mississippi, besides Texas. I found in them all an audience

for my familiar lectures, not alone on school work, but ranging through the whole theme of their new American citizenship, which gratified me by its intelligent and responsive appreciation, and let me into many of the secrets of effective public speech. Since those years I have rarely prepared an educational address, even for a Northern university, which has not been "tried on" as a familiar extemporaneous talk before a colored audience; and the talks that most deeply interested them have proved to be, with due elaboration, the most acceptable to the critical student crowd in the college chapel or the great assembly on commencement day.

LIV.

I was constantly asking myself and everybody I met, how this condition was to be explained? These students were generally from the superior class of colored people, at least the class which had the greatest desire for good schooling. But, as late as 1880, they were chiefly the children of parents who had once been enslaved, with small opportunity for scholastic treatment at home and receiving little advantage in the poor country schools from which they came. They had not been so long under the influence of their present discipline as to be essentially changed in these particulars. It was the first of the numerous puzzles in Negro education which I encountered, and I doubt if I should so soon have begun to unravel this tangled skein had I not all this time been among the people who, in some respects, know more of the general capabilities of the Negro; certainly have been more intimately connected with him, than the people of the North. I found the more zealous of the workers in these schools quite carried off their feet by this phenomenon which, along with the mysterious "magnetic" quality of the race, often seemed to involve the whole life of their teachers in a mental and spiritual mirage, in which all things were magnified, and these children of nature loomed up as a new-found superior race. Not only was it claimed by many of these teachers, especially the religious workers, that the Negro student was as capable as his brother in white of every grade of mental training, but in religious capacity was actually the superior of the American white child and youth of European descent. Many of the Northern churches and communities were lifted to a strange and powerful enthusiasm by the fervid reports of this class of workers, enforced by the interesting platform exercises and pathetic singing of the troupes of traveling students that usually accompanied the missionary. It was certainly a temptation to the young college graduates, often soldiers, who were appointed to the supervision of these great schools, to believe the testimony of their enthusiastic subordinates concerning their new constituency. They honestly enough assumed the titles—president and professor—in institutions christened by the most venerable educational names—college and university—and governed essentially on the same plan as Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. It was no disparagement

of these teachers, often gathered from the best schools of the North, always drawn from a good social class, frequently representing the most distinguished society, that in the mental and moral intoxication of this singular environment, possessed by a consecration in which religious and patriotic considerations were intimately blended, they should be swept along the swift "tide of successful experiment." Successful it was, in a striking degree, in the enthusiastic desire for education and the sacrifice it inspired in thousands of these young people, their parents and friends; successful in the devoted and exhausting toils of their faithful teachers—living under the same roof, bound with a tie almost as close as the family relation to this palpitating crowd of dependent, affectionate and exacting boys and girls; uniformly successful in the glorified reports of the work before excited congregations of Northern Christian people, trained by fifty years of missionary support in foreign lands, elated by the still recent triumph of the national arms, emancipation and reconstruction in the South, ready to put forth more money and receive with distinguished honors their own children and friends returning from the Southern field for the usual summer campaign at home.

LV.

But I could not fail to see what an advantage it would have been at the early stage of this great enterprise, could these workers have been brought into friendly relations with the superior class of the Southern people, who within twenty years had been the masters and mistresses of this enslaved race, and who had periled and lost their all in an honest and heroic defense of Southern society as it existed up to 1860. It would have given these new comers the inside view, without which the most vital facts concerning a people so circumstanced can not be correctly known. It would have somewhat cooled the ardor of the early enthusiasm, dimmed the rainbow hues of many a splendid prophecy, but also have saved many a noble man and woman from the reaction into a disappointment and disgust as misleading as the mount of exaltation from which they had descended. Still, only in this way could the marvelous fact of this wonderful liveliness and eagerness of mind and undeniable capacity for many sorts of information find an intelligent explanation.

But, unhappily, this intimate communion even with the Christian people of the South had not then become possible, and even to-day is very imperfectly established. I found a group of admirable Southern men, as often laymen as clergymen, in all these educational centers, with a remarkable appreciation of the service rendered to the South by these schools; ready to welcome all the sensible teachers and workers to a personal acquaintance that often ripened to friendship; in all practicable ways standing between the schools and the majority of the community. And there were "noble women not a few" who, in spite of

the disparagement of society and the indifference or hostility of the churches, persisted in a close communion with the corresponding class of these workers, always ready to aid to the uttermost of their power.

But the work was so exacting in itself, the situation of the majority of the schools so remote from the residence of the better sort of people in the towns, and the home and outdoor duties of their Southern friends so overwhelming, that less came from this acquaintance than could be hoped. And it must be remembered that some of these workers were neither qualified by previous culture nor breadth of view to appreciate anything beyond the immediate task at hand. This class regarded themselves, honestly enough, as persecuted apostles in heathendom; often interpreting as slights, neglect, and malignant opposition what had no such real intent. At all events this was the situation in 1880. And such, in a modified degree, it remains, after the growing mutual understanding of the past ten years.

But meanwhile the more thoughtful educational and religious public at the North has learned to put a more sober estimate on the accounts of this work by its immediate workers; while direct opposition and unfriendly feeling in the South has gradually subsided, with a decided movement in State and church among the Southern people for building up institutions of the same grade for the same object. Indeed, several of the more important of these great seminaries are already under a mixed management of Northern and Southern trustees, or subsidized by the States or communities in which they are established.

LVI.

But the radical problem still remained unsolved. How should I account for the condition in which the better sort of these students presented themselves at these schools, or even for the singular aptitude of considerable numbers who came up from the most unpromising surroundings? One reasonable explanation could only be found; the previous training of the colored people through their generations of servitude, especially by the Southern women and the clergy.

Whatever may have been the original aptitudes or disabilities of the native African, three centuries ago in his home beyond the sea, and whatever of truth there may be in the enthusiastic estimate of his capabilities for all sorts of excellence by some of his new teachers, this factor must come, as a large element of the situation, as I first observed it, in the year 1880. Any race, in circumstances similar to the colored people previous to 1860, finds a way of concealing its higher aspirations and develops the habits essential to making a comfortable estate of an inevitable system of bondage. The friendly Northern and European man, especially the woman, does understand the upper side of the Negro nature as it can hardly be divined, even by the most faithful worker for his uplifting of Southern birth and association. Still, the lower side of this people is best known through long and troublesome expe-

rience in the communities of which they are a vital part. Unhappily, the average Southern white man and woman have become so accustomed to the "often infirmities" of the "brother in black" that the suggestion of a common human nature is somewhat of a strain upon the imagination and the story of his actual advancement, under the educational discipline of freedom, is apt to be rejected as a delusion or resented as an affront upon the superior race. On the other hand it is almost impossible for the Northern man of British descent to conceive the possibility of any growth toward the higher estate of manhood in such a condition of chattel bondage as enveloped the colored race previous to the civil war.

But a little exercise of the reason and that interpretative imagination, without which logic is the champion liar and even experience the chronic misleader in human affairs, should long ere this have opened the eyes of fair-minded people to the indebtedness of the American Negro to this element in the schooling of his house of bondage. And when, as in my own case, an exceptional opportunity was offered for years to observe and work, in the confidence of all sides of Southern society, save an occasional jealous, conceited, or grumbling schoolmaster or a small editor spoiling for a Northern "head to hit," I should be unfaithful to our American civilization in all its varied constituents did I not bear hearty testimony to the great work of preparation on the old Southern plantation for the new schoolhouse imported from the North.

LVII.

Here is a great estate in the heart of a wide country, connected with others, great and small, by broad spaces of partially occupied lands. The family in possession stands to its working class in a relation more nearly resembling the patriachal family of the Oriental world than is elsewhere possible. If of the superior class, it is a group of people educated by the usual methods of the secondary and higher academical and college training of half a century ago, possibly one or two members improved by travel and graduation from Northern or European schools. But, whatever may be the attraction abroad, the home life offers the one quality that appeals most strongly to the educated man and woman; the opportunity for the exercise of an almost absolute power and an influence practically irresistible. The men of the household, if ambitious and able, represent at home and abroad the most powerful aristocratic class in Christendom. The women of similar qualifications are received at the National Capital as social magnates and pass for their full worth as guests, even in portions of the country in a growing political hostility to their own.

But the mass of good women in any country are not magnates of fashion; rather home-keepers, careful mothers of children, good managers of the domestic environment. And here is the center of the marvelous power exerted by the Southern woman of the better sort through

long generation's. Powerless to change the social organization into which she was born, early schooled to turn away from more than one pit of perdition, along the slippery edge of which she moved in her daily round, she turned to the genial social life of a new country in a Southern clime for entertainment. But her best womanly energies were concentrated on the few points in her home life, where her own will was law. We have seen how her influence prevailed in the home and family education of the Southern girl, often compensating for the serious defects of the old academic school system of the South. But even more exacting was her relation to her husband's slaves. This whole area of mental and moral destitution lay open beneath her gaze. Whatever may have been the fidelity to the higher duties of mastership in the masculine side of that old plantation life (and I am disposed to credit the master with a good deal of good service, especially in the arrangement of outward affairs and the administration of practical justice between man and man), still the peculiar relation of almost irresponsible power sustained by the white man to the slave woman was a temptation at once to self-forgetfulness and the capricious overindulgence of his favorites that no quality of saintship yet developed this side the water has been able to resist. With full comprehension of the perils amid which she walked, the wise Christian woman was forced to become a missionary at every point. All that woman's power could accomplish was done by her. Even the woman of the world, if not hopelessly demoralized by vanity and childishness, instinctively acquired some of the most valuable elements of the religious character in such a "strait between two" as her life must be.

LVIII.

The most promising of the young slaves in such a place come especially under the eye of the mistress and are promoted to household service. And that youth must be a "fool and blind" who does not profit, in a score of ways, by the university of the old-time planter's home, with its attractive habits of confidential life and outspoken sentiment and opinion, abiding in an atmosphere of genial social intermingling, with its everlasting "talk by the way" with every eligible guest that could be allured to its boundless hospitality. So the "old-plantation home" became the best possible training school for the general enlightenment and discipline of a people whose fathers, perhaps—certainly whose grandfathers—had been captured, brought across 3,000 miles of ocean, and landed, a crowd of pagan savages, upon a foreign shore.

And it was the most natural thing in the world for this woman to call in her clergyman as adviser and colaborer, especially the Protestant minister, whose power is sheathed in an elastic theology of influence, representing, chiefly, the great dissenting bodies of Christians, schooled in the conflicts of British ecclesiasticism. The better the pastor the

more readily does he cooperate with the mistress of the little kingdom for the religious and moral uplifting of the people. Bishop Haygood is probably not far from right when he declares that the wonderful behavior of the slave population during the war was largely the result of its previous religious training. It is true that on the great plantations of the lower South, multitudes of these people would hardly feel the touch of this double relation of the church and the woman side of the planter's mansion. But, in the border States, and along the vast Piedmont region, the association of servant and master was closer and the influence from above more widely diffused.

The four years of the war intensified this peculiar training of the women of the household. On thousands of lonely estates, indeed everywhere in the country, the woman came to the front. Left with the children, the infirm men, and the slaves, she toiled on, under a strain of mind, heart, and circumstances almost inconceivable. The abler of the negro youth learned the lesson of the hour apace and took on something of responsible manhood and womanhood impossible before. No wonder that the personal attachments between the races, especially the generation that went through the war, are still the most characteristic and beautiful manifestations of our Southern life. Indeed, the love of the Negro, especially for the white woman and the child side of the home, still abides in a depth far below his gratitude, confidence, and attachment for his Northern friends, to whom he owes freedom and citizenship. This persistent affection of the ordinary Negro, especially for the "old folk at home," the women and children, is one of the most precious possessions of the South; far more important to the future of these States than the wealth of material resources so loudly heralded to the nations. This confidence once gone, the Southland, with all its magnificent opportunities, becomes a social pandemonium. That preserved, all good things are possible through the might of time, the reconciler of all discords here below. All the more abhorrent is the attitude too often assumed by a class of Southern politicians who pander to the lower element of race prejudice by an insolence and injustice of speech and behavior, to which the old-time relation of master and servant in respectable classes is a stern rebuke.

LIX.

I found among the more thoughtful class of the teachers and workers in these great schools a growing appreciation of all this, and a gratitude to God for what had been done by the Southern women and the clergy of the old time to make their own work a possibility. And here I put in my earnest protest against the too common habit of a portion of the Southern political and religious leaders, of charging on these teachers a studied and systematic depreciation, even defamation, of the better class of the Southern people. Of course, these men and women are in their places to represent the American idea of to-day; to prepare their pupils

for the full citizenship guaranteed to them by the National Constitution and laws; to do what every fair-minded and broad-hearted Southern man believes is the only way to escape perils that can not be magnified. There has been and still remains a good deal of misinformation concerning the actual conditions of Southern life before and since the war. Doubtless there is still undue credulity in listening to the representations of their pupils and their friends, who naturally can see only their own side of a realm so vast as the complex life of the Republic. And it would be strange if among the many thousands of workers who have drifted through these schools during the past thirty years there had not been some whose influence was mischievous and who deserved the displeasure of all sensible Christian people.

But with the qualifications that must always go along with the fair estimate of any great moral enterprise, worked amid especial complications and perils, I pronounce this general charge of unfriendliness to the Southern people by the respectable class of these teachers groundless and, as sometimes pressed in high quarters, simply malignant. I have visited every one of the great, and many of these secondary schools, in all the Southern States during the past twelve years, and known, in the confidential way that belongs to such relations, the habitual influence of these leading institutions. And I unhesitatingly declare that influence thoroughly friendly to the South, according to the ideals of its own superior class. I find everywhere the influence of these schools most resolutely opposed to all the results so often imputed to the education of the Negro by its opponents. Whatever failure there may be, and there must be a considerable margin of failure, is not due so much to the schooling as to the prodigious difficulties surrounding the enterprise of developing the offspring of a slave population into responsible American citizenship, with its varied mental, moral, social, and industrial constituents.

Especially have I known that the longing desire of these good women instructors is not for what is called "social recognition." They are all socially respectable and many of them represent families of distinguished position. Their time is so occupied that social life, in its ordinary acceptation, is almost as impossible as to the inmates of a Catholic convent. But what they are longing and praying for is the sympathy, confidence, and communion with the Christian women of the South for aid in their difficult work. Such a coöperation is perfectly practicable, and nothing prevents it but a chronic habit of elevating a provincial social law to the rank of a Christian principle. As it is, I believe no body of people, especially of superior women, ever wrought in any good work, in this or any land, with a more single eye to the welfare of their constituency and a more delicate consideration for the people amid whom their lot has been cast than these teachers and missionaries.

LX.

There is no compromise with a true spirit of Christian freedom and patriotism in claiming what has been now asserted for the educating influence of the old order of Southern society in preparing the freedman for his new American citizenship. It only confirms the fact that there is a God-side to a great deal that is only temporary and often largely opposed to human development in this world. It is this which keeps our human life, with all its follies and diabolisms, after all, worth living, and at last comes in, at the downfall of every great institution outgrown by humanity, as a saving grace in the reconstruction for a higher estate. Certainly there can be no excuse for one situated as I have been to remain insensible to the prodigious work done by the women of the old South and the Southern clergy, in the mitigation of the hardships of slavery and the invaluable preparation for the "good time coming," by their faithful labors in the long years before the flood. And it should be remembered that in comparison with the toils, trials, and sorrows of this life on the old plantation, the most devoted missionary of education and religion in the Southland to-day has no cause for spiritual pride or special discouragement. And here, in a future not far away, will be woven a bond of sympathy between the Christian women of the North and South, all the stronger because its recognition and expression have been so long delayed by circumstances beyond their control.

LXI.

In studying the mental aptitudes of these students, I was impressed anew with the fundamental truth of what is called "The New Education." Its ground principle is the fact that the mental, moral, and industrial training of the child and youth must proceed along the path drawn by the instinctive mother-sense. When Pestalozzi, in his famous book, "Leonard and Gertrude," set forth the divine law of education in the two propositions that the mother is the inspired teacher of the generations and that the natural methods of instruction and discipline in a good home must be followed in every grade of school, he spoke also the reconciling word concerning the training of the Negro for American citizenship. These students, even of the better class, were the children of nature, with no heritage of school culture, educated solely in the university of life, in the environment of their narrow lot. The next step should have been far more apparent than it was to many of these new teachers: to place these children in a school, organized, disciplined, and instructed according to the most rational handling of these natural methods which make the school an enlarged and glorified home. Wherever these beautiful and effective methods were adopted, I saw the most gratifying results. The young Negro, born and reared in the country, had already developed a sense-faculty and habit of observation that

furnished the greatest opportunity for the skilled teacher. I have repeatedly seen, in primary schools for colored children under eight years of age, evidences of ability in this direction full of encouragement to every friend of the race.

It was one of the inevitable educational disabilities of this Southern work that it proceeded so exclusively from the church as hardly at first to recognize the school side of the North. What is called, in theological parlance, "Christian education," includes that department of parochial, academic, and collegiate training under the special charge of the clergy of the different denominations of Christians. In respect to methods of instruction, it is usually half a century behind the so-called "secular education" in the better sort of the common schools. Even in the realm of moral discipline, where its asserted superiority exists, its methods of operation are often, in comparison with the discipline and moral training of the New Education, narrow and ineffective. The managers of these great seminaries for colored youth were chiefly clergymen or young graduates from colleges where the reformation of the past quarter of a century in educational methods wrought by the common schools had not been duly appreciated, often disparaged, in the double interest of sectarian theology and scholastic pedantry. A great amount of devoted labor was thus being wasted in the vain effort to school these children by reversing all the methods of nature; forcing the school-book between the learner and the thing to be learned; endeavoring to demonstrate the capacity of the race for the higher culture of the university; wrestling with problems that still divide the greatest educators in the most eminent seats of learning. I attributed a good deal of the failure of these graduates, especially of the mass of pupils who only linger a few months or a brief year within college limits, to these erroneous methods of instruction. A better system at first would have greatly helped along the movement and taken out of the mouths of objectors the most telling arguments against its influence on the pupils.

But, within the past twelve years of my acquaintance with these institutions, this defect has been gradually modified. A better class of teachers has been enlisted. Skilled supervision has been called in. Some of the ablest school men and women of the country have been brought into this work. The Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute is now one of the best models of a great school for this class of pupils in America; and all the leading seminaries have, more or less, profited in this respect. The majority of them, now recognize the imperative need of special instruction and practice in pedagogy for the large number of their graduates who go forth to teach in the common schools. Their buildings are often occupied during the summer vacation by normal institutes, conducted by distinguished experts from all portions of the country. A great original treatise on the natural methods of education is yet to be written in our country, and its writer may pos-

sibly be a teacher schooled in this instructive and suggestive realm where the young colored citizens of the South are trained for the American manhood and womanhood that make for good American citizenship.

LXII.

The influence of the ante-bellum plantation training already described still lingered among these students in a constitutional habit of submission to the authority of their white teachers, especially when reënforced by kindness and confidence. No pupils are so easily governed by a skilled disciplinarian, working on the lines of moral development, as these. They are still the childlike children of the Republic, not yet demoralized by our wretched American heresy of child-spoiling which initiates into a precocious manhood and womanhood in their tenderest years. This docile dependence on their beloved teacher, this openness to reasonable suggestions for their own improvement, this spirit of heroic self-sacrifice and endurance of hardship in their school life, were an irresistible fascination, especially to the devoted women who were most intimately connected even with the deeper moral and spiritual training of the boys.

But it was the uniform experience of these instructors that underneath this docile exterior, often near the surface, lingered the elements of the original character still untrained in the severe school of responsible life. The Negro slave did learn and learned remarkably well the passive virtues possible in his lot. He also learned to work, and he learned the language and the religion of a civilized people. This was the "saving clause" in his emancipation, which prevented his sudden elevation from swamping the South in anarchy. But, unlike the European races, he had not endured the awful schooling of "sword, pestilence, and famine" through centuries of upward struggle out of the hell which the lower side of European civilization remained for a thousand years. Thus he still greatly lacks the peculiar qualifications of effective American citizenship; self-control and the habit of dealing with justice, firmness, and kindly tact with men.

Here was seen the most formidable obstacle to his rapid advancement. Every great school seemed to me like a floating tropical island, liable at any hour to be swept by an irresistible tempest of destructive excitement, "the wind blowing as it listed," often lashed to a cyclone at the slightest apparent provocation.

The most experienced teachers confessed themselves often powerless before such demonstrations, standing appalled by the opening of these yawning deeps of primitive nature, as by the abyss of an earthquake. Herein is displayed the superior tact and disciplinary skill of the better class of the Southern people, who know these liabilities and guard at once against the martinet system of restraint and the powerful excitements which so often react into dangerous excesses. But it is a strong

proof of the radical stamina of the Negro character that he has survived the terrific strain imposed upon him by the ignorance of the North at the close of the war, too often intensified by the reckless hostility of the people in contact with his new citizenship. That out of such a test of a full generation he has emerged, on the whole, a better, more intelligent, industrious, and hopeful citizen, is "greatly to his credit" and full of hope to the patriot and Christian.

LXIII.

I was now led to examine the very positive conviction of an influential class of his teachers, that there is little difference in the capacity of white and colored youth for schooling of the ordinary sort. I also noted the equally positive opinion of many Southern people, not unfriendly to the elementary training of the Negro, that, while the young children, possibly to the age of twelve, were remarkably bright and teachable, there was little to be expected beyond that age; a fatal race limitation of intellectual power coming in to baffle the effort for the secondary or higher education. It seemed to me, after long and careful examination of these schools, that both these theories left out the very important consideration of heredity in estimating the capacity of this class of children and youth. It is not necessary to regard heredity as the implacable fate of the materialist, or to ascribe to it any inordinate influence, to hold that the ability to gather knowledge through books and the ordinary processes of school training is prodigiously increased thereby. A people who never enjoyed the opportunity of this sort of training may be all the time gaining in many important phases of mental capability. The senses may be stimulated to the last degree, and the mental habits essential to success in common life, war, or the form of society amid which it abides, will acquire a remarkable vigor. If, as in the case of the American Negro, this race has lived in the most intimate contact with a powerful and educated people that is its master and director, it will, in addition, appropriate a great deal of information, and even form, by unconscious imitation, habits of mental activity similar to the superior class.

But meanwhile that special training of the will in connection with mental effort which enables the youth not only to observe, but to classify, arrange and adjust information, proceed from facts to their fit disposition, learning to convey to its own place whatever is acquired and forming the habit of rapidly assigning any mental acquisition to its proper department; that power which, in the depths of the mind, appears like a pair of mental pincers, seizing upon and disposing of whatever comes in range, is wanting. This condition of prolonged childishness, of dependence on a commanding will, had hindered the formation of the mysterious faculty which distinguishes the descendants of a long line of well-schooled people, like the native population of Scotland and New England, from all other "sorts and conditions" of pupils.

I found the vast majority of these students, however bright and eager for knowledge, greatly deficient in this staying power. It was easy to excite interest and lift up these classes on a high wave of enthusiasm, and in studies which require chiefly an exercise of the memory in dealing with disconnected facts there was often brilliant progress. Here came in that wonderful capacity for civilization so often misjudged as a sort of animal aptitude for "imitation," whereby the Negro in two hundred and fifty years of slave life has made greater progress out of barbarism than any previous race in history. But the best teachers were least misled by this facility, and realized more and more the difficulty of establishing in these shifting mental sands a solid basis for steady growth and accurate judgment. It seemed as if the task of the thoughtful teacher in this work was twofold; on the one hand to judge discreetly how much to offer and how great a pressure to impose on the power of acquisition, and on the other to carefully build up in the deep places of the intellect the beginnings of the power which insures scholarship as distinguished from the random appropriation of facts; a power that would tell on another generation and go on increasing as the opportunities and experiences of a genuine educational training were established. Such a task indeed demands the wisdom of a Pestalozzi or a Froebel, and was far beyond the ability of the majority of the workers in these schools, though even there appreciated by the more skillful.

LXIV.

This consideration would have greatly modified the courses of study I found existing in many of these schools. I was surprised to note how much was often attempted with children and youth just out of the simplest life of the country; coming up to this high place to acquire even the common habits of decent living; with a range of ideas and a vocabulary so limited; confused and overwhelmed by a life as strange and exacting as if the children of an ordinary American common school were suddenly shot into the society of Windsor Castle, or stranded in the academic groves of Oxford or Cambridge. I wondered why the preoccupation of mind inevitable to such a change; the absorbing, as through the pores of the skin, of a strange new environment; the oppressive change from the wildest freedom to the strictest discipline; did not suggest the absolute necessity of a very elementary, simple introduction to real school life; an adaption of the kindergarten, natural methods, and industrial training to a condition so peculiar.

But I found, in the majority of these schools, a fixed course of study, in no essential way different from the ordinary graded school of our most cultivated communities. It seemed to me a sheer impossibility that the average student could successfully grapple with this style of persistent mental labor, in addition to all he was compelled to see and think and feel and do by the necessities of his new position. And I

marveled at the delusion that these pupils were acquiring a correct and fruitful impression of these branches of study, so rapidly gone over, where a review or examination only added new confusion to the mind.

I could understand the reasons, or rather the excuses, for this course of proceeding, so evidently unprofitable and sure to bring this whole system of instruction into disrepute. These pupils were in great poverty; could often take only snatches of school life; were frequently supported by the gifts of churches and benevolent people, who required constant encouragement by favorable accounts of progress. They were wild to study great things and a great many of them, and often fractious and unmanageable if restrained within their proper capacity. Beside, the sharp rivalry between the different sects by which these colleges and universities are supported is a grievous temptation to attract students by cheapening education, admitting incompetents, and grading by lower tests. All the evils of this sort of competition, so destructive in every department of our American school life, I found aggravated here.

So I early came to the conclusion, not that there is a fatal race limitation to the capacity for acquisition at the age of twelve to fifteen, or that the higher education is an impossibility to an increasing number of these students; but that there has been, and still is, in many quarters, a great lack of pedagogic skill in laying the foundations of the Negro school life, in helping these children not only to fix the habit of acquiring and retaining knowledge, but especially in developing the power of assimilation and of imparting it in turn to others. It is no special reflection on the managers of these excellent institutions that this mistake was made. They were working in an untried field, where the experts might well pause. Their failures were no greater, all things considered, than the blunders in the schooling of the children of the white race that everywhere confronted me; and I respected the earnest desire of the higher class of these workers to learn from their failures. Indeed, soon after these early visits in 1880 all these missionary associations established a more careful supervision of their school work, which in some form now exists in them all. The splendid gifts of the Slater and Hand funds, and the marvelous persistence in generous giving by the Northern people, have enabled these bodies to add a proper industrial and, sometimes, a genuine normal department to the purely academic system that at first so largely prevailed.

LXV.

But here comes in an important consideration in estimating the results of the education of the Negro during the past twenty-five years. It is true that a great many of these pupils have been a sad disappointment to their teachers and friends, as far as the development of mental power and even moderate scholarship goes. It is also true that a considerable number of the attendants in these high places have returned

home in a lamentable state of "big head," which has made their "little learning" a mischievous and sometimes a "dangerous thing." And if this was the result in the upper regions of culture, among the superior class, what could have been expected in the common schools, where the vast majority were gathered, under such conditions, in charge of such teachers; in all ways so weighted with burdens that there is no wonder that the meager three months a year, in a country school house, with all its interruptions and disabilities, was often a demoralization rather than an education? Nobody whose opinion is worthy of respect will maintain that such schooling as half the colored children of the sixteen Southern States even now obtain is much more than a name. It is simply the best these people can obtain under the circumstances. In several of the Southern cities, in 1880, I found the colored public schools in charge of Southern white teachers; in some cases of superior character, good attainments, and respectable social standing. Their success was no better than that of the Northern teachers already described; although their acquaintance with the peculiarities of the race was an advantage. But the vast majority of the teachers in the Southern colored common schools are of their own race; largely graduates of the schools in which they are now employed. But, even with all these drawbacks, I saw enough to confirm me in my faith of the capacity of the average colored boy and girl for the acquirement of the schooling essential to good American citizenship and of the abler youth for a respectable, sometimes a remarkable degree of scholarship. The methods of instruction are slowly improving; the demand for better teachers increases. In short, with half a century of the work inaugurated during the past twenty-five years, the Republic will not be ashamed of its ten millions of new-made citizens or disappointed in the heavy outlay of money, time, and toil in the building up of the colored people's university; the common school, supported by the South, in connection with the secondary and higher seminary, so far largely the contribution of the North, to this truly national work.

LXVI.

But, meanwhile, it does become these great institutions that must retain the leadership of the school life of the race for another generation, educating the higher grade of teachers and the upper class for the guidance of their people, to ponder well the responsibility for the fit mental training of their 50,000 students. No pressure of sectarian propagandism or "boom" of heedless benevolence or any other unworthy motive should come in to swerve their policy from the strict line of truth. "Christian education" is education according to the divine law of human development implanted in the soul of man, interpreted by the growing educational experience of the ages, and no violation of these immutable laws and methods can be atoned for by the utmost zeal in the realm of special religious or moral cultivation. In

several directions there was a speedy and encouraging response to good teaching in all these schools. The Negro has a genius for language. In the two hundred years of his American bondage he made a greater stride towards the speaking of intelligible English than entire districts of English-born people have achieved in the two thousand years since the Roman occupation of the British Islands. He has even been able to impress his own dialect upon his master class to the extent that a full generation of correct language-teaching will hardly bring several millions of white Southern people up to the condition of the more intelligent pupils in these mission schools. Nowhere do the beautiful methods of language instruction, now a part of our progressive school work, bear more abundant fruit than among the children of this susceptible and talkative people; and nowhere are the stupefying and unscientific old-time ways of teaching "the three R's" so convicted of absurdity and inefficiency as in the Negro schools. The progress in writing and drawing, when properly taught, has been remarkable. The handwriting of large numbers of these students showed great natural aptitude and, in free-hand drawing and design they are often superior to the white pupils of similar grade and class. The aptitude for ornamentation appeared in the good taste displayed in dress, the arrangement of flowers and adornment of rooms, wherever the fit opportunity was offered. I have overlooked a score of colored girls who, two years before, had never slept in a bed and were strangers to many of the common habits of decent living, waiting at table, arrayed in gowns of their own making, in manners and appearance challenging admiration. The work of classes in physics, in the construction of apparatus and excellent manipulation in electrical experimenting and ingenious devices in general, proves the mechanical faculty stored up in what is to become one of the most valuable operative classes in the country.

If the present senseless no-method of teaching history could be changed to the free oral story-telling method for little children and the introduction to the notable characters and stirring incidents of our national life, no body of young people in the United States would more eagerly and intelligently deal with it, especially when connected with a teaching of geography which makes it in truth a "description of the earth." In the higher mathematics and philosophy, all studies demanding maturity of mental habit, poise of mind, accurate analysis, and good judgment, I find these pupils generally deficient. But it is quite too early to pronounce on their incapacity, much less to jump to the reckless conclusion that the Negro mind stops growing at fifteen years of age. When a reasonable method of teaching arithmetic, elementary algebra, and geometry is domesticated in the common schools of the South; when the charming natural methods of imparting nature-knowledge are tried upon these children of nature; when philosophy changes from the drumming a cast-iron theory of things human and divine into the heads of children and youth who are yet only half con-

scious of a soul; in short, when the exploded methods of instruction that still hold in the majority of Southern schoolrooms give place to the New Education and a vigorous system of moral instruction wakes up the fine material in both races for an excellent teaching force, we shall behold results in all these seminaries that will be a new revelation to the educational public. It is a great misfortune that these institutions, built up with such consecration of money, time, and precious life, could not at once reflect the best methods of instruction in vogue in the centers of Northern public-school life. For lack of this there has been a fearful waste of energy and often a failure of satisfactory results, and the prejudice of the enemies of Negro education has been confirmed by the people supporting many of the students therein.

LXVII.

It has been a prodigious advantage that in the industrial training that has gradually been introduced into these schools the methods have been good and the success almost uniformly gratifying. The bad habit of associating scholarship with idleness and contempt for manual labor was certainly not brought to the South by the managers of these institutions, although it has, in some cases, been intensified and prolonged by their reluctance to adopt natural methods of instruction and industrial training. Nowhere has there been a more remarkable display of native ability for mechanical, operative, and even decorative work than among the trained students at Hampton, Claflin, Clark, Spelman, Tuskegee, and others of these great seats of the new instruction for the children of the freedmen. The stolid prejudice against the employment of the Negro in any capacity save as a field hand is giving way in the face of the excellent work done by many of these young people. If the wicked Negro-hatred of the great labor organizations and the ignorant immigrant workmen that now degrades labor and misrepresents the better sentiment of the North, can be arrested on the border, the South in due time will possess in its colored people one of the most satisfactory industrial classes in the world; not best because it now works cheaply, perhaps receiving all its style of unskilled work is worth, but because there is in this people a capability for both intelligent and skilled workmanship that will yet surprise the country.

The root of much of the misunderstanding and injustice from which the Negro everywhere is the sufferer is the constitutional sense of general white superiority coupled with the pagan notion that superiority of class, race, or culture implies a perfect and divine right to a control of all inferior classes that amounts to a virtual slavery. It is yet to be decided in the future development of man what is the limit of this vaunted Anglo-Saxon superiority. In an era when martial skill and superiority in general executive power is at the front, he remains the topmost man of the modern world. But, in more than one department

of life, especially in the realm of the spiritual and artistic culture of the race, he is notably second-best; the Oriental and the Southern European leaving him far in the rear. There will never be a lack of sufficient Anglo-Saxon manhood and womanhood in our country to assure the preservation of constitutional Republican institutions and the vigor and enterprise that are the propelling forces of our civilization. But just what the fierce, overbearing, and often brutal Anglo-Saxon man needs most of all, especially in these States, is the modifying and mollifying influence of a people possessing the very qualities which at first made it a serving class, but in the "good time coming," will lubricate, soften, humanize, and broaden the whole structure of American society. If there is no God in the world, no Providence in history, and no place for the humbler peoples of the earth, then a war of races will be the close of the intolerant semi-barbarism that can not live alongside a dependent class without subjecting it to perpetual servitude. But if there is anything in what we all prophesy, that the kingdom of God is on its way, and, as it comes, superiority everywhere will be another name for an overwhelming obligation to follow the Master in "seeking and saving that which was lost," then the "ways of God to man" will be "vindicated" most of all in the relation of the Anglo-Saxon American to the peoples intrusted to his charge in this, the world's normal school of Republican society, "coming from the East and the West, the North and the South," to sit down, each "under his own vine and fig tree, with none to molest or make afraid."

LXVIII.

But I soon freed myself in my observation of these seminaries from the narrow pedagogic crotchet of testing their general success by their immediate achievement in scholarship. About 80 per cent of the people of southern Italy, 48 of Central Europe and a smaller per cent of Great Britain, are still unable to read. Each Southern American State has a body of native white illiteracy, great enough in some possible division of political parties, to rule the commonwealth. So I could not, like some eminent critics, dismiss this great work of Negro education as a failure, on a simple estimate of its mental results. The basis of education is character training, without which all sharpening of the mind, discipline of the executive, or development of the artistic faculty only intensify and confirm the most intense barbarism. Here must we look for the fulcrum over which the lever of the Northern schools for the Negro in the South should pry. So my attention, though never distracted from the mental instruction and discipline going on in these schools, was more and more directed to the observation of the methods by which the children of these millions of newly emancipated adult slaves should be led out from the religion and morality of the plantation to the type of morality and religion which is the solid foundation of American citizenship.

I soon found that the imperious demands of the situation had wrought their inevitable results on this entire body of teachers. For two hundred years the American church has fitly glorified the hemisphere of the Christian religion turned towards God; while the corresponding obligation to "love thy neighbor as thyself," has largely been determined by a secular gospel of "the life that now is." But if, in this work, there came down to the Southland a minister or layman, man or woman, who had felt moved at home to depreciate "mere morality" in the interest of "spiritual religion," his conversion to the whole gospel of Christ was speedy and complete. For this worker, if sincere and practical, was at once confronted with a people who had been chiefly trained to one side of the vast globe of Christianity, often without a suspicion that there was another slope that looked off on the wide domain of a personal character based on the common Christian morality. It was impossible to give to the Negro slave much more than the side of Christianity which touched on his peculiar lot. All consideration of the nature of man as a free citizen of this Republic; his natural right to himself; the use of his own mind; the development of his special order of manhood and womanhood; all that questioned the absolute divine right of the system of society of which he was the underpinning, was necessarily left out. The most evident result was the development of a type of religious character which came up, as, indeed, three-fourths of the Christian people in the world now remain, with no practical faith in the Christian doctrine of the native divine childhood of man as man, or, that the Christian religion demands an essential modification of the old pagan heresy that, in this world, things rightly go by the might of the strongest. But the side of religion that consoles and comforts amid the trials of a hard mortal lot, making this life tolerable to the most and bearable to the least favored of the earth, offering the glories of heaven to the converted as a compensation for the diabolism even of Christian civilization, was so faithfully instilled into the slave population that, with its natural affectionateness and emotional susceptibility, it wrought most powerfully. Doubtless, as Bishop Haygood declares, this was a vital factor in the submission of this people to the conditions of the old life, and largely explains the wonderful devotion of the Negro to the Southern women and children during the war.

LXIX.

But, unfortunately, the outcome of this partial training here, as in all Christian lands, was the failure to connect the moralities of common life with the upper realm of the so-called "Christian experience." So these new teachers came to a work which sometimes first opened their eyes to this defect of the popular religion, and enforced the practical mandates of the Gospel as never before. They found in this student a child-man, or woman, not a "fallen" creature, only half conscious of

the claims of the two most essential moralities, chastity and truthfulness, and all the minor morals that cluster about these central pillars of Christian manhood and womanhood. They found a perilous habit in their pupils of confounding the demand for common morality with the arbitrary law of a master enforcing his own whim. The ready definition of freedom I heard in a class: "A free country is a country where a man can do what he pleases," was the practical notion of too many of these youth. No wonder that for years in all these schools the one imperious necessity was not so much "school discipline,"—for the Negro youth inherits a habit of unquestioning obedience which can be easily developed into a remarkable order by a moderate effort—as the grounding the child and youth in the fundamental moralities, without which his entire educational structure would be "a house built on the sand."

It was soon discovered that a good deal beside the ordinary "word of command," or the commonplace of reward and penalty, is essential to this. First, it appeared that the whole notion of religion as a wild half-pagan orgy of the passions and senses should be gradually eliminated. The revival, in some form a necessity of the Christian school, was utilized; but shorn of its excessively emotional characteristics and made a season for the imparting of solid instruction on the duties of a Christian life. The lazy boy who, converted in one of these seasons, got out of bed at 5 o'clock on a winter morning, split a big pile of wood, built a fire and welcomed his astonished mother to a breakfast well on the way, saying, "Mother, they have got a new kind of religion up at the mission school that tells me to get up in the morning and help you get breakfast," was one of the first fruits of this new dispensation.

I have visited all the great and many of the smaller schools of this sort in the South, and am confident that in no church in America, with the most intelligent membership, are the implacable demands of the Christian moralities more persistently, clearly, and effectively presented, through organization, discipline, home life and outdoor relations, with greater profit to the hearers than in them all. The labors of this devoted band of Christian teachers and workers for the moral and social uplifting of their disciples has added a new chapter to the record of Christianity in America, and, in due time, will be acknowledged in South and North. As Julius Cæsar went off into Gaul and Germany and Britain to learn how to return as Emperor of Rome, so the church of Christ, North and South, is indebted to this body of missionaries to the freedmen, largely to the woman side of this working corps, for such a refreshment of power in the union of practical morality and the popular religion as will give it a new and commanding force in dealing with the awful problems of our new American life.

LXX.

Here has been displayed as never before the "power and potency" of a wise Christian womanhood in lifting her own sex out of the slough of unchastity, the bottomless pit of ancient and modern life. The

most discouraging feature in "the race question" in the South is the widespread belief among the superior class that this and the corresponding vice of untruthfulness are especial race characteristics, permanent and ineradicable, in the Negro. This profound skepticism concerning the possible virtue of the Negro woman is an important element in the violent resistance, especially of Southern women, to social contact. It is honestly believed by multitudes of good Southern people that no cultivation of the mind, no training of the industrial faculty, no religious experience, will essentially change this characteristic. While this conviction prevails, the popular Christianity of the South will stand behind the absolute denial of all social opportunity to the Negro, irrespective of his apparent advancement in the more superficial traits of civilization.

This opinion is, of course, the heritage of the "old estate," and is still too well confirmed by the actual condition of great numbers of the Negro population. But, outside one State, the Southern people have not been brought in close contact with any prominent lower class save the colored man or woman. Their own white "low-down folk," often as immoral and far more dangerous than their former slaves, are already "in the swim" of reformation, often ready to seize on the new opportunities of American life. So it is not recognized that what is regarded as normal race characteristics of the Negro are simply the infirmities of our common human nature, always and everywhere under similar conditions. The sexual weakness of the Southern Negro is no greater than of vast populations of the Old World—the people of southern Italy, of southeastern Europe, of South America, of myriads in the Orient. Wherever the lower orders of mankind have been held under the iron discipline of despotic power, coupled with the only dispensation of religion possible in such a state of society, the masses have been left in childish unconsciousness of the sanctity of home life and the obligation of the common moralities. The ordinary unchaste Negro woman is not the "fallen woman" of the old civilization, but a half-animal creature, on her way up from the lower realm of human existence to a family life in accord with the fundamental virtues of a Christian civilization. Truth is uniformly the latest comer of the virtues even in a highly civilized state. Even yet in the great practical affairs of this world it is a virtue "more honored in the breach than in the observance." The hopeful feature in the moral instruction of the Negro is that he is a moral child, first learning the character-side of the Christian religion, not the "degenerate son of noble sires."

I appreciated the skill with which the admirable women I everywhere met in these schools adjusted their machinery of reformation to the conditions; illustrating the old saying of Col. Davy Crockett, in the comic almanac—"to shoot the Mexicans in their crooked intrenchments, I used crooked artillery." A great use was made of industrial training, and it was inevitable that the mental instruction of the aver-

age pupil must often be made to give way to the more radical moral discipline. The one thing essential to success was found to be constant occupation of the mind and hands. The great majority of these schools were coeducational, for the good reason that the training of the sexes together in the radical virtues of chastity and truthfulness was the only assurance that the graduate would not be dragged down by marriage with an unfit companion on going out into life. "How do you keep your boys virtuous in this great school?" I asked a celebrated leader in this work. "I get them out of bed at 5 o'clock in the morning, give them a smart military drill, put them through their paces in study and work till 9 o'clock at night; and I will answer for all the damage they will do after that hour."

LXXI.

Nobody save one who has the inside look at these large assemblies of youth can realize the intense and ceaseless drain upon the mind and heart of the devoted women who are educating these leaders of the new race into the common virtues which must be the corner stone of all their success. "Beset behind and before," as every attractive colored girl in our America is, by temptation, she has found her providential protectress, the defense that no American church has hitherto been able to give, in this body of devoted apostles of womanhood. I am convinced from the most careful observation that the per cent of sexual failure among these young women graduates, after fair trial in these schools, is not greater than in modern "polite society" and far less than among the women of several of our immigrant peoples from abroad. There is a steadily growing respect for the moralities of life among the better sort of colored people in the South. The regulation scapegrace Negro preacher, generally a liar, often a boor, a thief, and a caucus politician, the champion blatherskite, is being supplanted by a class of respectable, often educated, and effective young clergymen, trained in these schools. And when Southern housekeepers tell me that education has spoiled the servant class of the home, I marvel why they forget that the descendants of their old faithful "mammies" and "aunties" are generally now "set in families," often successful housekeepers on their own account, as thousands of comfortable homes of colored people in town and country demonstrate. The present class of young women servants is now largely drawn from the old set that were occupied in field or menial drudgery. With no home opportunity for training, coming from the undesirable life in which they are reared, even if treated with as much consideration as the ordinary servant girl elsewhere, they can not reasonably be expected to have what the American woman expects, as Dr. Johnson said: "All the Christian virtues for three and sixpence a week." The time is at hand, under the lead of these great schools and the people trained therein, when the still divided churches of the North and South will unite in the greatest mission work now

open to the religious people of America; the moral and social uplifting of the illiterate classes of the sixteen Southern States; a work now of more importance to a Christian civilization than the effort to bring the masses of the pagan world into the acceptance of Christian truth.

LXXII.

It is everywhere asserted that the fundamental educational necessity of the Southern Negro is industrial training. In the large sense this subject now assumes to the thoughtful educational public, the assertion is correct. In the narrow, reactionary sense in which it is pushed by people who only see the little environment amid which they are living, it means what never can or will happen.

If the Negro has only stepped out from his old estate of chattel slavery into the permanent condition of a European peasantry, with a wall of iron and granite about him and his occupation, with no civil, industrial, or social outlook beyond the present condition of the majority of his kind, then the entire system of education now pursued at the South is a fatal blunder. The free common school, however poor, is a ladder up which every child is invited to climb to every place that beckons the American boy or girl for the service of American citizenship. The secondary and higher education, supported from abroad or, as now, by every Southern State, is only the upper section of that ladder. No man or party, however positive, intolerant, or effective at present, can resist the logic of the training now given by the Southern people to the colored folk. The only limitation to the upward climb is in the capacity of the climber. The superior will prevail when he has demonstrated his superiority, and no man can change this law. Similar states of character, intelligence, and usefulness to the community will, in the outcome, assure to every man's children all the rights guaranteed by law to every citizen, leaving social and personal relations in charge of the unwritten law that nobody enacted and nobody can repeal, being the measure of the average civilization and Christianity of the community in which it prevails.

Thus the loud call for industrial education for the Negro will be answered in the same way as a similar demand in any portion of the country. The Negro, outside the vagrant and criminal class of the Southern cities and villages, for which the local authorities are largely responsible, is not the champion lazybones he is published. He does his full share of the work in the country, although his reward is not always in proportion to his services. His defects as a laborer are the same as of all classes of ignorant workers, toiling by the old-time methods of muscular effort, unchanged by mental, moral, or social improvement. The curse of the South to-day is just this sort of labor in every department of her industrial life. In figures the cheapest, in reality it is the dearest labor in any civilized land, and out of it can never come the development of this great country, so prophesied,

lauded, and longed for by its progressive people. It is not capital or intelligent white immigration that is half so much needed by States like Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, by all the essentially Southern Commonwealths, as that thorough training of the head, heart, and hand that will lift up the entire working class of both races in range of the corresponding class elsewhere in the Republic. That done, each State will move forward by the aid of its own citizenship and be in a condition to invite, welcome, and utilize all that may come to it. There will be no large response by any considerable class of desirable people to come to the South to aid the politicians and the reactionary set they so largely represent in their effort to reduce the Negro to a perpetual peasant and essentially reestablish the old order of affairs. There should be investment, immigration, and aid that reinforce no party or class save that portion of the Southern people, the true educational public, who are bravely struggling against prodigious odds to place their communities on the highway of a genuine American civilization, by lifting their own people out of the bonds of provincial and narrow civil and industrial habits.

The valuable industrial training for the Negro is what he is getting in these great schools now under consideration. First. It will enforce the dignity of labor upon a class who will be called to lead a less-favored constituency in the near future. Second. It will put the thinking brain into the working hand; making the masses intelligent and their leaders skilled workmen, capable of meeting the growing demand of the South for all varieties of industrial effort. Third. It will put the conscience into the hand and lift the mass of common workmen above their wretched habits of shirking, cheating, and generally unsatisfactory work that now make life hardly worth living for all dependent on this class. Fourth. It will put the soul into the hand and teach the youth of both races and all classes the fit use of money, by laying up "treasure in heaven;" learning to save on the lower side in order to spend on the upper side of life. The Negro has enough now, if he has this art, to place himself far above his present estate and give him opportunities enjoyed by no laboring class in this country a century ago.

This type of Industrial Education, of course, must be a vital department of all schools. Manual training, sewing, cooking, all are a useful part of it. But whatever ignores the mental, moral, and spiritual element in the training of American youth will only confirm the awful greed for money-getting, with no regard to man or concern for the law of God, which is becoming to-day one of the most serious perils of the South. No man from abroad has the moral right to go to these States with the sole idea of "business." His supreme obligation is to cast in his lot with the really superior class who are working, as no other set of American people are, to bring in the kingdom of God in the Southland.

Here, once more, we bear testimony to the spirit in which the major-

ity of these Northern teachers have wrought in the Southern educational field. While a portion of them, very naturally, have had "an eye to the main chance" and have not left the South poor or wrought without pay, these good women have "borne the burden and heat of the day," amid such disadvantages of schooling, often with such overpressure of work and deprivation of all that makes the outward life of an educated American woman a blessing, that nothing but an unselfish service of the Master can account for the persistence in their mission. And it should not be forgotten that, whatever may have been the attitude of Southern society, these women who have really sought it with the same diligence and tact essential anywhere, have often found among the Christian women of the South the reliable support of personal friendship, generous sympathy, and appreciation which has been to them a great comfort and the prophecy of the coming day when we shall all "see eye to eye" in the glorious union of churches and peoples for the common good.

LXXIII.

And, now, if the question is again forced, What has all this work of the Northern Christian people really accomplished for the Negro and, through him, for the South and the Nation?—I answer: Just what education, in its just estimate, is now doing for all children and youth in American schools. A mischievous heresy of the time is the pedantic notion of making the American common school an arrangement to secure "scholarship" for the masses. Honest instruction in anything on the lines of truth, that scorns the shallow and shabby habit of calling common things by uncommon names, filling the child with a conceit of what he is not, is essential to all successful schooling. But "scholarship" in any genuine sense is a virtual impossibility to the mass of mankind. The common school of the American people is an institution for the training and development to manhood and womanhood of American youth through a scheme of instruction and discipline which blends the moral, mental and executive elements in due proportion. If it sends out its graduate at the end of five or ten years well started on that line of life, with an eager desire for mental improvement added to a solid standing on good character and the ability to use his mental and moral acquirements in his everyday work in life, this is all we have the right to ask.

Tried by this test no body of youth in this country can give a better "account of their stewardship" than the majority of those who have been under the influence of these mission schools long enough to be really affected thereby. Even the rough plantation boy or simple girl who drifts through Atlanta or Fisk, or lodges for a time in one of the minor seminaries, generally goes home more inclined to do something better. But it requires a genuine course of some years—perhaps better if varied with occasional teaching or home life—to bring out the

best result. Whatever may be said of the superficial scholarship of the majority of their pupils, or of the occasional over-elation of some of the weaker heads, the general effect of their training is good and helpful, not only to themselves but to their people. I know of what I affirm. I have lived for twelve years past in constant contact with and careful observation of these young people. There are now thousands of them scattered through the South. Many of them have married their school companions; indeed, the coeducational feature of the system is one of its most valuable elements, tending to bring together, on a higher plane of Christian friendship and marriage, where such object lessons are most important. I find these people at work in all the superior avenues open to their race; in the church, as pastors and workers of an improved style, physicians, mechanics; the women good mothers and housekeepers, bringing up their children "in the fear of the Lord;" the life of the common school as teachers; blessing the churches and communities in which they live; in short, acting well their part of leadership in every realm of life among their people.

When it is said that their education unfits them for work, the assertion simply means that intelligent, ambitious, self-respecting American youth, of every race, class or "previous condition" will not and ought not to become workers of the old-time sort; servants under the despotic control of a selfish and exacting mistress; laborers in a life little above the old conditions of slavery; humble, cringing, or reckless and "striking" operatives, enlisted and maneuvered by demagogues in the bitter war of labor against capital. These educated young people are doing what the children of every respectable family in any part of our country are doing; working according to the improved industrial methods, in modern style, moved by the new ambitions of the day and time. Already have the communities of the South had reason to be grateful for what has been done in this way. The system of common schools for the colored folk would be impossible without their work in the school-room. The Negro church would be sloughed in a half-pagan superstition without their ministry in the pulpit, and the Sunday school. They are leading the way as honestly, effectively, and successfully as any people, all things considered, to a better time coming for the States which must remain the permanent home of the race.

In another place, in my observations on the common school and woman's work therein, I shall write of the great service of the colored young women therein. Suffice it here to repeat what has all along been repeated, that in this blessed ministry of education the women of the North, by what they have contributed and what they have done, have not only laid the sixteen Southern States and the American people under a weight of obligation that only time will reveal; but which, also, time, the all-reconciling force in human affairs will be certain to bring to the remembrance, appreciation, and grateful acknowledgment of the Republic.

LXXIV.

Of course the question must be met and answered, What is to be the final status of this class of schools? It will be decided by each religious body on grounds satisfactory to itself. But certain tendencies are already apparent, all pointing in the same direction.

First. It has been for some time apparent that the elementary schooling of colored children should be left to the local public schools as fast as they are competent to do the work. Probably, in a large majority of cases, this would be feasible, especially as in these communities the common-school teachers are largely drawn from these institutions. It will be impossible to gather the funds in the North for the support of a great system of elementary education in the South. No State in the Union, not even Massachusetts or California, now pays so much per capita for the most complete system of public schooling as it costs these institutions for the training of their graduates, over and above what is received for tuition fees and student work. There has been too much of the tendency in all these Northern churches to push their Southern educational work on the lines of the parochial and "Christian education" scheme, against which the Northern Protestant people are almost a unit in opposing the Catholic programme in their own States.

The Southern colored people can not educate their children in their own parochial schools without such incessant demands upon Northern benevolence as will not much longer be met. If the colored people can be aroused to their own responsibility and lifted above a present dangerous dependence on Northern charity, they can, in different ways, supplement the public school and make it in time adequate to their needs. Whether they do it will depend largely on the cheerful coöperation of these great institutions with local boards of instruction. There is no doubt that all these seminaries, called colleges and universities, would be far more effective if their number of students were decreased by a third, carefully sifted, and the work of the institution concentrated on a class of pupils who, by age, capacity, and character will repay the labor and money expended upon them. At present every incompetent, half-trained, unreliable scholar sent forth feeds a popular prejudice against negro education, perpetuates the reign of poor teachers and useless schools, and works unfavorably in the reaction at the base of supplies. For a generation yet this class of academies will virtually have in its hands the fixing of the standard of teaching ability and general professional character among the colored people of the South. Every institution established by State or local home effort will be compelled to follow these models. It would be far better could 25,000 students, sifted from the mass that is rushing upon these institutions, be selected, assisted, if need be, to remain until well trained and then graduated, than to expend thousands on children who can as well be schooled in the ordinary way.

LXXV.

Second. This will involve the necessity of a general effort to endow the best of these schools until they are raised above their present necessity of "living from hand to mouth."

The result of this would be a superior class of teachers, better paid and more permanent, three most desirable elements of success. The schools themselves would then be lifted above their precarious dependence on annual contributions by churches, Sunday schools, and personal gifts. They would also be fortified against the two home perils: a raid by ambitious colored churches and interested leaders to capture and manage them in their own way, and the occasional upheaval from the lower regions of Southern life, which is still to be guarded against in every State.

LXXVI.

Third. Thus defended and concentrated it will be perfectly safe to call to these boards of management and instruction friendly and competent Southern men and women of both races, anticipating the time when all these schools can be handed over to the Southern people, the grandest educational gift ever yet conferred upon any people, by the combined philanthropy and Christian patriotism of the North and the Nation.

These suggestions are in no way original with the writer. They are all strongly confirmed by the growing conviction of the most experienced managers and workers in this field. Indeed more than one of these colleges is now virtually planted on this platform and others are looking that way. It is high time that the indiscriminate and often thoughtless giving of our Northern people for the education of the Negro should give place to a concentrated effort to secure and thoroughly establish the positions already gained. Through the entire summer the streets of our Northern cities are swarming and our churches besieged by a host of solicitors, of both races, often wholly unknown or commended in the reckless way in which people can be sent from any community anywhere to beg for "a good cause." As an old railroad president growled out to one of these petitioners, "You can't educate 20,000,000 people by passing round a hat." Our Southern friends mistake in their good-natured indorsement of many of these solicitors, and provoke reaction by favoring this incessant application.

While there has probably been no more questionable or incompetent management of such funds than could be expected, there has been the usual result of spreading great sums of money in a miscellaneous way over vast spaces, often to be handled by workers incompetent or visionary. Many a church pays an annual tax for the support of a good brother or sister "missionary down south," when the same money applied to build a colored schoolhouse, place in it a better teacher, and

extend its term would help ten times the number of children, besides forging one more link in the chain of union and good feeling between the people of both sections. But we are aware that all this depends largely on the final union of the still disrupted churches of the three great religious denominations that contain nine-tenths of the Southern people. This final triumph of American patriotism and the Christian religion once achieved, all good things would seem possible.

their educational methods and plan of organization. A request to Chancellor Rev. T. J. Donahue, L. T. D., Baltimore, Md., that, under the central oversight of his eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, a chapter of this circular should be prepared, giving reliable information on these points, was declined, on the ground of preoccupation, with the suggestion from his eminence that application should be made to the different bishops of the Catholic Church in the Southern States. As this would involve the request that these officials should each prepare a similar document, with the strong probability of a similar response, the author of the circular regrets that it seemed impracticable to take this advice. The pages of this circular, however, in any subsequent edition, will be held open for a full statement of the Catholic system of education in the South, as far as relates to the education of girls, the coöperation of women, and the educational and mission work among the colored people.

CXXXI.

*from circ. inf. 1, 18
(A. D. Mayo.)*

EDUCATION OF THE COLORED RACE IN THE SOUTH.

Under this division, by permission of Dr. W. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, we republish the following set of tables containing the most complete account of the condition of education among the colored people of the sixteen former slave States and District of Columbia yet given to the public. As this record is still two years behind the present date, the situation in 1891-'92 is everywhere somewhat better than shown by these figures.

The same unfavorable criticism must attach to this as to every great mass of Southern educational statistics. And the remarks already made concerning the nomenclature of schools apply with even greater force to the entire scheme of private and denominational instruction for the colored than the white race and with far more significance to the former. But the responsibility for the latter defect rests largely with the denominational mission boards that established the more important schools at the close of the war; giving the name "college" and "university" to these great collections of several hundred colored children, while their proper college students could be counted sometimes on the fingers of one hand.

But it must be allowed that these mission schools, in several important respects, have led in the entire Southern educational movement of the past twenty years.

First. Preëminently in what has now become so largely the American practice; the coeducation of the sexes in every department of instruction. With few exceptions the largest and best of these seminaries are coeducational, and this feature is one of immense value in the training in letters and proper school discipline of the first generation following the emancipation of the race.

Second. Until recently there has been more valuable instruction in pedagogics in the superior schools for the colored than for the white race in the South. Every "college" and "university" has contained superior teachers, trained in the best normal schools of the North and Canada, and at present, through the aid of the Slater fund, this is becoming a marked feature in all of them. As a consequence, the natural methods of instruction have been introduced more largely every year to the colored public schools of the South by their graduates. The same remark applies to the normal schools for colored students established by the Southern States, all of which are giving fair instruction in the art of teaching.

Third. These schools have anticipated the feature of Industrial Training, now so highly valued, in its introduction to Southern education. Indeed, Gen. S. C. Armstrong may be called the father of industrial training in the South, for his great normal and industrial institute for colored youth and Indians at Hampton, Va., had become famous before any movement of similar importance had been inaugurated below the line of the border States in the South. And still, in the dozen Southern States where industrial education is most needed for both races, the colored people are receiving the larger proportion and are making excellent use of this great advantage.

Fourth. Another important practice in our American education, mentioned with great praise by Richard Cobden thirty years ago, on a visit to this country, the employment of women teachers for boys from the age of 12 to manhood has been notably illustrated in these great mission schools for colored youth. As before stated, the great burden of actual teaching and the moral, religious, and social training of the many thousand boys and young men of this race in these institutions has been sustained by the superior women of the North, enrolled as teachers, and to their beneficent influence must be ascribed the remarkable advance in personal purity, "good morals, and gentle manners" among this class of students, with the general commendable behavior of these young men and their growing influence in the uplift of their people. In this respect the common school of the South is falling into the American custom; and many of the secondary schools for boys would be greatly improved in manners and morals by a judicious mingling of able and influential women in their corps of teachers.

Fifth. Although we strongly deprecate the giving of unsuitable names to schools of the secondary and elementary instruction, yet in the organization of the more important of these mission schools for the colored folks, the broad idea of the university and college as outlined by Milton and Jefferson, a great seminary for the complete development of the student into an intelligent, moral, industrious, effective, and patriotic citizenship, has been more fully borne in mind than in the similar institutions for the white race in any part of the country. There are not half a dozen colleges or universities in the Union so safe as a resi-

dence for a growing boy or girl, where so many good things are proposed, so much careful personal attention bestowed upon the students, with so large a proportion of the instructors at once practical and consecrated guides of youth as in this class of establishments. If administered on this line, another generation will see them among the most unique and important educational communities in Christendom, realizing more fully than has been deemed possible before the noblest ideals of the foremost educators of the past and present age.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The three tables following (Tables 8, 9, and 10) exhibit the statistics of the colored schools of the former slave States placed in juxtaposition with those of the white.

TABLE 8.—Colored school population and colored population 6 to 14 years of age in the former slave States compared with the white, mainly for 1889.

State.	Age of children enumerated.	Number enumerated.		Estimated population 6 to 14.		Per cent of total.	
		Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Alabama	7-21	226,925	295,766	164,410	214,330	43.4	56.6
Arkansas	6-21	106,300	297,665	78,220	219,080	26.3	73.7
Delaware	6-21	*7,070	*36,468	†5,485	†28,293	*16.2	*83.8
District of Columbia	6-17	†18,200	†33,300	13,720	25,100	35.3	64.7
Florida	6-21	†52,865	†60,782	41,860	48,130	46.5	53.5
Georgia †	6-18	267,657	292,624	186,031	203,381	47.8	52.2
Kentucky	6-20	†109,158	†555,809	70,150	357,229	19.4	80.6
Louisiana †	6-18	†176,097	†160,040	132,134	120,085	52.4	47.6
Maryland	5-20	§68,406	§226,806	47,540	157,560	23.2	76.8
Mississippi	5-21	||273,528	||190,436	179,233	124,753	||59.0	||41.0
Missouri	6-20	48,478	816,886	30,600	515,600	5.6	94.4
North Carolina †	6-16	216,827	363,982	142,600	239,150	37.4	62.6
South Carolina	6-21	§180,475	§101,189	165,933	93,029	§64.1	§35.9
Tennessee †	6-21	162,836	489,674	102,600	308,400	25.0	75.0
Texas	8-16	139,939	405,677	157,400	456,300	25.6	74.4
Virginia	5-21	¶265,347	¶345,024	167,367	217,703	¶43.5	¶56.5
West Virginia	6-21	10,497	248,437	6,840	161,790	4.1	95.9
Total				1,692,123	3,489,904	32.7	67.3

* In 1886.

† In 1888.

‡ Estimated.

§ U. S. Census of 1880.

|| In 1887.

¶ In 1885.

TABLE 9.—Enrollment and average attendance in colored public schools, compared with white, mainly for 1888-'89.

State.	Number of pupils enrolled.		Per cent of total enrollment.		Number of pupils enrolled to every 100 children 6 to 14.		Average daily attendance.		Ratio of average attendance to enrollment.	
	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Alabama.....	105, 106	165, 098	38.9	61.1	64	77	69, 273	102, 828	<i>Per ct.</i>	<i>Per ct.</i>
Arkansas.....	56, 382	159, 770	26.1	73.9	72	73			65.9	62.3
Delaware*	4, 587	27, 965	14.1	85.9	84	99	2, 017	19, 254	44.0	68.9
District of Columbia	13, 004	22, 760	36.3	63.7	95	91	8, 597	19, 022	77.0	77.3
Florida.....	34, 008	52, 000	39.5	60.5	81	108				
Georgia †.....	120, 390	200, 786	37.5	62.5	65	99				
Kentucky.....	42, 526	288, 460	12.8	87.2	61	81	28, 833	193, 721	67.8	67.2
Louisiana †.....	51, 539	74, 034	41.0	59.0	39	62	37, 656	52, 895	73.1	71.5
Maryland.....	34, 072	145, 388	19.0	81.0	72	92	15, 227	83, 993	44.7	57.8
Mississippi.....	172, 338	147, 373	53.9	46.1	96	118	102, 798	90, 411	59.6	61.3
Missouri.....	32, 168	579, 373	5.3	94.7	105	112				
North Carolina*	125, 844	211, 498	37.3	62.7	88	88	75, 230	133, 427	59.8	64.1
South Carolina	104, 503	89, 761	53.8	46.2	63	96	69, 892	159, 357	66.9	66.1
Tennessee*	94, 435	342, 089	21.6	78.4	92	111	64, 711	244, 258	68.5	71.4
Texas §.....	96, 809	281, 958	25.6	74.4	63	62				
Virginia.....	119, 472	217, 776	35.4	64.6	71	100	65, 618	129, 907	55.0	59.6
West Virginia.....	6, 209	181, 319	3.3	96.7	91	112	3, 589	116, 401	57.8	64.2
Total.....	1, 213, 092	3, 187, 408	27.6	72.4	72	91			||62.3	||65.0

* In 1887-'88.

† In 1888.

‡ There were also 7,109 not classified according to race.

§ A few counties not reporting are estimated.

|| Includes only the States tabulated in the same column above.

TABLE 10.—Length of school term, and number of teachers, with their monthly salaries, in colored and white schools, mainly for 1888-'89.

State.	Average number of days the public schools were kept.		Number of teachers in colored schools.	Average monthly salaries of teachers.	
	Colored.	White.		Colored.	White.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Alabama.....	75½	75½	1, 968	\$22.33	\$23.15
Arkansas.....			*1, 500	38.00	46.25
Delaware †.....	117	168	84		
District of Columbia	179	182	202		
Florida.....	150	150	700		
Georgia †.....			\$1, 987		
Kentucky.....	93	94	1, 200	38.78	34.58
Louisiana †.....	91	95	730	33.00	27.50
Maryland.....	172	190	590		
Mississippi.....	||91	||91	3, 097	24.28	34.93
Missouri.....			686		
North Carolina †.....	61.5	64	2, 617	21.84	24.62
South Carolina.....			1, 622		
Tennessee †.....			1, 564		
Texas.....			2, 278		
Virginia.....			1, 951		
West Virginia.....			180		
Total.....	||98.2	||98.6	22, 956	||27.35	||32.74

* Approximately.

† In 1887-'88.

‡ In 1888.

§ Number of colored schools, excluding those in cities under local laws.

|| County schools only.

|| Includes only the States tabulated in the same column above.

Remarks upon the tables.

Number of colored children in the schools.—It will be seen that, taking all the above States together, the colored children form 32.7 per cent, or a trifle less than one-third of the total school population 6 to 14 years of age, while the colored pupils form only 27.6 per cent, or little more than one-fourth of the total enrollment; *i. e.*, the colored population supplies considerably less than its due proportion of pupils to the public schools. This is the case in each of the States individually, with the exception of North Carolina and Texas, where the proportion of children and of school enrollment is about the same, and the District of Columbia, where the proportion of colored children is 35.3 per cent and of colored pupils 36.3 per cent.

Looking at the actual number of pupils enrolled for each 100 children of 6 to 14 years of age (columns 6 and 7, Table 9) it is found to be 72 for the colored population and 91 for the white, a decided difference; and if the number of white children receiving an education outside of the public schools could be taken into consideration a still greater discrepancy would appear.

Regularity of attendance.—Not only are there fewer colored pupils than white enrolled in proportion to the number of children, but the regularity of attendance of colored pupils is less than the white. The summaries of columns 10 and 11, Table 9, show that out of every 100 colored pupils enrolled 62.3 on an average attend each day; and out of a like number of white pupils 65 attend each day on an average. This is not a very great difference, however, and under all the circumstances may be considered a satisfactory relative showing. In Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, and South Carolina the regularity of the colored pupils exceeds that of the white.

Length of school term.—The colored schools are kept an average of 89.2 days in the nine States which furnish the necessary data for determining this item, and the white schools an average of 98.6 days (columns 2 and 3, Table 10). Delaware furnishes a large part of this difference, due to the colored people being left mainly to their own resources in that State. In Maryland, also, there is a considerable difference in the length of the school terms. Outside of these two States the difference is trifling.

Teachers' wages.—The average of the monthly wages of colored teachers in six States reporting this item is \$27.35; of white teachers, \$32.74 (columns 5 and 6, Table 10). This difference may be considered to proceed in part from the circumstance that among the white teachers there are a greater proportional number of the higher and better-paid grades than among the colored, thus raising their average.

In Kentucky the average wages of the colored teachers exceed those of the white. This results from the colored districts being larger than the white districts, containing more children, and therefore drawing more of the State money, which is applied exclusively to the payment of the district teacher.

TABLE 11.—Amount and disposition of the sums disbursed from the Slater fund from 1883 to 1889, inclusive.

	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	Total.
Alabama	\$2,100	\$2,450	\$5,000	\$3,800	\$4,400	\$1,600	\$3,600	\$25,950
Arkansas					600	800	800	2,200
Florida						1,000	800	1,800
Georgia	6,200	500	6,814	5,100	6,200	6,850	9,700	41,364
Kentucky		1,000	1,000	700	700	700		4,100
Louisiana		592	1,400	1,000	3,100	3,500	4,100	13,692
Mississippi	1,000	2,600	2,000	2,000	4,450	4,800	4,400	21,250
North Carolina	2,000	740	4,400	3,600	4,200	5,300	5,100	25,340
South Carolina	2,000	750	3,500	2,700	3,660	4,300	4,000	20,910
Tennessee	950	4,325	7,600	5,800	6,500	6,500	6,800	38,475
Texas		600	600	600	900	1,360	1,360	5,420
Virginia	2,000	2,000	3,000	3,650	4,190	4,190	3,150	22,180
District of Columbia		1,000	1,000	600	600	600		3,800
Special		550	450	450	500	500	500	2,950
Total	16,250	17,107	36,764	30,000	40,000	45,000	44,310	*229,431

* The sum of \$45,000 has been appropriated for the year 1889-'90.

TABLE 12.—Expenditure of moneys derived from Peabody Fund, classified by race.

ALABAMA, 1888-'89.

White:		
Thirteen scholarships at Nashville		\$2,600
Normal schools		2,250
Birmingham Training School		500
		<u>\$5,350</u>
Colored:		
Normal schools		800
Unclassified:		
Teachers' institutes (13 white, 9 colored)		1,250
Public schools		1,000
		<u>2,250</u>
		<u><u>8,400</u></u>

ARKANSAS, 1888.

White:		
Ten scholarships		2,000
Unclassified:		
Public schools		2,200
Teacher's institutes		1,608
		<u>3,808</u>
		<u><u>5,808</u></u>

GEORGIA, 1888.

White:		
Fourteen scholarships		2,800
Unclassified:		
Newnan public schools		500
Teachers' institute		1,042
		<u>1,542</u>
		<u><u>4,342</u></u>

LOUISIANA, 1887-'88.

White:		
Eight scholarships		1,600
State Normal School		2,000
		<u>3,600</u>
Unclassified:		
Public schools		1,000
Teachers' institutes		1,000
		<u>2,000</u>
		<u><u>5,600</u></u>

TABLE 12.—*Expenditure of moneys derived from Peabody Fund, etc.*—Continued.

NORTH CAROLINA, 1887-'88.			
White:			
Fourteen scholarships	\$2,800		
Normal schools	2,015		
			\$4,815
Colored:			
Public schools	200		
Normal schools	180		
			380
Unclassified:			
Public schools		2,105	
			7,300
			<u>7,300</u>
SOUTH CAROLINA, 1888-'89.			
White:			
Ten scholarships	2,000		
Normal school	2,000		
			4,000
Colored:			
Normal school		1,000	
Unclassified:			
Teachers' institutes	167		
Public schools	4,450		
			4,617
			9,617
			<u>9,617</u>
TENNESSEE, 1886-'87.			
White:			
Fourteen scholarships	2,800		
Peabody Normal College	10,000		
			12,800
Unclassified:			
Teachers' institutes (6 white, 3 colored, in 1888-'89)		1,200	
			14,000
			<u>14,000</u>
TEXAS, 1887-'88.			
White:			
Nine scholarships	1,800		
Normal school	2,000		
			3,800
			<u>3,800</u>
VIRGINIA, 1887-'88.			
White:			
Fourteen scholarships	2,800		
Normal school	2,000		
Teachers' institutes	1,691		
			6,491
Colored:			
Normal school	500		
Teachers' institutes	380		
			880
			7,371
			<u>7,371</u>
WEST VIRGINIA, 1886-'87.			
White:			
Eight scholarships		1,600	
Unclassified:			
Normal schools	1,000		
Institutes	1,500		
			2,500
			4,100
			<u>4,100</u>

TABLE 13.—Statistics of institutions for the instruction of the colored race, for 1888-'89.

Location.	Name.	Religious denomination.	Instructors.	Students.
NORMAL SCHOOLS.				
Huntsville, Ala.	Central Alabama Academy	M. E.	5	140
Do	State Colored Normal and Industrial School	Non-sect.	10	257
Mobile, Ala.	Emerson Institute	Cong	10	289
Montgomery, Ala.	State Normal School for Colored Students	Non-sect.	19	325
Talladega, Ala.	Normal Department of Talladega College	Cong	3	35
Tuskegee, Ala.	Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute	Non-sect.	27	399
Helena, Ark.	Southland College and Normal Institute*	5	5	61
Pine Bluff, Ark.	Branch Normal College of Arkansas Industrial University.	Non-sect	7	200
Washington, D. C.	Miner Normal School	do	7	40
Do	Normal Department of Howard University	do	6	163
Tallahassee, Fla.	State Normal College for Colored Teachers	do	3	54
Atlanta, Ga.	Normal Department of Atlanta University	do	1	110
Augusta, Ga.	The Paine Institute	M. E., So.	8	129
Cuthbert, Ga.	Howard Normal School*	Non-sect.	2	124
Thomasville, Ga.	Normal and Industrial School*	do	7	367
New Orleans, La.	Normal Department of New Orleans University	M. E.	1	17
Do	Normal Department of Straight University	Non-sect.	1	40
Holly Springs, Miss.	Mississippi State Colored Normal School.	do	3	168
Jackson, Miss.	Jackson College	Baptist	8	220
Tougaloo, Miss.	Normal Department of Tougaloo University	Cong	3	25
Jefferson City, Mo.	Lincoln Institute*	Non-sect.	7	168
Ashborough, N. C.	Ashborough Normal School	Friends.	2	75
Fayetteville, N. C.	State Colored Normal School	Non-sect.	3	153
Goldsboro, N. C.	do	do	3	89
Plymouth, N. C.	do	do	3	106
Raleigh, N. C.	St. Augustine Normal School and Collegiate Institute.*	P. E.	9	155
Salisbury, N. C.	State Colored Normal School*	Non-sect.	3	129
Aiken, S. C.	Schofield Normal and Industrial School	do	8	302
Charleston, S. C.	Avery Normal Institute.	Cong	6	250
Greenwood, S. C.	Brewer Normal School*	do	3	186
Knoxville, Tenn.	Slater Training School	do	5	239
Memphis, Tenn.	Le Moyne Normal Institute.	Cong	12	176
Morristown, Tenn.	Morristown Normal Academy.	M. E.	6	269
Nashville, Tenn.	Normal Department of Central Tennessee College	do	1	188
Do.	Normal Department of Fisk University	Cong	6	48
Do.	Normal Department of Roger Williams University	Bapt.	6	221
Anstin, Tex.	Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute.	Cong	13	234
Hempstead, Tex.	Prairie View State Normal School.	Non-sect.	8	140
Hampton, Va.	Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.	Cong	61	651
Petersburg, Va.	Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute	Non-sect.	13	326
Harper's Ferry, W. Va.	Storer College	do	9	194
Total			316	7,462
INSTITUTIONS FOR SECONDARY INSTRUCTION.†				
Athens, Ala.	Trinity School	Cong	5	186
Marion, Ala.	Colored Academy	do	1	5
Prattville, Ala.	Prattville Male and Female Academy‡	Non-sect.	5	293
Talladega, Ala.	Talladega College	Cong	18	427
Sacramento, Cal.	St. Joseph's Academy	Cath.	10	300
Jacksonville, Fla.	Cookman Institute	M. E.	7	241
Key West, Fla.	Convent of Mary Immaculate*‡	Cath.	13	120
Live Oak, Fla.	Florida Institute	Bapt.	5	92
Athens, Ga.	Jewel Normal School	do	2	125
Do.	Knox Institute	do	1	95
Do.	Pierce Chapel	do	1	77
Atlanta, Ga.	Atlanta Baptist Seminary	Bapt.	6	148
Do.	Spelman Seminary	do	30	551
Do.	Storr's School*	Cong	9	589
Cave Spring, Ga.	Mercer Female Seminary	Bapt.	1	25
McIntosh, Ga.	Dorchester Academy*	Cong	4	248
Macon, Ga.	Ballard Normal School	do	10	430
Do.	Lewis Normal Institute*	Cong	10	372
Mt. Zion, Ga.	Mount Zion Seminary*	M. E.	4	124
Savannah, Ga.	Beach Institute*	Cong	8	321
Tullehassee, Ind. T.	Creek Freedman School	Bapt.	1	1
Lexington, Ky.	Lexington Colored Normal School	Cong	7	300

* Statistics of 1887-'88.

†169 students not included here were attending schools designed for whites.

‡This institution is open to both races, and the figures given include some whites.

TABLE 13.—Statistics of institutions for the instruction of the colored race, for 1888-'89—Continued.

Location.	Name.	Religious denomination.	Instructors.	Students.
Louisville, Ky	State University	Bapt.		
Williamsburg, Ky	Williamsburg Colored Academy	Cong	8	307
Winsted, La	Gilbert Academy	M. E.	12	299
Clinton, Miss	Mount Hermon Female Seminary	Nonsect	5	229
Meridian, Miss	Meridian Academy	M. E.	3	185
Ashborough, N. C.	Friends' Academy*	Friends	2	82
Concord, N. C.	Scotia Seminary	Presb.	14	224
Leicester, N. C.	Brown Seminary*	M. E.	2	100
Greensboro, N. C.	Bennett Seminary*	do	5	127
Wilmington, N. C.	Gregory Institute*		8	300
South New Lyme, Ohio.	New Lyme Institute		8	282
Philadelphia, Pa	Institute for Colored Youth*	Friends	8	427
Oxford, Pa	Oxford Academy	Nonsect	6	74
Charleston, S. C.	Wallingford Academy	Presb.	7	651
Columbia, S. C.	Benedict Institute	Bapt.	14	236
Frogmore, S. C.	Penn Industrial and Normal School	Nonsect	10	240
Grand View, Tenn.	Colored Academy*	Cong	3	92
Jonesboro, Tenn	Warner Institute*	do	3	112
Knoxville, Tenn	Knoxville College	U. Presb.	12	257
Mason, Tenn	West Tennessee Preparatory School	M. E.	3	149
Morristown, Tenn	Morristown Seminary and Normal Institute	do	6	282
Pleasant Hill, Tenn	Colored Academy*	Cong	3	76
Hearne, Tex	Hearne Academy	Bapt.	3	48
Marshall, Tex	Bishop College	do	8	209
Do	Wiley University	M. E.	13	230
Waco, Tex.	Paul Quin College	Af. Meth	4	107
Walnut, Tex.	Central College*	Nonsect	5	223
Abbyville, Va	School of the Bluestone Mission*	U. Presb	3	220
Norfolk, Va.	Norfolk Mission School	do	10	453
Richmond, Va	Moore Street Industrial School		4	95
Do	Hartshorne Memorial College	Bapt.	7	100
Total			354	11,480
UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES. †				
Selma, Ala	Selma University	Bapt.		
Little Rock, Ark	Philander Smith College	M. E.	7	187
Atlanta, Ga.	Atlanta University	Nonsect	21	356
Do	Clark University	M. E.	12	68
Washington, D. C.	Howard University‡	Nonsect	9	59
Berea, Ky	Berea College	do	18	334
New Orleans, La.	Leland University	Bapt.	10	170
Do	New Orleans University	M. E.	9	240
Do	Southern University	Nonsect	9	360
Do	Straight University	do	17	432
Holly Springs, Miss	Rust University	M. E.	8	201
Jackson, Miss	Jackson College	Bapt.		
Rodney, Miss	Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College	Nonsect	7	216
Charlotte, N. C.	Biddle University	Presb.	7	138
Raleigh, N. C.	Shaw University	Bapt.		
Salisbury, N. C.	Livingston College	Af. M. E.	13	180
Wilberforce, Ohio	Wilberforce University	do	13	124
Columbia, S. C.	Allen University	do	9	241
Orangeburg, S. C.	Claffin University	Nonsect	20	946
Nashville, Tenn	Central Tennessee College	M. E.	24	244
Do	Fisk University	Cong	17	451
Do	Roger Williams University	Bapt.	8	63
Total			238	5,010
SCHOOLS OF THEOLOGY. ‖				
Talladega, Ala	Talladega College	Cong	1	16
Tuscaloosa, Ala	Institute for Training Colored Ministers	Presb.	2	26
Washington, D. C.	Theological Department of Howard University	Nonsect	6	38
Do	Wayland Seminary	Bapt.	8	43
Atlanta, Ga.	Atlanta Baptist Seminary	do	5	147
Do	Gammon Theological Seminary	M. E.	4	70
New Orleans, La.	Gilbert Haven School of Theology (New Orleans University).	do	3	9
Do	Theological Department of Leland University	Bapt.	2	30
Do	Theological Department of Straight University	Nonsect	4	20
Baltimore, Md	Centenary Biblical Institute	M. E.	15	195

* Statistics of 1887-'88.

† Not including professional departments.

‡ Number of instructors in all the departments.

§ 55 white students are enrolled in the different departments of Howard University.

‖ 40 colored students of theology not included here were attending schools designed for whites.

TABLE 13.—*Statistics of institutions for the instruction of the colored race, for 1888-'89—Continued.*

Location.	Name.	Religious denomination.	Instructors.	Students.
Charlotte, N. C.	Theological Department of Biddle University	Presb.	3	13
Raleigh, N. C.	Theological Department of St. Augustine's Normal School.	P. E.	6	15
Do.	Theological Department of Shaw University	Bapt.	2	40
Wilberforce, Ohio	Theological Department of Wilberforce University.	Af. M. E.	2	8
Columbia, S. C.	Benedict Institute	Bapt.	7	236
Do.	Theological Department of Allen University	Af. M. E.	3	9
Orangeburg, S. C.	Baker Theological Institute (Claflin University)			
Nashville, Tenn.	Theological Department of Central Tennessee College.	M. E.	2	4
Do.	Theological Department of Fisk University	Cong.	1	9
Do.	Theological Department of Roger Williams University.	Bapt.	1	
Marshall, Tex.	Bishop College	Bapt.	8	17
Richmond, Va.	Richmond Theological Seminary	do.	4	63
	Total		89	1,008
SCHOOLS OF LAW.				
Washington, D. C.	Law Department of Howard University		5	22
New Orleans, La.	Law Department of Straight University		4	8
Columbia, S. C.	Law Department of Allen University		1	5
Nashville, Tenn.	Law Department of Central Tennessee College		5	7
	Total		15	42
SCHOOLS OF MEDICINE, DENTISTRY, AND PHARMACY.*				
Washington, D. C.	Howard University :			
	Medical Department		11	109
	Pharmaceutical Department		1	16
	Dental Department		3	11
Raleigh, N. C.	Leonard Medical College (Shaw University) †			39
Nashville, Tenn.	Central Tennessee College:			
	Meharry Medical Department		9	55
	Dental Department		6	11
	Total		30	241
SCHOOLS FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB AND THE BLIND. ‡				
St. Augustine, Fla.	Florida Institute for the Deaf and the Blind §		2	10
Danville, Ky.	Kentucky Institution for the Education of Deaf Mutes (colored department).		||14	36
Louisville, Ky.	Kentucky Institution for the Education of the Blind (colored department).		||11	19
Baltimore, Md.	Maryland School for Colored Blind and Deaf Mutes. †		5	18
Jackson, Miss.	Institution for the Education of the Deaf (colored department).		||8	44
Raleigh, N. C.	North Carolina Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind (colored department).		||7	87
Cedar Springs, S. C. ...	South Carolina Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind (colored department).		2	17
Nashville, Tenn.	Tennessee School for the Blind (colored department).		||8	12
Austin, Tex.	Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and Blind Colored Youth.		3	44
	Total		60	287

* 30 colored students not included here were enrolled in schools designed for whites.

† Statistics of 1887-'88.

‡ There were 106 colored pupils not included here in institutions designed for whites.

§ Has 3 white pupils.

|| For the white and colored departments.

TABLE 14.—Summary of statistics of institutions for the instruction of the colored race for 1888-'89.

States and Territories.	Public schools.		Normal schools.			Institutions for secondary instruction.		
	Colored school population.	Enrollment.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.
Alabama	226,925	105,106	6	71	1,445	4	28	906
Arkansas	106,300	56,382	2	12	261			
California						1	10	300
Delaware	*7,070	†4,587						
Florida	‡52,865	34,008	1	3	54	3	25	453
Georgia	‡267,657	‡120,390	4	17	730	12	86	3,105
Kansas								
Kentucky	‡109,158	42,526				3	14	607
Louisiana	‡‡176,097	‡51,539	2		57	1	12	299
Maryland	68,409	34,072						
Mississippi	‡‡273,528	172,338	3	14	413	2	8	414
Missouri	48,478	32,168	1	7	168			
North Carolina	‡216,837	‡125,844	6	23	707	5	31	833
Ohio						1	8	282
Pennsylvania						2	14	501
South Carolina	‡‡180,475	104,503	3	17	738	3	31	1,127
Tennessee	162,834	†94,435	6	35	1,141	6	30	968
Texas	139,939	**96,809	2	21	374	5	33	817
Virginia	‡‡265,347	119,172	2	74	977	4	24	868
West Virginia	10,497	6,209	1	9	194			
District of Columbia	‡18,200	13,004	2	13	203			
Indian Territory						1		
Total		1,213,092	41	316	7,462	53	354	11,480

States and Territories.	Universities and colleges.			Schools of theology.			Schools of law.		
	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.
Alabama	1			2	3	49			
Arkansas	1	7	187						
California									
Georgia	2	33	424	2	9	25			
Kentucky	1	18	334						
Louisiana	4	45	1,202	3	9	77	1	4	8
Maryland				1	15	60			
Mississippi	3	15	417						
North Carolina	3	20	318	3	11	68			
Ohio	1	13	124	1	2	8			
Pennsylvania									
South Carolina	2	29	1,187	3	10	245	1	1	5
Tennessee	3	49	758	3	6	14		5	7
Texas				1	8	17			
Virginia				1	4	63			
District of Columbia	1	9	59	2	14	81	1	5	22
Total	22	238	5,010	22	89	1,008	4	15	42

* In 1886.

† In 1887-'88.

‡ In 1888.

‡‡ Estimated.

|| In 1837.

‡‡‡ U. S. Census of 1880.

** Approximately.

‡‡ In 1885.

TABLE 14.—*Summary of statistics of institutions for the instruction of the colored race for 1888-'89—Continued.*

States and Territories.	Schools of medicine.			Schools for the deaf and dumb and the blind.		
	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.
Florida				1	2	10
Georgia						
Kentucky				2	25	55
Maryland				1	5	44
Mississippi				1	8	18
North Carolina	1		39	1	7	87
South Carolina				1	2	17
Tennessee	1	15	66	1	8	12
Texas				1	3	44
District of Columbia	1	15	136			
Total	3	30	241	9	60	287

TABLE 15.—*Number of schools for the colored race and enrollment in them by institutions, without reference to States.*

Class of institutions.	Schools.	Enrollment.
Public schools		1, 213, 092
Normal schools	41	7, 462
Institutions for secondary instruction	53	11, 480
Universities and colleges	22	5, 010
Schools of theology	22	1, 008
Schools of law	4	42
Schools of medicine	3	241
Schools for the deaf and dumb and the blind	9	287
Total	154	1, 283, 622

TABLE No. 16.

We close this essay by a table copied from the New York Independent, compiled from several reports by Prof. James H. Blodgett, of the Census Bureau.

Statistics of public, private, and parochial schools in the United States.

States.	Teachers.	White pupils.	Colored pupils.	Private pupils.	Parochial pupils.
Alabama	6,291	186,794	116,155	22,953	1,150
Alaska	18	903	741		
Arizona	233	7,828		462	418
Arkansas	5,016	163,603	59,468	11,070	1,118
California	5,434	221,756		17,720	7,123
Colorado	2,376	65,490		4,631	2,421
Connecticut	3,226	125,073	1,432	8,355	13,459
Delaware	701	26,778	4,656	1,126	1,712
District of Columbia	745	23,574	13,332	5,509	2,402
Florida	2,577	54,811	36,377	5,059	756
Georgia	7,503	209,330	133,232	48,187	287
Idaho	389	14,311		1,104	
Illinois	23,296	773,265	5,054	28,164	75,958
Indiana	13,285	507,264		17,968	25,537
Iowa	26,567	492,620	647	15,633	20,335
Kansas	12,260	389,703	9,616	1,382	9,018
Kentucky	8,722	352,955	54,612	26,969	12,328
Louisiana	2,673	74,988	49,282	17,627	7,148
Maine	6,080	139,592	87	7,330	4,015
Maryland	3,826	148,224	36,027	11,153	8,943
Massachusetts	10,324	370,893	599	28,629	38,143
Michigan	15,990	425,691	1,341	10,216	34,779
Minnesota	8,947	281,678	181	7,575	29,332
Mississippi	7,386	157,188	193,431	20,072	1,311
Missouri	13,795	587,510	32,804	27,237	31,400
Montana	549	16,718	89	1,038	384
Nebraska	10,555	239,556	744	5,278	9,426
Nevada	251	7,367		78	325
New Hampshire	3,104	59,813		2,663	4,940
New Jersey	4,465	221,634	12,438	15,250	27,827
New Mexico	472	18,215		4,093	571
New York	31,703	1,035,542	6,618	56,787	103,093
North Carolina	6,865	208,844	117,017	25,651	1,320
North Dakota	1,894	30,821		578	1,608
Ohio	25,156	797,429		35,864	57,905
Oklahoma	14	537			
Oregon	2,566	63,354		4,143	616
Pennsylvania	24,493	965,444		47,761	60,923
Rhode Island	1,378	54,170		3,814	5,940
South Carolina	4,321	90,051	113,410	13,623	634
South Dakota	4,356	66,150		2,042	1,537
Tennessee	8,376	354,130	101,602	41,827	2,391
Texas	11,097	312,802	98,107	22,310	4,573
Utah	680	36,372		10,258	536
Vermont	4,400	65,500	108	4,284	2,461
Virginia	7,523	220,210	122,059	12,831	2,005
Washington	1,610	55,432		3,328	954
West Virginia	5,491	186,735	6,558	3,498	1,189
Wisconsin	12,037	350,342		5,176	52,200
Wyoming	259	7,052		140	190
Total	361,273	11,236,072	1,327,822	686,106	673,601



from circ. inf. 1, 1892
(A. D. Mayo)

V.

THE NEGRO AMERICAN CITIZEN IN THE NEW AMERICAN LIFE.

An address delivered at the conference on the Negro, Lake Mohonk, N. Y., July, 1890.

During the past ten years of a ministry of education among the Southern people in all the Southern States, I have been often challenged to formulate my opinion concerning the present condition and future outcome of the Negro. My invariable answer is: I have come to this portion of the country as an out-and-out advocate of the universal education of the heart, the head, and the hand possible for all orders and conditions of the American people. I believe the Christian religion, as it lay in the mind and shone forth in the speech and life of the great Teacher and Savior of man, includes this idea of education. All the progress this world has seen out of old pagan conditions of race, caste, society, and government, has been the work of this mighty regenerating influence. I hold it the deadliest treason and revolt against the Christian civilization, a backing down into paganism, or a worse lapse into the slough of despond of absolute atheism and secularism, to impeach the power of this divine agency to cure all our American ills.

I began my present ministry of education ten years ago, in the Southern States, in full faith in this gospel of the reconstruction of the whole Republic from "the remainder of wrath" that still vexes its progress and looms like a black despair over its least advanced portion. And, although I can not pretend to have converted or convinced anybody, I have seen with what an uplifting of the soul the better sort of the Southern people welcome any man who, in honesty of purpose, love of country and of all his countrymen, endeavors to get down to the bottom facts of the situation, with a just appreciation of the position of all true men, and with an invincible hope and a holy obstinacy in standing by the bright side of God's providence in American affairs. The fact that one man can go through all these States, among all classes, everywhere testifying to the grandeur of the full American idea and urging the people to live up to the vision of the fathers, with all but universal acceptance, so that the discords in this ministry have hardly been enough to emphasize the harmonies, is to me an assurance that the same line of work, assumed by a greater man and finally adopted by the influential classes of our people, will shape the highway out of the present complications.

My only recipe for the solution of all these problems that still divide the country is the putting on of that judicial and resolute Christian attitude of mind that insists on looking at all the facts of the case, setting them in their proper relations, all the time searching for the elements of progress which are the vital centers. It seems to me that a great portion of the misunderstanding and conflict at present is the result of a practical inability in the masses of the people to rise to this position and the mischievous pertinacity of too many leaders of public opinion everywhere in keeping the national mind engrossed with the temporary and unessential facts of the case. With no disposition to misrepresent or misunderstand anybody, I respond to your call to tell my experience as an observer of the Southern situation, especially as it concerns the Negro citizen in the sixteen Southern States of the Union, as I have seen him during a virtual residence in these States for ten years past.

It would seem that thoughtful Christian people might at least endeavor to realize the simple gospel rule of "doing as they would be done by" in the judgment of each other in an affair so momentous, where mistakes are fraught with such mournful possibilities as in this great discussion. It is easy to see how much of the difficulty comes from this inability to "put one's self in the place" of his opponent.

Would it not be possible for a larger number of our foremost Southern leaders, in church, state, and society, to try to appreciate the motives and temper of the loyal people of the North in the great act of conferring full American citizenship on the Negro, after his emancipation, 25 years ago? I do not defend any injustice, tyranny, reckless experimenting with government itself, that followed that act; no thoughtful man defends such things to-day; but I do hold that no true conception of this matter can be had by any man who honestly believes that this exaltation of the Negro to full American citizenship was either an act of sectional revenge, a narrow and ferocious partisan policy, or the reckless experiment of an excited sentimentalism. If ever a people, in a great and national emergency, acted under a solemn sense of responsibility to God, humanity, patriotism, and republican institutions, I believe the conviction of the loyal Northern people, that shaped the acts of reconstruction, is entitled to this judgment, and will so abide in history. It was the most memorable testimony of a national government, just rescued from desperate peril, solemnized by the death of its venerated leader, to its faith in popular institutions recorded in the annals of mankind.

But it must be acknowledged that the very nobility of the act that conferred the highest earthly distinction of full American citizenship on a nation of newly emancipated slaves, of an alien race, involved the penalty of great injustice to its object. It was inevitable that the Nation, having committed itself to this daring experiment, would watch its success from an ideal point of observation. So, for the past twenty years, one misfortune of the negro citizen has been that the portion of the country that won his freedom and lifted him to this proud eminence could do no otherwise than judge him out of its own lofty expectation, piecing out its almost complete ignorance of any similar people or situation by repeated drafts on a boundless hope, an almost childlike trust, and a deep religious faith, proven by the cheerful giving of \$50,000,000 and the sacrifice of the service of noble men and women of priceless value in the effort to realize the great expectation of the Nation.

Again, is it more than plain justice that the leading mind of the loyal North, that saved the Union to nationality and freedom in 1865, should endeavor to represent to itself the actual point of view of the Southern people concerning this act of reconstruction then and, to a great extent, in the present time? I know that the most painful lesson of history is the difficulty of such comprehension of an aristocratic form of society by a people for a century trained in the school of a proud and successful democracy. Not one educated man in a thousand in the United States can put himself in the place of one of the great Tory leaders or scholars of Great Britain or listen with anything but impatience to the account that any European government or the Catholic Church can give of itself. How much more difficult for the average New England or Western citizen to understand the attitude of mind with which an old Southern planter or a modern Southern politician must contemplate this sudden and portentous upheaving of 5,000,000 freedmen to the complete endowment of American citizenship at the close of the great war.

For surely, at first sight, no body of 5,000,000 people could be imagined less qualified by its past to justify such expectations than the negro freedmen. Three hundred years ago the Negro was a pagan savage, inhabiting a continent still dark with the shadow of an unrecorded past. A hundred years ago the ancestors perhaps of a majority of the 7,000,000 Negroes now in the United States were in the same condition. Of no people on the face of the earth is so little known to-day as of the African ancestors of the American Negro. Of various tribes, nationalities, and characteristics, perhaps with an ancestry as varied as the present inhabitants of the European na-

tionalities, these people were cast into a state of slavery which confounded all previous conditions and only recognized the native ability of each man or woman in "the survival of the fittest" in the struggle for existence on the plantation and in the household.

Once more: It has never been realized by the loyal North, what is evident to every intelligent Southern man, what a prodigious change had been wrought in this people during its years of bondage, and how without the schooling of this era the subsequent elevation of the emancipated slave to full American citizenship would have been an impossibility. During this brief period of tutelage, briefest of all compared with any European race, the Negro was sheltered from the three furies of the prayer book—sword, pestilence, and famine—and was brought into contact with the upper strata of the most powerful of civilized peoples, in a republic, amid the trials, sacrifices, and educating influences of a new country, in the opening years of "the grand and awful time" in which our lot is cast. In that condition he learned the three great elements of civilization more speedily than they were ever learned before. He learned to work. He acquired the language and adopted the religion of the most progressive of peoples. Gifted with a marvelous aptitude for such schooling, he was found, in 1865, farther "out of the woods" of barbarism than any other people at the end of a thousand years. The American Indian, in his proud isolation, repelled all these beneficent changes; and to-day the entire philanthropy, religion, and statesmanship of the Republic are wrestling with the problem of saving him from the fate of the buffalo.

I find only in the broad-minded and most charitable leaders of our Northern affairs any real understanding of the inevitable habit of mind which the average Southern citizen brings to the contemplation of the actual condition or possibilities of the negro American citizen. With a personal attachment to the Negro greater than is possible for the people of the North; with habits of forbearance and patient waiting on the infirmities, vices, and shortcomings of this people, which to the North are unaccountable and well nigh impossible of imitation; with the general willingness to cooperate, as far as the comfort and the personal prosperity of its old slaves are concerned, is it strange that this act of statesmanship should appear to him as the wildest and most reckless experiment in the annals of national life? Even the most intelligent and conservative parent finds it difficult to believe his beloved child is competent to the duties of manhood or womanhood, and only with a pang does he see the dear boy or girl launch out on the stormy ocean of life. What, then, would be the inevitable feeling of the dominant Southern class, to whom the Negro had only been known as a savage slowly evolving into the humbler strata of civilization as a dependent chattel, when, at the end of a frightful war, it found itself in a state of civil subjugation to its old bondmen? No subject race ever reveals its highest aspirations and aptitudes to its master race, and it is not remarkable that only the most observing and broad-minded of the Southern people, even yet, heartily believe in the capacity of the Negro for civil, social, or industrial cooperation with any of the European peoples.

Now, say what we will, this obstinate inability and sometimes unwillingness to put one's self in the place of the opposition have been the most hopeless feature of the case, the real "chasm" between the leading minds of the North and South. So to-day, while even partisan politics seems to pause in uncertainty on the steep edge of a dark abyss, when noble and humane people all over the country seem to be falling into despondency, when an ominous twilight, threatening a storm, is peopled by all the birds of ill omen, and "the hearts of men are shaken with fear," I am glad that we have been summoned here to look things squarely in the face, to bring a varied experience to bear on a new and more careful consideration of the whole matter, and by the guidance of a Christian insight endeavor to see the hopeful elements of the situation. We do not need to rehearse our separate knowledge of the shadowy side of the new South. The shadows we have always with us, every-

where. But, if we can locate the center of the new "Sunny South," we may go home with the conviction that, while the shadows in human affairs are always on the move, the sun shines on forever and is bound to bring in God's final day of light.

The pivotal question on which this vast problem turns is, has the Negro, in his American experience, demonstrated a capacity for self-developing American citizenship? I leave out of the estimate, at present, the exceptional people of the race, and look for the answer to the average Negro, as I see him in the Southern States; for I suppose nobody believes that full American citizenship is possible as the permanent condition of any people destitute of this capacity for self-dependent manhood and womanhood. The child race must be cared for by a paternal organization of society, and that element of paternalism is just what every good American citizen declares he will not have in his Government. In lieu of that, an extemporized or permanent social public opinion or an unwritten law will take its place and do its work.

If the Negro, as so many Southern people believe, is only a perpetual child, capable of a great deal that is useful and interesting, but destitute of the capacity for "the one thing needful" that lifts the subject of paternal up to the citizen of a Republican Government, then the thing to do is to leave him to the care of his superiors in the South, who certainly know this side of him far better than the people of the North, and, whatever mistakes on the side of occasional severity may be made, will in the end do the best for his permanent estate. In fact, nothing seems more evident to me than the practical inability of the National Government to essentially change the status of its seven millions of negro citizens, except through national aid to education. There is no power at Washington that can hold up for a series of generations any people in the permanent state of illiteracy in which the majority of the Southern Negroes are at present found. This illiteracy is simply a mixture of ignorance, superstition, shiftlessness, vulgarity, and vice. The General and State Governments, aided all the while by private benevolence and missionary zeal, can surround these people with an environment of valuable opportunities. Indeed, in many respects, they are now environed with such helps and encouragements as no race of European lineage has enjoyed at a similar stage of its history. But the test question is, has the Negro, on the whole, during his entire life of three hundred years on American soil, indicated his power to appreciate and use such opportunities for full American citizenship as are now vouchsafed to him by a gracious Providence?

To my mind he had vindicated his capacity for indefinite improvement in this direction even before he received the precious boon of citizenship of the American Republic. Remarkable as his progress in some ways has been during the past twenty-five years of freedom, I would be content to refer to his two centuries of slavery for proof of a remarkable aptitude for civilization. The best evidence for such capacity is a certain unconscious tact, a habit of getting on in a tolerable way under unfavorable circumstances, the turning his sunny and adaptive side to a hard bondage, the eager adaptation to and taking on of all helps to a better state of living. Contemplate, for a moment, this people, landing from an African slave ship on our shores, and contrast with that the status of the American Negro, with all his imperfections, in 1865, when he appeared, the last comer that has stepped over the threshold of the higher civilization and begun the upward career. How can that amazing progress in practical ability, in adaptation to the habits and manners of civilized life, reception of a Christian faith, be accounted for on the theory of perpetual childishness, as a race characteristic? Did any people, under a similar strain, realizing, as the negro did, the awful issues of the mighty Civil war, amid which his closing years of servitude were involved, ever bear itself with such personal fidelity to present duty, with such remarkable wisdom and tact, with such complete reliance on Providence for the result?

Bishop Haygood says the religion of the Negro accounts for his bearing during those tremendous years, when the home life of the South was virtually in his hands.

That a race, less than two centuries out of the jungle of African paganism, was found so imbued with the central element of Christianity, is evidence that it is not the perpetual child of humanity. Grant the failure of the Negro, during the fearful years that followed the war, to govern States rocking in the throes of a defeated rebellion, exasperated to the death by all the passions that wreck the souls of men and communities. Still, what a display of ability of many sorts, the practical faculty of getting a living, often the higher faculty that has thrown up thousands of shrewd, successful people, there was! Radical that he is, the Negro has shown himself the most politic of peoples in his endurance of what could not be overcome, and his tactful, even crafty, appropriation of all opportunities. He has pushed in at every open door, listened at the white man's table, hung about church and the stump, taken in the great public day, looked on when he did not vote at the election. He has been all eyes and ears, and every pore of his skin has been open to the incoming of his only possible education. Deprived of books and the ordinary apparatus of instruction, he has used all the more eagerly the agencies of God's supreme University, human life—used them so much better than several millions of "the superior race" that, in proportion to his opportunity, he has made more out of the Southern American life than any other Southern people.

On the eve of the day when the great assembly of Confederate veterans at Richmond solemnly buried their old cause in the unveiling of the statue of their great military commander, I sat on a platform, before a crowded congregation of Negro citizens, in the city of Washington, gathered at the commencement exercises of Wayland Seminary. Eighteen young men and women, all from Virginia, received the diploma, and ten of them appeared in the usual way. As I looked over that audience of well-dressed, well-mannered, appreciative people, and listened to the speeches of those young folk, so marked by sobriety of style, soundness of thought, practical views of life, lofty consecration of purpose, and comprehensive patriotism; as I read their class motto, "Not to be ministered unto, but to minister," and remembered that only two hundred and seventy years ago the first cargo of African pagan savages was landed on the shore of the Old Dominion, and all this was the outcome of that—I wondered where were the eyes of men that they did not behold the revelation of Divine Providence in this little less than the miraculous evolution of the new citizenship of a State destined yet to praise and magnify the ways of God in American affairs. Say that this only demonstrates his "power of imitation." But what is this mysterious faculty of "imitation," that everybody says the Negro has to the last degree, but another name for a capacity for civilization? Nine-tenths of our human education is imitating what a superior person does, from the child repeating its mother's words, to the saint "putting on the Lord Jesus Christ."

It may be granted that, in one respect, slavery was a help to this progress. It protected the Negro from his lower self, on the side of vagrancy; and that is "the terrible temptation" of every people in its rudimentary years. He was protected against vagrancy, laziness, drunkenness, and several temptations of a semitropical climate which are too much for thousands of his betters. But here has been a sore obstacle to his success in his new estate of freedom. A great wrong that has been done him during these years has been the neglect to enforce order, decency, and industry, along with the observance of the common moralities of every-day life, by the people among whom he has lived. What would be the condition of New England to-day had her people tolerated, in the multitudes of foreign-born peasants who have landed on her shores, the vagrancy, laziness, shiftlessness, dependence on common charity, with the perpetual violation of the minor morals which confront the observer, from every part of the civilized world, in his travels throughout the Southern States? Here was the place for the Anglo-Saxon to assert his superiority, by insisting on the common observance of the common order, decencies, and moralities of life, in and out of the household, by the freedman. For lack of this, the vagrant class has been left virtually at large, like a plague of frogs and lice over all the land, choking up the

towns and villages, making good housekeeping for the Southern woman the most trying human lot, and surrounding childhood of every condition and class with such temptations as no people can permanently resist.

If the well-disposed class, the majority, could have been aided by the law of the land and public opinion to move on unhindered by this intolerable impediment, the last twenty-five years would have told a far different tale. Of course, the white people of the South do not realize this. Slavery was a police that made vagrancy impossible, and the lower slave element was securely locked up under the Argus eyes of the old-time system of labor. I am not here to defend any denial of the suffrage, or social or industrial disability, inflicted on the negro citizen; but I give it as my deliberate conviction that all these things have not been so harmful to the Negro as this strange neglect of the Anglo-Saxon South to enforce the recognized policy of all civilized lands on its vagrant colored and white class, at the very time when this race specially needed the primary lessons of sobriety, obedience to law, everyday morality, and of that hard work without which "no man shall eat." Yet, spite of this drawback (and only an observer from a differently regulated community can appreciate what a drawback), the better-disposed class of the Negroes has signally vindicated its capacity for civilization within the limitations of personal and race impediments, and in the use it has made of its opportunities.

I observe, also, in the average Negro, an amiability, a patience and forbearance, a capacity for affectionate devotion, sacrifice, and unselfishness, that separate him decisively from the savage and the savage side of civilized life. What an element of civil, social, and industrial lubrication this may become, has already become, in our grating, pitiless, ferocious Anglo-Saxon greed of power, gain, and all kinds of superiority, any man can realize who sees the working of it in a thousand ways. I can understand why the Southerner feels a certain loneliness amid the splendors and well-ordered regulations of our higher Northern life. He misses the atmosphere of kindness, broad good humor, real belief in human nature that the Negro always diffuses around himself. I feel it the moment I touch a Northern city on my return from every annual visit to the South; and I thank God that the Negro "man and brother," especially the woman and sister, were sent by heaven to teach our proud, restless, too often inhuman civilization some of the amenities that outlive the inhumanities and finally bring in the kingdom of God.

Another quality the Negro displays, of great promise in the future, though so often turned to his disadvantage in the present—a love of approbation, self-possession, and an ability to "put his best foot foremost" and show for all he is worth, the perpetual assertion that he is going to be somebody some time. "Why did you sell that corn you promised to me?" said a white parson to his negro "brother in the ministry." "Well, boss, I got a bigger price for it." "But was that honest?" "No, it warn't that." "Why did you do it?" "Because, boss, I warn't the man I took myself to be."

It is well to "take yourself to be" a man of parts and character, even at the peril of disappointment. And that persistent pushing to the front, crowding in at every open door, "claiming the earth," which now makes the life of the most sensible and considerate white citizen of the South often a weariness, sometimes a despair, in his dealing with the Negro, is the prophecy of an aspiration for better things and a loftiness of manhood and womanhood of vital importance.

Along with this is the eagerness for knowledge that is still a characteristic even of the ignorant classes, though less apparent now than in the years following the war. Spite of the neglect of the proper conditions and the means of gaining this precious boon for the children the average Negro, in humble estate, believes in the school with a vigor that in the lower European classes is not developed, more than in the corresponding class among the Southern whites. Discontent with a low estate is the movement power of American civilization, and no class in America is less content with its own infirmities than the better sort, the majority of the freedmen.

Another valuable characteristic is the good taste, love of beauty, native capacity for ornamental art, which always appear in the Negro when suitably encouraged. The handwriting in the colored schools is often remarkable, the drawing uniformly respectable, the taste in dress, the arrangements of flowers and ornaments, above the average of any corresponding class in the country. In the negro the new South has its most valuable deposits of "raw material" for the best operative and mechanical class for that elime and country. Already he is domesticated in all these mechanical and operative industries, with the exception of the cotton mills, where the labor is still monopolized by the poorer white class, greatly to its own advantage. Here is a great work being done by the numerous mission schools of the higher sort, supported by the Christian people of the North, in the organization of industrial education. In this important branch of schooling the superior class of negro youth has, so far, enjoyed greater opportunities than the corresponding class of white youth. And, although the graduates of these schools will not be day laborers or servants, yet, as teachers, housekeepers, and general leaders of their people they will exert a prodigious influence in the years to come. The introduction of a simple and practical annex for industrial education, for both sexes, in the school system of the South, especially for the negro children, would be a movement of incalculable value to the whole people of that region, so much in need of intelligent and skilled labor in the uprising of its new industrial life.

All these qualities tell in the steady progress of large numbers of these people toward a more comfortable, wholesome, and respectable way of living. This is evident especially to a regular visitor not involved in the wear and tear of 7,000,000 freedmen getting on their citizen legs, as are our Southern white brothers and sisters. I see everywhere, every year, a larger number of well-looking, well-dressed, well-churched, housed, well-mannered colored people. One reason why our Southern friends are not so impressed with this upward movement is that as soon as a colored family gets above the humble or vagrant class it somehow disappears from ordinary view. One inevitable result of the social boycott that shuts down on every negro family that attains respectability is that its white neighbors are put out of connection with this class and left to the tender mercies of the class beneath, where their patience is worn out and, too often, the impression taken for the whole race. The estimate of the increasing wealth of the Negroes is often disputed, but at the most reasonable figure it is a significant testimony to the growth of practical enterprise and steady improvement in the upper strata of the whole body.

While the acknowledged vices of the race are still a terrible weight on the lower and a constant temptation and humiliation to the better class, it is not certain that any of them, save those "failings that lean to virtue's side," are especially "race defects." A distinguished physician of Alabama has shown that the illegitimate births among the negro population of the black belt of that State are in the exact per cent of the Kingdom of Bavaria. Certainly the vices of the lower class of the south of Europe people that are now swarming the shores of the Gulf States are not less common and far more dangerous than those of the Negro. Human nature in its lower estate, especially when shot out from its barbarism into the devil-side of civilization, is fearfully deficient in its appreciation of the ten commandments. But I believe no people of the humbler sort are making more progress in overcoming the weakness of the appetites and getting in sight of the Christian moralities than the better sort of the Negroes. In the church, the home, and the school I see the growth of a self-respecting manhood and womanhood that in due time will tell.

Though differing from many whose opinions and experience I respect, I do not regard the temporary isolation of the Negro in the Southern church, school, and society so much an evil as a providential aid in gaining the self-respect and habit of self-help absolutely essential to good citizenship. Spite of the hard side of slavery the Negro has not had his fair share of the rough training that brings out the final results and the determination that tell in history. A habit of dependence, even to

the extent of servility, in the lower orders is still one of his most dangerous temptations. He has also been greatly tried by being for a generation the romantic figure of American life, the especial object of philanthropic interest in church, state, and society, everywhere outside the sixteen Southern States. It is well that he should be relieved for a while from these temptations. In company with the white boy, the negro boy on the same school bench would all the time be tempted to fall into his old position of an annex to the white man, and in the church would be under a strain that would sorely tax his manhood. Where he is he grows up with a wholesome confidence in himself. His own best people are teaching him with no hindrance the law of responsible manhood and womanhood. The result is that when he emerges into active life, if he has well appropriated his training, he is in a position to treat with a similar class of white people on terms that insure mutual respect.

I am struck with this feature of Southern society—the constant “working together for good” of the better class, especially of the men of both races in all communities. The outrage of a drunken rabble upon a negro settlement is published to all the world, while the constant intercourse of the respectable classes of men of the two races, that prevents a thousand such outbreaks and makes Southern life, on the whole, orderly, like the progress of the seasons and the hours, goes on in silence. It is not necessary to project the social question into the heart of communities in this state of transition. The very zealous brethren of the press and the political fold, who are digging this “last ditch” of social caste, away out in the wilderness, half a century ahead of any present emergency, may be assured that nobody in the United States will ever be obliged to associate with people disagreeable to him, and that, as Thomas Jefferson suggested, “if we educate the children of to-day, our descendants will be wiser than we, and many things that seem impossible to us may be easily accomplished by them.” At present, the office of colored teacher and preacher is the noblest opportunity for general usefulness granted to an educated, righteous, and able young man or woman in any land. That teacher or preacher becomes the man or woman of all spiritual work to a constituency singularly appreciative; if instructed in industrial craft, all the more valuable. I am amazed at the assertion of some eminent people that the superior education of the negro youth has been a failure. If the destiny of the Negro is only that of a child-peasant forever, this is true; but, if his range of possibility is what we believe, no such result of even a modified form of the secondary and higher education, with industrial accompaniments, has ever been seen in Christendom, as is evident to any man who regards this side of the life of this people with open eyes.

All that I have said bears on a fundamental truth concerning the uplifting of the American Negro citizen. The Northern white man, especially if a philanthropist, regards the Negro as an annex to the Northern, the Southern white man regards him as an annex to the Southern, white citizen; but the Negro is anything but an annex to anybody. He is an original element, providentially injected into American civilization; the only man who did not come to us of his own will. It may turn out, for that reason, that he is to be the “little child that shall lead them,” and finally compel a reconciliation of all the distracting elements of our national life. Every race that has any outcome finally demonstrates its capacity by throwing up a superior class by which it is led, stimulated, and gradually lifted to its own highest achievement of civilization. Tried by this test, the Negro is not behind.

I have spoken so far of the average man and woman of the race, but that observer must be strangely blinded who does not see the evidence of the formation of a genuine aristocracy of intelligence, character, industry, and superior living among these millions. I do not refer to that unfortunate class who assert a superficial superiority by separation from their people and an uneasy longing to be recognized by their white superiors. I mean the growing class that is trying, under a solemn sense of gratitude to God, love to the brother, and consecrated patriotism, to lift up its own race. Among the 7,000,000 of this people in the United States there must be several hundred

thousand of this sort. They are found everywhere, all the way from Massachusetts to Texas. They already form a distinct society, and the most American of all our great newspapers, the Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, has already recognized the fact by the prominent "Colored Society Column" in its Sunday morning issue. This class is becoming a distinct power, and its influence on the classes below is one of the most important elements of the race problem. It is already on good terms with the corresponding class of white people, though differing in politics and often grieved by what it regards public, social, and industrial injustice.

One significant fact in this connection is that now the Negro is the most determined Southerner. The young Southern white man, relieved from the attractions of the old aristocratic position of slaveholder, like all American young men of parts, is on the lookout for the main chance. The South is less and less to him a name to charm with. His own State no longer seems to him a "nation" which claims his uttermost devotion. A million of these young men, it is said, have left the South for the North and Northwest since the war. Whole regions of these older States are as steadily drained of this important population as the older portions of the Northeast. The Southern young woman will follow as soon as her call is heard. At present she is the "mainstay" of the rural South, the good angel of its coming civilization, getting more education and having more to do with the upper story of Southern life than her average male companion who stays at home. But the Negro loves the sacred soil, the old home, the climate, and its surroundings. In due time he will become the dominant occupant of large portions of the lowland South. He has no more idea of going to Africa than the Southern Jew of going into business in Jerusalem. He will move about as he becomes more intelligent and understands his own interests, but he is the Southerner of to-day, and all persuasions or threats that would dislodge him are vain. As the political issues of the past fade into the distance, he will more and more act in all public affairs with the leading race, with whom his companionship and interest belong. He must be educated where he is, and, as the years go on, he will rise to the call of his own superior class and find his own place—a great and beneficent place in our wonderful American family.

Education is the lever that will raise this great mass of humanity to the high plane of full American citizenship. I believe it would be a great blessing to the whole South, could the suffrage, educational, labor, and vagrant laws of Massachusetts be incorporated into the legislation of every Southern State. Protection to the child, suppression of vagrancy, enforcement of industry, and educational test of suffrage, better churaching, improvement in the home, reading of good books, all the influences that are so potent in any respectable Northern community, will in good time achieve the success of every class and race of the American people. For the Negro, two-thirds of this education must be, for a generation, outside the schoolroom, in the broad university of the new Southern American life. If we only knew it, this is one of the richest educational opportunities God has ever vouchsafed to any people.

What a call is this opportunity for missionary service, in its broadest and loftiest aspect, to the whole American people. Every theory of despair on the race problem proceeds from a pagan or atheistic estimate of human nature and destiny, and leads down to despotism or anarchy. Without the blessed gospel of Christ our American race problem would be too awful to contemplate. Thank God, it did not come to us in an age of pagan darkness, of mediæval violence, in a land crowded with people, in a civilization cursed by the bitter results of a long and stormy past. It came to us in an opening age of light, when all the celestial forces are at an upward slant, when the Church is getting itself together to work for man while God takes care of the creeds, in a country so large and bountiful that hundreds of millions would not crowd it, and "every man may sit under his own vine and fig tree, with no one to molest and make afraid."

As I am borne through the vast spaces of our marvellous Southern land, and stand in amazement before its revelations of resources, hitherto unknown, I ask myself—

Is this only to become the theater of a greater greed of gain, "a hazard of new fortunes," its only outcome a semitropical materialism, an inevitable temptation to a dismal era of "booms" and "syndicates" and "trusts," with a new insanity for the almighty dollar, so powerless to satisfy the deeper need of the humblest human heart? May it not, rather, be God's summons to such an awakening of our overworked and materialized American people as will compel them, in sheer self-defense, to give mind and heart and hand to that lifting up of the lowly, and that preaching the gospel of self-help to the poor, which is the end of Christian charity? I look for the day when the divided churches of our three great Protestant denominations will be brought together by the growing sense of this "home mission" claim, and the whole church and the adjacent realm of the world be polarized in one supreme effort to solve this old caste puzzle of the nations and ages, by showing that the simple gospel of Christ means peace on earth and good will to all men.

But now comes the final question, on which not so much the destiny of the Negro citizen as the very existence of Southern American civilization depends. Will the Anglo-Saxon Southern people, at present nine-tenths of the entire white population, in due time appreciate this opportunity and join hands with all good men and women at home and abroad in this the grandest crusade of all the ages?

I have no doubt that the race problem will finally be solved in the South largely through the agency of the Southern Anglo-Saxon people; not over their heads, but with their thorough coöperation. I see already, amid superficial indications to the contrary, the converging lines of this tendency, and below hostile theories the inevitable drift of the common life of all these great Commonwealths towards the American type of society.

I see the positive indication of this great convergence of opinion especially in what may be called the educational public of the South. By this I mean that portion of the Southern people of all classes and both races which within the past twenty-five years, amid difficulties and complications almost unconquerable elsewhere, has quietly and persistently laid the foundations of the American system of universal education in every State, county, city, and neighborhood in these sixteen Commonwealths.

The common school is so much the habit and unquestioned postulate of republican government everywhere in the North that we have never done half justice to the people of the sixteen Southern States for this, by all odds, the most significant movement of the past generation this side the water. That a people, in 1860 the most aristocratic in the organization of its society upon earth, who fought through a bloody war and only fell in "the last ditch" of the absolute ruin of their old social order, should have risen up from this awful overthrow, cleared the ground of rubbish, and with scarcely any aid that they could use, of their own will have planted on the soil the one institution that is the eternal foe of everything save republican government and democratic society, is the wonder of the age and the complete vindication of the essential Americanism of the Southern people. It would be well for our cynical scholars and self-confident politicians who dilate on the imperfections of this system of education, to remember what Massachusetts was fifty years ago, when Horace Mann drew his sword; what Pennsylvania was thirty years ago, when Wickersham took command; what even to-day some portions of the older Atlantic States are declared by the testimony of their own educational authorities to be. Doubtless there has been exaggeration of the achievement of the South in popular education, partly through ignorance, more in the way of home advertisement, most in the interest of the defeat of the Blair bill. But with all this drawback, the Southern people have taken "the first step that costs," and established the free school for all classes and both races, unsectarian, but practically one of the most potent moral and religious forces of this section, growing all the time, already beyond the peril of destruction or serious damage from its numerous enemies, and it "has come to stay." True, the educational public has not half converted the average Southern politician, for whom, as Gen. Grant said, "there is too much reading and writing now." It has not

yet entirely swung the Southern clergy and the church over to its hearty support as against the old-time Protestant parochial and private system of instruction. It is still a social outsider in some regions, and through vast spaces of the rural South it is so poor that it seems to have hindered more than helped the better-off classes who shoulder its expenses. But it has for the first time gone down into the basement story of the Southern household, bearing that common schooling to the lower orders and the "plain people," which means modern civilization and progressive Christianity, involving the full committal to the new American order of affairs. It is a wonder that the leading classes of the North—the press, the political organizations, the industrial leaders, even the philanthropists—are still so imperfectly informed concerning this, by all odds, the most vital and significant end of Southern life. The splendid mission work of our Northern churches, which indirectly has so greatly aided the growth of the schools for the Negroes by training their teachers, has sometimes obscured the magnitude of the home work. But this, with the remarkable rally of the whole secondary and higher education, is a demonstration that the South has no intention of remaining permanently in any second place in the great educational movement of the time. Imperfect as the common school is, the Negro has been the greatest gainer therefrom, for through it and all that goes along therewith he is laying up a steady increase of self-respect, intelligence, and practical power, which will astonish many good people who still go on repeating the parrot cry that education has only demoralized the younger negro generation for the industrial side of life. But it is not what the common schools have done, but what the Southern people have failed to do to reënforce them, that still holds thousands of negro youth in the bouds of a vagrancy, shiftlessness, and debasement that deserve all things that can be said against them. The cure for this is more and better education, reënforced by the policy of every civilized land in the suppression of the devil side of society that will ruin the greatest country under the sun.

But, below and beyond this open and evident work of education, I see more clearly, every year, that the logic of the new Southern life is all on the side of the final elevation of the Negro to the essential rights and opportunities of American citizenship; and, beyond, to the generous coöperation with the nation in aiding him to make his own best use of that supreme opportunity. We, at the North, are constantly misled by the press, which is a very poor representative of this most important element of Southern life. We hear the superficial talk and read of the disorder that is the inevitable accompaniment of States in the transition from a great civil war to their final adjustment to the national life. An eminent educator of the South writes me: "Ask 100 men at the street corner what they think about the education of the Negro, and 75 of them will demur, and some of them will swear. The next day every man of them will vote for the higher school tax that gives the Negro a better schoolhouse and the permanent establishment of his education." Our Southern friends are no more logical than other portions of the country, and the superficial life of all countries is constantly adjusting itself to the logic of its undertow. I can see in more ways than I could explain, even to a Northern community, that these people are "in the swim" whose tide can only drift them off into regions of life which seem almost impossible to them to-day.

The test of this drift is that, spite of all obstacles and embarrassments, there is, in every respectable Southern community, no real hinderance to an intelligent, moral, industrious, and prudent negro family getting all out of American life that anybody expects, save that social and, in some localities, political recognition, that are the last achievements of long periods of social evolution in national affairs. In all essential respects the negro citizen is better off in the South than in any Northern State. The outward opportunities for full association with the white population in the North are, after all, of little value in comparison with the substantial opportunity for becoming the great laboring agricultural class and of capturing the field of mechanical and operative labor. It will be his own fault if he permits the insolent naturalized

foreign element that now dominates our Northern industrial centers to elbow him off into a peasantry or a menial and subordinate laboring population.

As I look at the way in which these 7,000,000 people are gaining all the vital opportunities of life among the 12,000,000 of their Anglo-Saxon neighbors, I am amazed at the way they seem to go on, only half-conscious of what the rest of the world is saying about them, "working out their own salvation" by the power that is in them, in the only way by which an American people can finally succeed. The only fit symbol of this mighty movement is the Mississippi River, after it has become "the inland sea" of the Southland. States and their peoples, Congress and the Nation, scientists and cranks, debate and experiment on the way to put the "Father of Waters" in harness, to tie up this awful creature that holds the fate of 10,000,000 people in its every-day whim. But all discourse, legislation, and experiment at last run against the question, what will the Mississippi River do with us next week? So, while the Southern people and the Nation are wrestling with what they choose to call the "race problem," this inland, Southern human ocean, searching and spreading and pushing into every nook and corner of the lowland, is going on its way; and every deliverance of the scientist, the socialist, and the statesman, brings up against some new and unexpected thing that the Negro has really done. "How are you getting on with your neighbors down here?" said I to a deputation of fine-looking colored men, who stepped out of a carriage and presented me with a well-written address of welcome to the city of Vicksburg. "Well, we used to have trouble; but we have finally concluded the white man has come to stay, and we adjust ourselves to that fact." The white man has indeed come to stay all over the United States of America; but he will stay, not always as the white man proposes, but as God Almighty disposes. And, wherever he abides, he will finally be compelled, by the logic of American events, to stay in peace and justice, in freedom and order, in Christian coöperation with all the great elements of a republican society, shaped from all the peoples that a beneficent Providence has called to abide together in this, God's morning land.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO—ITS CHARACTER AND FACILITIES.

Though the possibility and the necessity of educating the negro population of the United States have been very thoroughly discussed by legislative and philanthropic bodies and the periodical press, nevertheless there seems wanting a systematic and detailed statement of the facilities for the instruction of colored persons within the Union and of the more general features which characterize their school life. In supplying and in systematizing a body of facts of this description for those interested in or wishing to generalize upon the matter, it will suffice merely to mention its far more interesting and important side.

An attempt is being made to educate a people as a body whose great grandparents were African savages or plantation slaves. This people, if uneducated, is hopelessly at the mercy of a race far more enlightened and numerous than itself, and, if educated, must struggle for existence beside this same more powerful race from which it is unmistakably differentiated on the moral side by the hundreds of years of disciplining freedom it has yet to undergo, and the absence of self-effectuation and self-restraint, qualities freedom entails, while on the physical side it is still more unmistakably differentiated by the color of its skin. To a people thus lightly ballasted with independent social experience and racial prestige it is apt to seem that everything is a matter of language, and that the ability to talk effectively is an open sesame to every avenue of wealth, power, and consideration enjoyed by the dominant race, and that success in those avenues is obtained by the verbiage of sophistry rather than by patient foresight, and skillful energy.¹ But by those who wish to secure what sanguinary battles and constitutional amendments can not secure, that is to say, the abolition of the slavery of ignorance, far different ideas are held. While the State has endeavored to do its duty, a warmer effort was long ago inaugurated by the missionary enthusiasm of the Christian, and the boundless optimism of the man of commerce, to educate teachers for the schools and ministers for the pulpits of the colored people of the South in order that through their efforts the problems of real life might be comprehended by the descendants of the physically emancipated masses now located in that portion of the Union.²

Other than the fact that it is provided for persons of African descent, the education of the negro in several of the United States is characterized by three features: (1) Its cost is borne almost wholly by the white portion of the community; (2) it is almost always elementary; and (3) it is becoming more and more industrial in the sense that it is training its pupils in the village industries of carpentry, wheelwrighting, blaeksmithing, and in the possibly less rural vocations of shoemaking and printing.

¹"These are the resources with which individual human beings are able to procure the satisfaction of their wants and industry comes into being and grows." (*Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, vol. 1, p. 10. W. Cunningham.)

²"I desire to state," says Dr. Haygood in one of his reports, "without qualification and as the result of long-continued and careful investigation, that the children of parents taught in these higher schools in the earlier years of this great movement show at the beginning of their school course marked superiority to the children of untaught parents."

ITS COST IS BORNE BY THE WHITE RACE.

That this is so is natural whether we consider the fact in connection with the schools supported by State or municipal taxation or with those supported by the generosity of churches or wealthy persons. The Southern States are agricultural, and in an agricultural community the great source of revenue is tax upon land. As the land in these States is, from the very nature of things, in the possession of the former masters, it follows that they are taxed to educate the children of their former slaves. Still it would be injustice to the colored race not to go a step farther and inquire by whom the agricultural land in the late slave-holding States is put in value; by whom it is worked that it will support a tax. The answer may be given in a sentence, a universal exodus of the negro would probably not be tolerated in the cotton States. Thus it is apparent that there is only a verisimilitude of injustice in the dominant and land-holding race educating the youth of the laboring population.¹ It must be remembered, however, that the tax is peculiarly onerous, as there is the necessity of supporting two systems of schools. Yet it is only possible to educate colored children in this way and the tax is borne with patience.

But while the Southern States are educating the negro, many persons, under the form or direction of religious or special philanthropic bodies, have founded and supported institutions which in name are plainly intended for the higher education of such colored persons as have the desire to obtain an education of that description. It may therefore be said that potentially the best work for the elevation of the colored race is done in the so-called colored normal schools, in institutions supported by the sale of national lands for the purpose of fostering agriculture and the mechanic arts, and in the upper classes of the numerous "academies," "colleges," and "universities" supported by religious bodies or endowed by private individuals.

As far as known to this Bureau there are 107 of these institutions,² of which 105 are situated in the Southern States. In them the charge for instruction is exceedingly low, usually about a dollar or two a month in the normal, academic, and collegiate departments, though frequently it is given without cost. But as low as this charge is, when made, it is paralleled by the extremely low rate at which lodging and food are furnished and the very moderate incidental fees exacted. In general it may be said that the entire expense to the colored student is in the neighborhood of \$75 or \$100 for a session of nine months. Sometimes it is as low as \$50 or \$60, sometimes it is as high as \$125 or \$150. The lowest of course are the minimum figures at which the student can exist. But it must not be supposed that this charge for tuition, lodging, and food covers the cost of the presence of the student at any particular institution. At Claffin University, for instance, where the entire charge to students in the higher grades is about \$7.50 a month, it is found "that the small amount paid by the students is not sufficient to meet one-tenth of the expenses of the institution, and it thus appears that every student is aided to the extent of about nine-tenths of his expenses," that is to say, every student costs the institution to instruct, lodge, and feed about \$68 a month. At Fisk University "the charges to students do not cover one-half the actual cost of the advantages furnished them."

By whom, then, is the cost of these 107 institutions borne? In the case of Claffin University it is borne by the contributions of the friends of education, through the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society; by the proceeds of the sale of national lands; by the State of South Carolina, and by the John F. Slater and the

¹"I must yet advert to another most interesting topic—the free schools. In this particular New England may be allowed to claim, I think, a merit of a peculiar character. She early adopted and has constantly maintained the principle that it is the undoubted right and the bounden duty of Government to provide for the instruction of all youth. That which is elsewhere left to chance or charity we assume by law. For the purpose of public instruction we hold every man subject to taxation in proportion to his property, and we look not to the question whether he himself have or have not children to be benefited by the education for which he pays. We regard it as a wise and liberal system of police by which property and life and the peace of society are secured." (Daniel Webster, in discourse on "First Settlement of New England," December 22, 1820.)

²Several not reporting however for 1892-93.

Peabody funds. In the case of Fisk University the deficit is met by contributions of Christian and philanthropic people through the American Missionary Association or given directly to the university. Other bodies interested in the work of educating the negro are the American Baptist Home Mission Society, which supports many institutions; the Presbyterian Church; the Society of Friends; the Congregational churches of the North; the Methodist Episcopal Church South.¹ From these funds of religious corporations; from the proceeds of the invested funds of the Peabody, and especially of the Slater fund; from the fund in some States arising from the sale of lands given by the act of Congress granting lands in 1862, and, in all the States insisting on the separation of the two races, a proportional share of the fund annually given by the act of August 30, 1890—have been supported the independent schools for the education of the negro, with the exception of certain normal schools conducted by the States and State scholarships created in quasi-independent institutions.

Lightly, however, as the entire cost of education is made to bear upon the colored student, he seems unable to meet it, and several expedients have been devised, two of which stand forth prominently, at least are of such a nature as to admit of being stated in a general way. These are the creation of scholarships and of labor and student aid funds,² and it would seem that almost every institution has a fund at its disposal to help needy students of merit. Frequently the beneficiary is required to perform some kind of service for the amount given, while in some cases, as at Berea College, a rebate of \$3 a term is allowed to 73 students of good standing. At Roger Williams and at Fisk universities the student is required to contract that he will labor one hour a day for the institution, or pay \$2 in addition to the charge for board and tuition. As an instance of the necessity of the situation, the case of Storer College, at Harpers Ferry, W. Va., may be cited. About fifteen years ago it was suggested that from the beauty of its situation it might be practicable to use it as a summer resort. One of the teachers made a beginning. Visitors came, were charmed by the surroundings, pleased with the bearing of the students who waited on them, and sent for their friends, until several hundred guests came annually. The earnings of the buildings are about \$900, besides "bringing into the market certain portions of the school farm." In the same line is the suggestion of the principal of the Alabama State Normal and Industrial School, who, after remarking that meritorious young people who would be willing to exchange their labor for board are turned away daily, observes that "A cotton factory or some other industry established near institutions of this [his] kind could utilize every extra hour of students, and by some humane arrangement could keep running every hour of the day, a source of income to the projectors and an aid to poor students."

The scholarships are mostly in the form of State-supported students, and merely entitle to free tuition and lodging. Others are merely scholarship funds. Such is the King scholarship fund of \$5,000, the Cassedy scholarship fund of \$10,000, and others of equal or less amount possessed by Atlanta University. Biddle University has a fund of \$6,000, raised in Scotland, the interest of which is to be used to aid young men preparing for mission work in Africa.

The difficulty encountered by the colored student in regard to money has been partially overcome by the gift of Daniel Hand, esq., of \$1,000,000 for the education of "such colored people as are needy and indigent." The fund is administered by the American Missionary Society, which, in view of the comparatively inadequate sum at its disposal, has felt the necessity of concentrating its resources, as the trustees of the two other great educational funds for the education of the people of the Southern States have felt the necessity of concentrating theirs.

¹Of 75 institutions reporting their resources of support, there were receiving aid from (some counted twice but some not appearing): American Missionary Association, 19; American Baptist Home Mission Society, 10; Freedmen's Aid Society Methodist Episcopal Church, 9; Methodist Episcopal Church, South 1; Presbyterian Church, 7; Protestant Episcopal Church, 2; Congregational Church, 2; Friends, 1; endowments, 4; State or municipality, 16.

²As at Wayland Seminary.

THE EDUCATION OF THE COLORED RACE IS ALMOST ENTIRELY ELEMENTARY.

The height of the general intellectual development of the masses is conditioned by the affluence or paucity of abstract ideas current among them, at least by the ability to quickly acquire such ideas. Unfortunately for the negro his former condition gave him no opportunity to acquire a great variety of ideas. The relation of master and slave, speaking generally, in a sparsely inhabited country gave no opening to the negro to obtain a higher order of ideas than his condition required. Thus the negro was not trained to take on rapidly that form of enlightenment called culture when the opportunity came. The school days of the negro child are not preceded by centuries of inheritable stimulus derived from racial, and, as a special case, from ancestral exertion, nor is he as yet surrounded by the refining influences of even a commonplace home. Voodoo incantations are his only natural literature and the permanent literature of the English language, still speaking for the body of the race, is without his present sphere. It therefore happens that his education has been elementary.

Many institutions for the education of the negro have high sounding names, but, with several exceptions, they are not appropriate. Prominent among these exceptions is Howard University of Washington City. No school for the colored race has better facilities for higher education. It has a collegiate, and with the exception of the post-graduate, all the professional departments of an American university. But by far the most important advantage it has over other institutions of its kind is that Washington has had for many years a very efficient system of public schools for colored children, which now enroll about 14,000 pupils. It is, therefore, natural to suppose, did any general desire exist among the rising generations of colored persons to secure a higher culture of the mind than that offered by the elementary school, irrespective of any pecuniary advantage to be derived therefrom, that the collegiate department of Howard University would be filled, especially since the tuition is free and the university buildings practically within the city limits. Yet the attendance in the college department of this national university for the African is small, being only 7 per cent of the whole attendance of 517. If any effect has been produced by the city system of public schools upon the curriculum of Howard University, it is shown by the absence of an elementary department in that institution. However it must be noted that, though the collegiate department is so neglected, the professional departments are comparatively well filled. In the normal classes are 36 per cent of the attendance, in the medical 26 per cent, while the departments of theology and law have each more students than the college department proper of this university so well supported by Congress, so well officered, and especially, from the educational side, so well located.¹

The same phenomenon is shown by other colleges for the higher education of the colored race, and it seems warrantable to say that even were the race as a body at this moment capable of higher education, its poverty would not permit it, or any considerable portion of it, to spend the time necessary to acquire such an education, and that to educate to a higher degree any considerable portion of the race that portion must be supported as the students in colored theological institutions are supported. In 1885 an inquiry made of 23 of the leading institutions for the colored race developed the fact that fewer than 5 per cent of the students in those institutions were in what is called classical studies, including those preparing for college. An examination of the character of the requisites for admission to many of the more or less grandly named institutions for the education of the colored race shows that practically there are none, except the prerequisite of ability to read in a low-grade reader or familiarity with the fundamental operations of arithmetic. The elementary English course, says one university, is a necessity, as the large majority of the students coming to the university have not had the opportunity to ground themselves in the common English branches.

¹As far as the law and medical departments are concerned, this remark may be vitiated to some extent, as those departments, it is understood, have white students upon their rosters.

In 75 institutions for the education of the colored race, from which special reports have been received, there are nearly 20,000 students in nonprofessional courses, not quite 4 per cent of whom are reported as being of collegiate grade, 35 per cent as being of secondary grade, and 61 per cent as of elementary grade. It has been remarked above that the absence of an elementary department at Howard University may be attributed to the very efficient work of the system of public colored schools of Washington City; for the constant complaint of the universities and colleges for the colored is that they are obliged to instruct their pupils in the elementary branches, showing that if those pupils have been taught in the public schools they have been poorly taught or have failed to profit by the teaching. The probability is that the child has been poorly taught, and the whole effort of the management of two of the three great funds for the education of the populations of the South is the training of home teachers. If the efforts of the trustees of these great funds are supported by a State system of examination adequate to prevent persons more necessitous than able from being foisted upon the children, the colleges and universities for the colored race may dispense with their elementary classes, though probably with a loss of the moiety, or even more, of their present attendance. However this may be, those who support the higher named institutions for the education of the colored race are fully convinced not only of the negro's desire and of his capacity for culture, but also of the necessity. The only obstacles they can see are illiteracy and poverty, which they are striving to overcome by supporting institutions in the South as shown above.

The great majority of the students at these institutions, though pursuing an elementary course of instruction, have one of two objects in view. These are the desire to become a teacher or a minister of the gospel. In every catalogue of an institution for the higher education of the colored race there is to be found either a normal or a minister's course, most frequently both. As for the so-called normal course, it has been very accurately stated by the Hartshorn College that it is but the beginning of an education, and the instruction in the minister's course is greatly hampered by the lack of a sound elementary education. In the case of the institutions supported by the Baptist Home Mission Society, it was decided in 1892 that the instruction in theology, except in the case of the Richmond Theological Seminary, be restricted to a minister's course especially designed for those lacking an education that would permit them to take up the studies of a theological seminary proper. Yet the catalogue of the Richmond Seminary shows but 27 per cent of its 59 students in the regular theological course. In the Gammon Theological Seminary, with a single curriculum which is lower than the theological course proper of the Richmond Seminary though higher than the minister's course of that institution, about half the students are unclassified or are in special courses.

The best and highest education given the negro, as far as numbers go, is offered in the ubiquitous normal course or department. This course is merely concerned with the elements of a plain English mathematical education. The effort there is to make the student as far as possible catch the principle involved in the subject under consideration rather than to memorize the printed page. Too frequently, perhaps, the early training of the student has not made him sufficiently familiar with the subject-matter of the elementary branches to enable him to grasp their essence, but, notwithstanding this drawback, a thoroughness is given to the instruction that is elsewhere lacking.

The length of the normal course can not be given with any special accuracy. What is called the normal course generally requires three years of study to complete. Very frequently four years are devoted to the course, and occasionally two. In fact, the arrangement given by the Avery Normal Institute, or Straight University, seems to be practically that of the great majority of the institutions with various names for the education of the colored people. At the Avery Institute the curriculum begins with the fourth grade and the normal course with the ninth grade and continues on through the twelfth and final grade; thus the institution is assimilable to a graded system of public schools. At Straight University the normal

course also begins with the ninth grade, but the eleventh grade, or year, is called the middle year of the normal course, and the twelfth grade is called the senior year. Instead of grades preparatory, normal and subnormal courses are sometimes established. Still another form of the normal course is shown by the curriculum of this Southern university, where the "normal department contains the high school, the freshman year of the college course, and an addition of a course of pedagogics, with an emphasis on practice teaching." Very frequently the normal course is or may be used as a preparatory department, while at the branch normal college of the Arkansas Industrial University the normal course is stated to be fully equivalent to the first two years of a regular college course; and further, that it is the course which most of the students content themselves with taking.

It may be a matter of surprise that institutions necessarily conducted so economically as those for the education of the colored race should not be more economical in the variety of the courses they offer; in short, that they have not consolidated their teaching. It is quite evident that the normal course at its best is merely a secondary or preparatory course of study which aims at general intellectual culture rather than professional expertness, for it has very frequently elementary Latin and Greek, which are distinctively preparatory studies. For the purposes of comparison the second and third years of a normal course may be so arranged as to bring out the points of similarity it has with the preparatory course of the same institution.

Normal Course (Middle and Senior Years).

Complete Arithmetic, White.
Algebra, Wentworth.
General history, Barnes.
Latin Grammar, Allen and Greenough.
Inductive Method, Harper and Burgess.
Physics, Gage.
Chemistry, Steele.
English, Word Analysis and Rhetoric.
Civil Government and Economics.
Bookkeeping.
Drawing.
Music.
Astronomy.
Botany.
Psychology and Moral Philosophy.
Geometry.
School Management.
History of Education.

Normal Course, etc.—Continued.

Methods of Teaching.
School Laws of State.
Practice Teaching.

Preparatory Course (One Year).

Complete Arithmetic, White.
Algebra, Wentworth.
General History, Barnes.
Latin Grammar, Allen and Greenough.
Inductive Latin Method, Harper and Burgess.
Physics, Gage.
Chemistry, Williams.

[In other institutions having a preparatory and a normal course the former requires more than one year to complete.]

The studies of the normal course are determined by the character of the examinations for State certificates to teach. But as Latin and probably other studies of the normal course given above are not pursued far enough to give the pupil any serviceable teaching knowledge of them, it would seem that they have been introduced for the special purpose of culture, and certainly there is no better way to teach "technical" grammar than through the grammar of a synthetic language, such as that of ancient Rome.

Motives of culture, however, are not the ruling ones that induce so many to attend the normal schools or departments of the class of institutions under review. Completion of a course of study in such a school entitles the holder to a certificate and the course itself is especially arranged to meet the requirements of the State examiners. Though these institutions inculcate the elements of an education, they may therefore be looked upon as professional schools. Indeed, to illustrate this conclusion, it will suffice to quote from the catalogue of the school whose programme has just been given, where it is said that the normal course has special reference to

preparing the student to become a successful teacher, and that it is on that account that most of the students naturally turn to it. A university candidly states that a majority of its students attend its courses with the expectation of becoming teachers for a longer or shorter period.

It is clear that the opportunity opened by State aid and northern philanthropists to mature colored persons to gain entry into a field of usefulness of quasi-gentility at a small cost in money and a considerable expenditure of time is one that is particularly charming and has great effect in filling the normal schools and departments.¹

"Parents, patrons, and students," says the Hartshorn Memorial College, "must remember that the completion of the normal course is but the beginning of education. Well-educated women, prepared for the best service of life, are the product of more extended and broader training. It is the desire of this college to develop the higher courses as speedily as possible. But instruction in advanced courses can be given so far only and so fast as students are prepared to receive it.

"For the successful prosecution of advanced studies, four conditions are—each and all—absolutely essential:

"(1) There must be natural ability and the love of learning on the part of the student. Not a few do well and achieve a good standing in the common-school studies, who, for lack of ability or aspiration, utterly fail in the higher.

"(2) There must be careful instruction in the elements and a mastery of them sufficient to lay a good foundation for after progress. Many pupils pass over the lower courses with so much carelessness that they fail, and for lack of preparation must needs fail as soon as they touch the higher.

"(3) Time is requisite. For the primary and grammar school studies, the normal, the college preparatory, and the collegiate many years are required. To complete long courses of study pupils must begin early and remain in school continuously. Those who begin at 16 or 18 years of age have not time to complete advanced courses.

"(4) Means also for the payment of moderate expenses are required. If the parents or patrons of a student count their duty done when she becomes able to teach a country school of low grade, advancement beyond the elements becomes for her impossible.

"The pressing needs of the people wait for women of broader education and completer discipline. To meet this need Hartshorn Memorial College was founded. The time when ability, aspiration for learning, early training, and the requisite means shall meet together and render higher education possible ought not to linger. The colored people themselves should see that the time does not delay."

The foregoing remarks show the lack of higher education among the African race in America. This is particularly unfortunate for this portion of the community since it, more than any other, requires a body of cultured persons within itself to oppose those adventurous persons who, by reason of their pleasing theories or ingenious arguments, are not apt to be the best of advisers, and in a stable government are always bridled by the calm wisdom of a small but all-powerful class of thoughtful people. As before remarked, the colored race is located in the distinctively agricultural States of the Union. It therefore has neither press nor libraries, and the rank and file of the race must depend upon their leaders for their opinions. Thus is explained the pertinacious efforts of thoughtful people to provide a higher education for the negro—their efforts to remove the obstacles which his intellectual and pecuniary disabilities put in their way, and their appeals for aid. The education of the colored race, as far as it is acquired within the walls of an educational

¹Lest this be misconstrued into a jibe at the colored student it is well to remark that at the German universities it is stated that fully one-fourth of all the students are in needy circumstances and take advantage of the fact to demand aid and enjoy free dinners. (See p. 306 of this Report for 1891-92. Compare also what is said by Professor Paulsen on p. 288 of the same volume.) Monsieur Dreyfus-Brisac, in his *Université de Bonn et l'Enseignement Supérieur en Allemagne*, says that the remission of fees is frequently unwarranted, and, at the University of Bonn, is modified by a system of deferred payments (*stündung*)—over 13 per cent of which are lost.

edifice, is practically elementary; but that fact is by no means conclusive evidence that its higher education is an hallucination.

The systems of public schools supported by States insisting on the separation of the races, their work, necessities, and the results accomplished by them, are matters of which the public is well informed. Since the report of 1885-86 a portion of this annual volume has been devoted to compiling what was known of the subject, while the debates in Congress and the discussions in the public prints have illuminated every side of it. The usual figures of attendance, etc., follow.

White and colored school statistics, 1892-93.

State.	Estimated number of children 5 to 18 years of age.		Number enrolled in the common schools.		Average daily attendance.		Number of teachers.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Total	5,408,775	2,630,331	3,692,923	1,367,828	.....	.....	83,849	25,615
Alabama <i>a</i>	290,935	249,291	186,125	115,490	110,311	72,156	4,182	2,136
Arkansas	304,260	117,940	197,655	66,921	.....	.....	4,940	1,374
Delaware <i>b</i>	29,850	8,980	28,316	4,858	219,746	22,947	734	106
District of Columbia	42,920	23,620	25,262	14,502	19,085	10,982	596	209
Florida	81,150	64,350	58,427	36,770	.....	.....	1,984	694
Georgia	352,400	330,700	253,942	161,705	147,907	97,471	5,837	2,982
Kentucky <i>c</i>	544,100	93,200	393,700	61,300	226,500	35,200	7,167	1,395
Louisiana	194,300	206,900	92,816	62,654	65,352	42,018	2,333	911
Maryland	244,750	70,550	162,016	37,386	92,014	16,597	3,534	675
Mississippi	201,900	294,100	154,459	180,464	93,099	101,804	4,296	3,201
Missouri	838,500	51,000	581,342	31,113	.....	.....	13,240	696
North Carolina	373,100	223,700	232,560	124,398	142,362	72,417	4,490	2,541
South Carolina	166,700	279,800	102,571	120,579	75,166	87,134	2,676	1,859
Tennessee	492,100	156,000	368,481	94,980	266,851	64,127	6,949	1,863
Texas	669,300	204,800	425,776	127,495	284,118	80,717	9,287	2,619
Virginia	343,900	244,600	227,696	120,775	130,398	63,745	5,868	2,064
West Virginia	258,600	10,700	201,779	6,438	139,312	4,113	5,736	.....

a In 1889-90.

b In 1891-92.

c Approximately.

It will be remarked by the patient reader who examines the table that the white pupils show an increase of about 85,000; the colored, a decrease of about 12,000. The number of colored teachers has increased 800, while the number of white teachers has increased but 700. Were it possible to ascertain what scholastic and personal qualifications these 800 new colored teachers bring to their duties the advantages of this large increment to the teaching force of colored persons might be discussed.

In the academies, schools, colleges, etc., for colored youth there are, as far as known, 10,191 male and 11,920 female students. In the elementary grades 57 per cent of the attendance are girls; in the secondary grades, 53 per cent; while in the collegiate department only 25 per cent are women. In all schools reporting for 1892-93 there are 25,859 students. In the elementary departments of 75 institutions are 13,176 pupils; in the secondary are 7,365; in the collegiate, 963, and in the professional are 924.

There are several questions connected with the institutional life of the colored pupil that deal more particularly with ethics than pedagogics. Under the caption of "Separate education" the authorities of Hartshorn Memorial College observe:

The establishment of this institution for the education of young women affirms nothing, and expresses no opinion touching the abstract question of coeducation or the separate education of the sexes. Either system, doubtless, has its own special advantages and disadvantages. But this enterprise embodies the conviction that for the students whom this institution will gather, under present conditions and with their present social environment, the balance of advantage is on the side of separation.

It is something, and no small matter, that the necessity of unceasing surveillance, by day and by night, irritating to pupil and burdensome to teacher, is removed.

It is something that courses of study and of instruction may be more closely adjusted to the special and practical needs of young women.

To those who have seen the conscience broken down, the moral tone deteriorated, habits of duplicity engendered, and the best intellects become rapid through the unhealthy life engendered in a mixed institution, it will seem an important matter that one chief stimulus of this unhealthy life be removed.

To fathers and mothers, who remember the sad experiences of some mixed schools, present safety for their inexperienced daughters, sent beyond parental watchcare, will, perhaps, outweigh all other considerations.

The Utopian notion that young people can be brought promiscuously together and counted brothers and sisters, human nature laughs to scorn.

In the presence of such institutions as Mount Holyoke Seminary, Vassar and Wellesley colleges, and others of like worth, few would venture to affirm that the highest womanly worth and strength is dependent upon walking and talking and reciting for a few years with young men.

The strong women of this generation, whose hand is upon the school work, and the mission work, and the reformatory work, and the social life of the time, received their training largely in separate schools.

With the heading "Coeducation," the authorities of Bennett College speak with equal positiveness to the contrary, as follows:

After years' observation and experience we are very decidedly in favor of the education of our young people of both sexes in the same school, provided their association is under proper discipline and suitable care, which we claim is had here.

This is unquestionably, in our judgment, the normal, healthy, home-like method. The improvement under these circumstances in manners, self-reliance, and social culture, the development of manhood and womanhood, are often very marked. We know that some parents are reluctant to send their daughters to schools for both sexes; but this apprehension, we believe, arises chiefly from an insufficient familiarity with the facts. One authority says: "Corrupt influences are more liable to abound in schools exclusively for either sex, but particularly in separate schools for girls." "To insure modesty," says Richter, "I would advise the education of the sexes together; but I will guarantee nothing in a school where girls are alone together, and still less where boys are."

THE EDUCATION OF THE COLORED RACE IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE INDUSTRIAL.

In the early efforts for the education of the negro in America the object in view was his enlightenment. That point once gained it was thought that his welfare would be secure. But owing to his necessitous condition and the comparatively small amount of funds at the disposal of the private or corporate schools, an effort was made in a few cases to do what years before had been tried in different parts of the Union and found to be a failure in the case of institutions for the Caucasian race. This scheme was to have the white student work out his expense while pursuing the studies of the schoolroom, in order that "many of our most worthy young men, who were deprived of the advantages of an education through poverty," might overcome that obstacle to their ambitions. In the case of the negro the effort has persisted longer and has been either more successful than the experiment of 1830-40 in the North and West, or adventitious circumstances have aided it almost to the extent of floating it to an unwonted degree of prosperity.

From various reasons a wave of industrial training overran the country in the later seventies and early eighties that, as a form of education, was adopted by many city school systems, but reached its most distinguished development in the manual training schools of St. Louis and Chicago. The scheme of mechanical instruction of these schools was not native to America. It had been elaborated in a Russian technological university, in which there was a feature of practical work in the engineering course, thus bringing it into very sharp contrast with the German type of technological university (*Technische Hochschule* or polytechnicum). But to give these advanced engineering students of scientific technology a practical insight into the processes by which the mechanics whom they were in the future to direct must work out in wood or metal their ideas as engineers, a course of instruction was established which in America was, in the early days of its adoption, called the Russian system of manual training. The anarchy of shopwork for profit on the principles of the mechanico-theological or classical schools for poor students of the thirties was now superseded by a well-digested and systematic plan of mechanical instruction without profit. Now, the work of the negro has been much more closely connected with the old mechanico-theological idea than with the Russian system, though the introduction of drawing and machinery gave it dignity as a plan of instruction. This, however, it acquired by the action of the Slater fund trustees.

The systematic instruction of the colored race in the village industries is inseparably connected with the administration of the John F. Slater fund. It was not particularly Mr. Slater who caused the fund to be used to foster trade teaching, but his trustees; for the "general object" of his deed of gift, "to be exclusively pursued," was the uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern States and their posterity by conferring upon them the blessings of a Christian education—education in which the instruction of the mind in the common branches of secular learning shall be associated with training in just notions of duty toward God and man in the light of the Holy Scripture. Though the methods of accomplishing this was left to the discretion of the trustees, Mr. Slater strongly indicated that in his opinion the training of teachers was the method to be adopted. In a private conversation with Dr. Haygood, however, he put industrial training as the sixth (and last) object to be taken into consideration in the use of the interest of the fund known by his name. It should be remarked, however, that the trustees may have been influenced in the concentration of the fund upon industrial training by the fact that the Peabody fund had for some years been steadily concentrating its resources on the training of teachers, and the States were making provision to supply their colored schools with properly qualified persons. Be this as it may, the trustees of the fund early determined to confine its aid to such schools as were best fitted to prepare young colored men and women to become useful to their race, and that institutions which gave instruction in trades and other manual occupations that would enable colored youths to make a living and to become useful citizens be carefully sought out and preferred. This policy was continued ten years.

At the date of 1883 the highest example of industrial or trade teaching of the negro was Hampton Normal and Industrial School. Only a few of the higher grade schools for colored youth had attempted to teach trades. Many of the most experienced persons in the field were not convinced that it was wise to attempt it; others advocated it. The rudimentary character of this instruction may be inferred from the first reports to the agent of the fund, Dr. Haygood. Clark University reports, "Without the aid of the Slater fund (\$2,000) we could have done little in the industrial department, as it required \$1,100 to equip it, and our printing department would have failed entirely." Tuskegee Normal School reports, "For the impetus given to the industrial department the school is chiefly indebted to the John F. Slater fund." Claflin University remarks, "As soon as we received notice of the appropriation of \$2,000 from the Slater fund arrangements were made to erect a suitable carpenter shop." And so on, to a large extent, with a score of institutions aided by the fund. Yet these institutions had been carefully sought out as the best for being aided in this matter of trade instruction. It is beyond a doubt that the efficient cause of the impetus for industrial education of the negro was given by the management of the Slater fund and the enthusiasm of their late agent, now Bishop Haygood.

On the retirement of Dr. Haygood the plan of the distribution of the Slater fund was somewhat changed. The trustees created a board of education, of which Dr. Curry, the agent of the Peabody fund, was made chairman. The new plan of operation advocated neither the teaching of trades nor the support of institutions not on a "permanent basis." Instead of the teaching of this or that trade the teaching of the "underlying principles of all trades" and the employment of persons expert in imparting such instruction was to be kept in view; and the schools are already beginning to follow the hint thus given. The act of Congress of August 30, 1890, for the benefit of schools established for the advancement of education in agriculture and the mechanic arts, very likely has had, or will have, the effect to foster this idea of preventing the petrification of the negro into a village mechanic or farm laborer while directing his thoughts and impulses toward industrial rather than political spheres of activity. As the State and the Peabody fund may be looked to to promote the training of teachers, the Slater fund and the \$10,000 or \$12,000

annually given to the States thickly populated with negroes, for their industrial education, may be looked to to supply men capable of conducting an industrial business. It has been through the avenues of trade that an inferior people rise to a higher condition. Trade brings wealth, wealth leisure, and leisure the opportunity, if not the desire, for culture.

As taught in the schools for the colored race about the year 1893, the industrial instruction had the following forms, to wit: The manual training or education by work idea; trade teaching of the mechanic trades; agriculture; printing; and, for girls, housework, including sewing and nurse training.

At Tougaloo University, in accordance with the general plan of the Slater fund, a change was recently made in the form of the industrial work, especial attention being given to manual training with a view to the general culture of mind and hand. This change consisted in the establishment of a two-years course of woodwork of an hour to an hour and a half a day for the seventh and eighth grades, covering the processes and principles of working in wood and with woodworking tools. The exercises are graded, running from the simple to the more difficult, the aim being to adapt them to the mental capacity of the student as well as to his dexterity, and to make them a helpful part of his school work. Each student has a blue print of his work before him. A course in woodwork adapted to the fifth and sixth grades, and a course in ironwork for the ninth grade, is to follow it, while for the tenth and eleventh grades a course of mechanical drawing is to be provided. Straight University also has felt the Slater impetus toward a more concentrated method of manual instruction, and has likewise established a two-years course in woodwork for the seventh and eighth grades, with the same features of the course at Tougaloo University. In fact, the course as explained by Tougaloo and worked out in the following programme may be considered as the Slater course of manual training:

Seventh grade (limited to square work).—Planing to a true surface; laying out work (including measuring with the rule and marking with knife and gauge); sawing to the line; boring; gluing; driving nails and screws; sandpapering; making box joint, dado, mortise, tenon, and groove.

Eighth grade (especially bended or curved work).—Making miter joint (square, octagon, and hexagon); regular and irregular bevels (using steel square); scarf joint, dovetail; laying out curved work; planing and chiseling curved surfaces; sawing curved lines; bending by sawing and steaming; making round forms.

At Fisk University, after the manual training course of two years has been completed the "principles" inculcated are applied during a third year in building and cabinetmaking, while during both the second and third years the nature and use of paints, varnishes, stains, and polishes are taught. In addition to the aid from the Slater fund aid was also received from the Daniel Hand fund in establishing this "new line" of work. It will be seen that the remunerative or practical feature has not been disregarded at this university. At several institutions supported in part by the proceeds from the sale of public lands belonging to the United States and at the comparatively well endowed Atlanta University quite ambitious efforts are being made to inaugurate a system of practical technological instruction much above the average for colored schools. Indeed, at Central Tennessee College there is a course of study in mechanical engineering of four years, though no one has availed himself of it.

But the form of manual training that has been in vogue in the independent or isolated schools for the negro in the past has been of quite another form. The institutions giving this instruction drew their aid from the revenues provided by generous persons interested in the welfare of the negro, and as their attendance increased quite frequently their classes in carpentry and in bricklaying, and in agriculture were utilized in building new and in enlarging or repairing old structures, or in working the fields for garden produce. Sometimes the blacksmithing and wheel-

wrighting of the neighborhood was done; but in general it may be said that the work of the trade classes had a double object in view—instruction of the pupils, and the enlargement or repair of the institution or the cultivation of its grounds. Not that the object of the institution was at all mercenary, but because that was about the only way in which any remuneration could be gotten by the institution out of the labor of its students; if not in this way, then failure.

This species of manual instruction is of varied nature: Carpentry, bricklaying and brickmaking, blacksmithing, painting, and printing for men; cooking, dressmaking, and in general housewifery for women. It is doubtful if a better illustration of this object, and methods of the institution giving this character of instruction, can be found than the following announcement:

INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS.

The industrial work is carried on in connection with a four years' course of academic work designed to give a thorough English education. With these objects are kept in view, viz:

- (1) To teach the dignity of labor.
- (2) To teach the students how to work, giving them a trade when thought best.
- (3) To enable students to pay a portion of their expenses in labor.

At present the most developed of the industries are:

Agriculture.—This department controls two farms of 680 and 800 acres, respectively. The funds at command will not allow much outlay in new experimental farming. The special effort, therefore, is to give the students lessons in common, practical farming. The farms not only furnish an object lesson and valuable employment to students, but supply largely the demands of the school.

Brickmaking.—On the farm have been found extensive beds of clay suitable for making bricks. From these beds the school has been able to make bricks enough to build five substantial buildings for school uses, and to sell many to neighbors. The bricks are made and laid by students, thus reducing the cash outlay for buildings to the minimum.

Carpentry.—The students are taught to do all kinds of work, such as building cottages, fences, repairing buildings, making and repairing furniture, etc. Of the many buildings on the grounds, most of the work has been done by boys of this department.

Painting.—Painting of buggies and graining are emphasized. House painting is regularly done. Many buggies and carts for the town and country are brought in and painted.

Printing.—In this office are printed the catalogues, "Southern Letter," "Student," and much job work for the school and the surrounding country.

Blacksmithing and wheelwrighting.—These departments do all the work for the school and farm, and much for the town and country.

Tinsmithing, shoemaking, and harness making.—Harness work for the neighborhood, as well as for the school farm, is done. The students' shoes are repaired and all the roofing of the institution is done.

Sawmill.—One of the most useful of the industrial occupations is that in connection with the sawmill. A large part of the farm is covered with pine forest.

Wages.—The rate of wages is according to the age of the student and the real value of his work. The arrangements are such that students lose nothing in their classes by working out a part of their expenses. At the end of each month a bill is given to every student showing what he may owe the school or what the school may owe him.

A very favorable statement of the condition of trade teaching is given by Howard University. There the industrial department occupies an entire building, 40 by 75 feet, of two stories and basement, and the students in the preparatory and normal departments practice in the methods of certain trades at specified hours. The work in each department is done under the personal direction of a skilled workman, and with the advantage of first-class tools.

Before leaving the subject of trade teaching in the isolated schools for the colored race it is necessary that certain remarks of Dr. Haygood, in his last report (1891) to the trustees of the Slater fund, should be reproduced. They are as follows:

"If there had been no Slater fund, much by this time would have been done in industrial education in these schools; but every informed person knows that the help and encouragement of this great benevolence has furnished the inspiration and driving force of this vital movement. But for the friendship won to some of these schools through the industries fostered by the Slater money they would, by this

time, have ceased to be. * * * For every dollar given by the Slater fund not only another dollar has come to help it but more than a dollar.”¹

The large farms usually attached to the institutions for the colored race, the industrial habits of that race, and the terms of the act of August 30, 1890, have invited or compelled attention to agricultural operations. The difficulties attending the introduction of this study in schools for the whites were greater than in the case of the schools for the colored; indeed the training given by the agricultural courses of the schools for colored persons has been much more adapted to making laborers than scientific agriculturists.

For colored girls the usual manual training given to white girls is quite appropriate. Cooking and dressmaking are particularly well adapted as studies to those who very frequently make their living as servants or seamstresses. Quite an effort is being made to introduce nurse training and in several institutions courses have been established, as at Central Tennessee College where arrangements have been made for a course consisting of two parts, one, nonprofessional, of two years, and one, professional, running through a third year.

THE TEACHING FORCE.

The biographies of the teachers in the institutions for the education of the colored race would be a detailed history of the struggle for the instruction of that race. It has never happened in the history of education that so many difficulties had to be overcome as in the case of carrying the war for education into Africa, and it was natural, perhaps necessary, that enthusiasm should ripen into devotion, and even fortify itself in fanaticism. But the personal trials and victories of the past and present can not be recounted here; they must be looked for in Dr. Barnard's report on education in the District of Columbia, in General Armstrong's Twenty Years of Work at Hampton, and in other works of a similar nature.

After the lapse of a quarter of a century, it is natural to suppose that much of the teaching done in schools for the colored race should be by persons from among themselves. The figures from 76 institutions justify such an expectation, for they show that of the 1,010 teachers in them one-third (373) are colored men and women. Still confining attention to the institutions for the education of the colored race, it appears that, though the white men teachers (225) are equal in number to the colored men teachers (221), the white women teachers (412) are very nearly as many as both white and colored men teachers, while for every colored woman teacher there are 3 white women teachers. Comparison with the relative proportion of each sex in the public schools can not be made, as the statistics are not obtainable, but it may be stated as a fact that in cities the colored schools are almost always taught by women, and in the open country by men.

¹ Amount and distribution of the sums disbursed from the Slater fund from 1853 to 1892, inclusive.

	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.
Alabama	\$2, 100	\$2, 450	\$5, 000	\$3, 800	\$4, 400	\$4, 600	\$3, 600	\$3, 600	\$4, 900	\$4, 700
Arkansas					600	800	800	800	1, 000	600
Florida						1, 000	800	800	1, 000	1, 000
Georgia	6, 200	500	6, 814	5, 100	6, 200	6, 850	9, 700	9, 700	10, 500	8, 400
Kentucky		1, 000	1, 000	700	700	700				
Louisiana		592	1, 400	1, 000	3, 100	3, 500	4, 100	3, 100	3, 700	3, 500
Mississippi	1, 000	2, 600	2, 000	2, 000	4, 450	4, 800	4, 400	4, 400	5, 300	4, 967
North Carolina	2, 000	740	4, 400	3, 600	4, 200	5, 300	5, 100	4, 700	5, 700	5, 300
South Carolina	2, 000	750	3, 500	2, 700	3, 660	4, 200	4, 000	4, 000	5, 000	5, 000
Tennessee	950	4, 325	7, 600	5, 800	6, 500	6, 500	6, 800	6, 800	7, 400	7, 100
Texas		600	600	600	900	1, 360	1, 360	1, 360	1, 500	1, 500
Virginia	2, 000	2, 000	3, 000	3, 650	4, 190	4, 190	3, 150	3, 150	3, 150	3, 150
District of Columbia		1, 000	1, 000	600	600	600				
Special		550	450	450	500	500	500	500	500	
Total	16, 250	17, 107	36, 764	30, 000	40, 000	45, 000	44, 310	42, 910	49, 650	45, 217

The education of these teachers has been accomplished in the various normal schools, academies, colleges, and universities spoken of some pages back. The country schools are incapable of giving an education that will at all qualify the pupil for the position of a teacher of even a colored school, and unless there be a high school in the city having a quasi system of schools for their colored population the urban public school is also incapable of accomplishing the same fact. The strenuous efforts now being made to improve the character of the white teaching corps by uniform examinations will probably result in securing a higher grade of teachers for the schools for the rural districts, in which the negro population is mostly situated, and better supervision will result in more thorough teaching and more businesslike management.

There are three great funds, aggregating \$4,000,000, the interest of which may be used in promoting the education of persons to fill positions as public-school teachers in the Southern States. Two of these funds are specifically for the colored race and the other is for the people of the whole South. In addition to these, there is the fund arising from the sale of lands given by Congress in 1862, which generally reaches the normal schools for colored pupils in the form of a State appropriation, and finally there is the quota, fixed by Federal law, drawn from the \$25,000 annually appropriated to each State by the act of Congress of August 30, 1890, which has so far gone to help the resources of the State normal schools for colored children which are thus compelled to add an industrial feature to their establishment. But most important of all, since it is extensible and therefore may be made commensurate with the necessities of the situation, is an appropriation from the State treasury, a resource which has been very effectively used in the North and West, and is by no means unknown in the South.

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING.

The dignity and the presumptive emoluments of the professions of law and medicine and the sacredness and the social influence of the minister's calling have naturally excited a desire in many colored persons to engage in a course of study leading to one of the so-called learned professions. The difficulty experienced in America by the schools for instruction in the learned professions is intensified in the case of those for the colored citizen, for very few of their students are scholastically prepared to follow the study they have chosen. This subject, however, is so well worn in the case of the schools for the whites that it would be intolerable to have its intricacies unfolded in connection with a few schools for training the men who are to deal with the life, the property, and the morals of an inferior race that has been forced rather than self-evolved to a plane of theoretic highest civil standing.

In the late slaveholding States there are five schools for the medical education of persons of color. At one of these—that at Washington—some white persons attend, while at the Northern schools for the Caucasian race a number of colored persons are enrolled.

Three institutions are very prominent in the training of physicians for the colored people. These are the Meharry medical department of Central Tennessee College, Howard University medical department, and the Leonard medical department of Shaw University. The Meharry medical department was organized in 1876-1879, through the generosity of the Messrs. Meharry, of Indiana. At that time there was no institution south of the Ohio and the Potomac accessible to the colored race. The Leonard Medical School was established in 1881-82 upon a site given by the State of North Carolina. Both of these Southern institutions have received very substantial aid from the John F. Slater fund. The medical department of Howard University was the first medical school for colored students. It is supported partly by the funds of the university and partly by tuition fees, which are increased by the attendance of white persons who are attracted by the low annual charge for tuition and the excellent instruction and facilities for instruction provided. At Fisk University "it is

hoped that the time is very near at hand when departments of law and medicine can be added to the present lines of educational work of the university."

The course of the schools attached to Howard and New Orleans universities and Central Tennessee College are graded, and are of four years. At Shaw University an annual course of lectures is given. The first three institutions named require proficiency in an English education, all having examinations for admission. Central Tennessee College and New Orleans University require the student to study Latin during the junior year. The curriculum of the graded courses comprises anatomy, physiology, microscopy, histology, chemistry, toxicology, materia medica; therapeutics, obstetrics, gynecology, pædiatrics, practice, hygiene, medical jurisprudence, ophthalmology, otology, and bacteriology, the difference in the distribution of the studies through the four years being that at the New Orleans University and Central Tennessee College the student's attention is confined to anatomy, chemistry, and physiology, while at Howard University physiology, materia medica, therapeutics, microscopy, and histology are introduced. A further difference is also apparent in the placing of the practice of medicine and surgery, which are third-year studies at Howard and fourth-year at the other two institutions. Howard University has upon its own grounds a well-filled hospital. The students of the Central Tennessee College department may attend the Nashville City Hospital. All the schools have clinics.

The requirements for graduation are completion of the twenty-first year, of the course of the school, and the payment of fees in full. The fees are \$30 or \$60 a year. At New Orleans University and Central Tennessee College the entire course of four years costs the student \$173; at Howard University \$223, including all incidental expenses connected with instruction.

Connected with several of these schools are departments of dentistry or pharmacy. The course of the dental departments of Howard University and Central Tennessee College is of three years. The curriculum comprises anatomy, physiology, microscopy, histology, chemistry, materia medica, therapeutics, surgery, operative and prosthetic dentistry, hygiene, and medical jurisprudence, to which Central Tennessee adds metallurgy, dissecting, and materia medica. The expenses are \$30 or \$60 a year and incidentals.

Three institutions have courses in pharmacy. That of Howard University comprises botany, chemistry, toxicology, materia medica, and pharmacy, with a recommendation to study microscopy, which Central Tennessee includes as necessary. To graduate, the student must have attended two years, but to obtain the degree of graduate in pharmacy he must have had two other years of practical experience in compounding and dispensing drugs and medicines in a regular established pharmacy. The charge at Central Tennessee College and Shaw University is \$30 annually, not including incidentals; at Howard University, \$60.

Among the colored people the study of law has not such a numerous following as the study of medicine. The same phenomenon is present among the Caucasian race of European and American countries, for the impetus given to the public mind by successful biological research and the ills attending a high-pressure system of life have rendered medical assistance advisable as an experiment and even necessary for continued existence.

There are five schools of law especially for colored people. These schools are all connected with a college or university. By far the largest enrollment is in the law department of Howard University, which, holding its sessions at night, gives opportunity to colored clerks and messengers of the public bureaus and to commercial clerks to undertake a course in law. The three schools of the national capital for the whites offer the same advantages to persons of that color whose necessities and ambition oblige them to work and study by day and recite or listen to lectures at night.

The law department of Howard University has been fortunate. It has recently been supplied with a remodeled building opposite the city court-house, through the

generosity of certain members of the New York bar and of C. P. Huntington and J. W. Ambrose, both of New York, and has been named Evarts Hall in recognition of the exertions of the Hon. William M. Evarts in procuring funds for the reconstruction of the old building. It is also fortunate in having Congress, which legislates for the District of Columbia, provide in part for the salaries of four professors—in all, \$3,200.

The course of study of this school is not of an advanced character. It is taken for granted that the applicant for admission "has had a good English education and some mental training." But though no preliminary examination is held, that fact "is not to be construed as in any manner lowering the standard of attainments required for graduation," as preliminary examinations are frequently found to work injustice and are unsatisfactory. The course is of two years plus the post-graduate course tacked on to all the law-school courses established in Washington. The first year is spent on Blackstone, real and personal property, contracts, commercial paper, criminal law, and domestic relations; the second on pleading, practice, equity, evidence, and torts. During the third year constitutional limitations on the States, mercantile law, and corporations are taken up. Moot courts are held. The instruction is by the usual assigned reading and quiz method, interspersed with lectures. The faculty is composed of six lecturers.

The law department of Central Tennessee College has a course of two years. To gain admission to its course the candidate must pass a satisfactory examination on all the common English studies, and is advised to take a more extensive course of general study before beginning that of law. The course differs from that of Howard University in that the study of the fundamental divisions of the substantive law share during the first year the time with the law of procedure, and international law (Vattel) is introduced, while during the second year Federal procedure, constitutional limitations, and corporations are taken up and procedure law continued. The faculty is composed of three persons and a dean.

The law department of Allen University has a course of two years, whose sessions, like the schools at Washington, D. C., are held in the afternoon and evening, in order to suit the convenience of students otherwise employed during the earlier portion of the day. The first year is, with the exception of evidence, devoted to substantive law (Blackstone, Kent, contracts, and bills), and to constitutional law. The second year is, with the exception of criminal law and the statutory law of South Carolina, devoted to procedure, considering equity as falling in that category. The faculty appears to be the president of the university. Moot courts are held. During the six years of its existence five classes have been sent out, "a majority of the members meeting with a great degree of success in life."

The law school of Shaw University was established in 1888. Its course is not known. A scholarship of \$50 a year will be granted to worthy students who need assistance.

Wilberforce University has a law course of two years, but no students.

"If you were in a Southern village watching the passers-by, you would perhaps see among them a colored man, strong in body, marked in countenance, an umbrella in one hand and a gripsack in the other. He is always well, always possessed of marvelous powers of endurance, always ready to speak. He is the negro preacher. Examine him and you will find he has never been taught. * * * Is he doing much preaching? He is preaching a good deal. He has been at it twenty-five years. Multitudes are swayed by his eloquence. Men's, women's, and children's lives and careers are subject to him. He is often the only colored man among them who can read. He is the one man who is looked up to as a leader. His influence extends to the utmost limit of the colored people's life. Here, then, is the colored minister, with many admirable qualities, but with certain deficiencies. Here he is. What ought he to do? He ought to be educated. He ought to undergo a grand work in the three R's, he ought to understand English, the English Bible, English

literature, English history, English doctrine, to speak and to write English, and to explain the Bible in English."¹

In August, 1892, the presidents of the schools supported by the Baptist Home Mission Society adopted the following scheme: All students studying for a degree to study at Richmond Theological Seminary, and each school of the society to have a "minister's course":

This course is designed only for those who, from lack of literary training, are unable to take a more extended course, and who, at the same time, are unable, by reason of age and other insurmountable conditions, to secure a thorough literary training. Many ministers engaged in active pastoral work who feel the need of further training will find this course specially adapted to their case. It may, ordinarily, be completed in a year. No person will be allowed to pursue this course in the Richmond Theological Seminary except residents of the State of Virginia. Certificates will be given to such as complete the course in a satisfactory manner. The instruction to be given is to be included under the following heads:

I.—STUDY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

The work done under this head is to be strictly Biblical. No time is to be spent upon speculations about the Bible. The study of Divine truth itself and the best methods of communicating this truth to the minds and hearts of others are to occupy the entire attention. The inductive method of instruction is to be pursued, and the special aim of the work is to accomplish the following ends:

- (a) To permeate the minds and hearts of the students with the spirit and power of Divine truth.
- (b) To give to the students a general but comprehensive knowledge of the Bible as a whole.
- (c) To impart to the students a correct method of studying the Scriptures, and practical and effective methods of conveying Bible truth to the minds and hearts of other persons varying in age, capacity, and mental training.

In seeking to accomplish these three ends in the most successful manner, the following order of study and of imparting instruction is to be pursued:

- (1) The study and application of (a) Bible stories, (b) Bible characters, (c) consecutive Bible narrative or history.
- (2) The study of principles and methods of giving Bible instruction. This exercise includes (a) the study of subjects specially selected, (b) parables, (c) miracles, etc.
- (3) The study of the life of Christ, making the gospel of Luke the basis of instruction.
- (4) The study and analysis of selected topics and selected books of the Bible.
- (5) The systematic study of Bible doctrines as explicitly taught in the Bible itself.

II.—FAMILY ORGANIZATION.

Under this head the teachings of the Bible in reference to the family are to be carefully studied and enforced in a practical way. The following order is pursued:

- (1) The teachings of the New Testament upon marriage.
- (2) The Scripture teachings regarding the reciprocal duties and responsibilities of husband and wife.
- (3) The Scripture teachings in reference to the relation of parents and children. (a) The father's position in the family and his special responsibilities; (b) the mother's position and her responsibilities; (c) home surroundings, what they should be, and how to make them such; (d) The children in the home, and their duties and responsibilities to their parents and to each other.
- (4) Rights, duties, and responsibilities of employers and employees as taught in the Word of God.

III.—CHURCH WORK.

In this department instruction is to be given on everything that pertains to a well-organized working church.

Special attention will be given to the peculiar needs of small country churches and mission stations. The instruction is to be of the most practical nature. It is to be accompanied also by such church work upon the part of the students as will fix it firmly in their minds. The following presents the order of study and instruction:

- (1) The nature of church organization as taught in the New Testament: (a) The elder, bishop, presbyter, minister, or pastor—his office, his qualification, and his duties and responsibilities, both private and public; (b) the deacons, their office, qualifications, and duties; (c) deaconesses, their place and work in the church; (d) church members, their relations to the minister or pastor, also to each other, and their special work and responsibilities; (e) church order and discipline.

- (2) Church helps as a part of church organization: (a) All helps are to be regarded as subordinate to the church itself; (b) societies, Christian association, young people's union, Christian endeavor society, literary society, home and foreign missionary society, mission circle, mission band and temperance society, etc.

¹Rev. A. L. Phillips, secretary for colored evangelization for the Southern General Assembly, Presbyterian Church, in Second Mohonk Conference, pp. 33-35.

TABLE 1.—Statistics of institutions for educating the colored race, showing grade of students, during 1892-93—Continued.

Location.	Name.	Presiding officer.	Profess- ors and in- struct- ors.		Students in—						
					Elemen- tary grades.		Second- ary grades.		Colle- giate courses proper.		Profession- al courses.
			Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Tuskegee, Ala...	Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.	Booker T. Wash- ington.	30	17	0	0	400	320	0	0	20
Little Rock, Ark.	Philander Smith Col- lege.*	.....	6	9	(311)		(28)		(7)	.....
Pine Bluff, Ark..	Branch Normal Col- lege of Arkansas In- dustrial University.	Joseph C. Corbin..	6	1	0	0	107	46	64	27	0
Southland, Ark..	Southland College and Normal Institute.	William Russell ..	3	6	42	53	18	19	4	2	0
Washington, D. C.	Howard University...	Rev. J. E. Rankin.	43	7	93	42	75	37	29	4	226
Do.....	Normal School, seventh and eighth divisions.	Lucy E. Moton...	2	5	164	161	3	23	0	0	0
Do.....	Wayland Seminary...	Rev. G. M. P. King.	6	4	28	30	39	33	0	0	27
Jacksonville, Fla.	Cookman Institute....	Lillie M. Whitney.	3	6	99	133	39	30	0	0	13
Live Oak, Fla....	Florida Institute.....	No report.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tallahassee, Fla.	State Normal College for Colored Teachers.	T. De S. Tucker ..	4	3	0	0	27	39	0	0	0
Athens, Ga.....	Jerual Academy.....	John H. Brown...	1	3	21	16	57	61	0	0	30
Do.....	Knox Institute.....	L. S. Clark.....	3	2	123	134	1	1	0	0	0
Atlanta, Ga.....	Atlanta Baptist Semi- nary.	Rev. George Sale..	7	3	55	0	85	0	3	0	12
Do.....	Atlanta University...	Rev. Horace Bum- stead.	9	20	127	210	53	80	17	17	0
Do.....	Clark University.....	Rev. D. C. John...	6	9	161	167	46	35	6	0	0
Do.....	Gannon School of Theology.	Rev. Wilbur P. Thirkield.	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	72
Do.....	Spelman Seminary....	Miss Harriet E. Giles.	1	36	0	671	0	49	0	8	0
Do.....	Storrs School.....	Ella E. Roper.....	0	7	80	170	0	0	0	0	0
Augusta, Ga.....	The Paine Institute....	Rev. Geo. Wms. Walker.	4	2	16	14	61	56	7	2	5
Lagrange, Ga....	Lagrange Academy...	No report.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
McIntosh, Ga....	Dorchester Academy..	Fred W. Foster...	1	7	0	0	7	5	0	0	0
Macon, Ga.....	Ballard Normal School.	F. T. Waters.....	2	11	50	145	60	165	0	0	0
Savannah, Ga....	Beach Institute.....	Julia B. Ford.....	0	6	(385)		(43)		.....	.....
Thomasville, Ga.	Allen Normal and In- dustrial School.	Katharine B. Dowd	0	6	25	65	4	28	0	0	0
Waynesboro, Ga.	Haven Academy.....	No report.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Berea, Ky.....	Berea College.....	William Goodell Frost.	9	9	.....	.....	16	22	9	5	0
Lexington, Ky...	Chandler Normal School.	Mrs. L. A. Shaw..	0	9	119	180	5	15	0	0	0
New Castle, Ky..	Christian Bible School.	No report.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alexandria, La...	Alexandria Academy..	..... do.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Iberia, La..	Mount Carmel Con- vent.	.....	0	2	30	60	0	0	0	0	0
New Orleans, La.	Leland University.....	E. C. Mitchell....	8	9	141	160	0	0	25	15	0
Do.....	La Harpe Academy..	No report.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Do.....	New Orleans Univer- sity.	.....	20	10	(110)		(35)		(9)	.....
Do.....	Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col- lege.	H. A. Hill.....	8	9	214	338	20	48	0	3	0
Do.....	Straight University...	Oscar Atwood....	5	20	175	166	97	158	2	1	0
Winsted, La.....	Gilbert Academy and Agricultural College.	W. D. Godman....	10	6	80	76	32	19	0	0	0
Baltimore, Md...	Morgan College.....	Rev. Francis J. Wagner.	5	5	86	46	43	24	3	1	5
Princess Anne, Md.	Delaware Academy...	No report.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

* For 1891-92.

TABLE 1.—Statistics of institutions for educating the colored race, showing grade of students, during 1892-93—Continued.

Location.	Name.	Presiding officer.	Professors and instructors.		Students in—							
					Elementary grades.		Secondary grades.		Collegiate courses proper.		Professional courses.	
			Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Clinton, Miss....	Mount Hermon Female Seminary.	Sarah A. Dickey..	0	9	63	86	6	24	0	0	0	0
Holly Springs, Miss.	Rust University	Rev. C. E. Libby ..	9	7	51	141	18	8	7	5	0	0
Do.....	State Colored Normal School.	E. D. Miller.....	2	1	19	52	57	43	0	0	.....	.....
Jackson, Miss....	Jackson College.....	Rev. Charles Ayer	3	5	0	0	78	79	0	0	0	7
Meridian, Miss..	Meridian Academy....	No report.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Natchez, Miss....	Natchez College.....	do.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Rodney, Miss....	Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College.	T. J. Calloway	12	0	127	7	85	3	33	1	0	0
Tougaloo, Miss..	Tougaloo University..	Frank G. Woodworth.	7	12	171	188	20	13	0	0	0	1
Mill Spring, Mo.,	Hale's College.....	No report.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
All Healing, N. C.	Lincoln Academy.....	do.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ashboro, N. C....	Ashboro Normal School.	do.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Beaufort, N. C...	Washburn Seminary..	F. S. Hitchcock ...	1	4	45	35	18	17	0	0	0	0
Concord, N. C....	Scotia Seminary	Rev. D. J. Satterfield.	1	15	0	120	0	160	0	0	0	0
Charlotte, N. C.	Biddle University	Rev. D. J. Sanders ..	12	0	110	0	90	0	53	0	17	.....
Franklinton, N. C.	State Colored Normal School.	No report.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Goldsboro, N. C..	do.....	Rev. R. S. Rives....	1	2	0	0	15	81	0	0	0	0
Greensboro, N. C.	Bennett College.....	J. D. Chavis.....	3	6	0	0	69	145	5	0	0	0
Plymouth, N. C..	State Normal School..	H. C. Crosby.....	2	1	0	0	36	104	0	0	0	0
Raleigh, N. C....	Shaw University.....	Rev. C. F. Meserve ..	20	6	2	3	100	125	35	16	118	.....
Do.....	St. Augustine Normal School and Collegiate Institute.	Rev. A. B. Hunter..	6	5	34	56	33	31	9	7	12	.....
Salisbury, N. C..	Livingstone College..	.....	5	3	(33)	.....	(174)	.....	(20)	.....	.....	.....
Do.....	State Colored Normal School.	F. M. Martin.....	3	1	25	59	13	21	0	0	0	0
Wilmington, N. C.	Gregory Institute.....	A. F. Beard.....	1	9	97	173	24	56	0	0	0	0
Windsor, N. C....	Rankin-Richards Institute.	Rhoden Mitchell..	2	1	42	83	11	33	0	0	0	0
Winton, N. C....	Waters Normal Institute.	Rev. C. S. Brown..	2	1	0	0	67	77	0	0	6	.....
Wilberforce, Ohio	Wilberforce University.	S. T. Mitchell.....	12	6	43	64	23	4	21	4	12	.....
Lincoln University, Pa.	Lincoln University*..	.....	10	0	(22)	.....	(63)	.....	(143)	.....	.....	.....
Aiken, S. C.....	Schofield Normal and Industrial School.	No report.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Charleston, S. C..	Avery Normal Institute.	Morrison A. Holmes.	2	7	119	150	30	101	0	0	0	0
Do.....	Wallingford Academy.	Rev. S. A. Grove..	1	5	29	44	56	84	2	11	0	0
Chester, S. C....	Braunerd Institute....	John S. Marquis, jr.	3	5	57	98	5	8	0	0	0	0
Columbia, S. C...	Allen University.....	.....	7	5	(354)	.....	(45)	.....	(8)	.....	.....	.....
Do.....	Benedict College.....	C. E. Becker.....	3	6	.....	.....	(184)	.....	6	4	.....	.....
Frogmore, S. C...	Penn Industrial and Normal School.	Misses Towne and Murray.	3	9	114	99	11	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
Greenwood, S. C.	Brewer Normal School.	Rev. J. M. Robinson.	1	7	109	107	11	3	0	0	0	0
Orangeburg, S. C.	Claffin University, Agricultural College, and Mechanics' Institute.	Rev. L. M. Dunton	23	14	221	203	113	74	21	3	12	.....
Knoxville, Tenn.	Knoxville College....	J. S. McCulloch...	5	15	71	97	58	64	14	2	0	0
Memphis, Tenn..	Le Moyne Normal Institute.	No report.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

* For 1891-92.

TABLE 1.—Statistics of institutions for educating the colored race, showing grade of students, during 1892-93—Continued.

Location.	Name.	Presiding officer.	Professors and instructors.		Students in—							
					Elementary grades.		Secondary grades.		Collegiate courses proper.		Professional course.	
			Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Morristown, Tenn.	Morristown Normal Academy.	Rev. Judson S. Hill.	2	10	123	130	32	27	11	4	0	
Nashville, Tenn.	Central Tennessee College.	John Braden.....	30	12	180	214	11	36	29	10	193	
Do.....	Fisk University.....	Erastus Milo Cravath.	10	21	107	185	63	136	42	9	4	
Do.....	Roger Williams University.	Rev. Alfred Owen.	6	5	0	0	63	87	41	1	0	
Austin, Tex.....	Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute.	Rev. W. M. Brown.	2	10	47	73	24	15	0	0	0	
Crockett, Tex....	Mary Allen Seminary.	Rev. J. D. Smith..	1	13	0	0	0	229	0	0	0	
Hearne, Tex.....	Hearne Academy, Normal and Industrial Institute.	M. H. Broyles.....	2	3	41	63	4	3	0	0	0	
Prairie View, Tex.	Prairie View State Normal School.	L. C. Anderson...	8	2	0	0	120	112	0	0	0	
Marshall, Tex...	Bishop College.....	N. Nolverton.....	5	5	38	42	60	70	0	0	26	
Do.....	Wiley University.....	J. B. Scott.....	7	5	160	119	16	24	10	7	5	
Waco, Tex.....	Paul Quinn College ..	.....	4	4	(190)	(26)			(7)		
Hampton, Va....	Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.	Rev. H. B. Frissell.	24	39	217	90	106	126	0	0	0	
Norfolk, Va.....	Norfolk Mission School.	Rev. J. B. Work...	4	6	190	361	32	43	0	0	0	
Petersburg, Va..	Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.	James Hugo Johnston.	7	5	19	28	13	1	16	2	0	
Richmond, Va...	Hartshorn Memorial College.	Rev. Lyman B. Tefft.	1	7	1	119	0	0	0	0	0	
Do.....	Richmond Theological Seminary.	Rev. Charles H. Corey.	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	60	
Harpers Ferry, W. Va.	Storer College.....	N. C. Brackett....	4	5	0	0	80	81	0	0	0	

TABLE 2.—Statistics of institutions for educating the colored race which failed to report grade of students, 1892-93.

Normal schools.	Professors and instructors.	Students.	
		Men.	Women.
Central Alabama Academy, Huntsville, Ala.....	5	63	89
State Colored Normal and Industrial School, Huntsville, Ala.....	19	(516)	
State Normal School for Colored Students, Montgomery, Ala.....	23	395	505
Lincoln Institute, Jefferson City, Mo.....	7	92	90
State Colored Normal School, Fayetteville, N. C.....	3	35	71
Whitin Normal School, Lumberton, N. C.*.....	2	15	12
Schofield Normal and Industrial School, Aiken, S. C.....	6	140	170
Le Moyne Normal Institute, Memphis, Tenn.....	16	236	325
Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute, Austin, Tex.....	6	35	34

* For 1891-92.

TABLE 3.—*Colored students in schools for the special classes, 1892-93.*

Names.	Male students.	Female students.
In schools for the deaf:		
Arkansas Institute	12	5
Florida Institute	10	8
Georgia Institute	*(31)	
Kentucky Institution	22	12
Maryland School	10	7
Mississippi Institution	15	13
Missouri School	17	5
North Carolina Institution	29	27
South Carolina Institution	15	8
Tennessee School	18	13
Texas Institution	23	18
Total	{ *(31) 172	{ 116
In schools for the blind:		
Arkansas School	*(24)	
Kentucky Institution	13	10
Maryland School	13	6
North Carolina Institution	20	14
South Carolina Institution	6	6
Tennessee School	7	6
Texas Institute	29	24
Total	{ *(24) 91	{ 76

* For 1891-92.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATION OF THE COLORED RACE IN INDUSTRY.*

The financial history of the larger institutions for the education of the colored race is epitomized in the case of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute of Alabama. That institution, on the 4th of July, 1881, started in the world without a dollar except an annual appropriation of \$2,000 from the State for tuition of State students. During the thirteen years that have elapsed since that date the institution has received \$421,956 in cash, derived from the following sources:

The State of Alabama, about 9 per cent, or	\$37, 000
The Peabody fund, about 1 per cent, or	5, 163
The John F. Slater fund, about 4 per cent, or	15, 500
The students, about 12 per cent, or	51, 451
Gifts, about 74 per cent, or	312, 842
Total for the thirteen years	421, 956

Of the above amount about 44 per cent, or \$187,613, was paid for student labor between 1881 and 1894.

Reduced to its essential element, the whole matter is "student labor," paid for by benevolent people and done in buildings and fields, provided by these same kind-hearted persons for the purpose of enabling the negro youth to acquire an education without loss of self-respect.¹ Indeed it may be said that the necessitous condition of the negro and the idea of self-helpfulness are the magic notes that have drawn so many millions from, more especially, the North, to effect his education. But this, so to speak, incidental idea of manual labor in exchange for an education rapidly became the general principle, that the education of the negro is to be best effected through systematically teaching him to labor. Thus "student labor" is no longer at this epoch of the education of the colored race a means to an end, but is an end, if not the end. The same phenomenon may be observed in older and more stratified societies than our own, and it is the wish of the Commissioner to have presented the character of the technical equipment and course of instruction of the institutions interested in the effort to teach the negro the dignity of labor.²

In applying to the negro in America a course of trade instruction such as has never been in general systematically or successfully operated in schools for the whites in this country,³ it is a question how far methods that in the past have failed, or the newer so-called "manual-training" methods are applicable to the colored race. Unmistakably there is abroad at the present time an idea that in regard to

¹ Students must pay in advance \$5 a month for board. * * * The school endeavors to give each pupil \$5 worth of work monthly, which in most cases able-bodied persons can earn.—Catalogue Hampton Institute, p. 58.

² The object of this institution is, "First, to teach the dignity of labor."—Many catalogues.

³ The New York trade schools are not an exception, for their work is completely divorced from manual training.

* By Mr. Wellford Addis, specialist in the Bureau.

the mental training of the negro there must be "appreciated one important and far-reaching fact—a fact that has been too generally overlooked by those charged with the education of the negro—namely, that the curriculum and methods employed in the instruction of the white race need essential modification and adaptation in their application to negro schools," for in the education of the negro, it is necessary to have a "practical knowledge of his peculiar intellectual difficulties and a sympathetic appreciation of his moral weaknesses."¹ Now, if we substitute for the "intellectual difficulties" and "moral weaknesses" to be considered in the mental training of the negro the hereditary aptitudes for certain kinds of labor possessed by him, the conclusions of an official of the last census will bear upon the line of least resistance for imparting the idea of the dignity of labor or self-helpfulness. These conclusions are—

"The proportion of the negroes in the cities [of 8,000 population or more] has in every case been less than that of whites, though their proportionate increase has been greater than that of the whites. This gain is, however, very slight, and is probably not significant. While the negro is extremely gregarious, and is by that instinct drawn toward the great centers of population, on the other hand he is not fitted either by nature or education for those vocations for the pursuit of which men collect in cities; that is, for manufactures and commerce. The inclinations of this race, drawn from its inheritance, tend to keep it wedded to the soil, and the probabilities are that as cities increase in the United States in number and size and with them manufactures and commerce develop, the great body of the negroes will continue to remain aloof from them and cultivate the soil, as heretofore."²

Whether hereditary inclination, early association, or social antagonism will keep the negro wedded to industrial isolation as a small farmer, it is undoubtedly a fact that his longings are away from the farm, as are those of the youth of the white race, and probably for the same reasons; both having seen so much of its worst side before experience had taught them to recognize the better. This tendency away from the farm has been ascribed to the quickening of the intellectual operations and the birth of high aspirations due to an elementary education, but instead of counteracting it by agricultural instruction, in the case of the negro the greatest weight is being put upon industrial instruction, as will appear in the sequel, for which vocation the negro "is not fitted either by nature or education," according to the authority quoted above.

Taking the negro in his present industrial condition as more at home on the soil than in the alleys and back streets of cities and towns, it will be best to examine into the character of the instruction which is intended to fit him for his ancestral vocation, then into that which fits him for village or cross-roads industries and those of the shop or foundry.

Before presenting these topics, however, the recent establishment of the Shorter University at Arkadelphia, Ark., requires mention. This institution, as yet a university only in plan, owes its existence to the policy of the African Methodist Episcopal Church to establish schools in every State where its membership is very large. The progress of the school under its original name of Bethel Institute is due to the active service of the ministers and members of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Arkansas, who have given labor and money to promote "liberal learning" within its territory among the colored race. The prospectus is quite guarded in its reference to industrial education, the new university "aiming to give ample preparation to young men and young women for personal success and usefulness, and endeavoring to correct the effects of too great specialization on the one hand and extreme diffusion on the other."³

¹ Report of Commission of Visitation to Tuscaloosa Institute for Training Colored Ministers, Third An. Rept. of Ex. Com. to Gen'l Ass. of Amer. Pres. Church, pp. 13, 14.

² Statistical Sketch of the Negroes in the United States, p. 16, by Henry Gannett, published by Slater Fund.

³ So also Fisk University.

TRAINING IN AGRICULTURE.

In the teaching of agriculture in the colleges for the colored race science—chemical, physical, or botanical—and nonremunerative practice have been in the position of vowels and consonants in the science of philology of the eighteenth century, in which, according to Voltaire, consonants went for very little and vowels for nothing at all. The fact of the matter is, that schools having large farms must, under the stress of the necessity of supporting the simple-minded, confiding proletarians who crowd to their halls, use their fields to support their charges as well as to educate them within the walls, though the latter purpose is the essence of their being. The value of the strength of the would-be educated field hand in tilling the scholastic acres is obvious, and it is probable that those acres have been increased in order that the clients of the institution to which they belong might be more numerous and thus more colored people educated.

Let it not be supposed, however, that the management of the several schools are purposely ignoring that agricultural phenomena and operations have an interesting and intelligible explanation systematically digested into a body of doctrine called science, which is well calculated to enlarge the understanding and develop reflection. At several institutions, especially at those endowed with the national land-grant act of 1862, or the additional endowment act of 1890, an effort is being made to teach the scientific principles of agriculture. At the Hampton Institute, for instance, which is in reality a village of over a thousand people, the purpose of the department of agriculture is to give every boy in the day-school instruction in the elementary principles of farming, and to carry those who may so elect through a higher course, which will fit them to be teachers of agriculture and superintendents of farms. The equipment consists of the home and Hemenway farms. In order to produce milk and vegetables for the boarding department and hay and ensilage for the stock, 110 acres of the home farm are kept under cultivation. The Hemenway farm is devoted to grass, grain, stock, and dairy purposes. The farms have the necessary buildings for 75 cows, 50 horses, 500 swine, and a flock of sheep; the home farm having also two greenhouses, hot beds, etc., where boys and girls are taught the forcing of flowers and of vegetables. There are two courses: one elective and the other required. The required course covers a period of three years, one lesson a week being given to each boy of the normal school. This instruction deals with—

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The origin, formation, composition, and mechanical condition of soils. 2. Composition of the plant. 3. Plant food in the soil. 4. Effect of water on soil and crop. 5. Drainage. 6. Preparing the land for the crop. 7. How plants grow. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. Cultivation of the crop. 9. Manures and fertilizers. 10. Rotation of crops. 11. Diversified farming. 12. Culture of the leading farm crops. 13. Fruit culture. 14. Truck and kitchen garden. 15. Farm live stock. |
|---|---|

The boys taking the elective course receive five lessons instead of one during the week, and the above course is "greatly enlarged." For the elective students in the spring of 1894 a small experimental garden was carried on. This experimental work is to be enlarged and every theoretical principle of the class room is to be demonstrated as far as possible in the field.

Another well-considered course, though perhaps less theoretic, is given in the catalogue of the State Colored Normal and Industrial School at Normal, Ala. The curriculum is as follows:

First year: Soils, plants, animals, management and diseases of live stock, gardening.

Second year: Soils, dairying, manures.

Third year: Gardening, drainage, grain and grass growing, poultry, sheep and cattle raising, dairying, pruning, grafting, budding, bees, political economy.

The course of another institution, however, more accurately shows the character of the agricultural instruction given in the schools for colored people. The department of agriculture of this institution consists of a school of agriculture, which is

a farm of 150 acres, producing 1,000 bushels of corn, 1,200 bushels of potatoes, etc., and a school of horticulture (a new department) of 12 acres, planted in potatoes, sweet corn, turnips, etc. These schools furnish employment and experience to students and supply, at the market price, fresh provisions for the boarding department.

TRAINING IN INDUSTRIES.

The industrial work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute may be divided into three classes. The first of these is instruction in work from doing which no pecuniary profits arise to the student while in the school; the second is instruction in trades which may profit the student in money value, and the third is work in which the chief object is the self-support of the student while at the institution, such as the girls of the normal department do in the steam laundry and the boys of the night school do on the home and Hemenway farms, as mentioned under instruction in agriculture above. But as the organization of industrial training at the Hampton Institute is unusually complete, the aim of a large institution farther South is a better expression of the general character of industrial education as given in the schools for the colored. This aim is "to turn all labor and all articles produced by labor to advantage and utility. Therefore the industrial departments contribute in some way to the equipment of the institution, and they are in most cases a source of income to the student as well as a means of instruction."

Thus acquainted with the underlying principle of the industrial instruction, we may pass to its kinds and methods, noting as we proceed, the change in the character of the work being effected by the requirements of the trustees of the Slater Fund; to wit, that the underlying principle shall be instruction instead of remuneration.

PRINTING.

The institutions for the education of the colored race take kindly to the printing press; perhaps printing is a vocation strongly congenial to the colored man. Among the first industries introduced into a school for the negro is the trade of printing. Nothing could be more useful to institutions situated financially as these institutions were and are now, nothing certainly could be more alluring to the aspiring student than to become familiar with the processes for disseminating the necromancy of words; besides all this, as a trade it offers more opportunities of arousing the intelligence than all the other trades put together.

With a very few exceptions there is no large institution for the education of the negro that does not teach printing. At the Schofield School, established at Aiken, S. C., in 1868, the printing office is the oldest and most important department and for several years has been self-supporting, a fact very encouraging to the management, when consideration is made that there are three other printing offices in Aiken with which their press has to compete. Most of the trade of this school comes from the hotels and business houses of Aiken, but at the St. Paul Normal and Industrial School "jobs come to the Normal School press from all parts of the United States, the aim being to satisfy both in style and price of work, making the work of the printing office one of the best paying features of industry in the school at present." Still another instance of the diversity of the commercial value of the school printing office is afforded by that of Wilberforce University. From this department are issued the university circulars, letter heads, programmes, forms, rules, and general job work, the value of which for 1893-94 was estimated to be \$148.70. At the Norfolk Mission College the boys of the high school receive training in composition, type-setting, and presswork, thereby practically illustrating the rules of grammar and rhetoric while doing the college job work.

The course in printing is well attended. At Biddle University, out of 131 students in carpentry, printing, shoemaking, and bricklaying, 27 per cent were studying printing. At Wilberforce as many were in the printing office as in the carpenter

shop. At Central Tennessee College, out of 77 in 5 mechanical departments, 19 per cent were in the printing office. At Livingstone College 8 of the 15 students receiving a course in trades were in the printing office. At the Alcorn College 14 students entered the printing department the year of its introduction (1893), with 82 in the older carpenter and blacksmith courses. It should be remarked, however, that at Wilberforce and other institutions young women engage in this vocation.

The course in printing is probably the most thorough, and certainly the longest, at the Hampton Institute and its follower, the Tuskegee Institute. The course is four years in duration, ten hours a day once or twice a week being devoted to the trade. Special instruction is given in the class room, but outside of working hours, regarding stock, making estimates, and various other matters. In the first year general duty work is required, followed by instruction on job presses. During the second year instruction is given at the case on newspaper and book composition. During the third year there is general job work and book imposing. During the fourth year the teaching includes miscellaneous job work, proof reading, cylinder press work, tablet making, and the binding of check and order books. Applicants to learn this trade must pass an examination in reading, spelling, writing, and grammar. At Tuskegee Institute the course of training is three years, though the curriculum is of four. There the theoretical instruction is given from 4.45 to 5.30 p. m. The usual course, however, is of two or three years, and is very well shown by the curriculum of Wilberforce University:

First year.

First term: Printers' terms. Practice in fixed rules for punctuation. Use of appliances. Practice at case.

Second term: Plain composition. Measurement of type. Newspaper and job work begun.

Third term: Plain composition and job work continued. Estimating, grading measurement of paper and cardboard.

Second year.

First term: Bookwork begun. Casting off, making up, and locking forms.

Second term: Bookwork continued. Plain and ornamental job work.

Third term: Book and job work continued. Proof reading.

At Fisk University the class, which consists of 15 young men and 7 young women, gives one hour a day to the work, and students may remain in the class two years. At the State Colored Normal School of Alabama 11 per cent of the 134 students in 7 trades are in the printing department, three hours for three days each week for three years being devoted to acquiring the trade.

CARPENTRY.

The beginnings of the great schools for the colored race being hampered by the impecuniosity of the founders, as in the ultra case of the Tuskegee Institute, which was originally housed in an old negro church and a shanty, a corps of carpenters became necessary for the development of the school. The light character of timber construction employed in this country and the great facility with which all the more intricate portions of a building can be obtained, from a factory fitted up with appliances for the manufacture of sash, doors, and the other subordinate parts that give finish to a house, have enabled the schools for the colored race to reduce their expenses for building to a very great extent by using the muscle of the pupils. The benevolent gave money to be paid for student labor, the students at carpentry paid the institution the money they received, and the institution gave them tuition, board, and lodging, and in addition taught them carpentry and the dignity of labor very much in the same way that the apprentice boy is taught his profession and its dignity. Under the directive influence of the management of the John F. Slater Fund and the equally conclusive provisions of the act of Congress of August 30, 1890, granting the proceeds from the sale of public lands for the better endowment of colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts, another conception of teaching carpentry has been inculcated, in which there is, so to

speak, much less field work but much more preparation. Thus the most extensively followed trade taught in the class of institutions under review is being placed on a purely instructional basis, the State and the two funds above mentioned doing, or allowing other money to be used in doing, the institutional building.

The Hampton Institute is the only institution that makes a sharp distinction between the manual training (or Russian system of preparatory instruction) and trade teaching, other institutions more or less mixing the two ideas. Its course in manual training is put down as a branch of technical work, and is a course in the manipulation of wood, covering three years, while its course in carpentry, also of three years of ten hours a day, is a trade department, in which the primary object is the imparting of skill to the apprentice, and the secondary object his personal pecuniary gain. For purposes of comparison by those interested in distinctions which are based on a difference, the two courses are given in a footnote.¹ This remunerated work is, in the St. Paul Normal and Industrial School, paid for by a salary scheme. The carpentry department of that school is under a foreman of great practical experience as a housebuilder and joiner, and apt and industrious young men are salaried as follows: First year (probationary), board and washing; second year, \$50 and board and washing; third year, \$75 and board and washing; fourth year, \$100 and board and washing. These salaried persons work through the day and attend the night school. They have erected all the school buildings and a number of valuable buildings for the public.

The "manual training" course as put in operation in the Hampton Institute is due to the Slater Fund trustees. The institutions having instruction of the kind are Tougaloo University, Straight University, Orange Park Normal and Manual Training School, Atlanta University (first year), Howard University, and probably Fisk University. But with these exceptions the majority of the institutions have only the "trade course" of the Hampton Institute, though the splendid shops of that school may give its students advantages of familiarizing themselves with machinery not possessed by less favored institutions.

The course of Clark University is unique and well worth reproduction. Its prin-

¹ *Manual training course.*

(Three years.)

This course is to give practice in the ordinary processes and principles which enter into construction in wood. The course is given to all the boys not taking trades and the girls of the middle normal class:

Measuring on a plane surface with rule and knife. Squaring with try-square and knife. Gauging with thumb gauge. Sawing to a line with back saw. Planing to a true surface. Testing with square and by sight. Planing to size squarely and truly. Planing ends with block plane. Lining rough lumber with straightedge and line. Ripping with saw. Making half joint, or box halving. Making dado, or cross groove. Nailing butt joints. Mortise and tenon. Boring, doweling, etc. Making joints fastened with screws, rivets, and bolts. Clinch nailing. Gluing. Making a smooth surface. Grooved work. Miter joints. Irregular bevels. Dovetail and scarf joints. Laying out and sawing curved lines. Putting together curved work. Bending by sawing and by steaming. Articles are occasionally made, but training in principles after models is the object. There is also taught: Tools, their names, etc. Materials, character, etc. Principles of wood construction. Terms. Measuring lumber. Bill of materials. Reading plans.

Carpentry course.

(Three years, ten hours a day.)

First year. One month's technical instruction and practice in the use of tools. Assisting more advanced students in filling orders, at the lathe, scroll saws, tenoner, mortiser, and borer.

Second year. Instruction and practice in operating one or more of these machines. Instruction and practice in regular bench work. Making window and door frames, sash, doors, and mantels. Instruction in drawing.

Third year. Instruction and practice in more advanced carpentry work. Instruction in architectural drawing. Practice in working from detail drawings.

To those who show special fitness for it instruction is given in cabinet work, stair building, wood carving, or designing.

Blackboard exercises with explanatory talks relative to the work are given each week.

Carpentry is also taught in the repair shop. Much new work in building (upon the grounds of the institution) and in furniture making is also done, affording valuable practice,

cial heads are experiments and lectures, woodworking, ironworking, carriage painting, harnessmaking, and printing. There is a clear ring to its apparently especial adaptation to carriage building.

EXPERIMENTS AND LECTURES.

1. Strength of materials.
 - a. Arrangement of materials for greatest strength.
 - b. Methods of joining together timbers, plates, etc., to give least per cent of lost strength.
 - c. Selection of materials.
 - d. The foregoing as applied to wagon making, truss work, house building, bridge work, etc.
2. Powers.
 - a. The lever.
 - b. The wedge.
 - c. The screw.
 - d. The foregoing as applied to animal, wind, steam, and electric power.
3. Friction.
 - a. The drag.
 - b. The wheel.
 - c. The inclined plane with various materials.
 - d. The foregoing as applied to air, water, machinery, etc., special attention being devoted to the draft of vehicles on soft and hard roads.

WOODWORKING.

1. Name and use of tools (on waste lumber).
 2. Making joint from drawing.
 3. Making joint from pupil's own drawing, repeated until a certain degree of perfection is acquired and command of tools attained.
 4. Making plain, straight vehicle body and gear from specification, also making design to give required strength with least outlay of material and labor. Estimate of cost.
 5. Making complete set of geometrical figures.
 6. Tracing out projections of different combinations of geometrical figures.
 7. Circular joint making from pupil's own drawing.
 8. Curved and paneled body making from pupil's own design. Estimated cost.
- Elective: Wood turning and wood machine work. Wood and scroll design. Pattern making. Cabinetmaking.

IRONWORKING.

1. Use of tools and forge on waste iron.
2. Plain welding, upsetting, and drawing out iron; staple, hasp, and bolt making; scroll, spiral, and curve bending from drawing.
3. Joint and tool making from pupil's own design.
4. Ironing of plain vehicle from specifications furnished, making the design to give proper strength to each part with the least weight of material. Estimate of cost.
5. Making complete set of geometrical figures.
6. Tracing out projections of different combinations of geometrical figures.
7. Jump welding, scroll cutting, and ornamental work from pupil's own design.
8. Ironing of carriage from pupil's own design. Estimate of cost.

Course.—Every young man above the age of 16 and below the college classes is required to devote two hours per diem to manual training, consisting of theoretical and practical work. Pupils are required not only to construct miniature models, but products for the market as well, and are thus prepared for the struggle of life should no professional position open to them.

The Claflin University makes a division of its carpentry department into a "school of woodworking" and another of "woodworking by machinery." In the first a variety of actual work is performed, such as building cottages, shops, repairing buildings, furniture, fences, and agricultural implements, and in the second the work of a sash and furniture factory has been carried on.

The industrial organization of the Hampton and the Tuskegee institutes is so complete as to embrace a sawmill. At Hampton this feature is considered as an "industry" (primarily remunerative to the student) and though the employee may learn the handling, drying, grading, and measuring of rough lumber, the industry does not seem to be considered a trade as at Tuskegee, where there is a "course of

study in sawmilling" which seems to be very much the same as what may be learned at the Hampton Institute except the felling of timber which is cut for Hampton Institute in North Carolina and floated up in rafts. At Claflin University there is a gristmill. Both of these departments, however, may be looked upon as having been introduced more for their utility to the institution than to add to its industrial equipment.

WHEELWRIGHTING.

This is a special form of carpentry, and is with two exceptions treated as belonging to that department. It is by no means so numerous followed as carpentry nor have nearly as many institutions introduced it as have introduced woodworking. At Tuskegee the course is coupled with carriage trimming, and at Hampton with the making of farm implements, or the wooden portion thereof; at Clark University the course in wood and iron working, and painting, seems to be a special course in carriage and wagon building.

BLACKSMITHING OR METAL WORKING.

This trade follows carpentry in point of numbers in the nine institutions which have introduced it as an isolated course. The subject is taught in thirteen institutions, seven of which receive an annual apportionment from the endowment fund of 1890, called the Morrill fund. The cost of erecting a forge and of the accessories necessary to equip it and the cost of maintenance have prevented the general introduction of metal working to any great extent until a very recent date.

Among the institutions having a course in metal working that of the Central Tennessee College is eminent for its completeness and duration. At Hampton the course is carried on in the Pierce machine shops and follows three lines: Blacksmithing and horseshoeing; blacksmithing without horseshoeing, but with use of power machinery; and machine work. Each course is of three years, ten hours a day for at least one day in the week. As may be readily inferred from their titles, the first course is adapted for a village blacksmith, the second for a hand in an iron foundry, and the third for a machinist. The first course with horseshoeing very well represents the course in the majority of the schools, though much "forge" and machinist work is frequently included.

There are three institutions—Tougaloo, Atlanta, and Arkansas industrial universities—in which ironwork follows in natural sequence after instruction in the more easily manipulated wood. At Tougaloo the instruction in woodworking is given to the 4-8 grades and in forging to the 7-9 grades for one and one-half hours each day with the object of general culture of the mind and hand. With the same object and allotment of time Atlanta University introduces ironworking in the second year of its mechanical course, following it in the third year with exclusive attention to mechanical drawing, and in the fourth year with pattern making and machine-shop work. To enable a young man to choose his trade intelligently and to acquire a sound basis for it the Arkansas Industrial University (in its colored department) has a course in general shop work extending over three years.

SHOE AND HARNESS MAKING.

We have, says the Wiley University, more applicants than we can accommodate in the shoe shop; it is a practical work and should be provided with better facilities. By doing all the work for the students and professors, says another institution, ample opportunity is given for making this branch of the work thoroughly practical. The course is usually of three years, and is very succinctly given by Benedict College as follows:

- First year, making and mending coarse shoes.
- Second year, making and mending fine shoes.
- Third year, cutting and finishing.

Harness making is carried on in several institutions, and is reported by one school to be quite remunerative to the shop and useful to the farms of the institution.

Such are the principal features of the industrial organization of schools for the education of the colored race. The equipment of those schools has been greatly improved during the last few years, receiving an impulse from the attempt during the last half of the 80's to add industrial training to the public schools and the consequent elaboration of plans for trade instruction of the Caucasian. In the case of the negro a more humble subject was found, and to him the system is being more and more thoroughly applied. The effort of those who direct this application is to change the old system, which in some measure sacrificed the future welfare of the pupil to the present necessities of the institution, to one of less economic value to the school, but also less selfish as concerns the pupil. Such a change, however, involves financial questions regarding the source of support of these institutions and adaptation of aims to means that are well worthy the deepest consideration of the innovators.

A few pages back we have seen that a very able statistician has thought the negro to be unadapted to commercial pursuits. In the large sense of marine trade or great wholesale transactions this judgment is possibly correct, but for shopkeeping the negro who has received a good common-school education is eminently fitted, being bold, confident, and not less "sharp" than the business ethics of his locality imperatively demands. It is therefore preferable to note the progress which "business education," so called, is making in schools for the colored than to describe the courses of bricklaying and making, tinning, tailoring, etc., which this or that institution has introduced for the purpose of building its structures and teaching the dignity of labor. In passing to this topic, however, we note the absence of a course of instruction in weaving—a trade especially adapted to the great cotton growing region of the world—among the industries taught at the class of institutions of which we are speaking. Such a school is in successful operation in Philadelphia, and that of Chemnitz in Saxony is a model that can not be surpassed here until after years of organization.

A highly organized business course was established at Wilberforce University in the fall of 1893. It had its origin in a desire to meet the growing demand for a more direct and practical education for business and everyday life. The course is as follows:

"Commercial arithmetic, practical grammar, bookkeeping, commercial correspondence, commercial law, rapid calculations, business methods and practice, public speaking, and, incidentally, rhetoric, parliamentary proceedings, civil government, political economy, business habits, etc. Shorthand and typewriting courses are also offered."

Typewriting and phonography, one, or both, are also taught in four other institutions, two situated in large cities, the others being the St. Paul Normal and Industrial School and the Orange Park School. The Colored Normal School of Kentucky has a business course of two years, which unites the studies of a secondary school to those of the business course of Wilberforce University.

In conclusion, it may be of interest to the reader to know how all this industrial work advances hand in hand with the imparting of the elements of a thorough common-school education, and to gratify any curiosity as to the correlation of the two processes the following facts are given:

At Shaw University, in addition to the four hours required to be spent at one of the trades daily for three years, these studies must be pursued:

First year. Reading, spelling, writing, and mental arithmetic.

Second year. Writing, arithmetic, geography, and drawing.

Third year. Arithmetic, grammar, and mechanical drawing.

At Clark University students in trades are given a two-hour lesson each day from 2 to 4 p. m. At the Alcorn College students are divided into squads and classes; each class receives instruction forty-five minutes each day during the forenoon, and the squads do "practical" work in the afternoon, for which each student receives from

5 to 8 cents per hour, according to his proficiency. At the Alabama State Normal and Industrial School the organization as to time is as follows:

MECHANIC ARTS.

- Sec. 1. Carpentry—3 classes, 8 hours daily, 3 days a week.
 Sec. 2. Printing—2 classes, 3 hours daily, 3 days a week.
 Sec. 3. Mattress making—1 class, 2 hours daily, 6 days a week.
 Sec. 4. Shoemaking—2 classes, 2 hours daily, 3 days a week.
 Sec. 5. Blacksmithing—3 classes, 2 hours daily, 3 days a week.

AGRICULTURE.

- Sec. 1. Farming and horticulture—2 classes, 2-8 hours daily 6 days a week.
 Sec. 2. Dairy and live stock—1 class, 2-8 hours daily, 6 days a week.

The Hampton and Tuskegee institutes have inaugurated the night school. These night schools are in session from 7 to 9 p. m. and are attended by a few persons who work during the day at some remunerated labor. At Hampton labor is required of all for the sake of discipline and instruction. Students in the day schools usually work during one school day each week and the whole or half of Monday, thus securing 4 whole days for study each week and from one and a half to two days of work. Work students remain on the place the entire year.

The mechanics arts course of the branch normal college of Arkansas Industrial University is a very complete expression of the bipartite arrangement of the mental and manual training in the curriculum of schools having such arrangements or advanced lines, and as such is given:

I. MECHANICS ARTS COURSE.

A CLASS.

First term.—English, 4; geography, 4; arithmetic, 4; shop work, principles of carpentry and joinery, ten hours per week.

Second term.—English, 4; arithmetic, 4; United States history, 4; shop work, wood turning, cabinet-making, ten hours per week.

Third term.—English, 4; arithmetic, 4; United States history, 4; shop work, pattern making, and moulding, ten hours per week.

SUBFRESHMAN CLASS.

First term.—English, 4; geometry, 4; physical geography, 4; shop work, moulding, and casting, ten hours per week.

Second term.—English, 4; algebra, 4; physical geography and bookkeeping, 4; shop work, management of cupola, forging, ten hours per week.

Third term.—English, 4; algebra, 4; bookkeeping, 4; elementary physiology, 4; shop work, drawing, welding, tempering, 10 hours.

FRESHMAN CLASS.

First term.—Algebra, 4; English, 4; physics, 4; shop work, chipping, and filing, 10 hours.

Second term.—Algebra and geometry, 4; English, 4; physics, 4; shop work, drilling, turning, 10 hours.

Third term.—Geometry, 4; English, 4; physics, 4; shop work, planing, 10 hours.

SOPHOMORE CLASS.

First term.—Geometry, 4; chemistry, 4; general history, 4; shop work, ten hours, or care of engines and boilers, 10 hours.

Second term.—Plane trigonometry, 4; chemistry, 4; general history, 4; shop work, 10 hours, or care of engines and boilers, 10 hours.

Third term.—General history, 4; psychology, 4; civil government, 4; shop work, 10 hours, or care of engines and boilers, 10 hours.

STATISTICAL SUMMARIES.

Common school statistics classified by race, 1893-94.

State.	Estimated number of persons 5 to 18 years of age (the school population).		Per cent of colored.	Pupils enrolled in the common schools.		Per cent of the school population enrolled.	
	White.	Colored.		White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Alabama.....	327,400	230,600	46.15	190,305	115,709	58.13	41.23
Arkansas.....	312,100	121,000	27.94	209,109	76,050	67	62.84
Delaware (1891-92).....	39,850	8,980	18.40	28,316	4,858	71.05	54.09
District of Columbia.....	43,636	24,000	35.49	26,242	14,436	60.14	60.16
Florida.....	84,230	66,770	44.21	59,503	37,272	70.63	55.81
Georgia.....	357,800	335,900	48.41	262,530	174,152	73.37	51.84
Kentucky.....	539,770	92,460	14.62	394,070	73,381	73.02	79.38
Louisiana (1892-93).....	194,300	206,900	51.58	92,816	62,654	47.78	30.29
Maryland.....	247,400	71,400	22.38	166,248	38,598	67.19	54.06
Mississippi.....	208,500	303,800	59.29	158,685	166,899	76.10	61.51
Missouri.....	849,000	51,700	5.74	623,589	33,916	73.62	65.60
North Carolina.....	379,940	237,800	37.48	242,572	123,318	63.84	56.34
South Carolina.....	169,200	233,900	62.66	106,176	120,590	62.76	42.48
Tennessee (1892-93).....	462,160	156,000	25.23	368,481	94,980	79.72	59.50
Texas.....	693,800	212,500	23.45	463,888	134,720	66.85	63.41
Virginia.....	348,400	247,900	41.57	231,433	121,277	66.42	48.92
West Virginia.....	261,500	10,800	3.96	211,630	7,185	80.93	66.53
Total.....	5,518,290	2,702,410	32.85	3,835,593	1,424,995	69.50	52.72
Total for 1889-90.....	5,132,948	2,510,847	.....	3,402,420	1,296,959	66.28	51.66

State.	Average daily attendance.		Per cent of the enrollment.		Number of teachers.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
	9	10	11	12	13	14
Alabama.....	112,800	72,300	59.26	62.49	4,412	2,196
Arkansas.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,878	1,408
Delaware (1891-92).....	19,746	2,947	69.76	60.66	734	106
District of Columbia.....	20,224	11,124	77.07	77.05	626	316
Florida.....	38,752	25,386	65.13	68.13	2,151	772
Georgia.....	157,626	104,414	60.04	59.96	5,827	3,266
Kentucky.....	243,433	25,031	61.77	34.10	8,494	1,314
Louisiana (1892-93).....	65,352	42,018	70.42	67.05	2,333	911
Maryland.....	98,173	18,369	59.06	47.59	3,627	691
Mississippi.....	98,753	107,494	62.23	57.51	4,386	3,191
Missouri.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13,766	755
North Carolina.....	154,361	75,940	63.63	59.17	5,285	3,075
South Carolina.....	77,987	87,128	73.45	72.25	2,636	1,958
Tennessee (1892-93).....	266,851	64,127	72.43	67.53	6,949	1,863
Texas.....	334,884	83,185	72.18	61.73	9,960	2,502
Virginia.....	137,451	66,423	59.40	54.76	6,113	2,100
West Virginia.....	131,279	4,102	62.03	57.10	5,909	206
Total.....	.....	.....	65.20	60.07	88,086	26,570
Total for 1889-90.....	.....	.....	63.83	62.42	78,903	24,072

Teachers and students in institutions, mainly other than common schools for the colored race.¹

A.

State.	Teachers.			Students.									
	Number schools.				Elementary.			Secondary.			Collegiate.		
		Men.	Women.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Total.
Alabama ²	10	52	40	113	712	774	1,653	466	319	785	51	12	63
Arkansas.....	6	21	14	39	128	143	271	181	129	310	12	2	14
Delaware.....	1	3		3				14	2	16	10	4	14
District of Columbia.....	4	80	19	103				325	414	739	24	6	30
Florida.....	6	13	13	42	221	250	470	122	131	253			21
Georgia.....	21	51	62	131	1,246	2,416	4,208	685	729	1,414	99	30	129
Illinois.....	1	1	1	2				6	15	21			
Indiana.....	3	3	3	6	303	374	677	49	80	129			
Kentucky.....	7	17	39	56	217	451	906	170	359	529	28	24	52
Louisiana ³	8	43	23	71	50	250	807	271	286	557	120	91	211
Maryland.....	4	14	10	24	27	20	47	177	180	357	16	4	20
Mississippi.....	9	12	10	60	464	573	1,037	513	258	771	40	62	102
Missouri.....	6	16	10	26	21	24	45	232	258	490	4		4
North Carolina ⁴	24	72	40	143	703	1,293	1,996	945	1,121	2,066	91	13	104
New Jersey.....	1									54			
Ohio.....	1	12	6	18				64	49	113	20	2	22
Pennsylvania.....	1	12		12						199			199
South Carolina.....	12	28	29	86	1,001	1,050	2,091	395	568	1,110	33	3	36
Tennessee.....	12	58	55	158	857	1,180	2,187	458	593	1,051	76	10	86
Texas.....	9	30	35	85	388	643	1,031	443	613	1,056	40	14	54
Virginia.....	12	35	80	159	442	710	1,052	607	570	1,177			
West Virginia.....	2	3	1	13	9	7	16	75	102	177			
Total.....	160	576	495	1,350	6,789	10,153	18,494	6,193	6,776	13,175	863	277	1,161

¹ Owing to the failure of some institutions to report the sexes separately, the total is frequently larger than it apparently should be.

² One school not reporting.

³ Two schools not reporting.

⁴ Three schools not reporting.

B.

Students studying to be teachers.....	5,940
Students studying to be nurses.....	95
Studying a learned profession.....	1,067
In industrial departments.....	8,050

There are, as shown in the foregoing table (A), over 33,000 pupils in the elementary, secondary, and collegiate departments of institutions which are very largely private corporations in character. At equally spaced intervals in the past these figures have been as follows:

Year.	Attendance.	Increase.
1877-78.....	12,146	<i>Per cent.</i>
1882-83.....	17,439	44
1888-89.....	23,952	37
1893-94.....	33,077	38
In 16 years.....		172

In short, for every 100 pupils in this class of schools in 1877-78, there were 272 in 1893-94. It is very hazardous to compare institutions of "secondary grade" for whites with anything, even itself; but it appears probable that the increase in attendance of private schools for secondary institution from 1880-81 to 1888-89, was 13 per cent, and in the public high schools of cities 37 per cent. The question then is, are we to attribute this extraordinary increase in attendance, on the part of the negro, to dissatisfaction with the facilities afforded in the rural districts for obtaining an education? Great sums are given to these secondary institutions to instruct, lodge, and board the negro pupil, but with the announcement of the

offer is coupled the stern reminder that every one must labor, that no loafing will be allowed, as though the authorities had found themselves hampered by the presence of persons attracted to their institution by the desire for novelty and a childish fancy which allows itself to expect results without personal exertion. It is a very difficult task the institutions for the higher education of the colored race have set for themselves, but it is to their distinguished merit that the being in them is probably the best education that the negro receives, and it is probable that for many years they will be, outside of large towns of 10,000 or more inhabitants, the only place where his home and school surroundings are not repugnant to a sense of delicacy, not to say of decency.

	Post-office.	Name.	President or principal.	Religious denomination.
	1	2	3	4
1	Athens, Ala	Trinity Normal School.....	Miss K. S. Dalton	Cong
2	Huntsville, Ala.....	Central Alabama Academy	A. W. McKinney	M. E.
3	Marion, Ala	Lincoln Normal School.....	W. J. Larkin	Cong
4	Montgomery, Ala.....	State Normal School for Colored Students.	No report.....	
5	Normal, Ala	State Normal and Industrial School.	W. H. Council.....	None
6	Selma, Ala.....	Burrell Academy	Rev. A. T. Burnell	Cong
7	do	Selma University	C. S. Dinkins	Bap
8	Talladega, Ala.....	Talladega College.....	Martin Lovering.....	Cong
9	Tuskaloosa, Ala.....	Stillman Institute	Rev. A. L. Phillips	Pres
10	Tuskegee, Ala	Tuskegee Normal and Industrial School.	Booker T. Washington.....	
11	Arkadelphia, Ark ..	Arkadelphia Baptist Academy...	F. L. Jones.....	Bap
12	do	Shorter University.....	B. W. Arnett, jr.....	Meth
13	Little Rock, Ark ..	Arkansas Baptist College.....	Joseph A. Brooker.....	Bap
14	do	Philander Smith College	Thomas Masou	M. E.
15	Pine Bluff, Ark	Branch Normal College of Arkansas Industrial University.	Joseph C. Corbin	
16	Southland, Ark	Southland College and Normal Institute.	William Russell.....	Friends.....
17	Dover, Del.....	State College for Colored Students.	Wesley Webb	
18	Washington, D. C ..	High School, 7th and 8th divisions.	F. L. Cardozo	
19	do	Wayland Seminary	G. N. P. King	Bap
20	do	Howard University	J. E. Rankin	Nonsect
21	do	Washington Normal, 7th and 8th divisions.	Lucy E. Moten	
22	Jacksonville, Fla...	Cookman Institute	Lillie M. Whitney.....	M. E.
23	do	Edward Waters College	Rev. John R. Scott.....	A. M. E.
24	Live Oak, Fla.....	Florida Institute	Rev. G. P. McKinney	Bap
25	Ocala, Fla.....	Emerson Home	C. A. Buckbee	
26	Orange Park, Fla...	Orange Park Normal and Normal Training School.	Amos W. Farnham	A. M. A.
27	Tallahassee, Fla....	State Normal and Industrial College for Colored Students.	T. De S. Tucker	
28	Athens, Ga.....	West Broad Street School.....	Archibald J. Cary	
29	do	Jernel Academy	John H. Brown	Bap
30	do	Knox Institute	L. S. Clark	Cong
31	Atlanta, Ga.....	Gammon Theological Seminary..	Wilbur P. Thirkield.....	M. E.
32	do	Storrs School	Ella E. Roper	Cong
33	do	Clark University	D. C. John	M. E.
34	do	Atlanta Baptist Seminary.....	Rev. George Lale	Bap
35	do	Atlanta University	Horace Bunstead	Nonsect
36	do	Morris Brown College.....	A. St. George Richardson	A. M. E.
37	do	Spelman Seminary	Miss Harriet E. Giles	Bap
38	Augusta, Ga.....	Haines Normal and Industrial School.	Miss Lucy C. Laney	Pres
39	do	The Paine Institute.....	Rev. George Wms. Walker.	Meth
40	do	Walker Baptist Institute	G. A. Goodwin	Bap
41	College, Ga.....	Georgia State Industrial College.	R. R. Wright	
42	La Grange, Ga.....	La Grange Academy School.....	J. H. Brooks	M. E.
43	McIntosh, Ga.....	Dorchester Academy	Fred. W. Foster	Cong
44	Macon, Ga.....	Ballard Normal School	F. T. Waters	do
45	Roswell, Ga.....	Roswell Public School.....	J. L. Strozier	
46	Savannah, Ga.....	Beach Institute	Julia E. Ford	Cong
47	Thomasville, Ga.....	Allen Normal and Industrial School.	Miss Amelia Merriam.....	do
48	Waynesboro, Ga.....	Haven Normal Academy	E. C. Fairchild	
49	Cairo, Ill.....	Sumner High School	J. C. Lewis	
50	Evansville, Ind	Governor Street School	John R. Blackburn	
51	Indianapolis, Ind ..	Indianapolis High School (colored)	George W. Hufford	
52	New Albany, Ind	Scribner High School	W. O. Vance	
53	Berea, Ky.....	Berea College	Rev. William G. Frost	
54	Frankfort, Ky.....	State Normal School for Colored Persons.	John H. Jackson	
55	Lebanon, Ky.....	St. Augustines Academy.....	Sister Mary Oswin.....	Cath
56	Lexington, Ky.....	Chandler Normal School	Fanny J. Webster	Cong
57	Louisville, Ky.....	Central High School.....	A. E. Meyzeek	

of the colored race, 1893-94.

Source of support.	Teachers.			Students.																		
				Ele-mentary.			Sec-ondary.			Colle-giate.			Indus-trial.			Normal.			Profes-sional.			
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	
A. M. A			5	36	102	138	14	16	30													1
F. A. & S. E. S.			4			167																2
A. M. A	1	5	6	55	83	138										5	5					3
State	13	11	24		28	28	153	105	258	13	9	22	112	146	258	62	51	113				5
A. M. A	2	6	8	115	117	232	3	2	5				75	47	122	25	60	85				6
A. M. A	4	2	6				89	70	159									44	3			7
A. M. A			12	215	287	502	38	25	63							4	8	12	10	2		8
Pres. Ch	2		2							28		28						25				9
State and county	30	16	46	291	157	448	169	101	270							169	101	270				10
A. M. E. Conf.			4	35	49	84	10	12	22									25				11
	6	4	10				23	33	56					21	21				6			12
	2	2	4				13	5	18	3	2	5						8				13
	5	3	8				36	13	49	9		9						18				14
	4	2	6	25	15	40	90	51	141				42	20	62	115	66	181				15
So. Friends	4	3	7	68	79	147	9	15	24				16	40	56	25	33	58				16
	3		3				14	2	16	10	4	14										17
City and Nation	12	7	19				140	320	460													18
A. B. H. M	7	5	12				112	57	169							112	57	169	34			19
City and Nation	61	7	68				72	12	84	24	6	30						169			34	20
	4		4				1	25	26							1	25	26			a214	21
F. A. and S. E. S.			5	78	128	206	35	30	65													22
A. B. H. M	3	3	6	74	44	118	22	19	41													23
A. M. A	3	5	8	30	35	65	25	46	71							21	40	61	17			24
State	1	2	3											30	30							25
			11	30	43	82	13	5	18							13	5	18				26
Endowment	6	3	9				27	31	58			21	27	31	58	10	8	18				27
	1	1	2	177	233	410	16	21	37													28
	1	3	4	34	32	66	26	24	50							26	24	50				29
	4		4	85	154	239	3	1	4				6	75	81	3	1	4				30
	7	7	14	167	257														8			31
	12	4	16				372	42	44	86	14	14			314			51				32
	1	2	3	86			86	94		94					12			57	13			33
	5	2	7				274	46	3	49	18	5	23					99				34
A. M. E	3	7	10				176	193	369	10	25	35						25	24			35
Pres	1	11	12				546	546		56	56				375	375		17	17			36
	14	115	217	332	26	45	71									26	45	71				37
M. E. Ch. So	4	2	6	40	25	65	63	64	127							61	50	111				39
Baptist Assn.	3	1	4	41	63	4	24		24							6	87	93				40
	10		10				43		43	57		57						47				41
	1	1	2	40	51	91										10	15	25	1			42
A. M. A	1	1	2	154	236	390	10	4	14													43
	2	2	4	100	360	460	12	28	40				45	370	415	2	9	11				44
A. M. A				111	109	220	32	37	69													45
do	8		8	113	135	248	5	38	43									1	1			46
	6		6	10	21	31	12	71	83				7	73	80							47
	2	4	6	50	67	117	55	100	155							55	100	155				48
	1	1	2				6	15	21													49
	1	1	2	283	342	625	16	28	44													50
	1	1	2				28	44	72													51
	1	1	2	20	32	52	5	8	13													52
	10	10	20				77	113	190	17	4	21	30	45	75			6	6			53
Sisters of Loretto	3	3	6				27	56	83	11	20	31	22	54	76	33	59	92				54
A. M. A	3	3					35	35		41	41											55
	10	10					238						50	125	175	5	14	19				56
	1	6	7	82	226	308	43	122	165													57

a Not including 85 nurses.

	Post-office.	Name.	President or principal.	Religious denomination.
	1	2	3	4
58	Louisville, Ky	Christian Bible School	Adoniram Judson Thom- son.	Christ
59	Paris, Ky	Paris High School	J. C. Graves	
60	Alexandria, La	Alexandria Academy	No report	
61	Baldwin, La	Gilbert Academy and Agricul- tural College.	Rev. W. D. Godman	
62	New Iberia, La	Mount Carmel Convent	No report	
63	New Orleans, La.	New Orleans University	L. G. Adkinson	M. E.
64	do	Leland University	Edward C. Mitchell	
65	do	Southern University	H. A. Hill	
66	do	La Harpe Academy	(Suspended)	
67	do	Straight University	Oscar Atwood	Cong
68	Baltimore, Md	Baltimore City Colored High School.	George Lewis Staley	
69	do	Morgan College	F. G. Wagner	M. E.
70	Hebbsville, Md	Baltimore Normal School for Training Colored Teachers.		
71	Princess Anne, Md.	Princess Anne Academy of Mary- land Agricultural College.	B. O. Bird	
72	Clinton, Miss	Mount Hermon Female Seminary.	Sarah A. Dickey	
73	Edwards, Miss	Lutheran Christian Institute.	J. B. Lehman	Christ
74	Holly Springs, Miss.	Mississippi State Normal School.	E. D. Miller	
75	do	Rust University	C. E. Libby	M. E.
76	Jackson, Miss	Jackson College	C. Ayer	Bap.
77	Meridian, Miss	Meridian Academy	G. G. Logan	Meth
78	Natchez, Miss	Natchez College	S. N. C. Owen	
79	Tongaloo, Miss	Tongaloo University	Frank G. Woodworth	
80	Westside, Miss	Alcorn Agricultural and Me- chanical College.	T. J. Calloway	
81	Bowling Green, Mo.	Bowling Green High School	W. J. Rowley	
82	Hannibal, Mo.	Douglass High School	J. H. Pelham	
83	Jefferson City, Mo.	Lincoln Institute	Inman E. Page	
84	Kansas City, Mo.	Lincoln High School	G. N. Grisham	
85	Mill Spring, Mo.	Hale's College	W. H. Hale	Non S
86	Sedalia, Mo.	George R. Smith College	Rev. P. H. Cool	M. E.
87	Bordentown, N. J.	Colored Industrial School	Rev. W. A. Rice	
88	Ashboro, N. C.	Ashboro Normal School	No report	
89	Beaufort, N. C.	Washburn Seminary	F. S. Hitchcock	Non S
90	Charlotte, N. C.	Biddle University	D. J. Sanders	Pres
91	Clinton, N. C.	Clinton Normal Institute	G. W. Herring	
92	Concord, N. C.	Scotia Seminary	D. J. Satterfield	Pres
93	Elizabeth City, N. C.	State Colored Normal School.	P. W. Moore	
94	Fayetteville, N. C.	State Normal School	G. H. Williams	
95	Franklinton, N. C.	Albion Academy and Normal School.	Rev. John A. Saverger	
96	Goldsboro, N. C.	State Normal for the Colored People.	Rev. R. S. Rives	
97	Greensboro, N. C.	Bennett College	Rev. J. D. Chavis	Meth
98	do	Agricultural and Mechanical Col- lege for the Colored Race.	J. O. Crosby	
99	Kings Mountain, N. C.	Lincoln Academy	Miss Lillian S. Cathcart.	Cong
100	Lumberton, N. C.	Whitin Normal School	D. P. Allen	Non S
101	Pee Dee, N. C.	Barrett Colleeiate and Industrial Institute.	A. M. Barrett	do
102	Plymouth, N. C.	Plymouth State Normal	H. C. Crosby	
103	Raleigh, N. C.	St. Augustine's School	Rev. A. B. Hunter	P. E.
104	do	Shaw University	Charles S. Meserve	Bap.
105	Reidsville, N. C.	City Graded School (col.)	C. C. Somerville	
106	Salisbury, N. C.	Livingstone College	William H. Golar	M. E.
107	do	State Normal School	Rev. J. Rumble	Non S
108	Warrenton, N. C.	Shiloh Institute	J. A. Whitted	
109	Wilmington, N. C.	Gregory Normal Institute	F. T. Waters	Cong
110	Windsor, N. C.	Rankin Richards Institute	Rhoden Mitchell	Non S
111	Winton, N. C.	Waters Normal Institute	S. S. Brown	Bap.
112	Wilberforce, O.	Wilberforce University	C. T. Mitchell	A. M. E.
113	Lincoln University, Pa.	Lincoln University	Isaac N. Rendall	Pres
114	Arken, S. C.	Schofield Normal and Industrial School.	Martha Schofield	Non. S.
115	Beaufort, S. C.	Beaufort Academy	Rev. G. M. Elliott	
116	do	Harhson Institute	do	Pres

	Post-office.	Name.	President or principal.	Religious denomination.
	1	2	3	4
117	Camden, S. C.....	Browning Industrial Home and School.	Nellie A. Crouch.....	Meth.....
118	Charleston, S. C.....	Avery Normal Institute.....	Morrison A. Holmes.....	
119	.....do.....	Wallingford Academy.....	Rev. T. A. Grove.....	Pres.....
120	Chester, S. C.....	Brainard Normal and Industrial Institute.	John S. Marques, jr.....	.....do.....
121	Columbia, S. C.....	Allen University.....	Joseph W. Morris.....	A. M. E.....
122	.....do.....	Benedict College.....	Rev. C. E. Becker.....	
123	Frogmore, S. C.....	Penn Normal and Industrial School.	Miss L. M. Towne.....	
124	Greenwood, S. C.....	Brewer Normal School.....	Rev. J. M. Robinson.....	
125	Orangeburg, S. C.....	Clafin University, Agricultural College and Mechanical Institute.	L. M. Dunton.....	
126	Jonesboro, Tenn.....	Warner Institute.....	Anna R. Miner.....	
127	Knoxville, Tenn.....	Austin High School.....	J. W. Manning.....	
128	.....do.....	Knoxville College.....	J. S. McCulloch.....	U. Pres.....
129	Maryville, Tenn.....	Freedmen's Normal Institute.....	L. H. Garner.....	So. Friends.....
130	Memphis, Tenn.....	Hannibal Medical College.....	Tarleton C. Cottrell.....	
131	.....do.....	LeMoynes Normal Institute.....	Andrew J. Steele.....	
132	Morristown, Tenn.....	Morristown Normal Academy.....	Judson S. Hill.....	
133	Murfreesboro, Tenn.....	Bradley Academy.....	F. G. Carney.....	
134	Nashville, Tenn.....	Central Tennessee College.....	John Braden.....	M. E.....
135	.....do.....	Fisk University.....	E. M. Cravath.....	Cong.....
136	.....do.....	Meigs High School.....	R. S. White.....	
137	.....do.....	Roger Williams University.....	A. Owen.....	Bap.....
138	Austin, Tex.....	Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute.	Rev. Wm. M. Brown.....	
139	Brenham, Tex.....	East End High School.....	H. M. Tarver.....	
140	Crockett, Tex.....	Mary Allan Seminary.....	Rev. John B. Smith.....	Pres.....
141	Galveston, Tex.....	Central High School.....	J. R. Gibson.....	
142	Hearne, Tex.....	Hearne Academy and Industrial Institute.	M. H. Brayles.....	
143	Marshall, Tex.....	Bishop College.....	N. Nolverton.....	Bap.....
144	.....do.....	Wiley University.....	I. B. Scott.....	M. E.....
145	Prairie View, Tex.....	Prairie View State Normal School.....	L. C. Anderson.....	
146	Waco, Tex.....	Paul Quinn College.....	H. T. Kealing.....	A. M. E.....
147	Burkeville, Va.....	Ingleside Seminary.....	Rev. Graham C. Campbell.	Pres.....
148	Hampton, Va.....	Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.	H. B. Frissell.....	
149	Lawrenceville, Va.....	St. Paul Normal and Industrial School.	Rev. James S. Russell.....	
150	Longfield, Va.....	Cuny College.....	R. E. Kennedy.....	Bap.....
151	Manchester, Va.....	Public High School (col.).....	J. H. Blackwell.....	
152	Norfolk, Va.....	Norfolk Mission College.....	J. B. Work.....	United Pres.....
153	Petersburg, Va.....	Bishop Payne Divinity and Industrial School.	Rev. E. L. Goodwin.....	P. E.....
154	.....do.....	Peabody School.....	James E. Shields.....	
155	.....do.....	Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.	James Hngo Johnston.....	
156	Richmond, Va.....	Richmond Theological Seminary.....	Charles H. Corey.....	Bap.....
157	.....do.....	Hartshorn Memorial College.....	Lyman B. Tefft.....	.....do.....
158	Staunton, Va.....	The Valley Training School.....	D. C. Deans.....	
159	Farm, W. Va.....	West Virginia Colored Institute.....	John H. Hill.....	
160	Harpers Ferry, W. Va.	Storer College.....	N. C. Brackett.....	

of the colored race, 1893-94—Continued.

Source of support.	Teachers.			Students.																		
				Ele-mentary.			Sec-ondary.			Colle-giate.			Indus-trial.			Normal.			Profes-sional.			
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	
M. E. Ch.....	4	4	4	70	40	110	9	56	65							9	56	65			117	
A. M. A.....				122	153	275	35	92	127							35	92	127			118	
Pres. Ch.....	3	2	5	78	74	152	12	32	44							15	25	40			119	
do.....	2	2	4	64	98	162	15	23	38							15	23	38			120	
	8	4	12	139	132	271	16	17	33	4			4	157	175	332			28	13	13	
	3	6	9		40				147	1			1					140	43		43	
	1	3	4	117	105	222	24	12	36				85	83	168	20	10	30	(a)		123	
A. M. A.....				8	105	117	222	7	3	10						7	3	10			124	
				9			209	173	382	28	3	31	260	194	454	43	48	91	30		30	125
County.....				4	53	60	113	2	2	4						2	2	4			126	
	2	2	4	215	218	433	5	12	17												127	
U. Pres. Ch.....	6	10	16			150	39	41	80	9	1	10	35	90	125	39	41	80	7		7	128
So. Friends.....	9	7	16	126	137	263	1	2	3							45	44	89			129	
				13			68	102	170							68	102	170			131	
				12			124	201	325							124	201	325			132	
				131	187	318	5	19	24												133	
	24	10	34				93	107	200	11	2	13	43	60	103			35	166		166	
	9	20	29	96	261	357	64	8	72	37	6	43	53	111	164	8	79	87	6		6	135
	3		3				31	71	102													136
A. M. A.....	5	6	11	48	81	129	26	28	54	19	1	20	23	45	68	11	22	33			137	
				9	58	106	164	22	12	34						22	12	34			138	
	1	1	2	185	216	401	18	29	47												139	
	1	13	14		91	91		129	129									50	50		140	
	2	2	4	82	105	187	24	23	47												141	
				11	25	54	79	17	14	31						35	35	17	14	31	142	
	7	7	14	38	71	109	105	66	171				71	38	109				22		22	143
	6	5	11				100	150	250	15	8	23		100	100			24	6		6	144
	8	3	11				104	115	219	18	3	21										145
	5	4	9				53	75	128	7	3	10	6	25	31			6				146
	1	7	8		82	82		27	27													147
	20	60	80				411	248	659				410	248	658	166	128	294				148
				13	29	12	41	33	57	90						33	57	90				149
	2	2	4	42	38	80	10	5	15													150
	4	3	7	101	162	263	38	42	80													151
				14	177	203	380	23	38	61			18	300	318	9	21	30				152
	2		2				8		8										4		4	153
	1	1	2				11	48	59													154
				12	83	100	183	63	78	141						63	78	141				155
A. B. H. M.....	4		4																52		52	156
do.....	1	7	8	1	93	94		15	15					108	108	1	75	76				157
				3	9	20	29	10	12	22						10	12	22				158
	3	1	4				24	27	51													159
				9	9	7	16	51	75	126			40	81	121	51	75	126				160

a 10 pupils under instruction for nurses.

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CHAPTER XXX.

EDUCATION IN THE SEVERAL STATES.

ALABAMA.

[Letter of Dr. J. L. M. Curry to the gubernatorial candidates of Alabama.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 21, 1896.*

To the Hon. Joseph F. Johnston and Hon. Albert T. Goodwyn.

DEAR SIR: I address this open letter to you as the accredited representatives of the two great parties seeking to control the government of the State. I need make no apology for my interest in Alabama or the cause which I seek to bring before you.

With the issues which divide the parties I have no concern in this letter. The subject of this communication is higher, far more important, more paramount than all the issues, Federal and State, which divide parties, local or national. It involves vitally every county, neighborhood, family, and citizen. It is not of temporary, but of permanent interest. It affects the people individually, socially, intellectually, and materially. All patriots should combine and labor incessantly until there be permanently established and liberally sustained the best system of free schools for the whole people, for such a system would soon become the "most effective and benignant of all the forces of civilization." Such a cause should enlist the best and most practical statesmanship, and should be lifted above and out of mere party politics, which is one of the most mischievous enemies of the public school system.

Mr. Jefferson is quoted by both parties on fiscal and currency and constitutional questions. Let us hear what he says on the education of the people. In 1786 he wrote to George Wythe: "I think by far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No surer foundation can be devised for the preservation of their freedom and happiness." To Washington he wrote: "It is an axiom in my mind that our liberty can never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves, and that, too, of the people of a certain degree of instruction. This it is the business of the State to effect and on a general plan."

The best test of a country's civilization is the condition of public instruction, said a French statesman. Tested by that standard, what is the rank of Alabama among civilized people? The total population of Alabama over 10 years of age by the last census is 1,069,545, and of these 107,355, or 18.2 per cent of the white people are illiterate, and 331,260, or 69 per cent of the negroes are illiterate. Of 540,226 children between 5 and 18 years of age 301,615, or 55.80 per cent are enrolled in schools, leaving only two States in this particular below her. In 1891-92 the percentage of school population (5 to 18 years) in attendance was 33.78 per cent with four States below. The average school term or session was seventy-three days.

This diagram shows graphically the rank of each State and Territory according to the rates of illiteracy in 1890:



This beggarly array does not fill up the dark outlines of the picture. These short schools are in many cases inefficient and inadequate, and the graduates of high schools, even, are three years behind the German graduates in the amount of knowledge acquired and in mental development. This inferiority is largely attributable to the shorter terms of school years, to the want of professional teachers, and to the small enrollment. In Prussia, under a compulsory law, 91 per cent are instructed in the public elementary, or people's schools, or only 945 of the children subject to the law were unjustly withheld from school. It is lamentable that in many cases a teacher in primary schools need not know much more than he is required to teach, and that knowledge may be confined to the text-book. This deficiency in teacher training is, with political and sectarian influence, the most vulnerable point in our school system. The lack of proper supervision and inspection of schools is traceable to this same pestiferous influence, and hence the officers charged with this duty remain too short a time in their places to be qualified for their work. Rotation in

office, narrow partisanship, inefficiency, are the direct fruits of making school offices not places of trust, but spoils of political victory. Our system of public instruction has acquired such dimensions, ramifies so minutely into every family and neighborhood, concerns so greatly every interest of the State, that its administration should be vested in officers of the highest intelligence and patriotism, of administrative skill and ability, of thorough acquaintance with school and educational questions. The state superintendent should remain in office long enough to be thoroughly familiar with the duties of his exalted position, and should be an expert, capable of advising executive and legislature, and school officers and teachers, and in full and intelligent sympathy with the educational problems that are so important and numerous. Greatly blessed is a State and are the children who have at head of school affairs such men as Mann, Sears, Dickinson, Draper, White, Ruffner, and our peerless Harris.

The statistics of defective schools and consequent illiteracy teach their own sad lessons. The calamities which, in the inevitable order of events, must result from having so large a portion of the people in ignorance, need not be elaborated, but they should fill every patriot with alarm and impel to the adoption of early and adequate remedies as an antidote for what is so menacing to free institutions and to general prosperity. While ignorance so abounds, how can we hope for purity in elections and safety from demagogism, immorality, lawlessness, and crime? "Whatever children we suffer to grow up among us we must live with as men; and our children must be their contemporaries. They are to be our copartners in the relations of life, our equals at the polls, our rulers in legislative halls, the awarders of justice in our courts. However intolerable at home, they can not be banished to any foreign land; however worthless, they will not be sent to die in camps or to be slain in battle; however flagitious, but few of them will be sequestered from society by imprisonment, or doomed to expiate their offenses with their lives."

Perhaps the argument most likely to reach the general public is the close relation between public free schools and the increased productive power of labor and enterprise. The political economy which busies itself about capital and labor, and revenue reform and free coinage, and ignores such a factor as mental development, is supremest folly; for to increase the intelligence of the laborer is to increase largely his producing power. Education creates new wealth, develops new and untold treasures, increases the growth of intellect, gives directive power and the power of self-help; of will and of combining things and agencies. The secretary of the board of education of Massachusetts in his last report makes some valuable statements and suggestions. No other State is giving as much for education, and yet each inhabitant is receiving on an average nearly seven years of two hundred days each, while the average given each citizen in the whole nation is only four and three-tenths of such years. While the citizens of Massachusetts get nearly twice the average amount of education, her wealth-producing power as compared with other States stands almost in the same ratio. This increased wealth-producing power means that the 2,500,000 people produce \$250,000,000 more than they would produce if they were only average earners. And this is twenty-five times the annual expenditure for schools. The capacity to read and write tends to the creation and distribution of wealth, and adds fully 25 per cent to the wages of the working classes. It renders an additional service in stimulating material wants and making them more numerous, complex, and refined. We hear on every hand louder calls for skilled labor and high directive ability. It is a lack of common business sagacity to flinch from the cost of such a wealth-producing agency. This question is not, How can we afford to do it? but, Can we afford not to do it?

All experience shows only one means of securing universal education. Private and parish schools educate only about 12 per cent of the children, and if they could educate all there would remain insuperable objections to them in the way of management, classification, efficiency and support. Our institutions and rights demand free schools for all the people, and they must be established and controlled by the State, and for their support combined municipal, county, and State revenues are needed. Eighty-seven per cent of the children of the Union are now in public schools. In 1890 the entire costs for school purposes were estimated at \$143,110,218, toward the payment of which the local school tax contributed \$97,000,000. While furnishing education is a legitimate tax on property, whether the taxpayer takes advantage of the public schools or not, the history of education in the United States shows that with State revenues should be combined local taxation. This insures immediate interest in the schools, better supervision, greater rivalry, and, on the whole, better results.

The schools in Alabama are handicapped by a clause in the constitution limiting local taxation to an extremely low figure. If by general agreement among the friends of education the removal of this restriction could be separated from party politics, and local taxation could be brought to the support of schools, there would soon be an era of educational and material prosperity. What a commentary it would be on the capacity of our people for self-government, on their catholic patriotism, on the

subordination of private wishes to the public good, if, under the advice and leadership of those selected as fittest persons for the executive chair, the whole subject of free and universal education should be elevated to the plane of organic law, and be as sacred and irremovable as any of the fundamental monuments of liberty.

Yours, truly,

J. L. M. CUREY.

CALIFORNIA.

EDUCATING GIRLS.

[Communicated to the Boston Sunday Journal by President David Starr Jordan, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.]

The subject of the higher education of young women at present usually demands answers to these three questions:

1. Shall a girl receive a college education?
2. Shall she receive the same kind of a college education as a boy?
3. Shall she be educated in the same college?

First. Shall a girl receive a college education? The answer to this must depend on the character of the girl. Precisely so with the boy. What we should do with either depends on his or her possibilities. Wise parents will not let either boy or girl enter life with any less preparations than the best they can receive. It is true that many college graduates, boys and girls alike, do not amount to much after the schools have done the best they can with them. It is true, as I have elsewhere insisted, that "you can not fasten a \$2,000 education to a 50-cent boy," nor to a 50-cent girl, either. But there is also great truth in these words of Frederic Dennison Maurice: "I know that nine-tenths of those the university sends out must be benders of wood and drawers of water. But if we train the ten-tenths to be so, then the wood will be badly cut and the water will be spilt. Aim at something noble; make your system of education such that a great man may be formed by it, and there will be manhood in your little men of which you do not dream."

It is not alone the preparation of great men for great things. Higher education may prepare even little men for greater things than they would have otherwise found possible. And so it is with the education of women. The needs of the times are imperative. The noblest result of social evolution is the growth of the civilized home. Such a home only a wise, cultivated, and high-minded woman can make. To furnish such women is one of the noblest missions of higher education. No young women capable of becoming such should be condemned to a lower destiny. Even of those seemingly too dull or too vacillating to reach any high ideal of wisdom, this may be said, that it does no harm to try. A few hundred dollars is not much to spend on an experiment of such moment. Four of the best years of one's life spent in the company of noble thoughts and high ideals can not fail to leave their impress. To be wise, and at the same time womanly, is to wield a tremendous influence, which may be felt for good in the lives of generations to come. It is not forms of government by which men are made or unmade. It is the character and influence of their mothers and wives. The higher education of women means more for the future than all conceivable legislative reforms. And its influence does not stop with the home. It means higher standards of manhood, greater thoroughness of training and the coming of better men. Therefore, let us educate our girls as well as our boys. A generous education should be the birthright of every daughter of the Republic as well as of every son.

Second. Shall we give our girls the same education as our boys? Yes and no. If we mean by the same an equal degree of breadth and thoroughness, an equal fitness for high thinking and wise acting, yes, let it be the same. If we mean to reach this end by exactly the same course of studies, then my answer must be no. For the same course of study will not yield the same results with different persons. The ordinary "college course" which has been handed down from generation to generation is purely conventional. It is a result of a series of compromises in trying to fit the traditional education of clergymen and gentlemen to the needs of men of a different social era. The old college course met the special needs of nobody, and therefore was adapted to all alike. The great educational awakening of the last twenty years in America has come from breaking the bonds of this old system. The essence of the new education is individualism. Its purpose is to give to each young man that training which will make a man of him. Not the training which a century or two ago helped to civilize the masses of boys of that time, but that which will civilize this particular boy. One reason why the college students of 1895 are ten to one in number as compared with those of 1875, is that the college training now given is valuable to ten times as many men as could be reached or helped by the narrow courses of twenty years ago.

In the university of to-day the largest liberty of choice in study is given to the

student. The professor advises, the student chooses, and the flexibility of the courses makes it possible for every form of talent to receive proper culture. Because the college, of to-day helps ten times as many men as that of yesterday could hope to reach, it is ten times as valuable. The difference lies in the development of special lines of work and in the growth of the elective system. The power of choice carries the duty of choosing rightly. The ability to choose has made a man out of the college boy, and transferred college work from an alternation of tasks and play to its proper relation to the business of life. Meanwhile, the old ideals have not risen in value. If our colleges were to go back to threshing the cut straw of mediævalism—in other words, to their work of twenty years ago—their professors would speak to empty benches. In those colleges which still cling to those traditions these benches are empty to day or filled only with idlers. This to a college is a fate worse than death.

The best education for a young woman is surely not that which has proved unfit for the young man. She is an individual as well as he, and her work gains as much as his by relating it to her life. But an institution broad enough to meet the varied needs of varied men can also meet the varied needs of the varied woman. Intellectual training is the prime function of the college. The intellectual needs of men and women are not different in many important respects. The special or professional needs so far as they are different will bring their own satisfaction. Those who have had to do with the higher training of women know that the severest demands can be met by them as well as by men. There is no demand for easy or "goody-goody" courses of study for women except as this demand has been made or encouraged by men.

There are, of course, certain average differences between men and women as students. Women have often greater sympathy, greater readiness of memory or apprehension, greater fondness for technique. In the languages and literature, often in mathematics and history, women are found to excel. They lack, on the whole, originality. They are not attracted by unsolved problems, and in the inductive or "inexact" sciences they seldom take the lead. In the traditional courses of study, traditional for men, they are often very successful. Not that these courses have a special fitness for women, but that women are more docile and less critical as to the purposes of education. And to all these statements there are many exceptions. In this, however, those who have taught both men and women must agree. The training of women is just as serious and just as important as the training of men, and no training is adequate for either which falls short of the best.

Third. Shall women be taught in the same classes as men? This is, it seems to me, not a fundamental question, but rather a matter of taste. It does no harm whatever to either men or women to meet those of the other sex in the same class rooms. But if they prefer not to do so, let them do otherwise. Considerable has been said for and against the union in one institution of technical schools and schools of liberal arts. The technical character of scientific work is emphasized by its separation from general culture. But I believe better men are made where the two are not separated. The devotees of culture studies gain from the feeling reality and utility cultivated by technical work. The technical students gain from association with men and influences whose aggregate tendency is toward greater breadth of sympathy and a higher point of view.

A woman's college is more or less distinctly a technical school. In most cases its purpose is distinctly stated to be such. It is a school for training for the profession of womanhood. It encourages womanliness of thought as something more or less different from the plain thinking which is often called manly.

The brightest work in women's colleges is often accompanied by a nervous strain as though the students or teachers were fearful of falling short of some expected standard. They are often working toward ideals set by others. The best work of men is natural and unconscious, the normal product of the contact of the mind with the problem in question. On the whole, calmness and strength in woman's work are best reached through coeducation.

At the present time the demand for the higher education of women is met in three different ways:

1. In separate colleges for women, with courses of study more or less parallel with those given in colleges for men. In some of these the teachers are all women, in some mostly men, and in others a more or less equal division obtains. In nearly all of these institutions the old traditions of education and discipline are more prevalent than in colleges for men. Nearly all of them retain some trace of religious or denominational control. In all of them the *Zeitgeist* is producing more or less commotion, and the changes in their evolution are running parallel with those in colleges for men.

2. In women's annexes to colleges for men. In these, part of the instruction given to the men is repeated to the women, in different classes or rooms, and there is more

or less opportunity to use the same libraries and museums. In some other institutions the relations are closer, the privileges of study being similar, the differences being mainly in the rules of conduct by which the young women are hedged in, the young men making their own regulations.

It seems to me that the annex system can not be a permanent one. The annex student does not get the best of the institution, and the best is none too good for her. Sooner or later she will demand it, or go where the best can be found. The best students will cease to go to the annex. The institution must then admit women on equal terms or not admit them at all. There is certainly no educational reason why women should prefer the annex of one institution if another institution equally good throws its doors wide open for her.

3. The third system is that of coeducation. In this relation young men and young women are admitted to the same classes, subjected to the same requirements, and governed by the same rules. This system is now fully established in the State institutions of the North and West, and in most other colleges of the same region. Its effectiveness has long since passed beyond question among those familiar with its operation. Other things being equal, the young men are more earnest, better in manners and morals, and in all ways more civilized than under monastic conditions. The women do their work in a more natural way, with better perspective and with saner incentives than when isolated from the influence and society of men. There is less of silliness and folly when a man ceases to be a novelty. There is less attraction exerted by idle and frivolous girls when young men meet also girls industrious and serious. In coeducational institutions of high standards frivolous conduct or scandals of any form are unknown. The responsibility for decorum is thrown from the school to the woman, and the woman rises to the responsibility. Many professors have entered Western colleges with strong prejudices against coeducation. These prejudices have in no case endured the test of experience. What is well done has a tonic effect on the mind and character. The college girl has long since ceased to expect any particular leniency because she is a girl. She stands or falls with the character of her work.

It is not true that the standard of college work has been in any way lowered by coeducation. The reverse is decidedly the case. It is true, however, that untimely zeal of one sort or another has filled our Western States with a host of so-called colleges. It is true that most of these are weak, and doing poor work in poor ways. It is true that most of these are coeducational. It is also true that the great majority of their students are not of college grade at all. In such schools often low standards prevail, both as to scholarships and as to manners. The student fresh from the country, with no preparatory training, will bring the manners of his home. These are not always good manners, as manners are judged in society. But none of these defects are derived from coeducation, nor are any of these conditions in any way made worse by it.

A final question: Does not coeducation lead to marriage? Most certainly it does, and this fact need not be and can not be denied. But such marriages are not usually premature. And it is certainly true that no better marriages can be made than those founded on common interests and intellectual friendships.

A college man who has known college women is not drawn to women of lower ideals and inferior training. He is likely to be strongly drawn toward the best he has known. A college woman is not led by mere propinquity to accept the attentions of inferior men. Among some thirty college professors educated in coeducational colleges, as Cornell, Wisconsin, Michigan, California, whose records are before me, two-thirds have married college friends. Most of the others have married women from other colleges, and a few chosen women from their own colleges, but not contemporary with themselves. In all cases the college man has chosen a college woman, and in all cases both man and woman are thoroughly happy with the outcome of coeducation. It is part of the legitimate function of higher education to prepare women as well as men for happy and successful lives.

CONNECTICUT.

THE TENDENCY OF MEN TO LIVE IN CITIES.

[Address of President Kingsbury, of the American Social Science Association. Read September 2, 1895.]

Two or three years since I wrote this title as a memorandum for a paper which I wished to prepare when I should find time sufficient to make some necessary investigations, statistical and otherwise. I knew of nothing, or almost nothing, written on the subject, except by way of occasional allusion. I made many inquiries in various directions, personally and by letter, of those who would, I thought, be likely to give me information; I examined libraries and catalogues—and all this with very trifling results. To-day, when I again take up the theme, so much has been written

on the subject that the question has almost passed from the stage of generalization to that of specialization and detail.

In the April number of the *Atlantic Magazine* of the present year an article commenting on Dr. Albert Shaw's recent work, entitled "Municipal government in Great Britain," says:

"The great fact in the social development of the white race at the close of the nineteenth century is the tendency all over the world to concentrate in great cities."

Doubtless this is true; but it is not a new, or even a modern tendency, although, as we shall see, there is much in modern civilization which tends to increase and accentuate it. Still, when the earliest dawn of authentic history sheds its pale light on the impenetrable darkness which lies beyond, it shows us cities as large, as magnificent, as luxurious, as wicked, and apparently as old as any that the world has since known. The books speak of Babylon as the largest city the world has ever seen; but it was by no means the first, and may not have been the greatest even then. Nineveh, its great rival, Memphis, Thebes, Damascus, claiming to be the oldest of them all, Rome, in a later time, with its two or three millions of inhabitants, are but representatives of other cities by the thousands, perhaps larger and older than the largest and oldest here named, and are certainly sufficient to show that a tendency in men to live congregated together in large numbers is as old as anything that we know about the human race.

In our earliest literature, too, we find, apparently well fixed, some of the same prejudices against the city as a place for men to dwell in that now exist. These prejudices must have been already existing for a long time, and their influence must have been the subject of observation before even the possibly somewhat prejudiced people who did not live in cities should have arrived at such firmly settled conclusions in regard to their deleterious influence. Curiously enough, the prejudice appears in one of our earliest writings. There is no doubt that the writer of the Book of Genesis had what might be called an unfriendly feeling toward Cain. He gives him a bad character in every respect. He holds him up to the universal contempt of mankind, and visits him with the severest judgments of God. And, after he has said about him nearly every bad thing that he can think of, he adds as a climax to his enormities, "And Cain builded a city." Now, whether he meant to be understood that cities, having been first built by such an infamous scoundrel, had turned out to be very much what you might expect, or whether, the general character of cities having been already settled in his mind, it was adding one more black mark to Cain to mention this fact, is by no means clear; but this much is certain, that the writer was no admirer of cities, and that neither Cain nor cities were intended to derive any credit from his statement. From that day to this they have had their severe critics. They have been regarded as the breeding places of vice and the refuge of crime. Our own Jefferson—that is, Thomas, not Joseph—is said to have called them "ulcers on the body politic." Dr. Andrew D. White, in his address as president of this association delivered in 1891, says, "Our cities are the rotten spots in our body politic, from which, if we are not careful, decay is to spread throughout our whole country; for cities make and spread opinions, fashions, ideals." The poet Cowley says, "God the first garden made, and the first city Cain." And other writers with the same feelings have used language of a similar import, dictated by the warmth of their temperament, the range of their vocabulary, and the power of their rhetoric.

Prof. Max Nordau, who has lately shown us in a large octavo of 650 pages how we are all hastening on to certain destruction—a conclusion which I am not disposed to combat—or perhaps I might more modestly say, as the late President Woolsey is reported to have said to Daniel A. Pratt, the great American traveler, when he laid before him some rather startling propositions, that I would rather give him a dollar than to attempt to point out the fallacy in his argument—Mr. Nordau, after quoting high authority to show how the human race is poisoning itself with alcohol, tobacco, opium, hashesh, arsenic, and tainted food, says:

"To these noxious influences, however, one more may be added, which Morel [the authority he has just quoted] has not known or has not taken into consideration; namely, residence in large towns. The inhabitant of a large town, even the richest, who is surrounded by the greatest luxury, is continually exposed to unfavorable influences which diminish his vital powers far more than what is inevitable. He breathes an atmosphere charged with organic detritus; he eats stale, contaminated, adulterated food; he feels himself in a state of constant nervous excitement, and one can compare him without exaggeration to the inhabitant of a marshy district. The effect of a large town on the human organism offers the closest analogy to that of the Maremma, and its population falls victim to the same fatality of degeneracy and destruction as the victims of malaria. The death rate in a large town is more than a quarter greater than the average for the entire population. It is double that of the open country, though in reality it ought to be less, since in a large town the most vigorous ages predominate, during which the mortality is lower than in infancy

and old age. And the children of large towns who are not carried off at an early age suffer from the peculiar arrested development which Morel has ascertained in the population of fever districts. They develop more or less normally until they are 14 or 15 years of age, are up to that time alert, sometimes brilliantly endowed, and give the highest promise. Then suddenly there is a standstill. The mind loses its facility of comprehension; and the boy, who only yesterday was a model scholar, becomes an obtuse, clumsy dunce, who can only be steered with the greatest difficulty through his examinations. With these mental changes bodily modifications go hand in hand. The growth of the long bones is extremely slow or ceases entirely, the legs remain short, the pelvis retains a feminine form, certain other organs cease to develop, and the entire being presents a strange and repulsive mixture of incompleteness and decay. Now, we know how in the last generation the number of inhabitants of great towns increased to an extraordinary degree. At the present time an incomparably larger portion of the whole population is subjected to the destructive influences of large towns than was the case fifty years ago. Hence the number of victims is proportionately more striking, and continually becomes more remarkable. Parallel with growth of large towns is the increase in the number of the degenerate of all kinds, criminals, lunatics, and the higher degenerates of Maguan; and it is natural that these last should play an ever more prominent part in endeavoring to introduce an ever greater element of insanity into art and literature."

Many people think Nordau like the patient in the asylum. He thinks everybody crazy except himself. But Dr. Walter B. Platt, in a paper read before this association in 1887, points out certain dangers to the constitution to which every dweller in cities is of necessity exposed from physical causes, specially mentioning disuse of the upper extremities, the exposure to incessant noise and its cumulative effect on the whole nervous system, the jarring of the brain and spinal cord by a continual treading upon unyielding pavements. And he adds that good authorities assert that there are very few families now living in London who with their predecessors have resided there continuously for three generations; but he excepts from the operations of these deleterious influences those whose circumstances are such as to enable them to spend a considerable portion of each year in the country.

Dr. Grace Peckham, in a paper read before this association in 1885, says: "However it was arrived at, the census of 1880 shows that the infant mortality of cities in this country is twice as great as that of the rural districts."

Everyone who has taken an interest in Mr. Charles Loring Brace's great work in the city of New York knows that his firm belief was that the salvation of the city poor depended on getting the surplus into country homes; and few men have been more competent to judge or more ready to look at all sides of a case than he. The literature of the slums is full of every human horror; and it would seem as if any change must be for the better.

Dr. Josiah Strong, in that vigorous presentation of the dangers of our American civilization entitled *Our Country*, says: "The city has become a serious menace to our civilization, because in it each of our dangers is enhanced and all are localized. It has a peculiar attraction for the immigrant. In 1880 our fifty principal cities contained 39.3 per cent of our German population and 45.8 per cent of our Irish. Not only does the proportion of the poor increase with the growth of the city, but their condition becomes more wretched. Dives and Lazarus are brought face to face." Speaking of Dives and Lazarus, has Dives had what you might call quite fair play? Even Judas has had his apologists, but I do not remember ever to have seen any speculation as to what would have become of Lazarus if he had not been fed from Dives's table. Doubtless he preferred that to the poorhouse or even to tramping; and from all accounts, he was not exactly the sort of person you would choose for a parlor boarder. This, however, is a mere passing comment, and, I trust, will not involve me in any theologic discussion; but I do like to see even the devil have his due.

The feature of cities which is perhaps at present attracting more attention than any other is their misgovernment. Dr. Strong begins a paragraph thus: "The government of the city is by a 'boss' who is skilled in the manipulation of the 'machine,' and who holds no political principles except 'for revenue only.'" If a foreigner were to read that sentence he would infer that "boss" was the English for the chief magistrate of a city, but we know so well just what it means that it scarcely attracts our attention. * * *

One would think after reading all this about the evils of cities from the time of Cain to the last New York election, or, rather, let us say, to the last but one—and especially when we must admit that we know everything that is said to be true, and that even then not the half nor the tenth part has been told, and we are almost driven to the conclusion that nothing short of the treatment applied to Sodom and Gomorrah will meet the necessities of the case—that every sane man and woman should flee without stopping for the open country; and the women especially should be careful

how they look behind them, and be sure to remember Lot's wife, and nothing should induce them to turn their faces cityward again.

Now, in spite of all this precisely the reverse is true, and, while there has always been a strong tendency in humanity cityward, this nineteenth century sees it intensified beyond all former experience. Statistics do not make interesting public reading, but from Dr. Strong's valuable work, where there are many, we take a few in support of our position:

"The population of this country as divided between city and country was, in 1790, omitting fractions, country 97 per cent, city 3 per cent; in 1840, country 91 per cent, city 9 per cent; in 1890, country 71 per cent, city 29 per cent; and the rate of increase is itself all the while increasing."

In 1856 Chicago had a population of 90,000. In 1895 it is supposed to have 1,500,000, with several outlying districts not yet heard from. In this classification, which is taken from the United States census, towns of 8,000 and over rank as cities, while the rest is country. Of course a line must be drawn somewhere for the purpose of statistics, but many think it might more properly have been drawn at 5,000, which would largely increase the city percentage. Dr. Strong also quotes this statement: That in the rural districts of Wayne County, N. Y., there are 400 unoccupied houses, and much other valuable statistical information of a similar character. Professor Nordau also has many statistics of various European countries, all to the same purport. But the general fact of the enormous increase of the city at the expense of the country is so notorious that it needs no proof. Let us consider some of its causes.

It is well to notice, and perhaps here as well as anywhere, that, while in all countries the influence of the city has been great, it has not been equally great in all. Rome was the Roman Empire. Carthage was Phœnicia. Paris to-day is France. But London, big as it is, is not England; Madrid is not Spain, and, certainly, Berlin is not Germany. In all these cases there is a power and a public opinion, a consensus of thought, a moral, political, and social influence in the country as a whole, which does not look to nor depend upon the city as its maker, leader, and guide. It is easier to see and feel this fact than to analyze and explain it. Probably the same reasons or kinds of reasons do not apply in every case, but each has its own, some of which are easy to find and others too deep and elusive to be discovered. Accidents of early history, geographical relations, the temper and idiosyncrasies of a people, and other influences, some broader and some more subtle, all combine to fix the relative position and importance of the great city and the country or the lesser town. Speaking of Constantinople, Mr. Frederic Harrison says:

"There is but one city of the world of which it can be said that for fifteen centuries and a half it has been the continuous seat of empire under all the changes of race, institutions, customs, and religions. And this may be ultimately traced to its incomparable physical and geographical capabilities."

In England more than in any other country, as it seems to me, country life is regarded as the normal condition of a fully developed man; and even then it is only those who keep themselves polished by frequent attrition with city life that accomplish much for themselves or their fellow-men. But probably the lesson to be drawn is that a life where both the city and country have a part develops the highest form of manhood and is the end to be striven for.

Ancient cities owed their existence to a variety of causes. Probably safety and convenience were, at the bottom, the reasons for aggregating the population; but any special city frequently owed its existence, so far as appears, to the mere caprice of a ruler as a passing fancy—though he may have had his reasons—sometimes, doubtless, to military considerations, and sometimes perhaps to accident, or to migration, or the results of natural causes, geographical or commercial. It was not until the Middle Ages that the industrial town was evolved. But the modern town seems wholly industrial in its *raison d'être*; it is therefore governed by the laws which govern industrial progress.

Buckle says: "Formerly the richest countries were those in which nature was most bountiful. Now the richest countries are those in which man is most active." (He also adds, although perhaps it has no special significance in this connection, that "it is evident that the more men congregate in great cities the more they will become accustomed to draw their material of thought from the business of human life and the less attention they will pay to those proclivities of nature which are a fatal source of superstition.")

Aside from all questions of mutual defense and protection and mutual helpfulness in various ways and industrial convenience, doubtless one of the very strongest of forces in the building of the city is the human instinct of gregariousness. This underlies ancient as well as modern, military as well as industrially founded aggregations, and the hamlet or the village as well as the city. But there is always a craving to get where there are more people. The countryman, boy or girl, longs for the village, the villager for the larger town, and the dweller in the larger town for the great city; and, having once gone, they are seldom satisfied to return to a place of less size.

In short, whatever man may have been or may be in his prognathous or troglodyte condition, ever since we have known much about him he has been highly gregarious, even under unfavorable conditions.

As long ago as 1870 Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted, in a paper read before this association, said, "There can be no doubt that in all our modern civilization, as in that of the ancients, there is a strong drift downward;" and he quotes the language of an intelligent woman whose early life had been spent in one of the most agreeable and convenient farming countries in the United States: "If I were offered a deed of the best farm I ever saw, on condition of going back to the country to live, I would not take it. I would rather face starvation in town."

The life of the great city would seem to bear hardest of all on the very poor, and the country, or at least suburban, life to present the strongest attraction, by contrast, to this class. Pure air, plenty of water, room for children to play, milk on which to feed them, room to sleep, wholesome food for adults—these things, almost impossible to the poor in the city, are nearly all of easy attainment in the country; yet the overmastering desire for a city life seems to be stronger with this class than with any other. Perhaps you are familiar with the story of the kind lady who found a widow with a great family of children living in the depths of poverty and dirt in the city, and moved them all to a comfortable country home where, with a moderate amount of exertion, they were sure of a living. At the end of six weeks her country agent reported that the family had suddenly disappeared, no one knew where. Going back to the neighborhood of their old haunts, she found them all reestablished there in the same circumstances of dirt and destitution as of old. "Why did you leave that comfortable home and come back here?" was her astonished inquiry. "Folks is more company nor sthoomps, anyhow," was the answer. Poor food, and little of it, dirt and discomfort, heat and cold—all count as nothing in competition with this passion of gregariousness and desire for human society, even where that means more or less of a constant fight as the popular form of social intercourse.

Doubtless one of the most potent factors in the modern growth of cities has been the immense improvement in the facilities for travel, which has been such a marked characteristic of the last half century. But, after all, what is this but saying that it has been made easier for people to go where they wished to be? Facilities for travel make it as easy to get from city to country as from country to city; but the tide, except for temporary purposes, all sets one way. Nevertheless, there is no question that this ease of locomotion has been availed of to a surprising extent in transporting each year in the summer season a very large portion, not of the rich alone, but of nearly every class, not only from our great cities but from our moderately large towns, to the woods and lakes and seashore for a time. The class of people who, fifty years since, lived in the same house the year round, without thought of change, now deem a six or twelve weeks' residence in the country a vital necessity; and this fact is a great alleviation and antidote to some of the unfavorable influences of city life.

All modern industrial life tends to concentration as a matter of economy. It has long been remarked that the best place to establish or carry on any kind of business is where that business is already being done. For that reason we see different kinds of manufactures grouping themselves together—textiles in one place, metals in another; and, of the textiles, cottons in one place, woollens in another; and of the metals, iron in one place, copper in another, and so on. The reason of this is obvious. In a community where a certain kind of business is carried on the whole population unconsciously become, to a certain extent, experts. They know a vast deal more of it than people who have had no such experience. Every man, woman, and child in a fishing village is much superior in his or her knowledge of fish, bait, boats, wind, and weather to the inhabitants of inland towns. This is true of all the arts, so that, besides the trained hands which may be drawn upon when needed, there is a whole population of half-trained ones ready to be drawn upon to fill their places. Then, every kind of business is partly dependent on several other kinds. There must be machine makers, blacksmiths, millwrights, and dealers in supplies of all sorts. Where there is a large business of any kind these subsidiary trades that are supported by it naturally flock around it; whereas in an isolated situation the central establishment must support all these trades itself or go a considerable distance when it needs their assistance. Fifty or sixty years ago small manufacturing establishments in isolated situations and on small streams were scattered all through the Eastern States. The condition of trade at that time rendered this possible. Now they have almost wholly disappeared, driven out by economic necessity; and their successors are in the cities and large towns.

If you will examine any city newspaper of fifty or sixty years ago, you will find frequent advertisements for boys as clerks in stores; and almost always they read "one from the country preferred." Now you never see this. Why is it? I think mainly because the class of boys which these advertisements were expected to attract from the country are no longer there. This was really a call for the

well-educated boys of the well-to-do farmers of native stock, who thought they could better themselves by going to a city. They went, and did better themselves; and those who stayed behind fell behind. The country people deteriorated, and the country boy was no longer for business purposes the equal of the boy who had been trained in city ways. Country boys still go to the city; but they are not advertised for, and have to find their own way.

Our great civil war compelled us to find out some way in which to replace the productive power of a million men sent into the field and suddenly changed from producers into consumers. Their places had to be filled in the lines of agriculture and of all the mechanic arts, in the counting room, in the pulpit, at the bar, and everywhere else where a soldier was to be found. A hundred thousand of these places, more or less, in shops, in mechanic industries, in counting rooms, in the medical profession, even at the pulpit and the bar, were filled with women; and the deficit left by the remainder of the million was supplied by newly invented machinery to do their work. The result was that when the war was over a million of men, or as many as came back, found their places filled. They were no longer needed. In all rural occupations this was especially the case; and, being driven out the country by want of work, they flocked to the city as the most likely place to find it. The disturbing influence in financial, economic, and industrial matters of this sudden change of a million men from producers to consumers and back again to producers, followed as it was soon after by the disturbing influences of the Franco-Prussian war, have never been given their due weight by students of sociology.

We must remember, too, that cities as places of human habitation have vastly improved within half a century. About fifty years ago neither New York nor Boston had public water, and very few of our cities had either water or gas, and horse railroads had not been thought of. When we stop to think what this really means in sanitary matters, it seems to me that the increase of cities is no longer a matter of surprise.

A few years since the great improvement of the lift or elevator added probably 10 per cent actually, and much more than that theoretically, to the possibilities of population on a given amount of ground; and now within a very recent period three new factors have been suddenly developed which promise to exert a powerful influence on the problems of city and country life. These are the trolley, the bicycle, and the telephone. It is impossible at present to foresee just what their influence is to be on the question of the distribution of population; but this much is certain, that it adds from 5 to 15 miles to the radius of every large town, bringing all this additional area into new relations to business centers. Places 5 or 10 miles apart and all the intervening distances are rendered accessible and communicable for all the purposes of life as if they were in the next street. Already the bicycle has done more toward directing attention and effort to the improvement of ordinary highways than all that has been done before since the days of Indian paths. It is affecting the legislation of the country on the subject of roads. When we think of what this minimizing of distance means we can not help seeing that its influence must be immense, but just what no man can foretell. It is by such apparently unimportant, trifling, and inconspicuous forces that civilization is swayed and molded in its evolutions and no man can foresee them or say whither they lead.

Cities, as desirable places of human habitation, seem to have touched low-water mark—as did almost everything else—in that miserable period of comparative cessation in human progress known to us in European history as the "Dark" or "Middle Ages." Babylon had its gardens and its perennial streams of pure water running through its streets; Damascus, its wonderful groves and gardens. Old Rome had its mighty aqueducts traversing the country like lines of pillared temples and bringing the full flow of the mountain streams into the heart of the city, where it irrigated the great gardens and pleasure grounds of the wealthy nobles, and sported in fountains for everybody, and furnished baths for the benefit of the mass of the people. And many other large cities on both shores of the Mediterranean were but a duplicate of Rome. But, when the people had in some way lost their grip, either through luxury or gluttony or the idleness which came of having no great wars on hand, or whatever it may have been, their waterworks fell out of repair, their baths went to ruin, the Goths came and finished up the job, and the last state of that people was worse, very much worse, than the first. London, which had its rise and great growth in these days of ignorance and darkness, was a great straggling village, without a vestige of sanitary appliances, without decent roads, infested by robbers, and altogether such a place as pestilence delights in and only fire can purify. Mr. Frederic Harrison is so impressed with this that he seems to think the Christianity of those days largely responsible for the increase of dirt that was contemporaneous with its early growth, and that, in its stern repression of luxurious living and care for the body, it affords a very unfavorable contrast to the cleaner and more sanitary ways of the earlier time. Probably this is not without much truth; but there were other forces at work affecting alike both saints and sinners. Yet in these mediæval cities,

miserable places as many of them often were for human dwellings, there were certain forces at work which have done as much for humanity, and for modern civilization as any that can be named. Cities have always been nurseries of freemen.

The Rev. Dr. James W. Cooper, in a recent address, says:

"It is a significant fact that in the development of society productive industry and political liberty have always gone together. There has been no manufacturing or trading people known to history, from the ancient Tyrians to the mediæval Florentines and the modern English, which has not also been a free people. Business enterprise demands freedom and develops it. Men must have liberty if they are to combine in business ventures, and through such combinations they learn also to unite their interests in other than mere business ways for the common weal. There is a close connection between the private fortune of each and the property of all, if it can only be discerned; and practical, pushing men are ordinarily the first to discern it."

"If you go back to the fourteenth or fifteenth century, you will find the seeds of modern civilization in the little towns and free cities which were just then beginning to develop an independent life all over England and on the Continent. * * * With the introduction of manufactures came the town, and with the town there came insistence on personal rights, a self-respecting, self-governing, compact community was developed, the castle was defied, the old feudal system of the Middle Ages gave way before the new civilization, and the modern era was ushered in. This was accomplished by the towns. It is the habit just now to praise the country and decry the town. We quote Cowper, and say, 'God made the country, man made the town.' I suppose this is true. But God also made man who made the town, * * * and, while the beginning of things was a garden in the paradise of Eden, the end of things, as prophesied in the Book of Revelation, is a city, magnificent and populous, the new Jerusalem."

In a paper read before this association in 1885 on city and country schools, Mr. W. M. Beckner says: "Cities have played a noble part in the struggle for light and progress. In Europe they were the first to rebel against the feudal system. In England, London always led the fight against tyranny." Indeed there is plenty of historical proof of this fact. "The ordering of secular matters appertaineth not to the Pope," said the burghers of London in the year 1215, a time when the Pope himself and a great many other people thought that the ordering of everything that was worth ordering appertained to him. I find also the following in a book of parliamentary usages: "At the first meeting of a new Parliament the members for the city of London, in court dress or uniform, take seats on the treasury bench, which are afterwards vacated for the ministers of the day. This privilege is accorded to them in commemoration of the part taken by the city in 1642 in defense of the privilege of Parliament and the protection given to the five members who took refuge in the city when their arrest had been attempted by King Charles. This usage was observed," it says, "at the meeting of Parliament in April, 1880." London and Bristol were the sympathizers and staunch friends of America in our own Revolution.

It is remarked, too, I think, by Mr. J. R. Green, that the important part in all public matters played by the trade guilds, which were only found in cities, and their influence as a whole toward freedom, although at times despotic within themselves, is too well known to need any lengthy reference.

Prof. George Burton Adams, in his History of Mediæval Civilization, says: "It is in Italy, however, that the most revolutionary changes which mark the new age are to be seen. There Frederick found himself opposed by an entirely new and most determined energy—the cities."

And in the history of freedom the very names of Utrecht, Dort, Haarlem, Leyden, Magdeburg, Hamburg, Bruges, Wittenberg, Eisenach, and Worms, of Padua, Bologna, and Florence, of Warsaw, Prague, and Buda-Pesth, to which may be added London, Bristol, and Boston, ring with the story of popular rights and human liberty.

Frederic Harrison says: "The life that men live in the city gives the type and measure of their civilization. The word 'civilization' means the manner of life of the civilized part of the community—that is, of the city men, not of the countrymen, who are called rustics, and were once called pagans (pagani), or the heathen of the villages." And another says: "A great and beautiful city surely draws to her the observant and thoughtful souls from every district, and, if she does not keep them, sends them home refined and transmuted."

Some modern woman is quoted as saying that, if one has to run the gauntlet of two or three hundred pair of sharply scrutinizing eyes, the consciousness of a Paris dress is worth any amount of moral principle. And Sappho, who sang six or seven hundred years before the Christian era, says:

What country maiden charms thee,
 However fair her face,
 Who knows not how to gather
 Her dress with artless græce?

If they "didn't know everything down in Judee," it is clear that in Lesbos they knew two or three.

In contrast with the statements of Nordau and of others in regard to the unfavorable sanitary conditions of city life, it must be noticed that it is always in cities that those who can afford it get the best food; and, if you are living in the country, you are largely dependent on the city for your supply. The summer seashore visitor usually finds, if he takes the trouble to investigate, that his fresh fish comes from the nearest great city, also his meat, and quite likely his butter and eggs, and nearly everything except perhaps his milk. To be sure, they came from the country first in many cases; but they seek the best market, and are to be best found at it.

It is also only in great cities, as a rule, that the best medical skill can be obtained. There we all go or send to have our most serious diseases treated and our most critical surgical operations performed. It is almost wholly owing to the unsanitary condition among the children of the very poor that the city death rate is so high.

Mr. C. F. Wingate, in a paper read here in 1885, quotes Dr. Sargent as saying that "life in towns is, on the whole, more healthful than in the country;" also Sir Charles Dilke, in speaking of recent sanitary improvements in England, as saying that "the exceptions are mostly found in the rural districts." This apparent discrepancy between these statements and some of the others is doubtless to be accounted for by the fact that the former had in mind the very poor, while the latter doubtless referred to the better conditioned.

I have been fairly familiar with the streets of New York and Boston for the last fifty years, and there is no fact in that connection with which I have been more impressed than the physical improvement which has taken place in both men and women during that period. The men are more robust and more erect, the women have greatly improved both in feature and carriage; and in the care and condition of the teeth in both sexes a surprising change has taken place. In Boston streets and street cars it seems to me that you see a hundred good-looking women where you formerly saw one. Whether this would hold good in the slums and low parts of the town may be doubted, but there of course one looks for the refuse and cast-off material of society.

A few years since I stood by the grave of a prominent man in one of our rural towns. By my side stood a man who had achieved a reputation both in literature and law. He said to me, "Who is that man opposite?" calling my attention to a tall, fine-looking man. "That," I replied, "is General H." "Ah!" said my friend, with accents of enthusiasm, "one needs to come into the rural districts to see the finest specimens of manhood." I said, "Look about, and see if you find any more." He did not find them. Then I said, "You have picked out the one man here who is in no sense a rural product. It is true this is his home, but his life is metropolitan or cosmopolitan; and those prematurely old, bowed, rheumatic, decrepid, and uninteresting people who make up most of the gathering are the true representatives of our rural population." I think I shattered an ideal, but the logic of facts was too strong to be resisted.

Perhaps this is as good a place as any to remark that when any occupation or calling in life or in a community becomes relatively less remunerative than the average, there begins at once, by natural selection, a process of personal deterioration of those engaged in it. In other words, success is the stepping stone to improvement. And in the rural districts of the Eastern States this deterioration has been going on now for fifty years.

Rev. Dr. Greer has recently said, speaking of clerical work in city and country:

"I think I should say that the difficulties in the country are greater than those in the city. There is more, I think, in common village life to lower and degrade and demoralize than in the city. Take the matter of amusements in the city. There are good ones, and we can make a choice. In the country one can not make a choice. If a theatrical company comes to a village, it is a poor company. If a concert is given, it is a poor concert. The entertainment is of a poor character. Then, again, there is a loneliness, an isolation in the country life; and this tends to lower and depreciate that life. I believe statistics show that a large contingent of the insane in our asylums come from the farms. That hard drudgery of struggle with the clod and the soil from early morning to evening twilight is a lonely and bitter struggle. There is a want of idealism."

I think it is Dr. Strong who says: "When population decreases and roads deteriorate, there is an increasing isolation, with which comes a tendency toward demoralization and degeneration. The mountain whites of the South afford an illustration of the results of such a tendency operating through several generations. Their heathenish degradation is not due to their antecedents, but primarily to their isolation." He also mentions communities in New England where like causes have produced a similar result. I think isolated rural life, where people seldom come in contact with dwellers in large towns, always tends to barbarism. I believe that

poorer people in our cities, if planted in isolated situations in the country, would deteriorate and grow barbaric in habit and thought, even though they might be physically in better condition. What very unattractive people most of our rural population are!

It is to be noted that the attrition and constant opportunity for comparison which city life makes possible, and even compulsory, tend to make all the people who are subjected to its influence alike. They do and see and hear and smell and eat the same things. They wear similar clothes, they read the same books, and their minds are occupied with the same objects of thought. In the end they even come to look alike, as married people are sometimes said to do, so that they are at once recognized when they are seen in some other place; while people who live isolated lives think their own thoughts, pursue different objects, and are compelled to depend upon their own judgments and wills for the conduct of their daily lives. The consequence is that they develop and increase peculiarities of character and conduct to the verge of eccentricity, if not beyond it, and present all that variety and freshness of type which we call originality or individuality. They are much more dramatic, picturesque, and interesting in literature, perhaps not always in real life. I mention this in passing, without any attempt to estimate fully the value of either development. Doubtless something is lost and something gained in either case, and probably much could be said in favor of each. Many persons have a great desire to get, as they say, "back to nature," while others prefer mankind in the improved state, even with some sameness.

The ideal life, time out of mind, for all who could afford it, has been the city for action, the country for repose, tranquillity, recuperation, rest. When Joab, the mighty captain of Judea, quarreled with King David, he retired to his country seat, in what was called the "Wilderness." When Cicero tired of the excitement of Rome, he found rest and quiet in Tusculum. When things went badly with Cardinal Wolsey, he sought refuge and repose in the Abbey of Leicester. Prince Bismarck retires from the frown of young Kaiser Wilhelm to Friedrichsruhe. The country is a good place to rest in, especially if one can control his surroundings. The quiet, the calm, the peace, the pleasant color, the idyllic sights and sounds, all tend to allay nervous irritation, to tranquilize the soul, to repress the intellectual, and to invigorate the animal functions in a very remarkable degree. But this is not rustic life; it is only the country life of the city resident. But the tranquil appearance of a country town, the apparent simplicity and serenity of rural life, the sweet idyllic harmony of rural surroundings are, as everyone must know who has much experience, very deceptive. I remember in one of Dickens's stories a man who lives the life of a traveling showman, one Dr. Marigold, says, in substance, that temper is bad enough anywhere, but temper in a cart is beyond all endurance. The small jealousies and rivalries, the ambitions, the bickerings and strifes of a small rural community, are greatly intensified by the circumscribed area in which they find their vent, and compared with the same human frailties in a larger sphere have all the drawbacks of temper in a cart.

Mr. (Lacon) Colton says: "If you would be known and not know, vegetate in a village. If you would know and not be known, live in a city." But to this it may be added that those who are known in a city are very much more widely known than they can be in the country. A happy fitness between the size of the person and the size of the place is doubtless productive of the most desirable results.

Mr. Shaw says:

"I am not willing to deduce any pessimistic conclusions from this general tendency, whether exhibited in England, in Germany, or in America. I do not for a moment believe that modern cities are hastening on to bankruptcy, that they are becoming dangerously socialistic in the range of their municipal activities, or that the high and even higher rates of local taxation thus far indicate anything detrimental to the general welfare. It all means simply that the great towns are remaking themselves physically, and providing themselves with the appointments of civilization, because they have made the great discovery that their new masses of population are to remain permanently. They have in practice rejected the old view that the evils of city life were inevitable, and have begun to remedy them and to prove that city life can be made not tolerable only for workmen and their families, but positively wholesome and desirable."

It would seem then (1) that for economic reasons a large part of the work of the world must be done in cities, and the people who do that work must live in cities. (2) That almost everything that is best in life can be better had in the city than elsewhere, and that, with those who can command the means, physical comforts and favorable sanitary conditions are better obtained there. (3) That a certain amount of change from city to country is desirable, and is also very universally attainable to those who desire it, and is constantly growing more so. (4) That the city is growing a better place to live in year by year; that in regard to the degenerate portion of mankind, the very poor, the very wicked, or the very indifferent, it is a question

whether they are better off in the country; but, whether they are or not, their gregarious instincts will lead them to the city, and they must be dealt with there as part of the problem. (5) That efforts to relieve the congested conditions of the city poor by deportation of children to the country are good and praiseworthy, but only touch the surface of things, and that city degeneration must mainly be fought on its own ground.

Perhaps, too, the country needs some of our sympathy and care. It appears clear that here is a constant process of deterioration. Deserted farms and schools and churches mark the progress of ignorance and debasement, and threaten to again make the villagers pagani, as they were in the days of old. And improvement here is not the hopeless thing it might seem; but it must be on economic, and not on sentimental, lines.

The problems here discussed have but recently attracted general attention, and doubtless much is yet to be learned, but the progress already made is by no means small and all the signs are signs of promise.

GEORGIA.

[Address delivered October 31, 1893, by Hon. J. L. M. Curry, general agent of the Peabody and Slater funds, in response to an invitation of the general assembly of Georgia.]

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives of the General Assembly of Georgia:

I appreciate, I trust properly, the distinguished compliment of being invited to speak to you upon what the president of the senate has well characterized as the paramount subject of your deliberations. I count myself happy in appearing, also, in this magnificent hall of this magnificent capitol, which has, I understand, the rather exceptional merit of having been completed within the original appropriation, and of having been completed without stain or smirch resting upon anyone connected with it. I have the honor of appearing before men of distinguished ability, engaged in the most responsible work of lawmaking. Lawmaking is the attribute of sovereignty, and it is of the highest human honor and responsibility to be invested with this attribute. It would be carrying coals to Newcastle for me to say in this presence that the proper fulfilment of this function demands intelligence, patriotism, integrity, general acquaintance with law, political economy, and a thorough knowledge, not so much of what people desire or clamor for, as of what may be best for the people's needs and welfare. Divine law is the expression of omniscience and omnipotence; human law is the condition of civilization. Under the provocation of atrocious crimes, communities, aroused to indignation, have sometimes violated law. Sometimes, under the experiences of the law's delay and cheated justice, and burning with a desire to take vengeance upon odious malefactors, they have summarily, and sometimes with savage ferocity, deprived a suspected or guilty person of his life under the process of what is known as "lynch law." In pioneer and frontier life, communities have sometimes been compelled, for self-protection, to organize vigilance committees and take the law into their own hands. Such an extreme exigency does not exist at the South, nor excuse the illegal proceedings with which the papers are too often too full. The race of these criminals has not the possession of the government and is not charged with any of its functions. The white people, the race wronged and outraged, are in power, and control the legislative, executive, and judicial departments. As they are the judges, jurors, and executioners there is not the remotest possibility of one of these criminals, under just operation of law, going unwhipped of justice. A mob is a sudden revolution. It is enthroned anarchy. It is passion dominant, regnant. It usurps all the functions of government. It concentrates in itself all the rights and duties of lawmaker, judge, jury, counsel, and sheriff. A mob does not reason, has no conscience, is irresponsible, and its violence is unrestrained, whether it burns down an Ursuline convent, as in Massachusetts, or tortures a ruffian in Paris, Tex. A mob of infuriated men, or of hungry, enraged women, will violate all law, human and divine, and will be guilty of torturing, of quartering, of burning, of murder—enormities hardly surpassed by the most atrocious crimes. Life, property, person, character, perish as stubble before the flame, in the presence of a conscienceless, unthinking, aroused multitude. A rape is an individual crime, affecting disastrously, incurably, the person or the family; a mob saps the very foundations of society, uproots all government, regards not God nor man, is fructiferous of evil. The progress of mankind is to be found only along the lines of the higher organization of society. Our free institutions can not survive except on the condition of the union of enlightened liberty and stable law. Lawlessness and violence are the antipodes of liberty and social order. Obedience to the constituted authorities, to law, is of the essence of true freedom, of self-control, of civilization, of happiness, of masterful development. There probably is not a neighborhood in the United States which would not have summarily arrested and executed, without

a day's waiting, the fiend of Paris. But that infliction of merited punishment, coupled with vengeance, is not defensible, but is fruitful of manifold evils. To its disregard of law may be traced whitecapism in the West and South, in which self-constituted bands mercilessly execute their unauthorized judgments as to martial rights and obligations, political economy, personal duties, etc. It is a very grave error that democracy means the right of the people anywhere and everywhere, and in any way, to execute their passionate will. Ours is a representative government. Our representatives are not chosen because the people can not assemble en masse to legislate, adjudicate, and execute; but because the people ought not to assemble en masse to execute these functions of a complex government. I can fortify myself before a Georgia audience by quoting the expression of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who said before the bar association of this State: "The people have no hands for unlawful work. Justice is in the hands of the people only when it is in the hands of their organized tribunals."

I think it but a natural transition from these preliminary remarks to say that there is a wrong estimate of the power and effects of legislation. Too much is often expected of the general assemblies, as if the legislature were a sort of second-hand providence; and I suspect that not a few of you heard when you were candidates, or when you were about to leave for Atlanta, such inquiries as "What are you going to do for us? What will you do for us when you get to Atlanta?" I heard this very often when I was in public life. The world is governed too much. Some political thinker has said that the best government is that which governs the least. I would not altogether subscribe to the "let alone" theory, because it may be pushed to extremes. There are two great factors of modern, progressive, civilized life. They are wise social organizations and proper individual development. Bearing these two factors in mind, I think you will not fail to see the relativity of my introductory remarks to what will follow. In cases of commercial distress, agricultural depression, financial crisis, national bankruptcy, we are too prone to seek for legislative cures and political nostrums, but all the legislation that you could pass from now until next Christmas would not increase one iota the real returns of agriculture. There are some knaves—not in Georgia, I hope—more demagogues, and a good many fools, who are trying to find a short cut to national and individual prosperity by treating wealth as if it were a thing that could be created by statute without the intervention of labor, forgetting that the products of labor represent all that there is of wealth in a country. Now, there are some universally established truths in political and legislative economy. Great changes, new systems of finance and trade, are not to be ordered as if you were to order a new suit of clothes according to a certain pattern. History condemns South Sea bubbles, John Law schemes of finance, shin-plaster, and fiat currency. Building Chinese walls around your country and erecting barriers against foreign trade never made a nation prosperous any more than the absurd notion, revived in recent times, that what makes one nation rich impoverishes the other, what one gains another loses. Now, we have serious agricultural depression in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and in all the Southern States. The abolition of slavery was a gigantic revolution. Did it ever occur to you that there is not in the annals of history anything comparable to it in its unprecedented magnitude and suddenness? This, with other effects of the war, paralyzed Southern industries and produced individual and general impoverishment.

African slavery was a great economic curse. I am not speaking of it politically, socially, or morally, but it brought upon the South the curse of ignorant, compulsory, uninventive labor, undiversified products of agriculture, and sparse population. It was an interdict effectual upon invention, thrift, development of varied resources, diversity of employments, large and profitable use of machinery, improvement of soil, construction of good country roads, establishment of free public schools. These were the results of African slavery as an economic force. Curse as it was, it suggests a remedy for its evils. What are we to do? We must increase and make more valuable and diversified our products, and we must improve our country roads. Whatever facilitates exchange of products is a blessing. It will not be worth while to produce unless we can exchange what is beyond our own consumption. What do you need in Georgia? You need intelligent, skilled labor. Many of your laborers are ignorant, stupidly so, of every element of art and science. I spoke to a negro the other day at a railway station about his future. His reply was characteristic: "I ain't got nothing, and I don't want nothing." What is the worth of a system which produces such men? What you want is an alliance of brains and hands, with habits of thrift and cleanliness, and increased capacity of production.

Now, Mr. President, I affirm that no ignorant people were ever prosperous or happy. You may measure the growth, the progress, development, and the prosperity of a people by their advance in culture, in intelligence, in skill; and you can measure the decline of a people by their decline in culture, intelligence, and skill. In the United States there are twenty millions of horsepower at work, lowering the cost of production, cheapening the necessaries of life, giving to toil a larger reward. Much

of what handiwork did has been displaced by labor-saving machinery. Guiding the plow with the hand, mowing grass with the scythe, cutting grain with the cradle—this is fast disappearing from enlightened communities. The steam harvester and thrasher have rendered the work of saving the grain crops more rapid and less arduous. Science has found practical application, and ceases to be mere theory; it has allied itself with the useful arts. Machinery has released thousands from a weary struggle for supply of mere animal wants, and has permitted them to take up other pursuits, such as mining, manufactures, mechanical arts, gardening, fruit raising, etc., but this wealth-creating industry demands intelligence, thrift, and saving. Industry has thus received great benefit; the people have gained hope, inspiration, and life from the applications of the principles of science, have gained, finally, command of all of the resources of nature and have had opened for themselves the highest rewards of intelligent industry.

It needs to be repeated and emphasized that national wealth is not the result of chance, or fraud, or legislative hocus-pocus, or stockjobbing manipulations or adroit dealing in futures. It is the result of honest, intelligent labor. The elements of wealth exist in nature in manifold forms, but must be fitted for human wants by labor. Through all transitions from natural condition to finished and useful artificial state, each successive process adds to the value. To utilize the powers of nature, the elements of property and wealth, is, in beneficent results, proportionate to the intelligence employed. The value created is almost in the direct ratio of the skill of the worker. Labor is not spontaneous nor self-willed, but must have behind it an intelligent control. Stupid labor is confined to a narrow routine, to a few, simple products. Unskilled labor is degraded necessarily to coarser employments. What makes work honorable, productive, remunerative, what elevates a man above a brute, is work directed by intelligence. The best method of applying power might be illustrated by such common processes as turning a grindstone, shoveling manure, harnessing a horse, driving a nail. Among the aristocracy of the old world and the Bourbons of the new is a current theory that it is best for the lower classes, the mud-sills of society, the common laborers, to remain in ignorance. I have no patience with men who say that education for the ordinary occupations of life is a wasted investment, or who deny the utility or the feasibility of furnishing to wage earners and breadwinners an education suited to the industries of real life. Will our impoverished people never see that ignorant labor is terribly expensive, that it is a tax, indirect but enormous, bringing injury to the material worked, to the tools or implements employed, wasting force and lessening and making less valuable what is produced?

The president has declared what was intended as the burden of my address. While there are local interests and concerns that may interest you, there is one question, overtopping all others, that goes into the very household, that concerns every individual, that is allied to every interest; and that is how to furnish cheaper and more efficient means of education for the boys and girls of the State. When I speak of this being the paramount subject of legislation, I mean to say that the duty of the legislator is not only to look after education in Clarke County, in Cobb County, but to have the means of education carried to every child, black and white, to every citizen within the limits of the State. I mean universal education; free education; the best education; without money and without price. The great mistake in legislators and people is that, while they profess to be friends of education, and satisfy themselves that they are, they are talking and thinking of the public schools as poor schools for poor children, and not as good schools, the best schools, for the education of all. Here is field and scope for the exercise of the highest powers of statesmanship. This universal education is the basis of civilization, the one vital condition of prosperity, the support of free institutions. All civilized governments support and maintain schools. In semicivilized countries there is no recognition of the right to improvement, nor of the duty of the government to support universal education. William Ewart Gladstone is the greatest statesman of this century. Financier, scholar, orator, with marvellous administrative capacity, even to the minutest details of departmental and governmental work, and shows his appreciation of education by giving to the vice-president of the council of education a seat in his cabinet, and he is the only British prime minister who has so honored education. Last year I was reading brief biographical sketches of the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties of Massachusetts for the various State offices—governor, attorney-general, etc.—and every one of them, with one exception, had been trained in the common schools of the State, and, therefore, when in office, they would understand what people were talking about when they advocated common schools, and would feel as Emerson said, that if Massachusetts had no beautiful scenery, no mountains abounding in minerals, yet she had an inexhaustible wealth in the children of the Commonwealth. None of you, perhaps, were educated in the public schools. How many times do you visit the public schools? How many times in the last year have you gone into a public school and sat down

on the rear bench and watched the teacher teaching, in order to know what is being done in these great civilizing agencies of the State?

A few years ago the King of Prussia, through Bismarck, issued a call for an educational conference, and he took part with educators and scholars in the discussions. In my journeys through the South, pleading for the children, I have found one governor from whom I never fail to receive a sympathetic response to every demand or argument that I may present for higher or general education. In days that are to come, when you shall record what Rabun did, what Troup, what Clarke, what McDonald, what Johnson, what Gilmer, what Jenkins, what Brown, what Gordon, what Stephens, and what other governors of Georgia have done, there will be no brighter page, none more luminous with patriotism, broad-minded, honest, intelligent, beneficent patriotism, devotion to the highest interests of the State, than that which shall record the fact that the great school governor of the South was William J. Northen. [Great applause.]

The most interesting and profitable changes that have been made in the ends of modern education is the incorporation of manual training in the curriculum, so as to bring education into contact with the pursuits of every day. The three r's, reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic, used to be the standard. We should add the three h's, and develop, *pari passu* with the three r's, the hand, head, and heart, so that we may develop the child intellectually, physically, and morally, and so have the completest manhood and womanhood. Oh! it is a sad spectacle to see the ordinary graduate from one of our colleges, with an armful of diplomas, standing on the platform receiving bouquets, and ready to step across the threshold and enter the arena of active life. You congratulate him because he has acquired knowledge in the school-room. But what can he do? What can he produce? What wealth can he create? What aid can he render civilization? He may be a lawyer. A lawyer never yet made two blades of grass grow where only one grew before. [Laughter.] Now, you show that you agree with what I am saying. [Laughter.] I have no sympathy, however, allow me to say it, with the vulgar, ignorant, stupid prejudice that some people have against lawyers. None in the world. [Applause.] You may trace the history of free government in all the struggles for right and liberty, you may study with profoundest admiration the constitutions, the embodiments of political wisdom, and every page of that history you will find illuminated by the wisdom of lawyers. But I say of lawyers what I say of doctors. Doctors do not add one cent to the wealth of the community. Neither do preachers. They are valuable; you can not do without them. But the lawyer, the doctor, the preacher, the editor, do not add one cent to the assessed value of the property in Georgia. Wealth comes from productive labor, and wealth is in proportion to the skill of the labor. It is the mechanic, the farmer, the miner, the manufacturer, the fruit grower, who add wealth to the community and to the country. The others are indispensable in the distribution of the products of labor, in the transactions of business between man and man, and in a thousand ways, but they do not create wealth.

Let me come back to what I was saying, that the graduate of your college is educated to be a clerk, doctor, lawyer, preacher. You may turn him out of college and he will tramp the streets of your cities, of Atlanta, Augusta, Savannah, to find some place in the bank, or some place in a doctor's or lawyer's office. He has been educated away from business, from ordinary productive pursuits, and has a distaste for labor. If his natural bent had been followed, if he had been taught the application of science to business, made familiar with tools and constructive machinery, he would have turned out, in very many cases, something more useful than he will be after having entered one of the learned professions.

I wish some of you would stop over some time on your way to New York at Washington or Philadelphia and go through the public schools. You would see that from the kindergarten to the high school there is no schoolroom where the pupils can not be taught the application of scientific principles to everyday life, and from which they can not come with a knowledge of the common tools and their uses. England learned that in order to hold the markets of the world she had to teach her children in industrial schools. She discovered that her trade was slipping away from her because of the lack of industrial training on the part of her working people. France gives manual training to both sexes.

Saxony, a manufacturing country, had in 1889 115 trade or industrial schools, it being discovered that "a thorough professional education alone can aid the tradesman in his struggle for life." Statistics show a constant improvement of economic conditions. The flourishing orchards, with their world-renowned wealth of fruit, in Austria, Hungary, Bavaria, and Oldenburg, are directly traceable to the introduction of practical instruction in the school gardens. Prussia has introduced into the normal schools instruction in the culture of fruit and forest trees, and "the admirably managed forests and vast orchards of Prussia owe their existence and excellent yield in no small degree to the unostentatious influence of the country schoolmaster who teaches his pupils in school and the adult villagers in agricultural clubs."

As much as we may boast of our free institutions we are far behind the rest of the world in industrial education, in the application of scientific principles to daily life. We abuse Russia, but Russia has 1,200 technological schools; Belgium has 25,000 pupils in her trade schools; Denmark, 6,000; Italy, 16,000. Georgia has no trade school for white children. She has, fortunately, one noble technological school, which I commend to your support and your encouragement. The other day I went to Newport News, which, as you know, is at the mouth of James River, on Hampton Bay, in the State of Virginia. The largest shipbuilding works and the largest dry dock in the United States are at Newport News. They recently received contracts for the construction of United States vessels, and are prepared to do all such work in the best possible manner. I went through the works. I had an old Confederate soldier to pilot me. When I asked about the improvements in the place his heart rejoiced. I was there when the dinner hour arrived. From the shops and works men came in great numbers, until it seemed there must have been 1,000. I said to my friend, "Where do these men come from?" He replied that they came from various parts of the world. "Are there any from the South?" said I. "Oh, yes," said he. "What do you pay these men?" I asked. "From one dollar a day up to eight or ten." "Do any of these old Confederates get the eight or ten?" With a deep sigh and with a tear in his eye, he said: "No; no Confederate among them. The Confederate soldiers," he continued, "and the negroes get a dollar a day; the Northern and European laborers get the six or ten dollars a day." "Why is this?" I asked. "Because," said he, "they have had industrial training at home. They come from their shops and from their training schools, and they put intelligence into their work, and they get for it the best wages."

And yet, when I stand here and appeal to Georgians for manual-labor schools, you say that man is a theorizer; he is taking up the time of the legislature, which should be passing an act to declare Goose Creek a highway, or to build a road across Possum Swamp, or a bridge over Terrapin Hollow! [Laughter.]

Last year, Mr. President, I was in Asia Minor. If any of you have read The Prince of India you will remember some account of the town of Brusa, southeast of Constantinople. I saw there hundreds of donkeys and women with loads of mulberry leaves. A few years ago the silk trade seemed likely to become extinct, because of an insect that was destroying the mulberry trees and attacking the cocoons. Thousands of trees were cut down. The people are now replanting the mulberry trees, and trade is springing up again. It is because Pasteur, the great curer of hydrophobia, subjected the cocoons to a microscopic examination, discovered the insect and applied a remedy. He applied scientific knowledge to the work of saving the silk trade. A school of sericulture has been established, the mulberry trees are being planted, and the people are growing prosperous again.

When you came here you took the oath to support the Constitution, and it says that there shall be a thorough system of common schools, free to all children, for education in the elementary branches of an English education. This mandate requires general, or State, and local supervision, neat and healthy houses, grading and classifying of the pupils, adequate local and State revenues. A valued friend said to me last night that Georgia is spending too much money for public schools. Let us see how this is. Agricultural depression is more serious and more harmful in Mississippi than in any other State, because it is so exclusively agricultural, having few manufacturing interests, little commerce, and no big cities. And yet Mississippi pays for her public schools \$7.80 on every thousand dollars of the taxable value of property; Illinois pays \$14.40; Texas, \$4.80; Nebraska, \$18.70; Massachusetts, \$3.80; New York, \$4.50. Georgia's educational tax proper for the support of the public schools is \$1.40 on the thousand dollars! What do you say to that? Can you expect to equal other States in school advantages unless you increase the revenues going to the public schools? Let it be borne in mind that outside the cities, the local or extra-State revenues are very meager. The Southern States raise on an average about 36 cents per capita of population.

But you need not only to increase the revenues supporting the common schools—you need promptly and properly paid teachers. The worst thing that I have ever heard about my native State, Georgia, is that she has permitted the teachers in her public schools—poorly paid as they are—to go month after month without receiving the pittance of their hard-earned salaries! [Applause.] If I were the legislature I would not let the sun go down before I wiped away this crime against the teachers of the State. I only echo what you will find in the governor's message, in the report of Captain Bradwell, and in the lamentations of the teachers.

The training of the teachers is implicitly contained in the compulsory establishment of schools. By making education an integral part of the government you are under strongest obligation to provide good schools. The teacher is the school. You can not have a thorough system of common schools without good teachers. You can not have good teachers without paying them promptly their salaries and without training them to teach. Unfortunately our normal schools are handicapped by the

unpreparedness of the pupils to be taught how to teach. Thorough general training should precede professional training, and is its best preparation for it. Take a school of medicine or of law and combine it with elementary education. It would be absurd. It is none the less absurd to combine elementary instruction with professional training for teaching. Teachers should know the history of education and of educational methods, and practical and definite application of the principles of education; and these things should not be dead rules. The teacher goes from the concrete to the abstract; from special to general; from known to unknown; from idea to the word; from thought to clear expression; and these should be applied habitually, unconsciously, and govern spontaneously every act and element in teaching. Students can become habituated to best methods by being kept in the true path, under the guidance of those familiar with the right methods and principles.

I went to Milledgeville the other day to see and inspect the Normal and Industrial College. It is a most remarkable school. It has been in existence only three years, and has 322 girls; 121 engaged in preparing themselves for teaching school. Although in its infancy, it has sent out 100 teachers to teach in Georgia. I went into the different departments. I wish you could see Professor Branson's teaching in the normal department; it would do you good. You could not do a better thing than to spend a day in going through the school and seeing what they teach there. If you do not go yourselves, send your committees and let them see how the thing is done.

Here is a map, which is an object lesson. It shows the normal schools in the United States. It is not accurate in all its details; yet the general facts are correctly stated. In the States that are most wealthy and most advanced there are the greater number of these black dots, which represent normal schools. The person who made the map did not recognize the fact that in Georgia you have an excellent normal school at Milledgeville. It is industrial and normal, and the work done is excellent. The Peabody fund gave \$1,800 last year to this school. I wish I could persuade you to establish coeducation of the sexes at Milledgeville. In the name of patriotism, why do not you teach the boys as well as the girls how to teach school?

Teaching—good teaching, I ought to say—has much of the persuasive power of oratory. It is a glorious sight to see a live teacher—not one of these old moss-back teachers, who has not learned anything since the flood, but a live teacher, who appreciates his vocation—standing before his classes! How it arouses enthusiasm, fortifies the will, inspires the soul; and what a criminal waste of time and money and labor and energy it is to put an incompetent teacher before a class of boys and girls! We see sometimes a picture of Herod murdering the innocents. How we grieve over it! I went into a school the other day in the mountains. There sat the teacher, ignorant, stolid, incapable, with the boys and girls gathered around him, studying the a-b, ab; b-a, ba, k-e-r, ker, baker; and I thought then, Mr. President, that we ought to have another painter to draw another picture of the murder of the innocents. It is not the teachers who ought to be painted in that picture; it is the legislatures who are murdering the innocents, when they refuse to establish normal schools for the proper training of teachers. How does the old hymn go? "How tedious and tasteless the hour"—some of you have sung it. How unutterably tedious are the hours spent in such schools, poring over lessons day after day. Some are mechanics when they ought to be artists, for these teachers have no plan nor method, no inspiration nor striving to teach and stimulate all the many sides of a child's nature to higher attainments, higher thoughts and more vigorous action. Time does not permit me to speak of secondary schools, of rural schools, of six-months schools. Some one in writing about me in the paper said that I was growing old. That may be true as to years, but not in thought, not in patriotism, not in loyalty to the South, not in loyalty to the Union, not in loyalty to this country of ours, and to the Stars and Stripes. I am not growing old in my interest in the cause of education. And yet when I hear that your people are about to celebrate the semicentennial of Atlanta, it recalls to mind the time when I used to pass this place and there was no city here, nothing but old Whitehall Tavern. That was in 1841-42. During that period a town was started which was called Marthasville. I used to ride through this section of the country, by Decatur and Stone Mountain, on my way from my home in Alabama to the college at Athens. It then took me five days to make the journey. Now I can go the distance in six hours. What a mighty change! From Marthasville in 1842 to Atlanta in 1893! Five days of travel cut down to six hours; five days on horseback or in stage coach to six hours in a Pullman palace car! Steam has revolutionized the business and travel of the world. We have gone from the stage coach to the steam car, and the sails of the old ships have been superseded by the ocean steamships. The telegraph and telephone and steam have brought the continents into one neighborhood and given solidarity to the business of the world. The merchant can telegraph to China or to Japan for a bill of goods; and before he goes to bed to-night word comes from the other end of the world that the goods have been delivered to the ship and they will leave in the morning. What a revolution has been wrought in our methods of business. Improved machinery of transportation

has reduced freight expenses from 2½ cents per ton per mile to about one-half cent per ton per mile. Civilization creates new kinds of property. In Africa the inhabitants know nothing about bills of exchange, promissory notes, choses in action—nothing about the modern methods of business. Just in proportion as you grow in civilization, and advance in the scale of education and intelligence, you have more kinds of property. It is because of diffused education, because of the work of intelligence, because the forces of nature have been harnessed to the business of life. Science and religion are both evangels of democracy. Wherever these go shackles fall off, tyranny ceases, and the great masses are lifted up to the recognition of their rights and their privileges. Prerogative of mental development is no longer confined to the few, but is conceded to all who bear the image of the Son of Man.

Only one more remark. I said awhile ago that I was a Georgia boy. I am a native of Lincoln County—the dark corner of Lincoln. I graduated from the University of Georgia, growing up in my college days with such men as Tom Cobb, Linton Stephens, Ben Hill, Jud Glenn, and others. In my political life I associated on terms of intimacy with such men as Stephens, Toombs, Hill, and Cobb. I come to you as a Georgian, appealing for the interests of the children of Georgia, and appealing to the representatives of the State. How inspiring it is to deeds of noble statesmanship to read the names of the counties you represent. Some of them recall in imperishable words the names of founders of the State, of men who stood for her rights, of men who bore the brunt of the Revolutionary struggle, such as Oglethorpe, Richmond, Burke, Chatham, Wilkes, and Camden; Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, Carroll, Sumter, Putnam, Jasper, Greene, the German De Kalb, Hancock, Lincoln; to them add the names of the men of the days succeeding the Revolution, Calhoun, Webster, Clay, Lowndes, Polk, Pierce, Douglas, Randolph, Taylor, and Quitman—men from other States, but allied to you in close sympathy. Not these only, for your own great men have their names linked with the destinies of your counties. What an inspiration it must be to represent the county of Berrien, or Bartow, or Cobb, or Clayton, or Dawson, or Dooly, or Dougherty, or Forsyth, or Gilmer, or Hall, or Jackson, or Johnson, or Lumpkin, or McDuffie, or Miller, or Meriwether, or Murray, or Troup, or Walton. I think that if I were a representative from such a county, with such a name, I should be inspired with patriotism to do something high and useful, and to help the State I lived in to bear worthily the name of the "Empire State of the South." [Applause.] I appeal to you for the common schools of Georgia, for the future men and women of the State. The women of the State touch my heart very deeply. My grandmother, mother, daughter-in-law, granddaughter, Georgia born, names suggestive of holiest affection and tenderest memories, which make me, not less than my nativity, a Georgian. In all of womankind, whether or not history has recorded or romance described or poesy sung her virtues, there has been no type of female excellence, no example of purity or loveliness or heroism more exalted and noble than that furnished by Georgia mother or wife, fit representatives of the unsurpassed southern matron. In their names I plead.

Mr. President, a friend told me of a girl in the northern part of the State, not prince-begotten nor palace-cradled, growing up in glad joyousness and innocence, amid the rich, virgin growth of wild trees, who was seen plowing an ox on rolling hillside to earn subsistence for an invalid father, a bed-ridden Confederate soldier, who lay helpless in an adjacent log cabin. Touched by such heroism and filial fidelity, a gentleman sent her to school, and last year at the examination one thousand people, who had come from the mountains to show their interest in the education of the children, saw that girl, who had labored for the support of herself and her bed-ridden father, stand on the platform and take the prize offered for the best essay. Refusing to abandon her old father during vacation, she went back to her mountain home and to labor, but she is now teaching in the school which brought to light her latent powers. There are thousands of Georgia boys, in the wire-grass and middle Georgia and in the mountains, who, if educated, would, like Stephens, be patriotic and honored servants of the State. There are thousands of young maidens, who, like our heroine, require but the helping hand of the State and the warmth of generous culture to emerge from humble homes of obscurity and poverty to places of usefulness and honor. [Long applause.]

LOUISIANA.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC-SCHOOL SYSTEM IN LOUISIANA.

[Paper prepared for Louisiana Educational Association, by John R. Ficklen, professor of history in Tulane University.]

"If I had as many sons as Priam, I would send them all to the public schools."—*Daniel Webster.*

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN: It seems eminently wise that the Louisiana Educational Association at this period of its honored career should devote a portion of its time and attention to the origin and development of the public-school

system within the borders of this State; for we are now entering upon a new era in the history of our schools, and we need, in particular at such a time, to study both the present and the probabilities of the future in the light of the past. As student and teacher I have always laid great stress upon this study of the historical development of our institutions as one of prime importance. We do not thoroughly understand the present until we know how and why it has become what it is. Moreover, from the accumulated experience of those who have gone before us we may learn to avoid a thousand errors; where they garnered only "barren regrets," we may reap a bountiful harvest of good results.

As the individual must live over in miniature the life of the whole human race, so those who would reform institutions must investigate the history of those institutions and understand the causes that led to failure or to success. Without this knowledge their labors will be short sighted and unfruitful, and to their hands no wide powers should be intrusted.

Let us trace, then, as briefly as possible, the origin and development of our public-school system. From such a study I hope something profitable and something interesting may be gleaned together. Clearness of treatment will be promoted if we divide the whole subject into three periods.

I. From the beginning of this century to the framing of the second constitution in 1845.

II. From 1845 to the civil war.

III. From the civil war to the present time (1894).

I.

Before the opening of the nineteenth century, as you doubtless know, public free schools did not exist in Louisiana. The Ursuline Nuns, ever since they were brought over by Bienville, had devoted themselves to the education of young women, and there were some private schools in New Orleans, but the policy of the Government had provided no system of public instruction. The truth is that monarchical governments in that day were unfavorable to the education of the masses. Knowledge is power, and it was not considered desirable that the people should have much power.

In the year 1803, however, the great Territory of Louisiana, Jefferson's fine purchase, was formally transferred to the commissioners of the American Union. As you know, Louisiana then embraced a vast tract of country, from which many rich and prosperous States have since been carved. For nine years the southern portion was called the Territory of Orleans; but, finally, in 1812, much to the delight of its 60,000 inhabitants, it was erected into the State of Louisiana—one of the fairest sovereignties that go to constitute the American Union.

During the early period of its territorial government, there are to be found frequent references to the subject of public education. But many years were to elapse before educational views crystallized into any kind of system of free schools. Nor was this tardy recognition of the value of common schools peculiar to Louisiana. It was equally the case in the early history of all the Southern and most of the Northern States. It would be interesting to trace the development of public schools in the United States at large; to show how the enduring system established in Massachusetts by the old Puritans of the seventeenth century was modeled after the system of schools which they had learned to know during their sojourn in Holland—a system in which Holland at that time led the world. It would be interesting to show that the main object of the Puritans was to keep out "that old deluder, Satan," by teaching all the children to read the Bible, thus preparing them to exorcise the evil spirits that ever torment the ignorant. It would be still more interesting to show why that old royalist, Governor Berkeley, feared the rise of public (I had almost said republican) schools, and devoutly thanked God that there were none in Virginia. Such themes, however, while they would be fruitful of suggestions as to the progress of our American civilization, would occupy far more time than has been allotted to this whole paper. I can not forbear, however, mentioning one fact which may make our Louisiana teachers rejoice that they live in this day and generation rather than in the New England of the seventeenth century. In an old New England town book (date 1661) the duties of the schoolmaster are laid down as follows: (1) To act as court messenger; (2) to serve summonses; (3) to conduct certain ceremonial services of the church; (4) to lead the Sunday choir; (5) to dig the graves; (6) to take charge of the school; (7) to ring the bell for public worship; (8) to perform other occasional duties. With these manifold functions to discharge, it is easy to understand the importance attached, in early New England, to the office of schoolmaster.

But to return to Louisiana. No sooner had the United States taken possession of Louisiana than the enlightened policy of our first American governor, W. C. C.

Claiborne, spoke out in no uncertain accents on the subject of public education. I quote from his address to the territorial council in 1804, just ninety years ago: "In advertent to your primary duties," he says, "I have yet to suggest one than which none can be more important or interesting. I mean some general provision for the education of youth. If we revere science for her own sake or for the innumerable benefits she confers upon society, if we love our children and cherish the laudable ambition of being respected by posterity, let not this great duty be overlooked. Permit me to hope, then, that under your patronage, seminaries of learning will prosper, and means of acquiring information be placed within the reach of each growing family. Let exertions be made to rear up our children in the paths of science and virtue, and impress upon their tender hearts a love of civil and religious liberty. My advice, therefore, is that your system of education be extensive and liberally supported."

These were noble sentiments, but if we may judge by the words of the same governor some years later, they found as yet only a feeble echo in the hearts of the people. For in 1809 we find Claiborne lamenting the general "abandonment of education in Louisiana." It is true that in 1805 the College of Orleans was established—a college in which the honored historian of Louisiana, Charles Gayarre, was a pupil; but though it lingered on till 1826, it was never in a flourishing condition, and the legislature finally concluded to abolish it and appropriate its funds to the establishment of one central and two primary schools. In the constitution of 1812, under which Louisiana was admitted to the Union, there is no mention of a system of public education; it was perhaps intended that the whole matter should be left to legislative action. During the ensuing war of 1812-15 with England, in which Louisiana bore so glorious a part, the people were too much absorbed in the defense of their soil to make any provision for education.

According to the annual message of Governor A. B. Roman (in 1831), it was the year 1818, just one hundred years after the founding of New Orleans, that witnessed the enactment of the first law concerning a system of public schools. The governor doubtless means the first effective law; for ten years previously (1808), an act was passed to establish public schools, but it was rendered nugatory by the proviso that the school tax should be collected only from those who were willing to pay it. Beginning in 1818, however, the legislature made comparatively liberal appropriations for educational purposes, the amounts increasing from \$13,000 in 1820 to \$27,000 in 1824. Little attention was paid to elementary instruction, but it was proposed to establish an academy or a college in every parish in the State. Lottery schemes—not peculiar to Louisiana, but used freely for educational institutions at this period, both in the North and in the West—were set on foot to raise funds for the College of Orleans and for an academy recently established in Rapides Parish. In addition, one-fourth of the tax paid by the gaming houses of New Orleans was presumably sanctified by its appropriation to the cause of education.

In spite, however, of all these efforts the message of Governor Roman in 1831 makes patent the fact that the system of public instruction in Louisiana has been a failure. The main cause of the failure was recognized by this enlightened Creole and he sets it forth in the clearest and strongest language. It may be summed up in a few words. The schools had not been wholly free. In every academy established and in every primary school provision was made to receive without tuition fees a certain number of indigent pupils. In the two primary schools of New Orleans, for instance, gratuitous instruction was given only to children between the ages of 7 and 14, and preference was to be shown to at least 50 children from the poorer classes. Thus a certain number of poor children, marked with the badge of charity, were to be admitted to the schools and there associate with others that paid. Such a system of public schools could not be successful. The pride of the poorer classes was hurt. One of the parishes refused to take the money appropriated for public schools, while in many others the parents, though living near the schoolhouses, would not send their children because it was repugnant to their feelings to have them educated gratuitously.

In twelve years, declares Governor Roman, the expenditure for public schools had amounted to \$354,000, and it was doubtful whether 354 indigent students had derived from these schools the advantages which the legislature wished to extend to that class. In conclusion the governor uttered these significant words, words which should be engraved over the portals of our legislative halls: "Louisiana will never reach the station to which she is entitled among her sister States until none of her electors shall need the aid of his neighbor to prepare his ballot."

Thus we see that the necessity of a new system was beginning to be felt—a system under which the schools should be absolutely free, under which the sons and daughters of the rich and poor should sit side by side, and know no distinction except that which is created by superior abilities. Unless the schools could be raised to a higher level in public esteem, there was no hope of their success.

There were other causes of failure which perhaps did not escape Governor Roman, but which he fails to mention. There was, first of all, the sparseness of the country population, which in Louisiana, as elsewhere in the South, made the problem of educating the people a far different matter from what it was in Massachusetts. In the South large plantations and the absence of towns tended to make the progress of public schools slow and uncertain; while in Massachusetts the fact that the whole population was grouped first in settlements around the churches and then in regular townships, made the organization of public schools a comparatively easy task. In discussing the backwardness of the South in educational facilities, this important consideration is too often omitted. If, with the increase of the population at the present day, it has less significance, it certainly had a great deal before the war.

In the second place, among the old Creoles of Louisiana, the education of young children was regarded as a matter that concerned not the State but the family. Exception must be made in favor of enlightened men like Governor Roman, but the fact remains that for many years the scheme of free public schools was looked upon as a useless innovation. As late as 1858, says De Bow's Review, every Louisiana planter had a school in his own house to educate his children.

From other sources we know that when children were ready for higher instruction their parents, if they were prosperous, most often sent them to Northern colleges or to France. This feeling against the public schools arose partly from what Mr. Lafargue has called the aristocratic and somewhat feudal social system of that day, and partly from the force of custom—a custom that dates back to the eighteenth century—when Etienne de Boré, the first successful sugar planter in Louisiana, received his education first in Canada and then in France.

Last of all it has been claimed with some justice that slavery impeded the progress of the public schools, as that institution impeded the rise of the white laboring classes from whose ranks these schools have always drawn the largest number of pupils. This was certainly true of the country parishes; but to a far less extent of New Orleans where all classes of society were duly represented.

All these causes were more or less operative to hinder the progress of the free school system until the civil war came and radically changed the conditions of Southern life.

From 1835 to 1845 Louisiana continued to make generous appropriations for the cause of education, but instead of establishing what was especially needed for the mass of the people, a good system of elementary instruction, the public funds were expended in founding a number of pretentious academies and colleges. These were required to give free instruction to a small number of indigent pupils, but how many such pupils were actually received it is impossible to say.

The student who examines the early records of the State is amazed at the number of these transitory institutions, many of which hardly survived the generous donations made for their support. As far as I know, the only ones now remaining of some twenty odd which were once scattered through the various parishes of the State are Centenary (once the College of Louisiana), now administered by the Methodists; Jefferson College, now under control of the Marist Fathers, and the Louisiana State University, which was once the Seminary of Learning in Alexandria.

To illustrate the preference in that early period for these higher institutions, none of which gave free tuition except to a few indigent pupils, it will suffice to say that in 1838 the amount appropriated for public schools was \$45,633, while during the same year the subsidies to colleges and seminaries were \$126,000. During the period of which we are about to speak, however, far less was given for the support of these institutions. Many of them being found superfluous had doubtless already disappeared.

II.

We now enter upon our second period, 1845-1860. During the year 1845 Louisiana received a new constitution. In its full expression was given to the democratic tendencies of the day. The Whigs had yielded to the Democrats, and the latter proceeded to grant the people many privileges which had been previously denied. The privilege of choosing the governor from the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes was taken from the legislature, and the right to vote was no longer restricted to owners of property. But best of all its democratic measures this constitution provided for a system of public schools under the care and supervision of a superintendent of education, to be appointed by the governor, and of parish superintendents, to be elected by the people. The importance of this departure can not be exaggerated. Up to this time such schools as had existed in the State had been under the care of the secretary of state, whose other official duties were too numerous for this additional burden. From this time on we are to see a superintendent of

education devoting his time and energies to the establishment of an extensive system of public free schools and making regular reports to the general assembly.¹

The constitution of 1845, and the laws passed by the legislature to carry out its provisions, created a new era in the history of education in Louisiana. Up to 1845, although large sums in proportion to the educable population had been expended, the system had been a failure, and the secretary of state had declared it should be consigned to "an unhonored grave." Let us see what were the provisions for the organization and support of the new system. In the first place the schools were to be absolutely free to all white children. Of course, as it was one of the corollaries of the institution of slavery that it was dangerous to educate the slaves, no provision was made for the education of the negro until he had been emancipated.

For the support of the new system, the constitution declared that the proceeds of all lands granted by the United States Government for the use of public schools, and of all estates of deceased persons falling to the State, should be held by the State as a loan, and should be a perpetual fund, on which annual interest at 6 per cent should be paid for public schools, and that this appropriation should remain inviolable. The lands referred to were the public lands which the Federal Government had retained when Louisiana was made a State, and which that Government was now granting to the State for educational and other purposes. In 1847 these land grants amounted to 800,000 acres, and in many instances proved to be very valuable. Moreover, there are many references in these old acts of the legislature to the location of the sixteenth sections in townships for school purposes and to the sale of these sections. For the further support of the schools it was now provided by an act of the legislature that every free male white over 21 years of age should pay a poll tax of \$1, and that a tax of 1 mill should be levied on all taxable property. As early as 1842 the police jurors² were authorized to levy a tax for schools not to exceed one-half the annual State tax. Provision was now made that whenever a parish raised not less than \$200 the governor should authorize the State treasurer to pay over to said parish double the amount so assessed.

Certainly no happier choice for State superintendent of education could have been made throughout the extent of Louisiana than was made in 1847 by Governor Isaac Johnson. The man he chose was a ripe scholar. He had been trained in all the learning of that day. First under a private tutor and then in Georgetown College he had saturated his mind with all that was best in classical literature, and he had caught an inspiration which made him one of the great teachers of his time. A brilliant orator, he spoke and wrote with convincing eloquence whenever the sacred cause of education was at stake. Such a man was Alexander Dimitry, the first superintendent of education, whom Louisiana honors and reveres as the organizer of her system of public schools.

Both the reports of Mr. Dimitry, which are generally supposed to be lost, are to be seen in the Fisk Library of New Orleans. The first was rendered in 1848 and the second in 1850. To the student of our educational progress both are interesting and instructive.

The first describes how the 47 parishes had been divided into school districts by the police jurors, assisted by the parish superintendents. The services of these superintendents, who were elected at a salary of \$300 a year, were very efficient, but the schools in the parishes were not generally welcomed, and Mr. Dimitry declared that he viewed them rather in the light of an experiment. It was only natural that he should hold this opinion; for when the free schools were first established in New Orleans, during the years 1841 and 1842, the announcement, says Mr. Dimitry, was received by some with doubt, and by others with ridicule, if not hostility. "When the schools in the second municipality were opened personal appeals and earnest exhortations were made to parents, and yet such were the prejudices to be overcome that out of a minor population of 3,000 only 13 pupils appeared upon the benches." Fortunately, public sentiment in the city gradually changed, and in 1848 Mr. Dimitry was able to declare that thousands were blessing the existence of the city schools, for in 1849, out of an educable population of 14,248, the number attending the free schools was 6,710, or nearly 50 per cent. In the country parishes his labors were soon rewarded with more than anticipated success, for out of an educable population in 37 parishes of 28,941 the number attending in 1849 was 16,217, or more than 50 per cent.

In his last report Mr. Dimitry complained of the opposition shown by many to the new system, and especially to a portion of the law which prescribed the levying of a district tax for the schools. But he had reason to congratulate himself on having

¹ Mr. R. M. Lusher, formerly State superintendent of education, and a noble worker in that office, wrote a sketch of the public school system in Louisiana. In this sketch he makes the curious error of stating that all the reports of the State superintendents from 1847 to 1860 were burned during the war. In the Fisk Library of New Orleans may be found nearly every one of the reports which he supposed to be destroyed, beginning with that of Alex. Dimitry in 1848.

² County officers in Louisiana.

created a sentiment in favor of the free schools and in obtaining an attendance of more than 50 per cent of the educable population—a per cent, it is to be remembered, far higher than that of the year 1894, when 70 per cent of our educable population are not receiving any instruction either in public or private schools. (Estimate made by the Times-Democrat.)

Throughout this period (1848-1850) moreover, the State was prosperous, and the sums appropriated to the public schools in 1849 amounted to nearly one-third of a million dollars, a higher ratio per educable youth than at the present day. Such was the condition of the public schools during Dimity's able administration. By annual visits to the different parishes, he kept himself in touch with his superintendents, and inspired the State at large with much of his own zeal and enthusiasm.

In the years 1851 and 1852 important changes were made in the administration of the schools. First of all, the State superintendent was no longer to be appointed by the governor, he must be elected by the people. Then followed an act of the legislature which proved to be extremely unwise. That body in a fit of economy abolished the office of parish superintendent and substituted in each parish a board of district directors who were to receive no salary. Moreover, the salary of the State superintendent was reduced to \$1,500 a year, and he was relieved from the duty of an annual visit to each parish. The effect of these changes upon the schools in the country parishes is abundantly shown in the reports of the State superintendents, Robert C. Nicholas, in 1853, Dr. Samuel Bard, in 1858, and Henry Avery, in 1861. They all declare that the system outside of New Orleans had been seriously crippled; that the district directors took no interest in their work, and that often it was impossible to find out who were directors in a parish. Loud complaints, moreover, came from many of the parishes that the teachers appointed were not only incompetent, but often drunkards and unprincipled adventurers. It is not, therefore, surprising to learn that many parents demanded and actually obtained their children's quota of the public-school funds, which they used in part payment of the salaries of private tutors and governesses. Such a method of appropriating the public money, however, not only produced general demoralization, but worked great injustice to the poorer classes.

In spite of complaints and appeals, the legislature failed to restore the parish superintendents and to reform the abuses just mentioned. Hence a pessimistic writer in *De Bow's Review* for 1859, taking up an annual report of the State superintendent, gives a gloomy account of education in Louisiana. He even goes so far as to conclude that the New England system of forcing education on the people was not adapted to Louisiana; that such a law was theoretical and void of practical results. He then continues in the following strain: "If a law were passed by the State of Louisiana appropriating \$300,000 a year to furnish every family with a loaf of bread more than half the families would not accept it. The report of the superintendent for 1859 proves that more than half the families in Louisiana will not accept the mental food which the State offers their children. Some parishes will not receive any of it. Tensas, for example, which is taxed \$16,000 for the support of public schools has not a single school. The truth is the government does more harm than good by interfering with the domestic concerns of our people."

This Jeremiah then proceeds to detract as much as possible from the merit of the public schools in New Orleans, though he admits that these schools were regarded as very successful.

I have quoted the words of this critic quite fully because, while they contain some grains of truth, I believe they also contain a great deal of error. Luckily the reports from 1856 to 1861, from which he forms his conclusions, are still in existence, and they do not justify his statement that at this period the people were opposed to the public schools because "they did not wish to accept the mental food offered them by the State." On the contrary, here is an extract from the report of 1859 which throws much light on the condition of affairs in many of the parishes: "Under the present law nearly every wealthy planter has a school at his house and draws the pro rata share out of the public treasury. The poor children have not the benefit of these schools, and in this parish, which pays about \$14,000 in school tax, there is consequently not enough in the treasury to pay the expense of a single school at the parish seat, where it ought to be."

This extract shows what pernicious custom lay at the root of the failure. The money was misappropriated in favor of the private schools; so that where public schools were established, cheap and worthless teachers had to be employed, who soon brought their schools into disrepute. The inefficiency of the school directors followed as a matter of course. Seeing that the rich planters were satisfied, the legislature simply did nothing but appropriate ample funds, which often never reached the schools for which they were destined. Under these circumstances it is even remarkable that in 1858, according to Dr. Bard's report, the number of pupils attending public schools in the country parishes was 23,000 out of an educable population in the whole State of 60,500.

Let us turn to New Orleans. During this period the city was divided into four school districts, with a board of directors and a superintendent for each district. This arrangement insured most efficient management. The attendance in 1858 was 20,000—nearly as many as in all the country parishes—and Dr. Samuel Bard, after an examination of the city schools during this year, reported to the general assembly that “the discipline was admirable, the attainments of the scholars unexpectedly extensive, and the teachers of rare ability.” Hon. William O. Rogers, who did splendid work for the schools at this period, and who later became city superintendent, has often in my presence corroborated the testimony of Dr. Bard.

It was at this very time, also, that an important advance was made in educational methods. As early as 1853 Superintendent Nicholas had recommended the establishment of a normal school, declaring, however, that there was none in the United States and only one in Canada. Finally in 1858, largely through the exertions of Mr. Rogers, a normal school, the first in Louisiana, was opened in New Orleans. Unfortunately its career of usefulness was soon cut short by the rapidly approaching civil war.

Mankind has often been accused of viewing the past through a roseate haze, which, while it lends a new charm to that which was already beautiful, also clothes with its own light even that which was dark and unbecoming. It will not be wise, therefore, in looking back over the period of fifty-six years which we have just reviewed to speak too favorably of the system of public schools in Louisiana. Certainly, however, the State in 1860 had great reason to congratulate herself on the advance that had been made over the period previous to 1845. Up to that date, as we have seen, the school system was not organized at all; for the schools were not under proper supervision and outside of New Orleans they were not free except to a small class of indigent pupils. With the new constitution and the advent of Alexander Dimity, Louisiana entered upon a new era of educational progress, especially in New Orleans. In the country parishes down to 1860 it must be admitted that the success of the system was only partial—a result that was due to the size of the plantations, the too conservative character of the old planters, the abolition in 1852 of the office of parish superintendent, and especially to the appropriation of public funds for the benefit of private schools.

III.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS DURING AND SINCE THE WAR.

During the great civil war it was but natural that the public schools of Louisiana, especially in the country parishes, should languish, for men were engaged in a struggle which left little time for the consideration of the educational problem. In most of the parishes the schools for several years were entirely closed. One of the school directors wrote that from his parish there were no reports to make except war reports. In New Orleans, however, and in the neighboring parishes, which were in the possession of the Federal troops, many schools were kept open, and provision was made by the Freedmen's Bureau of Education to give instruction to the newly emancipated slaves. Under these new conditions there was a strong effort to open schools in which the two races should be educated together. But this policy, so repulsive to Southern sentiments, ended in failure and it was abandoned.

The history of our State after the war is too well known to need repetition here. In a few years the public debt of Louisiana was increased by the sum of \$40,000,000. Moreover, in 1872, the Government sold at public auction the whole free-school fund, which had been invested in State bonds, and which had been repeatedly declared a sacred and inviolable trust for the benefit of the public school. This fund, derived from the sale of public lands, amounted to more than \$1,000,000. After it had been accomplished there followed a period of “storm and stress”—a fierce struggle for supremacy, which, during the year 1877, ended in the triumph of the more conservative elements of the State, under the leadership of Francis T. Nicholls.

We can point with pride to one of the first acts of the legislature under this new administration. It was as follows:

“The education of all classes of the people being essential to the preservation of free institutions, we do declare our solemn purpose to maintain a system of public schools by an equal and uniform taxation upon property as provided in the constitution of the State, and which shall secure the education of the white and the colored citizens with equal advantages.

“LOUIS BUSH, *Speaker.*

“LOUIS A. WILTZ, *Lieut. Governor.*

“FRANCIS T. NICHOLLS, *Governor.*”

It is to be noted here that the State assumed formal charge of the education of the freedman, pledging him the same advantages as the whites. This pledge has been faithfully kept; the number of colored pupils has gradually increased until there are now enrolled in the public schools of the State more than 60,000.

In March, 1877, a few months before the act above quoted, the general assembly had established a State board of education, consisting of the governor, the lieutenant-governor, the secretary of state, the attorney-general, the State superintendent, and two citizens of the United States, residents for two years in Louisiana.

As you know, this board was reorganized some years later, so as to contain one representative from each Congressional district—a change most wisely made.¹

The most important step, however, in the reorganization of the public school system was taken in the constitution of 1879. This is the constitution under which we are now living, but which we all hope to see radically amended in the near future. It provided for the appointment of parish boards, and declared that these boards might appoint at a fixed salary a parish superintendent of public schools.

Thus, after the lapse of twenty-seven years, Louisiana restored the office of parish superintendent—an office which under Alexander Dimitry was found to be all important, and which since 1879 has proved essential to the very existence of public schools in Louisiana. May the parish superintendent, one of the strongest pillars of public education in our State, be a perpetual institution among us, and may his office in the future receive that meed of respect and remuneration which his zeal and devotion so richly deserve.

While the constitution of 1879 is entitled to our gratitude for the reinstatement of the parish superintendents, one is forced to admit that it made no adequate provision for the support of the public schools. It is true that the free-school fund, the bonds of which were sold in 1872, was placed among the perpetual debts of the State, but the interest to be paid was reduced from 6 to 4 per cent, and it was further declared that this interest and the interest due on the seminary and the agricultural and the mechanical funds should be paid, not out of the general revenues of the State, but out of the tax collected for public education. This was a wholesale "robbing of Peter to pay Paul."

Moreover, though provision was made for a supplementary tax to be levied for public schools by the police juries of each parish, even this was not obligatory, and if it were levied it was to be kept within very narrow limits.

These unwise articles of the constitution have received such repeated and such hearty condemnation from every superintendent of education that it is not necessary for me to add my own opinion. I would only remind you that when that constitution was adopted in 1879 the State had just passed through the period of reconstruction, her finances were in a prostrate condition, and some constitutional limitation of taxation seemed absolutely necessary. Those conditions no longer exist, and it is to be hoped that the amendments recently proposed by the board of education will be unanimously adopted.

It may be added that the constitution of 1879 ended its provisions for the public schools with one article that has received universal approval and should be widely acted upon. It declares that women over 21 years of age shall be eligible to any office of control or management under the school laws of Louisiana. This is simply an act of justice to that sex which furnishes so large a proportion of our teachers throughout the State.

The history of the public schools since 1879 is so well known that I can not pretend to any knowledge which this audience does not already possess. A simple outline, therefore, will suffice to refresh your memories.

The first result of the insufficient support granted by the constitution, you will remember, seemed to be the ruin of the public school system.

In spite of the splendid efforts of Hon. R. M. Lusher, a devoted and untiring worker in the cause of public education, the school receipts for 1882 allowed only 45 cents for each educable child in the State; and the Louisiana Journal of Education for that year gloomily but forcibly declared that the public school system was as "dead as Hector." The teachers even in New Orleans were often unpaid, many schools had been closed, and the double obligation of educating both whites and blacks seemed too great a burden for the State to bear. But the exertions of Lusher, Easton, and Jack, together with the efficient aid received from the parish superintendents and the State board, were not without avail. Defeat was at last changed into victory, and the record of the past decade, illuminated by the labors of these men, is a most interesting chapter in the history of our educational progress. The school fund, especially in the country parishes, has been largely increased, and so has the attendance. Not only has public sentiment, without which laws avail naught, been brought over to the side of education, but the teachers themselves, though often receiving scanty remuneration, have shown greater ability and greater enthusiasm than ever before in the history of the State. This I attribute largely to the splendid work done in the Normal School of New Orleans under Mrs. Mary Stamps and in the State Normal of Natchitoches under President Boyd. I am sure you will believe that lack

¹In 1870 the Republicans had established a State board of education, consisting of the State superintendent and six "division superintendents." The State was divided into six districts under these "division superintendents."

of space, and not lack of appreciation, has prevented my giving a detailed account of the valuable aid rendered to this normal work by the Peabody fund. A tribute to Dr. Curry's wise administration of this fund is certainly due from anyone who writes the history of public education in Louisiana. Lack of space must also be my plea for omitting the history of the McDonogh fund, to which New Orleans owes its array of splendid school buildings.

It may safely be declared, therefore, that the year 1894 records progress in every direction, but I can not do more than name some of the chief influences at work for the advancement of the public schools. They are the Association of Parish Superintendents; the State Teachers' Association, with its reading circle and its official journal; the State and parish institutes for teachers, the Louisiana Chautauqua; and last, but not least, the Louisiana Educational Association. Surely this is a goodly list—one that any State might be proud of.

In glancing over the incomplete sketch of public education in Louisiana, the progress of which I have traced through ninety years, I am struck with the fact that the State has followed what is called the general trend of education. This trend, as laid down by Dr. William T. Harris, is as follows: First, from private, endowed, and parochial schools there is a change to the assumption of education by the State. "When the State takes control, it first establishes colleges and universities; then elementary free schools, and then it adds supplementary institutions for the afflicted; then institutions for teachers, together with libraries and other educational aids. In the meanwhile increasing attention is paid to supervision and methods. Schools are better graded. In class work there is more assimilation and less memorizing. Corporal punishment diminishes, and the educational idea advances toward a divine charity." Such, amid a thousand difficulties and vicissitudes, has been the history of public education in Louisiana. I am persuaded that we are on the right path.

The question still remains, however, Is Louisiana abreast of the other States of the Union in her provision for the education of her youth? The highest authorities declare that she is not. Let us for a moment examine the conditions as they exist.

In 1848 the educable youth of the State numbered only 41,500; in 1894, with the addition of the colored pupils, they numbered more than 378,000. Of these only 115,000 attend any school, either public or private. What is the consequence? I answer that in seven of our prosperous parishes, out of 13,000 voters, it is stated that 6,858 white voters, more than 50 per cent of the whole number, can not read and write; and it is a well-known fact that Louisiana now leads all the Southern States in illiteracy. What shall we do to remove this lamentable condition of things?

Evidently, though we now spend nearly \$1,000,000 a year for our public schools, that sum, in view of the increased population, is grossly inadequate. We need higher salaries for our teachers, better remuneration for our parish superintendents, and longer sessions for our schools. The machinery of our public school system, as far as the officials and their relations to each other are concerned, is excellent. But what we require above everything is the privilege of local taxation beyond the present constitutional limitation. We have reached a point in Louisiana where local pride has been aroused. We are beginning to feel that however grateful we may be for the beneficent work of such funds as the Peabody, we must first of all help ourselves; we must demand our independence—the most glorious privilege granted to man.

MASSACHUSETTS.

MARY HEMENWAY.

[At a meeting held by the Boston public school teachers at the Old South Meeting House May 2, 1894, in honor of the memory of Mrs. Mary Hemenway, warm and loving tribute was paid to her personal character and worth, her services in the cause of education were reviewed, and the reforms instituted by her recalled to remembrance by those who had been her associates and coworkers and who were specially qualified to represent the different phases of her activity. The addresses made upon this occasion were afterwards incorporated into a memorial volume, under the editorial supervision of Dr. Larkin Dunton, head master of the Boston Normal School. From this volume the following extracts have been made to illustrate her life and work. They are succeeded by a more detailed account of the Old South work from another source.]

[From the introductory remarks by Dr. Dunton.]

Mrs. Hemenway was born in the city of New York December 20, 1820, and died at her home in Boston March 6, 1894. She was the daughter of Thomas Tileston, from whom she seems to have inherited her remarkable business ability. She married Mr. Augustus Hemenway, a great shipping merchant. Several years before his death his health had so failed as to throw much of the oversight of his immense business upon Mrs. Hemenway. By this means was developed that remarkable talent for the

directing of affairs which subsequently proved so useful in carrying on her great benevolent enterprises. She certainly possessed business ability of a high order.

Her insight into the causes of suffering among the people, far and near, present and future, and into the remedies for this suffering, was wonderful. Her breadth of view was only equalled by the warmth of her heart. It was the generosity of her nature that so endeared her to the teachers of Boston. They came to know her as a fellow-worker for the good of the people. Pride, haughtiness, and condescension, which too often accompany the possession and even the distribution of wealth, were so conspicuously wanting in her nature that every teacher who was brought into contact with her in her benevolent work felt only the presence of a great heart beating in sympathy with all mankind.

Her beneficent plans were never set on foot and then left to the management of others. She not only followed her work with her thought and her kindly interest, but she stimulated and cheered her coworkers with her inspiring personality. It was her clear head, her warm heart, and her cheerful presence that gained for her admiration and affection.

[Resolutions presented by Robert Swan, master of the Winthrop School, and adopted by the meeting.]

Whereas it is fitting, at the close of Mrs. Mary Hemenway's useful life, that the Boston public school teachers, assembled in the Old South Meeting House, which she loved so well and did so much to save, should place on record their profound appreciation of the noble work she has accomplished for the practical education of the children under their care, by which the pupils, and through them the homes from which many of them come, have been elevated both mentally and morally: Therefore be it

Resolved, That through her wise foresight and long perseverance in the introduction of a systematic training in sewing, by which girls in the public schools are made proficient in needlework, the first step toward manual training, now acknowledged by all to be an essential part of our school programme, she exhibited an almost intuitive sense of the needs of the community, and enabled the children to relieve their mothers of many weary hours of labor.

Resolved, That by the introduction of the kitchen garden and, later, the school kitchen—a long step in progress—she accomplished by this wise provision of her studious care an inestimable benefit to the city, the children being thus taught not only to cook intelligently and economically, but also to buy understandingly the various articles required, by which the manner of living has been changed, healthful food and proper service displacing uncomfortable and unhealthful methods.

Resolved, That by the introduction of the Ling system of gymnastics, in which Mrs. Hemenway's liberality and care for the physical development of the children were the principal factors, the city is greatly indebted for another advance in education.

Resolved, That by the establishment of the Normal School of Cooking and the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics, furnishing qualified teachers to inaugurate the work in other cities, by which the full advantage of Boston's experience is reaped, her beneficial influence has made instruction in these branches national instead of local.

Resolved, That by her contribution in money and intelligent helpfulness in promoting the Boston Teachers' Mutual Benefit Association in the days of its inception much was done to insure the success of the enterprise.

Resolved, That by the purchase of Dr. John D. Philbrick's library and its presentation to the Boston Normal School she has made easily accessible to the pupils the choicest works on educational subjects, thus making the valuable information acquired a part of their equipment for their chosen profession.

Resolved, That by her prizes for essays on subjects connected with American history, awarded to graduates of the Boston high schools on Washington's Birthday in the Old South Meeting House, she has caused a thorough research into our colonial and national life that can result only in inspiring patriotic ardor which must conduce to the best citizenship.

Resolved, That by these and many other acts which can not be enumerated at this time her name is justly entitled to rank with the names of Pratt and Drexel, who have established institutes in Brooklyn and Philadelphia that will confer incalculable benefits on the people of this country.

Resolved, That Mrs. Hemenway, in these varied interests, gave what is infinitely more important than money—her constant sympathy in and enthusiasm for the work, which is an invaluable memory to all who were blessed with her assistance.

Resolved, That in tendering these resolutions to the family of Mrs. Hemenway we desire to express our deep sympathy in their bereavement.

[Address by Edwin P. Seaver, superintendent of schools.]

How the Old South Meeting House was saved from threatened destruction is a well-known story that needs not now to be repeated. Mrs. Hemenway's interest in

that patriotic enterprise did not end with her giving a large share of the purchase money. That generous gift was but the beginning of a larger enterprise, the prelude to a nobler history.

These ancient walls had been saved. What should be done with them? They might have been allowed to stand as mute witnesses to the events of a glorious past. They might have been used merely as a shelter for curious old relics, which antiquarians love to study and passing visitors cast a glance upon. And so the old meeting house might have stood many years more—a monument to religion and freedom, not unworthy, indeed, of its purpose, but yet a silent monument.

The plans of Mrs. Hemenway were larger and more vital. The old building should be not only a relic and monument of the past, but a temple for present inspiration and instruction. The thoughts and the hopes that aforesaid had thrilled the hearts of men assembled in this house should live again in the words of eloquent teachers. Here should young people gather to learn lessons of virtue and patriotism from the lives of great men whose deeds have glorified our nation's annals. What has now become known throughout the country as "the Old South work" is the outgrowth of this fruitful idea. Let us briefly review the particulars of this "Old South work," keeping in mind as we do so its main purposes, which are first to interest young people in American history, and then, through that interest, to inspire them with a love of their country, and to instruct them wisely concerning the duties and privileges of citizenship under a free government. Can any instruction more vital to the public good be thought of?

First, we may notice that Washington's Birthday has been appropriately celebrated in this house every year from 1879. Other national holidays have been celebrated likewise, or may hereafter be celebrated, for the idea is a growing one.

Next should be noticed "the Old South lectures." As early as 1879, and in the two years following, courses of lectures on topics of American history were delivered in this house by Mr. John Fiske, who has since become so well known as a brilliant writer on historical subjects. That these lectures would be intensely interesting to the adult portion of the audiences was naturally enough expected at the time, but it was hardly foreseen that the young people would be so thoroughly fascinated as they were with a lecturer who had been known chiefly as a writer on deep philosophical subjects. Mr. Fiske has been a frequent lecturer on this platform from 1879 down to the present time.

In 1883 "the Old South lectures," properly so called, were organized on a definite and permanent plan. Each year the work to be done is laid out in a systematic manner. A general topic is chosen, and particular topics under this are assigned to different speakers, who are invited because their special knowledge of the topics assigned them gives great interest or importance to what they may have to say. The great interest awakened by these lectures has led to the repetition of many of them in other cities.

"The Old South leaflets" are an interesting auxiliary to the lectures. A practice was early adopted of providing in printed form the means of further studying the matters touched upon by the lecturer of the day. The leaflets so provided contained not merely an outline of the lecture, but the texts of important historical documents not otherwise easily accessible, and references to authorities with critical notes thereupon, and other interesting special matter. These leaflets have proved to be so useful to teachers in their school work that the directors of "the Old South work" have published a general series of them, which are to be continued, and are supplied to schools at the bare cost of paper and printing.

Perhaps "the Old South essays" touch the Boston public schools more immediately than does any other part of "the Old South work." Every year, beginning with 1881, have been offered to high school pupils soon to become graduates, and also to recent graduates, four prizes, two of \$40 and two of \$25 each, for the best essays on assigned topics of American history. The usual objection to the plan of encouraging study by the offer of prizes, that many strive and few win, so that the joy of victory in the few is more than offset by the disappointment of failure in the many, was met in the present case with characteristic wisdom and liberality; for every writer of an essay not winning a money prize has received a present of valuable books in recognition of his worthy effort. The judges who make the awards of prizes state that crude essays, betraying a want of study and care on the part of the writers, are extremely rare. On the other hand, there are often so many essays of the highest general excellence that the task of making a just award is a difficult one.

Some of these essays have been printed in the New England Magazine and in other periodicals. Some have been published in pamphlet form, and have received the favorable notice of historical scholars. It is now the custom to invite at least one of the prize essayists each year to deliver one of "the Old South lectures."

Among the more distinguished of the essayists may be named Mr. Henry L. Southwick, a graduate of the Dorchester High School, whose prize essay of the year 1881, entitled "The policy of the early colonists of Massachusetts toward Quakers and

others whom they regarded as intruders," attracted much attention; Mr. F. E. E. Hamilton, a graduate of the English High School, and since an alumnus of Harvard College; Mr. Robert M. Lovett, a graduate of the Boston Latin School, who led his class at Harvard College; Miss Caroline E. Stecker, who took prizes in two successive years; and Mr. Leo R. Lewis, of the English High School, now a professor in Tufts College. Others there are who may be expected hereafter to distinguish themselves in the line of work for which the writing of their essays was the beginning of a preparation.

The whole number of Old South essayists is now over 100. About 20 of these have been or still are students in colleges, some proceeding thither in regular course from the Latin schools, but others in less easy ways, being impelled to the effort undoubtedly by a desire for higher education that had grown out of their historical studies for their essays. But among the essayists who have not become college students, the interest in historical studies has been no less abiding. The Old South Historical Society, formed about two years ago, is composed of persons who have written historical essays for the Old South prizes. Quarterly meetings are held for the reading of papers and for discussion on historical subjects. This society may well be regarded with peculiar interest by our teachers, because it represents the best historical scholarship of successive years in the high schools of Boston. It may soon become, if it be not already, one of the most important learned societies in this city.

But historical study and writing are not for the many, nor are they enough to satisfy the few. A broader influence may touch the hearts of all through music. Out of this thought has grown the society known as "The Old South Young People's Chorus."

At many of "the Old South lectures" there has been singing of national patriotic hymns by large choruses of boys and girls from the public schools, three or four hundred often taking part. On the Washington's Birthday celebrations there has always been singing by the public-school children. These interesting exercises have led to a more permanent organization for the practice of patriotic music, which flourishes now under the name of "Young People's Chorus."

Finally, let us note the extension of "the Old South work" to other cities, as Providence, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Chicago, Madison, Milwaukee, and others. Everywhere the idea of bringing our national history home to the minds and hearts of young people through an awakened interest in monuments and memorials of the past has been enthusiastically received. Philadelphia, no less than Boston, has her shrines of freedom. There is no city or town in the land that does not possess something interesting as a memorial of past events—events which the national historian may regard as of no more than local importance, but which, by the very circumstance of being local, best show the child the stuff out of which the fabric of our national history is woven. Everywhere, therefore, the materials for "the Old South work" are at hand, and the plan of this work is so simple that it can be adopted everywhere. * * *

[From the address by James A. Page, master of the Dwight School.]

Of the public-spirited woman in whose honor we are met it may be said, in the language of Sydney Smith, that she was three women, not one woman.

Practical as a business man, she was yet tender and generous to many different sorts of people. Expecting always faithful and loyal service, she was considerate of those carrying forward her great plans. She delighted to spend money, as she was spending it, for lofty purposes. She had strength—the strength of opposite qualities, the strength that fits for public service. The city was fortunate that at such a time, or at any time, such service was to be had.

The woman who gave this service saw very surely that any institution, to be lasting, must be firmly founded; and her motto therefore in this, as in other things, was "Go slowly." We had had "systems" of gymnastics before, and they had vanished. We had had "fads" of this kind, and they had perished one by one. The thing to be done now was to secure a plan that should be workable, and yet should be based on well-ascertained physiological and psychological data.

She gave her mind to this. In 1888 the cooperation of twenty-five teachers was secured, and the work was carried on for a considerable time in rooms at Boylston Place. After much experience had been gained and circumstances had seemed to justify it, larger rooms were obtained, and in 1889 the masters of the schools were invited to interest themselves in the movement and to take part in the exercises. They responded to the call without an exception, I believe, and the work took on a wider scope. It was in this year also (1889) that the Conference on Physical Training took place under the auspices of this school, and the advocates of many different systems were invited to take part, and each to show by example and on the stage the special excellencies of his own school of work. The German pupils, those of the Christian associations, of Delsarte, of the colleges, of the Swedish, and of some private

schools took the stage successively, and had ample opportunity to demonstrate the value of their several systems. A brilliant reception was given in the evening.

It was determined, I think, at this time by a very general consensus of opinion that for the public schools of this city as a whole, and with all their limitations, the Swedish system was the best adapted.

From this time, convinced it was on the right track, the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics has continued a constantly growing power and success. Under the same firm but fostering hand as at the beginning it outgrew its quarters in Park street, and since 1890 has been located in more commodious rooms at the Paine Memorial Building. It has graduated three classes, that of 1891 consisting of 12 students, that of 1892 also of 12, and that of 1893 consisting of 43 students, and this with a constantly advancing standard as to conditions of admission. In addition to these regular graduates 30 pupils have received one-year certificates, and some of them are now doing good work as teachers.

The school has at its head Miss Amy Morris Homans and in its staff such men as Dr. Enebuske, the professor of philosophy at Harvard University, the dean of the Harvard Medical School, and the professor of biology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

It is not strange, then, that the services of pupils trained in such a way should be in demand in all parts of the country. Two have gone to the Drexel Institute of Philadelphia; 2 have gone to Smith College, Northampton; 2 to Radcliffe College, Cambridge; 1 to Bryn Mawr, Pa.; 4 to different State normal schools in Massachusetts; 1 to Oshkosh, Wis.; 1 to Denver, Colo.; 1 to the Normal College, Milledgeville, Ga.; and 1 each to Gloucester, Lynn, Lawrence, Dedham, Cambridge, and Pawtucket.

The aggregate salaries paid to the young ladies of the three classes already graduated are not less than \$50,000, the highest single salary reaching \$1,800, and the average being slightly less than \$1,000.

These statements give but a faint idea of the work of the school—its fineness, its scope, its far-reaching quality. But we can see that the bread cast on the waters is beginning to return. These centers throughout the country are already established. Imagine them, as the years go by, multiplied a thousand fold, making a better and happier, because a stronger, people, and then bring the threads back to this place and connect them with the deed of one noble, public-spirited woman.

The counterpart of this picture is the one of 60,000 children taking the Swedish exercises daily in our own city schools, under the direction of teachers acquainted with the system from actual contact with it, and under the supervision of an expert like Dr. Hartwell. Who that saw the exposition of it at the English High School on Saturday last can hesitate in his hearty Godspeed or forget the one whose initiative made it all possible?

[From the address of Dr. Larkin Dunton, head master of the Boston Normal School.]

If a man has wisdom and money, but no heart, he does nothing for his fellow-men. If his purse is full and his heart is warm, yet, if he lacks wisdom to guide his efforts, he is as likely to harm as to help. But happy is it for the world when wisdom, love, and wealth are the joint possession of one great soul. They then constitute an irresistible force. Mrs. Mary Hemenway possessed them all in largest measure. Let us note briefly the comprehensiveness of view and kindness of heart that are shown in the work of this grand woman.

She was allowed to grow up, as she said, without learning to do things; and she noticed that girls who were efficient workers were happy. She felt that she had been deprived of her birthright. This was her first inspiration for teaching girls to sew; though she saw also the effect of a knowledge of this work in their future homes as well as in helpfulness to their mothers. Through her efforts sewing was introduced into the schools of Boston. But she was too wise to allow this branch of instruction to depend upon the life of any one person. She began at once to interest the school committee and teachers in the work, to the end that it might be incorporated into the regular programme of the schools, be given to all the girls, and, more than this, be made perpetual by being put under the fostering care of the immortal city. The example of Boston has been widely copied, so that the influence of the work thus unostentatiously begun, but so wisely managed, has extended and will extend to millions of children and millions of homes.

A legitimate result of the introduction of this new branch of instruction has been the creation of a department of sewing in the Boston Normal School, so that hereafter sewing is to be taught by women as able and as well educated as those who teach arithmetic or language, and is, therefore, to take its place as an educational force in the development of our girls.

Through various experiments in vacation schools in summer Mrs. Hemenway came to see that it would be possible to raise the standard of cooking in the homes of the people by teaching the art to the children in the public schools. This, she thought,

would not only raise up a stronger race of men and women, but would make their homes happier and more attractive, and so would lessen the temptation of fathers and sons to spend their evenings at the saloon. And thus good cooking came to stand in her mind as the handmaid of temperance.

But she was wise enough to see that the realization of her ideal, namely, the universality and perpetuity of good cooking, depended upon two conditions—first, that the work must be under the care and support of an abiding power; and second, that the instruction must be given by competent teachers. Hence she set herself to work to demonstrate the feasibility of the plan to the school authorities, to the end that they would undertake it for all the girls of the city. At the same time, seeing that there were no suitable teachers for this new branch of education, she established a normal school of cooking, which she has maintained to the present time.

This normal school has not only supplied the school kitchens of Boston with competent teachers, but has supplied other cities with teachers, so that other centers of like influence could be created. This institution has also shown the authorities here the necessity of training teachers for this kind of school work, and a department of cooking has been provided for in the city normal school. So the continuation and improvement of the work are secured.

When Mrs. Hemenway's attention was called to physical training as a means of improving the health, physique, and graceful bearing of the young, she immediately began experimenting with various systems of gymnastics for the purpose of ascertaining which was best adapted to the needs of American children.

She soon became so favorably impressed with the Swedish system that she invited 25 Boston teachers to assist her in making her experiment with it. Their judgment of the result was so favorable that she made an offer to the school committee to train a hundred teachers in the system, on condition that they be allowed to use the exercises in their classes in case they chose to do so. The offer was accepted, and the result proved a success.

Mrs. Hemenway saw at the outset that what she could do personally was but a trifle compared to what ought to be done, so she decided to start the work in such a way that it would become as broad as Boston and as lasting. Hence she began at once to share the responsibility with the city and to train the teachers for the work.

She soon gained such a broad view of the possibilities of the system that she decided to make it more generally known. This led to the great Conference on Physical Training in Boston in 1889, which did so much to arouse an interest in the subject and to create a demand for teachers specially trained for the work. But it was not enough to create a demand for teachers; the demand must be met; so she established the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics for the education and training of teachers of gymnastics.

Mere imitators would not do for this work. She believed the body to be the temple of God, and that it should be guarded and adorned by those who knew it so well as to believe in its possibilities and its sacredness. This school has done much to qualify the teachers of Boston for conducting the Swedish exercises, and it has sent its graduates into many other cities, which in turn have become centers of inspiration and help along the same line. Mrs. Hemenway, through this school, will improve the physical power, health, and morality of millions of our children.

But she was not satisfied with all this. She saw that to make this work perpetual in Boston the education of teachers of gymnastics must be made perpetual: it must not depend upon one frail life; so she furnished the best equipped teacher that she could procure to give instruction in the theory and art of gymnastics in the Boston Normal School till a woman could be educated for the place. When this was done and the school committee had appointed a competent teacher, Mrs. Hemenway's influence was gradually withdrawn, so that now every graduate of our normal school goes out prepared to direct intelligently the work in gymnastics, and all is done that human foresight could devise to make instruction in this subject perpetual.

Her work in connection with the Old South had the same general aim. It was to improve the morals of the people by teaching patriotism widely and perpetually. She once said: "I have just given \$100,000 to save the Old South, yet I care nothing for the church or the corner lot; but if I live, such teaching shall be done in that old building and such an influence shall go out from it as shall make the children of future generations love their country so tenderly that there can never be another civil war in this country." This sentiment accounts for her support of Old South summer lectures and Old South prize essays for the development of patriotism in the young.

Mrs. Hemenway spent \$100,000 in building up the Tileston Normal School, in Wilmington, N. C. When asked why she gave money to support schools in the South, she replied: "When my country called for her sons to defend the flag, I had none to give. Mine was but a lad of 12. I gave my money as a thank offering that I was not called to suffer as other mothers who gave their sons and lost them. I gave it that the children of this generation might be taught to love the flag their fathers tore down."

THE OLD SOUTH WORK.

[By Edwin D. Mead.¹]

* * * The extent of the obligation of Boston and of America to Mrs. Hemenway for her devotion to the historical and political education of our young people is something which we only now begin to properly appreciate, when she has left us and we view her work as a whole. I do not think it is too much to say that she has done more than any other single individual in the same time to promote popular interest in American history and to promote intelligent patriotism.

Mary Hemenway was a woman whose interests and sympathies were as broad as the world; but she was a great patriot—and she was preeminently that. She was an enthusiastic lover of freedom and of democracy, and there was not a day of her life that she did not think of the great price with which our own heritage of freedom had been purchased. Her patriotism was loyalty. She had a deep feeling of personal gratitude to the founders of New England and the fathers of the Republic. She had a reverent pride in our position of leadership in the history and movement of modern democracy, and she had a consuming zeal to keep the nation strong and pure and worthy of its best traditions, and to kindle this zeal among the young people of the nation. With all her great enthusiasms, she was an amazingly practical and definite woman. She wasted no time or strength in vague generalities, either of speech or action. Others might long for the time when the kingdom of God should cover the earth as the waters cover the sea—and she longed for it; but while others longed she devoted herself to doing what she could to bring that corner of God's world in which she was set into conformity with the laws of God—and this by every means in her power, by teaching poor girls how to make better clothes and cook better dinners and make better homes, by teaching people to value health and respect and train their bodies, by inciting people to read better books and love better music and better pictures and be interested in more important things. Others might long for the parliament of man and the federation of the world—and so did she; but while others longed she devoted herself to doing what she could to make this nation, for which she was particularly responsible, fitter for the federation when it comes. The good patriot, to her thinking, was not the worse cosmopolite. The good state for which she worked was a good Massachusetts, and her chief interest, while others talked municipal reform, was to make a better Boston.

American history, people used to say, is not interesting; and they read about *Ivry* and *Marathon* and *Zama*, about *Pym* and *Pepin* and *Pericles*, the *ephors*, the *tribunes*, and the *House of Lords*. American history, said Mrs. Hemenway, is to us the most interesting and the most important history in the world, if we would only open our eyes to it and look at it in the right way—and I will help people to look at it in the right way. Our very *archæology*, she said, is of the highest interest; and through the researches of *Mr. Cushing* and *Dr. Fewkes* and others among the *Zuniis* and the *Moquis*, sustained by her at the cost of thousands of dollars, she did an immense work to make interest in it general. Boston, the Puritan city—how proud she was of its great line of heroic men, from *Winthrop* and *Cotton* and *Eliot* and *Harvard* to *Sumner* and *Garrison* and *Parker* and *Phillips*! How proud she was that *Harry Vane* once trod its soil and here felt himself at home! How she loved *Hancock* and *Otis* and *Warren* and *Revere* and the great men of the Boston town meetings—above all, *Samuel Adams*, the very mention of whose name always thrilled her, and whose portrait was the only one save *Washington's* which hung on the oaken walls of her great dining room! The Boston historians, *Prescott*, *Motley*, *Parkman*; the Boston poets, *Longfellow*, *Lowell*, *Emerson*—each word of every one she treasured. She would have enjoyed and would have understood, as few others, that recent declaration of *Charles Francis Adams*, that the founding of Boston was fraught with consequences hardly less important than those of the founding of Rome. All other Boston men and women must see Boston as she saw it—that was her high resolve; they must know and take to heart that they were citizens of no mean city; they must be roused to the sacredness of their inheritance, that so they might be roused to the nobility of their citizenship and the greatness of their duty. It was with this aim and with this spirit, not with the spirit of the mere antiquarian, that Mrs. Hemenway inaugurated the Old South work. History with her was for use—the history of Boston, the history of New England, the history of America.

In the first place she saved the Old South Meeting House. She contributed \$100,000 toward the fund necessary to prevent its destruction. It is hard for us to realize, so much deeper is the reverence for historic places which the great anniversaries of these late years have done so much to beget, that in our very centennial year, 1876, the Old South Meeting House, the most sacred and historic structure in Boston, was in danger of destruction. The old Hancock house, for which, could it be

¹ Reprinted from the *Journal of Education*, August 30–September 13, 1894.

restored, Boston would to-day pour out unlimited treasure, had gone, with but feeble protest, only a dozen years before; and but for Mrs. Hemenway the Old South Meeting House would have gone in 1876. She saved it, and, having saved it, she determined that it should not stand an idle monument, the tomb of the great ghosts, but a living temple of patriotism. She knew the didactic power of great associations; and everyone who in these fifteen years has been in the habit of going to the lectures and celebrations at the Old South knows with what added force many a lesson has been taught within the walls which heard the tread of Washington, and which still echo the words of Samuel Adams and James Otis and Joseph Warren.

The machinery of the Old South work has been the simplest. That is why any city, if it has public spirited people to sustain it, can easily carry on such work. That is why work like it, owing its parentage and impulse to it, has been undertaken in Providence and Brooklyn and Philadelphia and Indianapolis and Chicago and elsewhere. That is why men and women all over the country, organized in societies or not, who are really in earnest about good citizenship, can do much to promote similar work in the cities and towns in which they live. We have believed at the Old South Meeting House simply in the power of the spoken word and the printed page. We have had lectures and we have circulated historical leaflets.

What is an Old South lecture course like? That is what many of the teachers and many of the young people who read the Journal of Education, and who are not conversant with the work, will like to know. What kind of subjects do we think will attract and instruct bright young people of 15 or 16, set them to reading in American history, make them more interested in their country, and make better citizens of them? That question can not, perhaps, be better answered than by giving the Old South programme for the present summer. This course is devoted to "The Founders of New England," and the eight lectures are as follows: "William Brewster, the elder of Plymouth," by Rev. Edward Everett Hale; "William Bradford, the governor of Plymouth," by Rev. William Elliot Griffis; "John Winthrop, the governor of Massachusetts," by Hon. Frederic T. Greenhalge; "John Harvard, and the founding of Harvard College," by Mr. William R. Thayer; "John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians," by Rev. James de Normandie; "John Cotton, the minister of Boston," by Rev. John Cotton Brooks; "Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island," by President E. Benjamin Andrews; "Thomas Hooker, the founder of Connecticut," by Rev. Joseph H. Twichell.

It will be noticed that the several subjects in this course are presented by representative men—men especially identified in one way or another with their special themes. Thus, Edward Everett Hale, who spoke on Elder Brewster, is certainly our greatest New England "elder" to-day. Dr. Griffis, whose book on "Brave Little Holland" is being read at this time by many of our young people, is an authority in Pilgrim history, having now in preparation a work on "The Pilgrim Fathers in England, Holland, and America." It was singularly fortunate that the present governor of Massachusetts could speak upon Governor Winthrop. Mr. Thayer is the editor of the Harvard Graduates' Magazine, and a special student of John Harvard's life and times. Mr. De Normandie is John Eliot's successor as minister of the old church in Roxbury. Rev. John Cotton Brooks, Phillips Brooks's brother, is a lineal descendant of John Cotton, and has preached in his pulpit in St. Botolph's church at old Boston, in England. President Andrews, of Brown University, is the very best person to come from Rhode Island to tell of that little State's great founder. Mr. Twichell, the eminent Hartford minister, was the chosen orator at the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Connecticut, in 1889. With such a list of speakers as this, this course upon "The founding of New England" could not help being a strong, brilliant, and valuable course; and so it has proved.

The Old South lectures—thanks to Mrs. Hemenway's generosity, still active by provision of her will—are entirely free to all young people. Tickets are sent to all persons under 20, applying in their own handwriting to the directors of the Old South studies, at the Old South Meeting House, and inclosing stamps. Older people can come if they wish to—and a great many do come—but these pay for their tickets; it is understood that the lectures are designed for the young people. We tell our lecturers to aim at the bright boy and girl of 15, and forget that there is anybody else in the audience. If the lecturer hits them, he is sure to interest everybody; if he does not, he is a failure as an Old South lecturer. We tell them to be graphic and picturesque—dullness, however learned, is the one thing which young people will not pardon; we tell them to speak without notes—if they do not always satisfy themselves quite so well, they please everybody else a great deal better; and we tell them never to speak over an hour—we pardon fifty-nine minutes, but we do not pardon sixty-one. Persons starting work like the Old South work in other cities would do well to remember these simple rules. Any persons looking in upon the great audience of young people which, on the Wednesday afternoons of summer, fills the Old South Meeting House, will quickly satisfy themselves whether American history taught by such lectures is interesting.

For the Old South lectures are summer lectures—vacation lectures—given at 3 o'clock on Wednesday afternoons. They begin when the graduation exercises and the Fourth of July are well behind, usually on the Wednesday nearest August 1. For one reason we find this a little late—it carries the last lecture or two beyond the opening of the schools in September; and such courses of lectures in vacation might well begin as early as the middle of July.

Our lectures are not meant for idlers; we do not aim to entertain a crowd of children for an hour in a desultory fashion; our lecturers do not talk baby talk. The Old South work is a serious educational work; its programmes are careful and sequential, making demands upon the hearers; it assumes that the young people who come are students, or want to be—and by consistently assuming it, it makes them so. Dr. Hale, who has addressed these Old South audiences oftener, perhaps, than anybody else, remarked at the opening of the present course upon the notable development in the character and carriage of the audiences in these years of the work; it is no longer safe, he said, to say 1603 at the Old South, when you ought to say 1602.

Last year, when the people of the whole country were assembling at Chicago, the capital of the great West, the lectures were devoted to the subject of "The opening of the West." The subjects of the previous ten annual courses were as follows: "Early Massachusetts history," "Representative men in Boston history," "The war for the Union," "The war for independence," "The birth of the nation," "The story of the centuries," "America and France," "The American Indians," "The new birth of the world," "The discovery of America."

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The Old South Leaflets are prepared, primarily, for circulation among the young people attending the Old South lectures. The subjects of the leaflets are usually immediately related to the subjects of the lectures. They are meant to supplement the lectures and stimulate reading and inquiry among the young people. They are made up, for the most part, from original papers of the periods treated in the lectures, in the hope to make the men and the life of those periods more clear and real. Careful historical notes and references to the best books on the subjects are added, the leaflets usually consisting of 16 or 20 pages. A single instance more will suffice to show the relation of the leaflets to the lectures. The year 1889 being the centennial both of the beginning of our own Federal Government and of the French revolution, the lectures for the year, under the general title of "America and France," were devoted entirely to subjects in which the history of America is related to that of France, as follows: "Champlain, the founder of Quebec," "La Salle and the French in the Great West," "The Jesuit missionaries in America," "Wolfe and Montcalm. The struggle of England and France for the Continent," "Franklin in France," "The friendship of Washington and Lafayette," "Thomas Jefferson and the Louisiana purchase," "The year 1789." The corresponding leaflets were as follows: "Verrazzano's account of his voyage to America," "Marquette's account of his discovery of the Mississippi," "Mr. Parkman's histories," "The capture of Quebec, from Parkman's 'Conspiracy of Pontiac,'" "Selections from Franklin's letters from France," "Letters of Washington and Lafayette," "The Declaration of Independence," "The French declaration of the Rights of Man, 1789."

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The virtue of the Old South Leaflets is that they bring students into first hand, instead of second hand, touch with history. That, indeed, may describe the Old South work altogether. It has been an effort to bring the young people of Boston and America into original relations with history; and it has been, we think, the foremost effort of the kind in the country. This is why it has won the attention and commendation, so gratifying to us, of the educators of the country. Our joy in the Old South work has been the joy of being pioneers, and the joy of knowing that we were pioneers in the right direction. We should have known this if others had not known it; but we do not deny that the warm words of the historical scholars and teachers of the country have been very grateful and very helpful to us. The Old South work is "in exactly the right direction," John Fiske has said. It is a pleasant thing to remember that it was at Mrs. Hemenway's instance and at her strong solicitation that Mr. Fiske first turned his efforts to the field of American history; and almost everything that has appeared in his magnificent series of historical works was first given in the form of lectures at the Old South. In his new school history of the United States, * * * the Old South Leaflets are constantly commended for use in connection. "The publication of these leaflets," he says, "is sure to have a most happy effect in awakening general interest, on the part of young students, in original documents." To the same effect writes Mr. Montgomery, whose text-books in history are so widely used in the schools. James MacAlister, the president of the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia, writes: "I regard the Old

South work as one of the most important educational movements of recent times." Mr. Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia, wrote a special tract about the Old South work and spread it broadcast in Philadelphia. He had been deeply impressed by the Old South work when he came to lecture for us a little while before. "The secret of the success of the Old South plan," he said, "is that it teaches history from a living and most practical standpoint. It is the application of the best that our past has given to the brain and heart of the youth of the present." "Why should not this simple and effective plan be made use of in Philadelphia?" he asked; and last year Old South work was inaugurated in Philadelphia, the lectures to the young people being given in the old State house, where the Declaration of Independence was signed and the Constitution framed. President Andrews, of Brown University, Prof. Herbert Adams, of Johns Hopkins, Professor Hart, of Harvard, Prof. Woodrow Wilson, Mr. Horace E. Scudder, and others have written in the same warm way. Mr. Tetlow, the master of the Boston Girls' High School, and masters all over the country, unite in welcoming the leaflets. "To teach history by the study of original documents," writes one, "has been the dream of the best instructors, but this dream may now be realized through the inexpensive form in which these originals are presented." "The educational world," writes Miss Coman, the professor of history at Wellesley College, "is coming to recognize the value of teaching history, even to young people, from the original records, rather than from accounts at second or third hand. I rejoice that these documents have been made accessible to the children of our public schools." "We may talk about such documents all we please," says Mr. Huling, the master of the Cambridge High School, "and little good will be done; but when the pupil reads one of these for himself, he is indeed a dull fellow if he does not carry away a definite impression of its place in history." "I wish," writes Mr. Belfield, the principal of the Chicago Manual Training School, who has done more than anybody else to promote the Old South movement in the West, "that the series could be brought to the attention of every school superintendent, high-school principal, and teacher of United States history in the country." "The Old South Leaflets," says Professor Folwell, the professor of history in the University of Minnesota, "ought to be scattered by millions of copies all over our country."

It is a satisfaction to be able to quote such words from such persons, for they are surely a great reenforcement of our commendation of this missionary work in good citizenship to the attention of the country. For that is what the Old South work is—a missionary work in good citizenship—and feeling it to be that, we "commend ourselves." We wish that societies of young men and women might be organized in a thousand places for historical and political studies, and that our little Old South Leaflets might prove of as much service to these as they are proving to our Old South audiences and to the schools.

But the Old South work is not simply a means of doing something for the young people of Boston; it is also a means of getting something from them and setting them to work for themselves. Every year prizes are offered to the graduates of the Boston high schools, graduates of the current year and the preceding year, for the best essays on subjects in American history. Two subjects are proposed each year, and two prizes are awarded for each subject, the first prize being \$40 and the second \$25. The subjects are announced in June, just as the schools close, and the essays must be submitted in the following January. The prizes are always announced at the Washington's birthday celebration, which is one of the events of the Old South year. The subjects proposed each year for the essays are always closely related to the general subject of the lectures for the year, our aim being to make the entire work for the year unified and articulate, each part of it helping the rest. The subjects for the essays for the present year, when the lectures are devoted to "The founders of New England," are (1) "The relations of the founders of New England to the universities of Cambridge and Oxford," (2) "The fundamental orders of Connecticut and their place in the history of written constitutions."

I think that some of your readers would be surprised at the thoroughness and general excellence of many of these essays written by pupils just out of our high schools. The first-prize essay for 1881, on "The policy of the early colonists of Massachusetts toward Quakers and others whom they regarded as intruders," by Henry L. Southwick, and one of the first-prize essays for 1889, on "Washington's interest in education," by Miss Caroline C. Stecker, have been printed, and can be procured at the Old South Meeting House. Another of the prize essays, on "Washington's interest in education," by Miss Julia K. Ordway, was published in the *New England Magazine* for May, 1890; one of the first-prize essays for 1890, on "Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumseh," by Miss Caroline C. Stecker, appeared in the *New England Magazine* for September, 1891; and one of the first-prize essays for 1891, on "Marco Polo's explorations in Asia and their influence upon Columbus," by Miss Helen P. Margesson, in the *New England Magazine* for August, 1892. The *New England Magazine*, which is devoted preeminently to matters relating to American history and good citizenship, has from the time of its founding, five years ago, made itself an organ of the Old

South work, publishing many of the Old South essays and lectures, and always noticing in its editor's table everything relating to the progress of the movement.

The young people who have competed for these Old South prizes are naturally the best students of history in their successive years in the Boston high schools. They now number more than 100, and they have recently formed themselves into an Old South Historical Society. Many of the Old South essayists have, of course, gone on into college, and many are now scattered over the country; but more than half of their number, not a few of them teachers in the schools, are to-day within sound of the Old South bell, and the quarterly meetings of the little society, which by and by will be a big society, are very interesting. There is always some careful historical paper read by one of the members, and then there is a discussion. We have the beginning of a very good library in the essayists' room at the Old South, and this we hope will grow and that the society's headquarters will by and by become a real seminary. The society is rapidly becoming an efficient factor in the general Old South work. It has recently formed three active committees—a lecture committee, an essay committee, and an outlook committee—and its leading spirits are ambitious for larger service. The members of the lecture committee assist in the distribution of tickets to the schools and in enlisting the interest of young people in the lectures. The members of the essay committee similarly devote themselves to enlisting the interest of the high schools in the essays. They will also read the essays submitted each year, not for the sake of adjudging the award of prizes—that is in other hands—but that there may always be in the society scholarly members thoroughly cognizant of the character of the work being done and of the varying capacity of the new members entering the society. The office of the outlook committee is to keep itself informed and to keep the society informed of all important efforts at home and abroad for the historical and political education of young people. It will watch the newspapers; it will watch the magazines; it will watch the schools. It will report anything it finds said about the Old South work and about its extension anywhere. At the next meeting I suppose it will tell the society about Mr. Fiske's new school history and about any new text-books in civil government which have appeared. I hope it will tell how much better most of the series of historical readers published in England for the use of the schools are than the similar books which we have in America. It is sure to say something about the remarkable growth of the Lyceum Leagues among our young people lately, and it is sure to report the recent utterances of President Clark and other leaders of the Christian Endeavor movement upon the importance of rousing a more definite interest in politics and greater devotion to the duties of citizenship among the young people in that great organization. Especially will it notice at this time the Historical Pilgrimage, that interesting educational movement which suddenly appeared this summer, full grown—a movement which would have enlisted so warmly the sympathies of Mrs. Hemenway, who felt, as almost nobody else ever felt, the immense educational power of historical associations. It will tell the society what Mr. Stead has written about historical pilgrimages in England, and Mr. Powell and Dr. Shaw in America; it will speak of the recent reception of the pilgrims at the Old South; and it may venture the inquiry whether the Old South Historical Society might not profitably make itself a center for organizing such local pilgrimages for the benefit of the young people of Boston—pilgrimages, one perhaps each year, to Plymouth and Salem and Lexington and Concord and old Rutland and Newport and Deerfield and a score of places. That thought, I know, is already working in the minds of some of the more enterprising members of the society.

Many societies of young people all over the country might well take up such historical studies as those in which the Old South Historical Society interests itself. They should also interest themselves in studies more directly political and social. We have in Boston a Society for Promoting Good Citizenship. This is not a constituent part of the Old South work; but it is a society in whose efforts some of us who have the Old South work at heart are deeply interested, and its lectures are given at the Old South Meeting House. Its lectures deal with such subjects as qualifications for citizenship, municipal reform, the reform of the newspaper. Last season the lectures were upon "A more beautiful public life," the several subjects being: "The lessons of the white city," "Boards of beauty," "Municipal art," "Art in the public schools," "Art museums and the people," and "Boston, the City of God." These subjects, and such as these, young men and women might take up in their societies, with great benefit to themselves and to their communities. Our young people should train themselves also in the organization and procedure of our local and general government, as presented in the text-books on civil government, now happily becoming so common in the schools. The young men in one of our colleges have a House of Commons; in another college—a young woman's college—they have a House of Representatives. Our Old South Historical Society has talked of organizing a town meeting for the discussion of public questions and for schooling in legislative methods. Why should not such town meetings be common among our young people?

Why, too, will not our young people everywhere, as a part of their service for good citizenship, engage in a crusade in behalf of better music? Good music is a great educator. Bad music is debilitating and debasing. That was a wise man whom old Fletcher quotes as saying: "Let me make the songs of a people and I care not who makes the laws." How many of the young men and women in the high schools have read what Plato says about strong, pure music in education, in his book on *The Laws*? Indeed, it is to be feared that not all the teachers have read it. I wish that a hundred clubs or classes of young people would read Plato's *Laws* next winter, and his *Republic* the next, and then Aristotle's *Politics*. Do not think they are hard, dull books. They are fresh, fascinating books, and seem almost as modern, in all their discussions of socialism, education, and the rest, as the last magazine—only they are so much better and more fruitful than the magazine! They make us ashamed of ourselves, these great Greek thinkers, their peaching is so much better than our practice; but it is a good thing to be made ashamed of ourselves sometimes, and we need it very much here in America in the matter of music. We are suffering in our homes, in our schools, in our churches, our theaters, everywhere, from music of the trashiest and most vulgar character. Let us go to school to Plato; let us go to school to Germany and England. We aim to do something in behalf of this reform at the Old South. Our large choruses from the public schools at many of our celebrations have sung well; but we wish to do a real educational work, not only as touching patriotic music strictly, but as touching better music for the people generally. If in some future the ghosts of some of the great Greeks stroll into the Old South Meeting House we hope they may find it the center of influences in behalf of pure and inspiring music, which shall be as gratifying to them as the devotion to the State which has been inculcated there in these years would surely be.

THE OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS.

The Old South Leaflets, which have been published during the last thirteen years, in connection with these annual courses of historical lectures at the Old South Meeting House, have attracted so much attention and proved of so much service, that the directors have entered upon the publication of the leaflets for general circulation, with the needs of schools, colleges, private clubs, and classes especially in mind. The leaflets are prepared by Mr. Edwin D. Mead. They are largely reproductions of important original papers, accompanied by useful historical and bibliographical notes. They consist, on an average, of 16 pages, and are sold at the low price of 5 cents a copy, or \$4 per 100. The aim is to bring them within easy reach of everybody. The Old South work, founded by Mrs. Mary Hemenway, and still sustained by provision of her will, is a work for the education of the people, and especially the education of our young people, in American history and politics; and its promoters believe that few things can contribute better to this end than the wide circulation of such leaflets as those now undertaken. It is hoped that professors in our colleges and teachers everywhere will welcome them for use in their classes, and that they may meet the needs of the societies of young men and women now happily being organized in so many places for historical and political studies. Some idea of the character of these Old South Leaflets may be gained from the following list of the subjects of the first sixty-four numbers, which are now ready. It will be noticed that many of the later numbers are the same as certain numbers in the annual series. Since 1890 they are essentially the same, and persons ordering the leaflets need simply observe the following numbers:

No. 1. The Constitution of the United States. No. 2. The Articles of Confederation. No. 3. The Declaration of Independence. No. 4. Washington's Farewell Address. No. 5. Magna Charta. No. 6. Vane's "Healing Question." No. 7. Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. No. 8. Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1638. No. 9. Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754. No. 10. Washington's Inaugurals. No. 11. Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation. No. 12. The *Federalist*, Nos. 1 and 2. No. 13. The Ordinance of 1787. No. 14. The Constitution of Ohio. No. 15. Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States, 1783. No. 16. Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison, 1784. No. 17. Verrazano's Voyage, 1524. No. 18. The Constitution of Switzerland. No. 19. The Bill of Rights, 1689. No. 20. Coronado's Letter to Mendoza, 1540. No. 21. Eliot's Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians, 1670. No. 22. Wheelock's Narrative of the Rise of the Indian School at Lebanon, Conn., 1762. No. 23. The Petition of Rights, 1628. No. 24. The Grand Remonstrance. No. 25. The Scottish National Covenants. No. 26. The Agreement of the People. No. 27. The Instrument of Government. No. 28. Cromwell's First Speech to his Parliament. No. 29. The Discovery of America, from the Life of Columbus by his Son, Ferdinand Columbus. No. 30. Strabo's Introduction to Geography. No. 31. The Voyages to Vinland, from the Saga of Eric the Red. No. 32. Marco Polo's Account of Japan and Java. No. 33. Columbus's Letter to Gabriel Sanchez, describing the First Voyage and Discovery.

No. 34. Amerigo Vespucci's Account of his First Voyage. No. 35. Cortes's Account of the City of Mexico. No. 36. The Death of De Soto, from the "Narrative of a Gentleman of Elvas." No. 37. Early Notices of the Voyages of the Cabots. No. 38. Henry Lee's Funeral Oration on Washington. No. 39. De Vaca's Account of his Journey to New Mexico, 1535. No. 40. Manasseh Cutler's Description of Ohio, 1787. No. 41. Washington's Journal of his Tour to the Ohio, 1770. No. 42. Garfield's Address on the Northwest Territory and the Western Reserve. No. 43. George Rogers Clark's Account of the Capture of Vincennes, 1779. No. 44. Jefferson's Life of Captain Meriwether Lewis. No. 45. Fremont's Account of his Ascent of Fremont's Peak. No. 46. Father Marquette at Chicago, 1673. No. 47. Washington's Account of the Army at Cambridge, 1775. No. 48. Bradford's Memoir of Elder Brewster. No. 49. Bradford's First Dialogue. No. 50. Winthrop's "Conclusions for the Plantation in New England." No. 51. "New England's First Fruits," 1643. No. 52. John Eliot's "Indian Grammar Begun." No. 53. John Cotton's "God's Promise to his Plantation." No. 54. Letters of Roger Williams to Winthrop. No. 55. Thomas Hooker's "Way of the Churches of New England." No. 56. The Monroe Doctrine: President Monroe's Message of 1823. No. 57. The English Bible, selections from the various versions. No. 58. Hooper's Letters to Bullinger. No. 59. Sir John Eliot's "Apology for Socrates." No. 60. Ship-money Papers. No. 61. Pym's Speech against Strafford. No. 62. Cromwell's Second Speech. No. 63. Milton's "A Free Commonwealth." No. 64. Sir Henry Vane's Defence.

Title pages covering Nos. 1 to 25 (Vol. I) and 26 to 50 (Vol. II) will be furnished to any person buying the entire series and desiring to bind them in volumes. Address Directors of Old South Studies, Old South Meeting House, Boston.

WOMEN AND MEN—THE ASSAULT ON PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

[Contributed by T. W. Higginson to Harper's Bazaar.]

When Matthew Arnold, who had spent much of his life as an inspector of schools came to this country, he found with surprise that our public schools were not what he had supposed. He had thought them schools to which all classes sent their children; but he found it otherwise. In cities, he said, they seemed to be essentially class schools—that is, the more prosperous classes avoided them, sending their sons rarely to them, their daughters never. What then became of the talk of our orators in favor of these schools as the most democratic thing in the whole community? In the country it might be so, but population was tending more and more to the cities, tending away, that is, from the public schools. All the alleged danger to our system from religious interference seemed to him trivial compared with this silent social interference, which was going on all the time.

Matthew Arnold was in many ways, for a man so eminent, curiously narrow and even whimsical, but his perceptions on this one point were certainly acute. As one evidence of it we see a movement brought forward in the newspapers, from several different quarters, to crush this particular evil, by one sweeping measure, with the absolute prohibition of all private schools. Either abolish them all and force every child into the public schools, or else place all private schools under direct public supervision and allow at their head only publicly trained teachers. There is little chance that any such measure will ever be seriously brought forward. The amount already invested in private or endowed schools and colleges—and the plan, to be consistent, must include colleges—is too immense to allow of its being very strongly urged. But it presents some very interesting points and is worth considering.

To begin with, it has the merit, unlike the attacks on merely denominational schools, of being at least logical. Those attacks in some parts of our land have needed almost no probing to show a hopeless want of logic. They always turned out to be aimed, not at denominational schools in themselves, but at some particular denomination. At the East this was naturally the Roman Catholic body, and to some extent the Episcopalian. In certain Western States it was the Roman Catholics and Lutherans. But these attempts to prohibit sectarian schools invariably fell to pieces when it appeared that most of the opponents had not the slightest objection to denominational schools if they only belonged to the right denomination—that is, their own—and only objected to them in the hands of some other religious body. The crowning instance of this was when the late Rev. Dr. Miner, an excellent and leading clergyman of the Universalist order, appeared every winter before the Massachusetts legislature to urge the utter prohibition of parochial schools; and yet spent one of the last days of his life in giving out diplomas at an academy of his own sect, and, moreover, provided for several similar schools in his will.

Now no such inconsistency stands in the way of those who would prohibit, without distinction, all denominational and all private schools. Unwise they may be, but not illogical. Indeed, the step they propose is only following out consistently what the others urged inconsistently. If it is right to coerce one mother, who takes

her children from the public school through anxiety for their souls, we should certainly do the same for another, who withdraws hers for the sake of their bodies; or perhaps, after all, only out of regard for the welfare of their clothes. There are several prominent religious bodies which believe that religious education of their own stamp is absolutely needful for children. Most of the early public schools in this country were on that basis, and began instruction with the New England Primer. We may say that this motive is now outgrown; but it is certainly as laudible as when a daughter is taken from one school and sent to another, that she may be among better-dressed children or make desirable acquaintances.

Grant these reasons frivolous—and they are not wholly so—there are ample reasons why the entire prohibition of private schools would be a calamity to the educational world. The reason is that they afford what the public schools rarely can, a place where original methods may be tried and individual modes of teaching developed. Private schools are the experimental stations for public schools. A great public school system is a vast machine, and has the merits and defects of machinery. It usually surpasses private institutions in method, order, punctuality, accuracy of training. It is very desirable that every teacher and every pupil should at some time share its training. In these respects it is the regular army besides militia. But this brings imitations. The French commissioner of education once boasted that in his office in Paris he knew with perfect precision just what lesson every class in every school in the remotest provinces of France was reciting. We do not reach this, but it is of necessity the ideal of every public system. It has great merit, but it kills originality. No teacher can ever try an experiment, for that might lose 1 per cent in the proportion of the first class able to pass examination at the end of the year. The teacher is there to do a precise part; no less, no more. Under this discipline great results are often achieved, but they are the results of drill, not of inspiration.

Accordingly every educational authority admits that the epoch-making experiments in education—the improvements of Pestalozzi, Fellenberg, Froebel—were made in private, not public schools. Like all other experiments, they were tried at the risk of the inventor or his backers, and often to the impoverishment of all concerned. Mr. A. Bronson Alcott's school was starved out, in Boston, half a century ago, and he himself dismissed with pitying laughter. Yet there is no intelligent educator who does not now admit the value of his suggestions; and Dr. Harris, the national superintendent of education, is his admiring biographer. His first assistant, Miss Elizabeth Peabody—esteemed throughout her beneficent life a dreamer of the dreamers—yet forced upon American educators Froebel's kindergarten. He began it with a few peasant children in Germany, and now every city in the United States is either adopting or discussing it. In many things the private school leads, the public school follows. Every one who writes a schoolbook involving some originality of method knows that the private schools will take it up first. If it succeeds there, the public schools will follow. To abolish or impair these public schools would be a crime against the State; to prohibit private schools an almost equal crime. It would be like saying that all observatories must be sustained by the State only, and that Mr. Percival Lowell should be absolutely prohibited from further cultivating his personal intimacy with the planet Mars.

HUMANE EDUCATION.

The objection of the American Humane Society, as stated by its president, George T. Angell, 19 Milk street, Boston, is "to humanely educate the American people for the purpose of stopping every form of cruelty, both to human beings and the lower animals."

For the accomplishment of this worthy purpose it seeks to enlist the aid of public and private school teachers, the educational, religious, and secular press, and the clergy of all denominations, "in order to build up in our colleges, schools, and elsewhere a spirit of chivalry and humanity which shall in coming generations substitute ballots for bullets, prevent anarchy and crime, protect the defenseless, maintain the right, and hasten the coming of peace on earth and good will to every harmless living creature, both human and dumb."

This work of this society should commend itself to all well-disposed persons.

One phase of the society's activity is its pronounced opposition to the vivisection or the indiscriminate dissection of animals in the public schools. It is felt that such practices have an unfavorable effect on young and undeveloped minds—tend to blunt the edge of their finer sensibilities.

The agitation of this subject in Massachusetts led to the enactment of a law in 1894 prohibiting the vivisection of animals in the public schools, or the exhibiting of any animal upon which vivisection had been practiced; also regulating the dissection of dead animals.

The States of Maine and Washington require their teachers to spend at least ten minutes each week in teaching kindness to animals.

MISSISSIPPI.

WHY EDUCATE? WHAT IS THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION?

[An address delivered at the second annual commencement of Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss., June 12, 1894, by Hon. William H. Sims, of Mississippi.]

Gentlemen of the Faculty and Student Body of Millsaps College, Ladies, and Gentlemen:

My appreciation of the honor of occupying this place to-day, in an institution whose success is very near my heart, will not, I trust, be measured by the modest contribution of thought and learning which I am able to bring to this occasion, but rather, let me ask, by the willingness I have shown to obey the summons of this faculty in coming a thousand miles to discharge a duty which the invitation of a Mississippi college imposes upon a Mississippian.

In appearing before you in this beautiful new home, the thought very naturally arises in my mind, Why was this building built? Of course, its dedication to present uses and the fame which has gone abroad concerning its origin would seem sufficiently to answer the inquiry. And yet, it has occurred to me that it may be useful in presenting what I have to say to-day to endeavor to center your attention upon what the answer to that question involves. Why was this building built? Do you imagine that this inquiry will have more of interest to a beholder of this structure a few centuries hence, as perchance he may look upon its venerable walls, stained by the mold and decay of time, when its architectural design may have become antiquated and obscured, amid the changeful fashions of later days; when its mission, then in part fulfilled, its history or many of its chapters written, the good that it shall have accomplished then made manifest, the seed that shall have been winnowed within these walls and distributed to the sowers scattered across the face of the land, yielding a fruitage excellent and a harvest abundant? And, may I ask, is there no good to be gained from such presuppositions? Does the forecasting of the possible outcome of a great benefaction to mankind inspire thoughts less of interest and of profit than the looking back upon the good already accomplished? Is it better to seek inspiration from the things of the past than from the hopes of the future? Is it better that our eyes be turned to the setting than the rising sun; to the gold-crowned summit of Solomon's Temple; to the land of promise which has been traversed, or to the shining pinnacles of glory which gleam ahead beyond the rugged hilltops and invite to the sun-burst splendor of the New Jerusalem?

But think on this as we may, I invite you back to the question suggested: Why was this building built? Did not its founder know before the work was begun why it was to be begun? Did not an intelligent benevolence conceive the object of its erection before its foundations were laid? Would the noble benefactor of his day and generation, whose name it bears and without whose munificent generosity its existence was not possible, have parted with his great endowment and led others to emulate his example without a definite object and what seemed to him a wise end in view, carefully and deliberately considered, which lay back of the giving of the gifts? Those who know him well and those who know the manner of men from whom large charities habitually come will answer, nay—verily!

What was that purpose? Why was this building built? I answer: It was built for the noblest of human purposes; for the highest earthly object this side of heaven for which any building can be built. It was built for a schoolhouse; for a college to enlarge the opportunities of Mississippi boys for high education, for sound, broad, conservative mental training, along the lines of Christian ideals.

And was this a wise investment of a great sum of money? Let us consider this: Why educate? What is the philosophy of education?

Around these suggestive inquiries I purpose to group the facts and reflections which I have collected as my opportunities permitted to present to you to-day.

The student of nature and her wonderful methods is continually impressed by the wise adaptation of the means she employs to the ends designed. Throughout all the vast departments of creation, wherever scientific investigation has been rewarded with the discovery of what nature intended to effect in any particular case, this perfect adaptation of method to design is to be found. So certain is the intelligent mechanical inventor of the correctness of nature's plans that when he has been able to employ one of her devices in constructing his machine he looks forward to its successful operation with unwavering confidence, because he knows that no better contrivance is possible; and it may be always assumed that where this law of adaptation is not apparent it is not because of its absence but because nature's true purpose has not been discovered.

This prelude, I trust, will acquit me of seeming irreverence when I further say that no animal being on earth seems to have been less prepared for his natural environments, according to our knowledge of his introduction on this earth, than man.

From the very beginning of his existence on this mundane sphere he has commenced life the most dependent and the most helpless of all the animal kingdom. So far as we know, no other animal at birth is so poorly equipped for the life thrust upon him. The beasts of the field and the fowls of the air were furnished by nature with bodies suited to their environments, without need of artificial coverings, while man has needed bodily protection from the cradle of his being. All other animals except man were endowed at birth with natural instincts so perfectly adapted to their necessities that they correctly guided them in their selection and accumulation of food and the preparation of their several habitations with an exactness that left nothing to be desired for their well being.

Primitive man, however, we are left to suppose, was not so happily conditioned. He was at birth given no unerring inward impulse to safely guide him in the early days of his being amid the perils which surrounded him, no instinct to meet the animal necessities which soon beset him. Unlike other animals, he had no ready-made clothing for his vesture, no ready-made law for the government of his daily life, and like the Son of Man himself, when incarnated, "had not where to lay his head," though the foxes had holes and the birds of the air had nests.

It would be a shallow thinker, however, who would argue from these premises that nature's plummet slipped when man was made and placed on earth amid conditions unadjusted to his necessities. On the contrary, I maintain that all the grand philosophy of man's creation and being turns on this pivotal point. While seemingly the most helpless and most dependent of mortal beings at the start, and with the smallest provision ready-made to supply his animal wants, man was, notwithstanding, invested with such potential powers as not only marked him as nature's favorite, but as the crowning work of "Nature's God." Other animals, while they were under the special guidance of nature's law of instinct, were yet the slaves of the very laws that guided them and which fixed their conditions as mere animals in appointed grooves as long as the species should last; while man, endowed with mind and reason and soul like unto the spiritual image of God himself, possessed powers which, though feeble at first, were perforce of man's self-activity to be so developed by the friction of his environment and the free direction of his immortal personality as to make him the regnant king of all the kingdoms of nature, the Avatar of earth.

Thus armed with reason and self-determining purpose, unfettered by his Creator, man entered upon his career with capacity "to grow in knowledge and wisdom and holiness forever." His civilization is the measure of his progress toward complete development. His history is the record of his experience along the way of that progress. The lessons of that experience and the learning and wisdom he has accumulated and left to us are man's great educational capital. "As heirs of all the ages," each is entitled to share in this capital. The business of teaching is to so distribute the inheritance to the young heirs who seek it that they may be helped along their several ways of development and progress. The partiality and selfishness, however, with which this distribution has been made from remote eras by those whom power had set in authority is alike interesting and instructive, and the effort of benevolence in recent times, whether of individuals or of government, to ameliorate the condition of mankind and work out the problem of man's development has been most profitably directed to widening the avenues to learning and instruction, so that all may seek the portals of their temple with such freedom of thought and action as the good of society permits.

In contemplating the winding stream of educational development through the long years of recorded history, it is interesting to observe its tortuous course, its unequal volume, and the restricted boundaries of its channel, influenced and controlled, as it has been, by those who shaped the life and destiny of humanity. Seldom was it permitted to dash along with the impulse of nature into the cascades and waterfalls that set in motion the mills that ground the mental pabulum of the poor and lowly; rarer still to accumulate into great lakes and reservoirs of learning about which the multitude could congregate and slake their thirst for knowledge; and still rarer did it overflow the barriers made to confine it, and, like the generous Nile, spread its beneficent fertilization amid the desert about it, enriching and quickening the common mind. Its eddies were the whirlpools of fanatical ignorance maddened by wrongs. Its lakes were stagnant lagoons of brutish superstition, where darkness brooded and the vampire made its home. Its overflows were the fiery billows of religious wars consuming the youth and virtue of the nations. And yet this educational stream even in the ante-Christian period, was not without instances where it flowed through the untaught masses pure and strong and deep, like the Jordan through the body of the Dead Sea.

Glancing at educational conditions in the Orient, we find that from time immemorial they have been created and maintained by the government, or the ruling classes, for the narrowest and most selfish of purposes. It is to be noted, however, that far back in the centuries, the Chinese Government enforced general education, but of a rigid and stereotyped character. Its fundamental purpose was obedience to the

regnant authority; its ideal end, to the family. Profound reverence for parents and the aged, and a religious homage for the Emperor as the great father of all the families of the realm, were absolutely enforced. These, the precepts of their philosophers, Confucius and Mencius his follower enjoined, and the price of disobedience was death.

The Imperial Government was an aristocracy of scholars, all of its officers, from the highest to the lowest, were selected by competitive examinations from among those whose minds had been saturated with such teachings of reverence and whose memories were found best stored with the maxims and phrases, to the very letter, of the infallible philosophy of their classics. In their written examinations the betrayal of any thought of their own, or expression not based upon such authority, was fatal to the seeker of official trust. All independence of ideas was suppressed; all individuality pruned away by these procrustean methods. And thus the oldest and most populous nation of earth for centuries stood in its wooden shoes upon the same intellectual dead level, yielding the humblest obedience to the supreme authority of the Empire and to the absolutism of prescribed thought crystallized in the maxims, laws, and standards handed down by their teachers of religion and philosophy. Is it wonderful that such education made hundreds of millions of intellectual dwarfs and automatons, who, though toilsome, sober, economical, peaceful, and skilled in many arts, have for centuries dwelt in the supreme contentment that they had nothing more to learn, and that all change was treason to state and religions?

Passing from China to ancient India, we leave popular education behind us, and high mental cultivation for the few and none for the many. Here the Brahmins, by a rigid religious tenure, monopolized all education. Impassable boundary lines divided society into the distinctive castes of Brahmin, and warrior, and merchant, or hand worker and slave. In these several castes they were born and lived and died. No interchange of the positions of the social strata was possible under the mystic dominion over mind and soul exercised by the sacred Brahmins. As priests set apart by their subtle religious philosophy, they were alone permitted to read and teach and interpret the books of the Vedas, the fountains of knowledge from which all their wisdom came. Hedged about with mystery and the profoundest reverence, their mental and moral sway was so absolute, that, although enjoying no official authority of state, their decisions of questions brought before them had the force and effect of law. They were regarded so nearly infallible that they could commit no crime worthy of corporal punishment. Their exclusive possession of all the real learning of the nation invested them with such awe and unquestioned superiority as to make it possible for them to maintain their supreme influence over all other classes. How this state of things was brought about it is difficult to trace; but undoubtedly the control of education perpetuated their power.

For just experience tells in every soil
That those that think must govern those that toil.

In Egypt as in ancient India, the molding of the national education was in the hands of a sacerdotal order. The children of the people were the recipients from their fathers of crude instruction in reading and writing, but the priests, who, through their religious potencies, ruled the ruling powers of state, kept within their unyielding grasp all superior instruction and dispensed it for their own ends and purposes. No development of the masses was possible under such conditions and the mysterious sphinx, the sleeping mummy in its staid ceremonies, and the immobile pyramids are just symbols and types of their motionless national life.

While the end of education in both ancient India and in Egypt was to subordinate the toiling millions to the absolute control and dominion of the priests, the educational purpose of the ancient Persians was to make soldiers. The State drew to itself all individual life for that object. The boy was born and trained and died not to achieve his own destiny, not to advance his own status or that of his family, but that he might efficiently serve the government in its armies. In short, no account was taken of the individuality of the citizen, his rights, his preferences, his tastes, his talents. He was a mere atom, whose existence was merged into the army of a Xerxes for the benefit of his kingdom. This we observe to be the operative principle underlying all oriental education. The tyranny of some power whether of caste among the Hindoos or of priests among the Egyptians and, we may add, among the ancient Jews or of government among the Chinese and the Persians, so proscribed the intellectual development of the people that it was everywhere more than ignored; it was repressed and molded by the ruling of the sacerdotal classes to their own ends and uses.

In striking contrast to the foregoing, Sparta excepted, was the philosophical aim of education among the Greeks, among whom "we find the most splendid types of intellectual culture the world has yet known." The education of the Spartans, as of the Persians, was the education of the State, by the State, and for the State, to make the most perfect human fighting machines which breeding and selection and

rigid discipline could accomplish with a hand of iron. Perhaps the human animal was never before or since so systematically and perfectly developed in a race. The healthy child was taken, the weakling was cast to the wild beasts of the forests. The chosen one was left in the care of the mother who gave her maternal service strictly to the purpose of this training. At 7 the boy went from her bosom to the bosom of the commonwealth, to be the mother's boy no longer. He was put in charge of a special magistrate as his trainer, by whom he was schooled in hardships and developed in strength and cunning and courage through years of assiduous attention. His sinews became as steel, his limbs practiced to fatigue and endurance, his art with arms perfect, his will obedient to the discipline of war, his eye true, his spirit daring and audacious and unconquerable. Of such were the three hundred who died with Leonidas at Thermopylae, and these were only the types of eight thousand comrades in arms, every one of whom would have done the same thing.

In another part of Greece, however, alongside of the Spartan, there grew up at Athens a system of education of broader scope and more ennobling purpose. With equal devotion to the supremacy of the state and her need for invincible soldiers, the Athenian conception was to so educate her free-born citizens by promoting and developing rather than by restraining and cramping their individuality of character that they might not only be soldiers, but far more. The aim was to accomplish them not only for war but for the civic pursuits of peace. Not by the authority of law, as at Sparta, but by the force of public opinion. Not for the sole use and benefit of the body politic, but for the development and exaltation of the citizen first and the glory of Athens afterwards. The fruits of this conception were educational results never before equaled and perhaps never since surpassed. The harmonious training of mind and body were supplemented by an æsthetic culture. Their ideals, though not heaven sent and though not inspired by the contemplation of the Son of Righteousness, were born of a reverent love of goodness and beauty with which they had invested the most perfect of their mythological deities. Their unfettered freedom of thought shone through the marble drapery of their statues, and the soul of immortal longings inspired their canvas, while grace and lofty daring sat upon their persons and declared a character that despised all that was mean and ignoble. The result of Grecian education and culture did not end with her citizens. It was embalmed in her literature, and whispers its lessons of truth and beauty to-day through the galleries and labyrinths of the mind of every student and scholar whom its language has reached. It has clung to the very words of that language, and its airy grace has given it the wings of the thistle down and disseminated it all over the earth.

Further toward the setting sun, on shores washed by the same Mediterranean Sea that embraced the Peninsula of Hellas, arose a later civilization under the dominion and influence of Rome. This civilization, by reason of a valor, nursed by a stern spirit of independence and a patriotism born of the robust virtues of her people in the early days of the Republic had extended her empire across a populous region 3,000 miles in length by 2,000 in breadth. The genius of her people was conquest and their education was for that purpose, and to make the self-respecting freeman whose proudest boast was that he was a Roman citizen. Over his free spirit, however, the State exercised no educational coercion, but alike as at Athens, the sway of public opinion was the moulding factor of his culture, and the love of country the high incentive. His indomitable will did not expend its energies, as did the Greeks, in interpreting and subduing nature, but in conquering provinces; not in creating ideals after the gods of Olympus, but in marshaling legions on the field of Mars. War he considered the chief business of his life, and education in letters he ranked as a pastime. Even his language itself embodied this spirit of his living, since *exercitus* (the army) meant business, and *ludus* (the school) meant diversion.

Unlike the Grecian, the real and the practical, rather than the speculative and the æsthetic employed his thoughts, and while Rome was spreading her eagles of conquest from the Thames to the Euphrates, her internal improvement in material prosperity, her wealth, her institutions, her laws, her public works, alike attested the greatness of her utilitarian education. And this continued her distinctive characteristic even after the cultured captives that returned with her victorious columns from Grecian conquest, introduced into Rome the refinements and subtleties of the Athenian schools of thought, and filled her Forum with the discussions of sophists and philosophers. Thus leading up to and into the Christian era, the sturdy character of Roman education in its truthness and depth and practical purpose resembled the modern Christian education. The Greeks formed intellectual and æsthetic ideals and standards. The Romans formed physical or practical ideals and standards. The Christians formed ethical or moral ideals and standards.

In this partial though somewhat tedious review of the scope and purpose of education, as illustrated in the typical civilizations of history, it is perhaps more clearly revealed to us why the ancients did not educate than why they did educate. We

have seen that the personal and individual development of the people was of small concern to the ruling powers and was seldom the end aimed at. Indeed, with the single exception of China, popular education, as we now use that term, had no national existence, nor did it prevail anywhere until modern times. We need not look far to discover a reason for this, especially when we consider that for centuries as small account was taken of the right of the people to individual liberty as to individual education. Knowledge then, as in later days, was regarded as a power, and it was truly conceived that the ignorant masses could be more easily kept in subjection to the rule of absolutism than a body of intelligent citizens. Absolute governments had no place for educated subjects except in numbers limited to the necessities of enforcing authority. The province of the subject was to toil and to obey. Even in the case of general education in China, to which we have referred, the system of education was so ingeniously guarded in its philosophical conception and application that it subserved rather than violated the principle of subjection; for, as remarked by that great scholar and philosopher, Dr. W. T. Harris, of our National Bureau of Education, concerning this Chinese system: "It is one of the most interesting devices in the history of education—a method of educating a people on such a plan that the more education the scholar gets the more conservative he becomes."

The thought occurs here, would not such a system as the Chinese be serviceable to-day in the regulation of the now world-wide disturbers of social order, the anarchists, the socialists, and their kindred brood? I answer, that only under Chinese conditions of liberty would such education be practicable, and under no conditions of liberty acceptable to modern civilized manhood could it possibly be enforced. The world, in its ideas of freedom of thought and of action, has moved far away from such tyranny in governments. The divine right of kings or of oligarchies has no footing in Western civilization. It has cost hecatombs of human lives and seas of blood to reach our present estate of human freedom. But the socialist and anarchist can not permanently harm American institutions and organized society. Those who have so apprehended have not carefully considered the basis of their fears. The nihilistic agitations in Europe will doubtless operate to sweep away some of the remains of the feudal fetters imposed on liberty of living, but this "government of the people, for the people, and by the people" has nothing to fear from such agitations. The social vagaries and economic delusions which are preached to the unemployed wage worker to ferment society will have local expression in sporadic violence, but the disturbances can not, in our day and generation, mount up to the proportions of revolution. The anarchists submit no propositions which can engage such general local interests as to array State against State or section against section—as in the late civil war; and as long as State autonomy remains to us, the State governments can take care of their internal disturbances, especially when backed by the power of the General Government. Until the great body of the people lose their balance and common sense, they may be safely trusted to adhere to the tradition that any government is better than no government at all.

But even the sovereign authority of the people, with which the States and General Government have been invested, will not long have to contend with anarchistic elements which have come to us from abroad under the false pretense of enjoying and upholding our established institutions of freedom, if we so legislate as to stop the crevices in our naturalization laws, through which the wild, untrained, fanatical representatives of European red republicanism find entrance into our body politic. And, again, we may hope to increase the volume of our now mighty current of popular education until every precinct in every county in every State shall have the full benefit of its quickening and enlightening influence, and until every child in all the land, native and foreign, white and black, Indian and Chinaman, shall be possessed of the modern trivium of education, "the three R's," the three keys to knowledge, with which he can gain access to the immense treasury of learning which the centuries have piled up for us, and to which they have fallen heirs. This accomplished, and the plea of the anarchist will find few sympathizers among our people. It is not too much education that makes the vicious, but the lack of it. The anarchist here with us is not too much educated; as may be supposed, he is too badly educated or too wrongly trained and educated by the factors of the environment from which he came to us to be adjusted into any niche of American freedom. We may not be able to educate and assimilate into good citizenship all the Herr Mosts and vicious cranks that Europe can empty upon us, but we can restrain their coming and so educate the children of those already here as to make them cohelpers in good government.

We are told in the Greek reader that Aristotle, when asked in what way the educated differed from the uneducated, replied, "As the living differ from the dead." Compare the lowest type of the barbarian with the highest type of the Greek in Aristotle's day (and the comparison is just as good in ours) and you can appreciate the force of this remark.

Carlyle, the great Scotchman, said: "An educated man stands as it were in the

midst of a boundless arsenal and magazine filled with all the weapons and engines which man's skill has been able to devise from the earliest time, and he works accordingly with the strength borrowed from all the ages. How different is his state who stands on the outside of the storehouse and feels that its gates must be stormed or remain forever shut against him? His means are the commonest; the work done is in no measure of his strength. A dwarf behind his steam engine may remove mountains, but no dwarf will hew them down with his pickaxe, and he must be a Titan that hurls them abroad with his arms."

These illustrations from two great thinkers, who spoke more than two thousand years apart, each standing upon the very apex of culture of his day and time, do not contrast too strongly the conditions referred to. In both the wholly uneducated is set over against the fully educated man; the savage against the scientist and the scholar. The distance between them is measureless, and we can not say that the chasm will ever be bridged. Leaving aside the consideration of racial inequalities, about which there is now little dispute, the natural mental inequalities of men must long postpone, if it ever reaches this consummation. The leveling process must encounter obstructions by this inequality which is one of nature's unwritten laws. This inequality is the unescapable consequences of action—the necessary predicate of human progress. In this progression the individual speed is unequal; all can not be in the front line. Few can be abreast with Newton or Bacon or Gladstone. That education, however, under conditions seldom favorable, has raised the general average of mankind from century to century, the history of civilization attests, and this progress of civilization is but the progress of education.

A learned English scholar recently wrote concerning the history of education: "It would comprehend the transforming of crude nature of the savage man, which chiefly concerns itself with mere animal wants and desires, into the higher nature of a being who looks behind to gather the fruits of experience; who looks before to utilize them for the benefit of those who are to succeed him, who explores the remote and the distant as well as the near, who reflects and thinks with the view to the general good of the commonwealth, and this, while it is the problem of civilization, is also the problem of education."

But, let me ask, what is the modern conception of education? What is education in its true intent and meaning—not in the widest amplitude with which it may be regarded, but in the sense it is accepted in the schools? Considered in the light of its derivative Latin synonym, *Educere*, it means to lead forth, to unfold the powers of the mind. And while it means this, it is obvious that it means far more than this. The unfolding of the powers of the mind, I conceive, might be accomplished by an artificial system of mental gymnastics, without acquiring any useful knowledge and without being provided with any of the instruments of self-teaching, the arts of reading and writing. Those instruments must in themselves constitute the most important part of education, and, as we are told by a philosophic writer: "The child may learn to read and write, and by it learn the experience of the race through countless ages of existence. He may by scientific books see the world through the senses of myriads of trained specialists devoting whole lives to the inventory of nature. What is immensely more than this, he can think with their brains and assist his feeble powers of observation and reflection by the gigantic aggregate of the mental labors of the race."

And so it is that education does not merely contemplate the unfolding of the mental powers, but demands moreover that such process of unfolding shall bring to the mind of the pupil the largest amount of important and useful knowledge. Just here however, let me say, that I do not rashly venture in this presence to assume the educator's task of suggesting how to educate or unfold the powers of the mind, or what material should be put before the mind in its progress toward development, to enable it to reach the full measure of education. The first should be determined by the teacher, as he looks into the face, and studies the capacity of each pupil. The latter is appointed after wise consideration in the curriculum chosen by every school of high education. As all nature is a schoolhouse for him who seeks education, and all history, with its "philosophy teaching by examples," is his text-book, so all thought is an educational factor. There are many roads to knowledge, but only one to education, and that is through the gateway of self-help, which the earnest seeker of education affords to his own mind. Indeed, it has been wisely said that there is no real education that is not self-education. Whatever of knowledge is assimilated and appropriated, becomes education. It is the exercise of man's self activity at last that sets in motion his powers of observation; the orderly classification of the things observed; the determination of the scientific principles underlying these classes, and the great philosophical unity that unites all the sciences, and links man to The Great First Cause; this, I take it, to be in its last analysis, the true philosophy of education.

The greatest teacher can do little more than lift the latch and point the way.

PENNSYLVANIA.

THE PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA.

[From a pamphlet by Lewis R. Harley, Ph. D.]

The desirability of improving the school system of Philadelphia has given rise to a number of voluntary associations, which have been actively engaged for several years in urging reforms and promoting the development of the schools in various ways. Among the most active of these organizations has been the Public Education Association of Philadelphia, founded in 1881.

This association, like some of its predecessors, grew out of charity work. Its source was the Committee on the Care and Education of Dependent Children of the Society for Organizing Charity.

It is the object of this association to promote the efficiency and to perfect the system of public education in Philadelphia, by which term is meant all education emanating from, or in any way controlled by, the State. They purpose to acquaint themselves with the best results of experience and thought in education, and to render these familiar to the community and to their official representatives, that these may be embodied in our own public-school system. They seek to become a center for work and a medium for the expression of opinion in all matters pertaining to education, as, for instance, the appointment of superintendents; the compilation of school laws; the kindergarten in connection with public education; manual instruction—how much is desirable, and what it is practicable to introduce into the public-school system; the hygiene of schools; the adequate pay and the better qualification of teachers; and, above all, to secure, as far as possible, universal education, by bringing under instruction that large class, numbering not less than 22,000 children, who are now growing up in ignorance in this city.

These objects the association hope to attain through appeals to the local authorities and to the legislature, and by such other means as may be deemed expedient.

The officers of the association in 1895 were Edmund J. James, chairman; Miss E. W. Janney, treasurer; William W. Wiltbank, recording secretary.

The Public Education Association has had a busy career of fifteen years. It has been a constructive period in educational work in Philadelphia, and the association has seen the following results accomplished:

I. The institution of the department of superintendence, with the increase of force by which the efficiency of this department has been largely augmented and thoroughly organized.

II. The selection of a superintendent.

III. The introduction of sewing into the curriculum of the Normal School, and its more recent introduction, based upon the success of the earlier experiment, into the lower grades of schools, by which 25,000 girls were, in 1887, receiving regular, systematic instruction in needlework.

IV. The universal acknowledgment that the most complete and satisfactory exhibition of this work ever made in the country was the exhibit of the sewing done in the public schools of Philadelphia made in the spring of 1883, at the Industrial Exhibition at New York.

V. The institution of the Manual Training School.

VI. The reorganization of the schools under supervising principals.

VII. The introduction of cooking classes in the Normal School.

VIII. The exhibition of school work in Horticultural Hall.

IX. The assumption by the board of education of the kindergarten schools.

X. The establishment of the chair of pedagogy in the University of Pennsylvania.

XI. The lectures in pedagogy in the Summer School of the Extension Society.

XII. The separation of the girls' high and normal schools and the material improvement of the courses in the former.

XIII. The passage of the compulsory school law.

The association encouraged and assisted all of these movements; it initiated and completed some of them. There are still other tasks for the association. The new compulsory school law will render a school census necessary. The school accommodations of the city will be inadequate to meet the requirements of the law, and the enforcement of the law itself will depend upon public sentiment. In all these matters the society can be of assistance.

The department of education should be reorganized. The association has already made strenuous efforts to have the sectional boards abolished, and it seemed at times as if the measure would pass the legislature. The agitation should be continued until the department of education is placed beyond the reach of politics. The administration of the city schools should be committed to a single body. These are some of the subjects which should receive the attention of the association. The

work of the Public Education Association is not completed. The educational welfare of so large a municipality as Philadelphia will require the continued aid of this influential organization, which in the past has accomplished so much for the advancement of the schools.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

[Address delivered December 13, 1894, by Hon. J. L. M. Curry, in response to an invitation of the general assembly of South Carolina.]

SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES: It has been said that among the best gifts of Providence to a nation are great and good men, who act as its leaders and guides, who leave their mark upon their age, who give a new direction to affairs, who introduce a course of events which come down from generation to generation, pouring their blessings upon mankind. Public men are the character and conscience of a people. Respect for the worth of men and women is the measure of progress in civilization. On the 16th of November, 1894, passed away one of America's purest and noblest men, one of the last links which bound the present with the better days of the Republic. For South Carolina he cherished a great affection, and sought to rekindle and keep alive the memories and fraternity of the Revolutionary period, when Massachusetts and South Carolina were struggling together for the establishment of our free institutions. Deeply touched and very grateful was he that South Carolina honored him so highly, by attaching his name in perpetuity to one of her most beneficent institutions of learning. The watchword of his life was the worship of truth and devotion to the Union. He saw clearly that "whoever would work toward national unity must work on educational lines." We may well pause to drop a tear over the grave of author, orator, philanthropist, patriot, statesman, Christian gentleman. Governor Tillman said last May, at the laying of the corner stone of the college at Roek Hill: "On one thing the people of South Carolina are certainly agreed—in their love for Robert C. Winthrop and the new college that bears his name."

I have said that he was a Christian statesman. Christianity and democracy have revolutionized the ideas and institutions of the world in reference to man, his rights, privileges, and duties. The arrival of democracy, says Benjamin Kid, is the fact of our time which overshadows all other facts, and this arrival is the result of the ethical movement in which qualities and attributes find the completest expression ever reached in the history of the human race. Kings and clergy, as having superior access to God and command of the Divine prerogatives, have been relegated to the background. Man's attainment to an enjoyment of privileges and possibilities depends on the development of latent, original, God-given powers. Families, churches, and States recognize and provide for the unfolding of these capacities. "Education, a debt due from present to future generations," was the idea and motive which permeated Mr. Peabody's munificence, and the sentiment is the legend for the official seal of the Peabody Education Fund. Free schools for the whole people should be the motive and aim of every enlightened legislator. South Carolina incorporates the duty into her organic law. There can be no more legitimate tax on property than furnishing the means of universal education, for this involves self-preservation. The great mass of the people are doomed inevitably to ignorance, unless the State undertake their improvement. Our highest material, moral, and political interests need all the capabilities of all the citizens, and then there will be none too much to meet life's responsibilities and duties. As the people are sovereign, free schools are needed for all of them. We recognize no such class as an elect few. It is desirable that citizens should read the laws they are to obey. A governor once put his edicts above the heads of the people; we sometimes, practically, do the same by keeping the people in ignorance. When all must make laws as well as obey, it is essential that they should be educated. The more generally diffused the education the better the laws; the better are they understood and the better obeyed. The highest civilization demands intelligent understanding of the laws and prompt, patriotic, cheerful obedience.

¹ Extract from the journal of the house of representatives of the State of South Carolina, Thursday, December 13, 1894:

JOINT ASSEMBLY.

The senate attended in the house at 11 a. m. to hear the address of the Hon. J. L. M. Curry. The president of the senate presented Senator Tillman, who introduced the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, who entertained the general assembly for some time in an eloquent and able address on education.

Mr. Manning offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the general assembly of South Carolina has heard with pleasure and the deepest interest the eloquent and instructive address of the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, and the heartfelt thanks of this body are hereby extended to him for his address, and we wish to assure him that his words on behalf of the advancement of the educational interests of the State have fallen on ears that are alive to those interests, and that we hope for the best results upon the educational institutions of the State."

Which was considered immediately and unanimously adopted.

When schools are established, what will perfect them? The first need is sufficient money, to be attained through State and local revenues. In no instance should this money be appropriated for sectarian purposes. In England, since the free education act, there has been a determined effort to quarter denominational schools upon the rates. In the United States a persistent effort is made to subsidize from general revenues certain sectarian schools in States and among the Indians. During the nine years—1886-1894—our Government gave for education of the Indians \$4,277,940, and of this appropriation one church received \$2,738,571. The remainder was distributed among fifteen various schools and organizations. Another requirement is efficient local and State supervision, divorced from party politics, and controlled by civil service principles. If education be of universal and vital concern, it needs for its administration the highest capacity. The system of common schools reached its preeminent usefulness in Massachusetts under the administration of such remarkable men as Mann, Sears, and Dickinson. Pupils should be graded so as to economize time, utilize teaching talent, and secure systematic progress. At last, all depends on good teaching, and children, with all their possibilities, deserve the best. There is often a criminal waste of time, talent, opportunities, and money, because of incompetent teachers. There is sometimes a distressingly small return for money and labor expended upon schools. It is not well-organized school systems, nor excellent textbooks, nor systematic courses of study, nor wise supervision, however important, that make the good school. It is the teacher, not mechanical in method and the slave of some superficial notion of the object and the process of the work, but a thorough master of the profession, widely knowledgeable and cultured, able to interest the pupils, to develop the highest power and efficiency. A good teacher will make a good school in spite of a thousand hindrances. One able to awaken sluggish intellect, give a mental impulse running through after life, who understands child nature, the laws of mental acquisition and development, whose mind has been expanded and enriched by a liberal education, who has accurate scholarship and a love for sound learning, who can awaken enthusiasm, mould character, develop by healthful aspirations, inspire to do duty faithfully, will have a good school. Andrew D. White called Dr. Wayland the greatest man who ever stood in the college presidency, and such men as Mark Hopkins, M. B. Anderson, Drs. McGuffey and Broadus show the value of high qualifications in teachers. In our public schools are thousands of men and women, doing heroic work, noiselessly and without ostentation, who deserve all the praise which is lavished upon less useful laborers in other departments. As the State has undertaken the work of education, it is under highest obligations to have the best schools, which means the best teachers.

How shall South Carolina meet these imperative obligations? Your schools average four and seventh-tenths months, but no school should have a term shorter than eight months, and the teachers, well paid, should be selected impartially, after thorough and honest examination. All should have unquestioned moral character, sobriety, aptitude for the work, desire and ability to improve. It has been suggested that if only one law were written above the door of every American schoolroom, it ought to be, No man or woman shall enter here as teacher whose life is not a good model for the young to copy. The experience of most enlightened countries has shown that these teachers should be trained in normal schools; and by normal schools I do not mean an academy with deceptive name and catalogue, and the slightest infusion of pedagogic work. Teaching is an art, based on rationally determined principles. The child grows and runs up the psychic scale in a certain order. The mind has laws, and there is no true discipline except in conformity to and application of these laws. Acquaintance with and application of these laws come not by nature, not spontaneously, but by study and practice. The real teacher should be familiar with the history, the philosophy, and the methods of education. He will best acquire and accomplish the technical and professional work if he have a well-balanced mind, fine tastes, and "the faculty of judgment, strengthened by the mastery of principles, more than by the acquisition of information." We have professional schools for the lawyer, the doctor, the engineer; why not for the teacher? His ability to teach should not be picked up at haphazard, by painful experience, and with the sacrifice of the children. A signboard near my residence reads, "Horses shod according to humane principles of equine nature." It conveys a true principle and suggests that children should be instructed according to the true principles of mental science.

President Eliot, in one of his excellent papers, enunciates six essential constituents of all worthy education.

(a) Training the organs of sense. Through accurate observation we get all kinds of knowledge and experience. The child sees the forms of letters, hears the sound of letters and words, and discriminates between hot and cold, black and white, etc. All ordinary knowledge for practical purposes, and language as well, are derived mainly through the senses.

(b) Practice in comparing and grouping different sensations and drawing inferences.

(c) Accurate record in memory or in written form.

(d) Training the memory; and practice in holding in the mind the record of observations, groupings, and comparisons.

(e) Training in the power of expression, in clear, concise exposition; logical setting forth of a process of reasoning.

(f) Inculcation of the supreme ideals through which the human race is uplifted and ennobled. Before the pupil should be put the loftiest ideals of beauty, honor, patriotism, duty, obedience, love.

Teachers are greatly helped by teachers' institutes, when those who assemble get the wisdom and experience of many minds on the difficult problems of the profession. The work should be practical, systematic, logical, continuous from year to year, and a course of professional reading should be prescribed, so as to increase the intelligence and culture of the profession.

We very often lose sight of the true end of education—it is, or should be, effective power in action, doing what the uneducated can not do, putting acquisition into practice, developing and strengthening faculties for real everyday life. The only sure test is the ability to do more and better work than could be done without it. The average man or woman with it should be stronger, more successful, more useful, than the average man or woman without it. It is the human being with an increase of power which makes one more than equal to a mere man. It is not so much what is imparted, but what is wrought; not what is put in, but what is got out. It is not so much what we know as what we are and can do for productive ends. The object of Christianity is to make good men and good women here on earth. The object of education is to make useful men and women, good citizens. And here comes in the need of manual training, which is not to fit for special trades, but to teach the rudiments of mechanics, those common principles which underlie all work. The pupil can acquire manual dexterity, familiarize himself with tools and materials, be instructed in the science without a knowledge of which good work can not be done. The object of this industrial instruction is to develop the executive side of nature, so that the pupil shall do as well as think. This introduction of manual training into schools has been found to be very helpful to intellectual progress. Gentlemen need not reject it as something chimerical and utopian; it is not an innovation; the experiment is not doubtful; it has been tried repeatedly; it is comparatively inexpensive, and has been and is now in very successful operation. It is not wise statesmanship, nor even good common sense, to forego for many years what other peoples are now enjoying the advantages of. In a quarter of a century trade schools, technical schools, manual training, the kindergarten, will have nearly universal adoption. Why, during this period, should a State rob her children of these immense benefits?

As population increases the struggle to maintain wages becomes more severe, the pressure being the hardest upon the unskilled, and less severe on each higher rank of laborers. Every possible facility for education should be put within the reach of laboring men, to increase their efficiency, to raise the standard of life, and to augment the proportion between the skilled and the unskilled. Dr. Harris, our wisest and most philosophical educator, says: "Education emancipates the laborer from the deadening effects of repetition and habit, the monotony of mere mechanical toil, and opens to him a vista of new inventions and more useful combinations." Our industrial age increases the demand for educated, directive power. Business combinations, companies for trade, transportation, insurance, banking, manufacturing, and mining, demand, as essential conditions of success, intelligent directive power. Production is augmented by skill. An indispensable condition of economic prosperity is a large per capita production of wealth. Socialism, as taught by some extremists, would sacrifice production to accomplish distribution, and means annihilation of private capital, management by the State of all industries, of production and distribution, when Government would be the sole farmer, common carrier, banker, manufacturer, storekeeper, and all these would be turned into civil servants, and be under the control and in the pay of the State, or of a party.

States may have ideals as well as individuals, and embody the noblest elements of advanced civilization. Agriculture, manufactures, mining, mechanical arts, give prosperity when allied with and controlled by thrift, skill, intelligence, and honesty; but what is imperishable is the growth and product of developed mind. Greece and Rome live in their buildings, statuary, history, orators, and poems. Pliny said: "To enlarge the bounds of Roman thought is nobler than to extend the limits of Roman power." The founders of the great English universities centuries ago builded wiser than they knew, and opened perennial fountains of knowledge and truth from which have unceasingly flowed fructifying streams. All modern material improvements are the outgrowth of scientific principles applied to practical life. If you would legislate for the increased prosperity and glory of South Carolina, be sure not to forget that this is the outcome of the infinite capacities of children. Hamilton said there was nothing great in the universe but man, and nothing great in man but

mind. "No serious thinker," says Drummond, "can succeed in lessening to his own mind the infinite distance between the mind of man and everything in nature." Fisk says: "On earth there will never be a higher creation than man." Evolutionists say that the series of animals comes to an end in man, that he is at once the crown and master and the rationale of creation. What you know and admire in South Carolina is what has been done by cultivated men and women. What other country can show such a roll of immortal worthies as your Pinckneys and Rutledges, your Marion, Sumter, and Pickens, your Harper, Johnson, O'Neill, your Fuller and Thornwell, your McDuffie and Hayne, Legare and Petigru, and, towering above all contemporaries, peerless in political wisdom, metaphysical subtlety, ignited logic, the great unrivaled American Aristotle, John C. Calhoun?

CHAPTER XXXI.

EDUCATION OF THE COLORED RACE.

References to preceding reports of the United States Bureau of Education, in which this subject has been treated: In annual reports—1870, pp. 61, 337-339; 1871, pp. 6, 7, 61-70; 1872, pp. xvii, xviii; 1873, p. lxvi; 1875, p. xxiii; 1876, p. xvi; 1877, pp. xxxiii-xxxviii; 1878, pp. xxviii-xxxiv; 1879, pp. xxxix-xlv; 1880, p. lviii; 1881, p. lxxxii; 1882-83, pp. liv, xlvi-lvi, xlix, 85; 1883-84, p. liv; 1884-85, p. lxvii; 1885-86, pp. 596, 650-656; 1886-87, pp. 790, 874-881; 1887-88; pp. 20, 21, 167, 169, 988-998; 1888-89, pp. 768, 1412-1439; 1889-90, pp. 620, 621, 624, 634, 1073-1102, 1388-1392, 1395-1485; 1890-91, pp. 620, 624, 792, 808, 915, 961-980, 1469; 1891-92, pp. 8, 686, 688, 713, 861-867, 1002, 1234-1237; 1892-93, pp. 15, 442, 1551-1572, 1976; 1893-94, pp. 1019-1061. Also in Circulars of Information—No. 3, 1883, p. 63; No. 2, 1886, pp. 123-133; No. 3, 1888, p. 122; No. 5, 1888, pp. 53, 54, 59, 60, 80-86; No. 1, 1892, p. 71. Special Report on District of Columbia for 1869, pp. 193, 300, 301-400. Special report, New Orleans Exposition, 1884-85, pp. 468-470, 775-781.

This chapter and the one which follows contain a large amount of matter relating to the advancement of the colored race in the United States. The very creditable exhibit made at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895 by the more progressive element among the negroes aroused new interest in all parts of the country in their educational advancement. In response to the general demand for information on this subject a special effort was made by this Bureau to collect statistics from all the colored schools of the South. It was no easy task on account of the indifference manifested by many of those in charge of private schools. Of the 162 schools of secondary and higher grade known to this office fewer than half the number responded to the first request for information. Even after the fifth request had been sent out a few of the schools had failed to respond. Many of the reports received contained but meager information. Such statistics as could be obtained will be given in detail in succeeding pages of this chapter.

The statistics of public common schools for the negroes are given in connection with the statistics of white schools in the beginning of the first volume of this annual report. On the next page is presented a table which contains in condensed form the more important items of information relating to the number and attendance of colored pupils in the common schools of each of the former slave States. In these sixteen States and the District of Columbia the estimated number of persons 5 to 18 years of age, the school population, was 8,297,160. Of this number 5,573,440 were white children and 2,723,720, or 32.9 per cent, colored. The total enrollment in the white schools was 3,845,414 and in the colored schools 1,441,282. The per cent of white school population enrolled was 69 and the per cent of colored school population enrolled was 52.92. The whites had an average daily attendance of 2,510,907, or 65.30 per cent of their enrollment, while the average attendance of the blacks was 856,312, or 59.41 per cent of their enrollment. There were 89,276 white teachers and 27,081 colored teachers in the public schools of the South in 1895.

An accurate statement of the amounts of money expended by each of the Southern States for the education of the colored children can not be given for the reason that in only two or three of these States are separate accounts kept of the moneys expended for colored schools. Since 1876 the Southern States have expended about \$383,000,000 for public schools, and it is fair to estimate that between \$75,000,000 and \$80,000,000 of this sum must have been expended for the education of colored children. In 1895 the enrollment of colored pupils was a little more than 27 per cent of

the public school enrollment in the Southern States. It is not claimed that they received the benefit of 27 per cent of the school fund and perhaps no one would say they received less than 20 per cent. It is a fact well known that almost the entire burden of educating the colored children of the South falls upon the white property owners of the former slave States. Of the more than \$75,000,000 expended in the past twenty years for the instruction of the colored children in Southern public schools but a small per cent was contributed by the negroes themselves in the form of taxes. This vast sum has not been given grudgingly. The white people of the South believe that the State should place a common-school education within the reach of every child, and they have done thus much to give all citizens, white and black, an even start in life.

Common-school statistics classified by race, 1894-95.

State.	Estimated number of persons 5 to 18 years of age.		Percentages of the whole.		Enrolled in the public schools.		Per cent of persons 5 to 18 years enrolled.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama ^a	327,400	280,600	53.85	46.15	190,305	115,709	58.13	41.24
Arkansas.....	321,100	124,500	72.06	27.94	216,863	82,429	67.54	66.21
Delaware ^b	39,850	8,980	81.60	18.40	28,316	4,858	71.06	54.10
District of Columbia.....	44,300	24,370	64.51	35.49	26,903	14,654	60.73	60.13
Florida ^a	84,230	66,770	55.79	44.21	59,503	37,272	70.64	55.82
Georgia ^a	357,800	335,900	51.59	48.41	262,530	174,152	73.37	51.85
Kentucky.....	550,900	94,300	85.38	14.62	394,508	73,463	71.61	77.90
Louisiana.....	203,400	216,700	48.42	51.58	92,613	63,313	45.53	59.22
Maryland.....	250,100	72,200	77.62	22.38	161,252	43,492	64.48	60.24
Mississippi.....	212,700	309,800	40.71	59.29	162,830	187,785	76.55	50.61
Missouri.....	864,500	52,600	94.26	5.74	612,378	32,199	70.84	61.21
North Carolina ^a	379,940	227,800	62.52	37.48	242,572	128,318	63.84	66.33
South Carolina.....	171,600	288,100	37.34	62.66	103,729	119,292	60.45	41.41
Tennessee ^a	466,900	157,600	74.77	25.23	381,632	101,524	81.74	64.42
Texas ^a	693,800	212,500	76.55	23.45	463,888	134,720	66.86	63.40
Virginia.....	337,320	240,000	58.43	41.57	235,533	120,453	69.82	50.19
West Virginia.....	267,600	11,000	96.04	3.96	210,059	7,649	78.50	69.54
Total.....	5,573,440	2,723,720	67.15	32.85	3,845,414	1,441,282	69.00	52.92

State.	Average daily attendance.		Per cent of enrollment.		Number of teachers.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama ^a	c 112,800	c 72,300	59.27	62.48	4,412	2,196
Arkansas.....	126,820	48,120	58.48	58.38	5,124	1,796
Delaware ^b	c 19,746	c 2,947	69.73	60.66	734	106
District of Columbia.....	20,446	10,903	76.00	74.40	660	351
Florida ^a	38,752	25,386	65.13	68.11	2,151	772
Georgia ^a	157,626	104,414	60.04	59.96	5,827	3,206
Kentucky.....	243,703	28,663	61.77	39.02	8,578	1,373
Louisiana.....	67,887	41,548	73.30	65.62	2,506	915
Maryland.....	103,031	18,531	63.89	42.61	3,797	716
Mississippi.....	99,048	103,635	60.83	55.19	4,591	3,264
Missouri.....	c 406,180	c 20,430	66.33	63.45	13,750	737
North Carolina ^a	154,361	75,940	63.64	59.18	5,285	3,075
South Carolina.....	74,359	84,895	71.69	71.17	2,696	1,869
Tennessee ^a	277,678	65,986	72.76	65.00	6,928	1,909
Texas ^a	334,884	83,185	72.19	61.75	9,960	2,502
Virginia.....	137,830	64,700	58.52	53.71	6,211	2,021
West Virginia.....	135,756	4,729	64.63	61.83	6,066	233
Total.....	2,510,907	856,312	65.30	59.41	89,276	27,081

^a In 1893-94.

^b In 1891-92.

^c Approximately.

ILLITERACY OF THE COLORED POPULATION.

What have the negroes themselves accomplished to justify the generosity of the white people of the South and the benevolence of the people of the North? It may be said that in 1860 the colored race was totally illiterate. In 1870 more than 85 per cent of the colored population of the South, 10 years of age and over, could not read and write. In 1880 the per cent of illiterates had been reduced to 75, and in 1890 the illiterates comprised about 60 per cent of the colored population 10 years of age and over. In several of the Southern States the percentage is even below 50 per

cent. The comparative statistics for 1870, 1880, and 1890, showing the illiteracy of the colored race, are given for each of the Southern States in the following table:

Illiteracy of the colored population 10 years of age and over.

State.	1890.			1880.			1870.		
	Popula- tion 10 years of age and over.	Illiterates.		Popula- tion 10 years of age and over.	Illiterates.		Popula- tion 10 years of age and over.	Illiterates.	
		Number.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.
Alabama	479,430	331,200	69.1	399,058	321,680	80.6	328,835	290,953	88.1
Arkansas	217,451	116,655	53.6	137,971	103,473	75.0	85,249	63,244	81.2
Delaware	21,608	10,692	49.5	19,245	11,068	57.5	16,570	11,820	71.3
District of Columbia.	61,041	21,389	35.0	45,035	21,790	48.4	33,833	23,843	70.5
Florida	119,024	60,204	50.6	85,513	60,420	70.7	62,748	52,890	84.1
Georgia	600,623	404,015	67.3	479,863	391,482	81.6	373,211	343,654	92.1
Kentucky	197,689	110,520	55.9	190,223	133,895	70.4	156,483	131,099	83.8
Louisiana	392,642	283,245	72.1	328,153	259,429	79.1	262,359	225,409	85.9
Maryland	161,106	80,723	50.1	151,278	90,172	59.6	127,708	88,707	69.5
Mississippi	166,929	314,858	60.9	425,397	319,753	75.2	305,074	265,282	87.0
Missouri	114,160	47,562	41.7	104,393	56,244	53.9	83,893	60,648	72.7
North Carolina	392,589	235,981	60.1	351,145	271,943	77.4	272,497	231,293	84.8
South Carolina	470,232	301,262	64.1	394,750	310,071	78.5	289,969	235,212	81.1
Tennessee	309,800	167,971	54.2	271,386	194,495	71.7	225,482	185,970	82.4
Texas	336,154	176,484	52.5	255,265	192,520	75.4	169,965	150,808	88.7
Virginia	455,682	260,678	57.2	428,450	315,660	73.2	362,624	322,355	88.9
West Virginia	24,787	10,992	44.4	18,446	10,139	55.0	12,905	9,997	77.4
Total	4,870,910	2,934,441	60.2	4,085,571	3,064,234	75.0	3,168,905	2,690,193	85.2

In thirty years 40 per cent of the illiteracy of the colored race had disappeared. In education and in industrial progress this race had accomplished more than it could have achieved in centuries in a different environment without the aid of the whites. The negro has needed the example as well as the aid of the white man. In sections where the colored population is massed and removed from contact with the whites the progress of the negro has been retarded. He is an imitative being, and has a constant desire to attempt whatever he sees the white man do. He believes in educating his children because he can see that an increase of knowledge will enable them to better their condition. But segregate the colored population and you take away its object lessons. The statistics exhibited in the following table in a measure confirm the truth of this position:

Colored population and illiteracy in 1890 compared.

State.	Colored population.	Per cent to total.	Per cent of colored illiteracy.	Per cent of white illiteracy.
1	2	3	4	5
West Virginia	82,717	4.3	44.4	13.0
Missouri	150,726	5.6	41.7	7.1
Kentucky	268,173	14.4	55.9	15.8
Delaware	28,427	16.9	49.5	7.4
Maryland	215,897	20.7	50.1	7.0
Texas	489,588	21.9	52.5	10.8
Tennessee	430,881	24.4	54.2	17.8
Arkansas	390,427	27.4	53.6	16.3
District of Columbia.	75,697	32.9	35.0	2.7
North Carolina	562,565	34.8	60.1	17.9
Virginia	635,858	38.4	57.2	13.9
Florida	166,473	42.5	50.6	11.3
Alabama	679,299	44.9	69.1	18.2
Georgia	858,996	46.8	67.3	16.3
Louisiana	560,192	50.1	72.1	20.1
Mississippi	744,749	57.8	60.9	11.9
South Carolina	689,141	59.9	64.1	17.9

Here it is shown that in the States where the colored population is greatest in proportion to the total population, or where such colored population is massed, as in the "black belt" of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, there the per cent of illiteracy is highest. In this table the Southern States are

arranged with reference to their proportion of colored population, West Virginia standing first with only 4.3 per cent, and South Carolina at the foot of the list with 59.9 per cent colored population. The per cent for each State is shown in the third column. Leaving out of the count the District of Columbia, in which there is a perfected system of city schools, the percentages of illiteracy in column 4 seem to bear a close relation to the percentages of population in column 3. The eight States having less than 30 per cent of colored population have, with a single exception, less than 55 per cent of colored illiteracy. The eight States having more than 30 per cent of colored population have, with two exceptions, more than 60 per cent of illiteracy. In the fifth column the per cent of white illiteracy is given for each State.

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION.

There are in the United States, so far as known to this Bureau, 162 institutions for the secondary and higher education of the colored race. Six of these schools are not located within the boundaries of the former slave States. Of the 162 institutions, 32 are of the grade of colleges, 73 are classed as normal schools, and the remaining 57 are of secondary or high school grade. While all these schools teach pupils in the elementary studies, they also carry instruction beyond the common school branches. State aid is extended to 35 of the 162 institutions, and 18 of these are wholly supported by the States in which they are established. The remaining schools are supported wholly or in part by benevolent societies and from tuition fees.

Detailed statistics of the 162 institutions will be found in this chapter. In these schools were employed 1,549 teachers, 711 males and 838 females. The total number of students was 37,102; of these, 23,420 were in elementary grades, 11,724 in secondary grades, and 1,958 were pursuing collegiate studies. The following table shows for each State the number of schools and teachers and the number of students in elementary, secondary, and collegiate grades:

Summary of teachers and students in institutions for the colored race in 1894-95.

State.	Teachers.			Students.									Total.	
				Elementary.			Secondary.			Collegiate.				
	No. of schools.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.		Total.
Alabama.....	11	92	91	183	1,218	1,431	2,649	625	544	1,169	58	14	72	3,890
Arkansas.....	6	26	19	45	279	385	664	171	135	306	26	5	31	1,091
Delaware.....	1	3	0	3	.....	.....	.....	13	2	15	10	4	14	29
District of Columbia.....	4	74	29	103	125	154	279	238	543	781	327	5	332	1,392
Florida.....	6	18	26	44	231	276	507	93	156	249	.....	.....	.....	756
Georgia.....	21	66	130	196	1,518	2,332	3,850	592	732	1,324	167	61	228	5,402
Illinois.....	1	1	1	2	.....	.....	.....	7	21	28	.....	.....	.....	28
Indiana.....	2	3	3	6	45	52	97	33	60	93	.....	.....	.....	190
Kentucky.....	7	30	37	67	485	916	1,401	186	333	519	101	26	127	2,047
Louisiana (a).....	7	5	19	24	161	206	367	67	85	152	50	0	50	569
Maryland.....	5	13	17	30	67	156	223	70	192	262	64	13	77	562
Mississippi.....	9	37	30	67	631	572	1,203	277	229	506	96	15	111	1,820
Missouri.....	5	19	19	38	125	96	221	139	136	275	7	0	7	503
New Jersey.....	1	2	3	5	5	5	10	15	17	32	.....	.....	.....	42
North Carolina.....	26	102	99	201	1,203	1,699	2,902	1,077	1,086	2,163	151	69	220	5,285
Ohio.....	1	16	8	18	77	63	140	37	77	114	43	8	51	305
Pennsylvania.....	1	11	0	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	167	0	167	167
South Carolina.....	12	36	64	100	1,071	1,107	2,178	301	500	801	63	49	112	3,091
Tennessee.....	12	69	96	165	1,210	1,703	2,913	570	641	1,217	121	35	156	4,286
Texas.....	9	34	47	81	556	882	1,438	281	325	606	62	53	115	2,159
Virginia.....	13	53	96	149	923	1,356	2,279	424	574	998	85	3	88	3,365
West Virginia.....	2	7	4	11	45	54	99	50	64	114	.....	.....	.....	213
Total.....	162	711	838	1,549	9,975	13,445	23,420	5,272	6,452	11,724	1,598	360	1,958	37,102

a Two schools not reporting.

Of the 13,682 students in secondary and higher grades there were 990 in classical courses, 811 in scientific courses, 295 in business courses, and 9,331 in English courses. The distribution of these students by States, the classification by courses of study, and the apportionment by sex can be seen by consulting the following table (p. 1335).

Classification of colored students, by courses of study, 1894-95.

State.	Students in classical courses.			Students in scientific courses.			Students in English course.			Students in business course.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Alabama	8	3	11	15	8	23	499	501	1,000	16	9	25
Arkansas	10	6	16	5	9	14	48	78	126	9	8	17
Delaware	0	0	0	10	4	14	13	2	15	0	0	0
District of Columbia	17	4	21	3	0	3	71	117	188	66	41	107
Florida	0	0	0	0	0	0	148	268	416	0	0	0
Georgia	44	5	49	56	25	81	628	991	1,619	0	0	0
Illinois	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	21	28	0	0	0
Indiana	33	60	93	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kentucky	29	23	52	91	157	248	26	34	60	2	8	10
Louisiana	68	19	87	21	17	38	318	249	567	0	0	0
Maryland	6	1	7	6	1	7	58	104	162	0	0	0
Mississippi	30	5	35	2	2	4	166	205	371	47	25	72
Missouri	13	6	19	41	71	112	40	30	70	9	7	16
New Jersey	5	7	12	0	10	10	5	0	5	0	0	0
North Carolina	105	29	134	57	45	102	305	233	538	33	0	33
Ohio	22	4	26	15	7	22	77	62	139	9	6	15
South Carolina	48	42	90	17	10	27	327	513	840	0	0	0
Tennessee	138	111	249	26	4	30	451	616	1,067	0	0	0
Texas	6	1	7	12	10	22	244	287	531	0	0	0
Virginia	23	41	64	17	37	54	578	780	1,358	0	0	0
West Virginia	9	9	18	0	0	0	77	94	171	0	0	0
Total	614	376	990	394	417	811	4,086	5,245	9,331	191	104	295

There were 4,514 colored students studying to become teachers, 1,902 males and 2,612 females. Many of these students were included among those pursuing the English and other courses noted in the foregoing table.

The number of students graduating from high school courses was 649, the number of males being 282 and the number of females 367. There were 844 graduates from normal courses, 357 males and 487 females. The number of college graduates was 186, the number of males being 151 and the number of females 35. The distribution of graduates by States, as well as the number of normal students, can be found in the following table:

Number of normal students and graduates in 1894-95.

State.	Students in normal course.			Graduates of high school course.			Graduates of normal course.			Graduates of college course.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Alabama	426	359	785	58	56	114	81	81	162	10	0	10
Arkansas	17	10	27	2	5	7	1	4	5	13	14	27
Delaware	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
District of Columbia	24	71	95	0	0	0	24	41	65	4	2	6
Florida	30	48	78	0	0	0	4	2	6	0	0	0
Georgia	117	303	420	30	34	64	7	41	48	6	3	9
Illinois	0	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indiana	0	0	0	7	7	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kentucky	27	55	82	12	19	31	10	29	39	0	0	0
Louisiana	30	56	86	10	11	21	16	13	29	3	0	3
Maryland	38	37	75	3	17	20	6	8	14	1	0	1
Mississippi	122	124	246	27	16	43	16	14	30	13	1	14
Missouri	64	36	100	2	3	5	7	2	9	1	0	1
North Carolina	359	434	793	25	34	59	69	60	129	27	1	28
Ohio	50	57	107	5	9	14	7	8	15	4	0	4
Pennsylvania	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38	0	38
South Carolina	105	161	266	28	54	82	25	48	73	8	8	16
Tennessee	212	353	565	35	30	65	35	30	65	17	5	22
Texas	35	159	194	4	2	6	2	30	32	5	1	6
Virginia	196	280	476	32	70	102	41	74	115	1	0	1
West Virginia	50	64	114	2	0	2	6	2	8	0	0	0
Total	1,902	2,612	4,514	282	367	649	357	487	844	151	35	186

There were 1,166 colored students studying learned professions—1,028 males and 138 females. Of the professional students 585 were studying theology, 310 medicine, 55 law, 45 pharmacy, 25 dentistry, and 8 engineering. The 138 female students were receiving professional training for nurses. There were 42 graduates in theology, 67 in medicine, 21 in law, 2 in dentistry, 16 in pharmacy, and 25 in nurse training. The following table (p. 1336) gives the distribution of professional students and graduates by States.

Colored professional students and graduates in 1894-95.

State.	Students in professional courses.			Professional students and graduates.													
				Theology.		Law.		Medicine.		Dentistry.		Pharmacy.		Nurse training.		Mechanical or electrical engineering.	
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.
Alabama	130	16	146	121	12	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	16	6	2	0
Arkansas	12	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
District of Columbia	251	34	285	73	8	33	15	119	22	13	0	13	6	24	9	0	0
Florida	4	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Georgia	94	40	134	92	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	6	0	0
Kentucky	26	0	26	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Louisiana	48	0	48	20	0	0	0	28	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maryland	9	0	9	9	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mississippi	12	25	37	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	0	0	0
Missouri	5	0	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Jersey	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
North Carolina	128	2	130	42	0	14	3	56	8	0	0	16	5	2	0	0	0
Ohio	10	15	25	10	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	4	0	0
Pennsylvania	40	0	40	40	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Carolina	7	0	7	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tennessee	170	0	170	30	2	6	3	102	32	12	2	14	5	0	0	6	0
Texas	17	4	21	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
Virginia	65	0	65	65	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1,028	138	1,166	585	42	55	21	310	67	25	2	45	16	138	25	8	0

The importance of industrial training is almost universally recognized by teachers of the colored race, and the negroes themselves are beginning to see its value. This feature of colored education was treated at some length in the Education Report for 1893-94. More complete statistics are presented this year. For the first time the number of students in each industrial branch has been ascertained. Of the 37,102 students in the 162 colored schools nearly one-third, or 12,058, were receiving industrial training. Of these, 1,061 were learning farm and garden work, 1,786 carpentry, 235 bricklaying, 202 plastering, 259 painting, 67 tin and sheet-metal work, 314 forging, 200 machine-shop work, 147 shoemaking, 706 printing, 1,783 sewing, 5,460 cooking, and 1,017 were learning other industries. An exhibit of the industrial side of colored education is made in the following table:

Industrial training of colored students in 1894-95.

State.	Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.												
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
Alabama	1,159	1,278	2,437	225	289	33	31	29	13	66	16	46	64	621	309	378
Arkansas	105	62	167	15	20	0	0	0	0	20	15	0	45	33	8	24
Delaware	21	0	21	7	21	2	0	4	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
District of Columbia	77	87	164	7	25	0	0	0	12	0	0	35	87	0	5	0
Florida	69	152	221	20	64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	102	35	0	0
Georgia	489	1,455	1,944	39	143	13	13	14	30	40	0	5	76	1,325	198	292
Kentucky	143	217	360	30	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	62	62	0	0
Louisiana	281	211	492	79	122	0	0	0	0	0	0	43	196	15	0	0
Maryland	58	156	214	58	16	0	0	0	0	5	0	6	0	119	84	0
Mississippi	189	285	474	293	136	0	3	23	0	71	0	27	32	191	94	2
Missouri	94	107	201	4	40	0	0	0	0	20	25	0	9	107	0	0
New Jersey	20	22	42	6	20	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	17	22	0	0
North Carolina	659	1,142	1,801	89	291	48	27	47	4	0	50	42	99	750	538	25
Ohio	50	57	107	43	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	53	44	180
South Carolina	486	548	1,034	54	208	118	118	126	0	70	77	6	86	536	117	0
Tennessee	208	408	616	20	101	0	0	0	6	0	6	0	87	365	55	11
Texas	159	301	460	21	120	16	4	7	1	2	0	1	42	185	33	0
Virginia	365	765	1,130	105	71	5	6	7	1	15	6	14	38	666	191	100
West Virginia	59	114	173	44	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	9	40	0	0
Total	4,691	7,367	12,058	1,061	1,786	235	202	259	67	314	200	147	706	5,460	1,783	1,017

Colored institutions received benefactions in 1894-95 amounting to \$304,822. They received State and municipal aid amounting to \$188,936; from productive funds, \$98,278; from tuition fees, \$101,146, and from other sums and unclassified sums amounting to \$534,272. The latter figure includes the sums received by colored agricultural and mechanical colleges from the United States. The income of the colored institutions, so far as reported, amounted to \$922,632. In the libraries of the 162 colored schools there were 175,788 volumes, valued at \$357,549. The value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus was \$6,475,590, and the value of other property and endowments was \$2,381,748. The following table summarizes the financial reports received from the 162 colored institutions:

Financial summary of the 162 colored schools.

State.	Value of benefactions or bequests, 1894-95.	Volumes in libraries.	Value of libraries.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of any other property or endowment.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1894-95.
Alabama.....	\$64,903	15,212	\$11,350	\$383,269	\$150,363	\$14,500	\$13,276	\$9,068	\$112,769	\$149,613
Arkansas.....	2,894	4,450	5,125	132,200	35,500	6,000	3,860	2,450	2,594	14,904
Delaware.....	0	281	400	20,700					4,000	4,000
District of Columbia..	0	16,350		670,000	200,000	29,500	7,987	8,500	11,541	57,528
Florida.....		1,866	1,475	74,300		2,800	657		12,019	15,476
Georgia.....	27,888	24,865	13,560	973,959	555,600	2,819	13,573	13,304	52,257	81,953
Illinois.....		125	250							
Indiana.....		250	500	10,000						
Kentucky.....	15,145	8,556	6,265	193,220	103,825	3,000	6,356	4,264	4,176	17,796
Louisiana.....	11,344	10,227	5,854	474,422	98,750	7,500	7,120		32,475	47,095
Maryland.....	9,055	2,200	300	64,000	4,500	6,500	3,966	1,117	22,190	33,773
Mississippi.....	2,500	11,200	10,205	345,000	163,575	4,321	3,941	5,679	36,288	50,179
Missouri.....	200	831	925	162,125		65,000	1,367	1,284	50	67,701
New Jersey.....	7,427	500	150	10,000	5,000	3,000			500	3,500
North Carolina.....	23,568	12,670	6,490	444,995	39,500	7,618	8,496	920	22,644	39,678
Ohio.....	8,000	5,000	2,000	200,000	25,000	12,500	3,500	2,300	8,700	27,000
Pennsylvania.....		15,000		212,000	394,800			22,469	11,271	33,740
South Carolina.....	1,600	6,050	4,730	180,300	41,350	2,150	7,958	1,000	36,668	47,776
Tennessee.....	25,347	15,482	240,990	629,100	30,000	3,430	11,644	1,227	39,309	55,610
Texas.....	5,428	5,023	33,330	273,000	500	298	2,681		4,300	7,279
Virginia.....	95,122	14,150	10,150	938,000	504,085	15,000	3,276	22,603	117,301	158,180
West Virginia.....	4,401	5,500	3,500	85,000	30,000	3,000	1,488	2,093	3,270	9,851
Total.....	304,822	175,788	357,549	6,475,590	2,381,748	188,936	101,146	98,278	534,272	922,632

Beginning on the next page is a table giving in detail the statistics of the 162 colored schools so far as reported to this Bureau.

In the concluding pages of this chapter are printed two addresses in which are presented two views of the education of the colored race. The first was delivered at Brooklyn, N. Y., in January, 1896, at the dinner in honor of Alexander Hamilton by Booker T. Washington, principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. The second was delivered before the American Baptist Home Mission Society, at Asbury Park, N. J., May 26, 1896, by Edward C. Mitchell, D. D., president of Leland University, New Orleans, La. Mr. Washington pleads for the industrial as well as the intellectual training of the negro, while Dr. Mitchell advocates the higher education.

Statistics of schools for the education of the

State and post-office.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					
			White.		Colored.		Total.	
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
ALABAMA.								
1	Athens	Trinity Normal School*	Cong.					5
2	Calhoun	Calhoun Colored School	Nonsect ..	1	12	2	2	17
3	Huntsville	Central Alabama Academy	M. E.			2	2	4
4	Marion	Lincoln Normal School	Cong.	1	5			6
5	Montgomery	State Normal School for Col'd Students*				12	8	20
6	Normal	State Normal and Industrial School	Nonsect ..	0	0	18	13	31
7	Selma	Burrell School	Cong.	1	4	1	2	8
8	do	Selma University	Bapt.			2	4	6
9	Talladega	Talladega College	Cong.	7	12	0	1	20
10	Tuscaloosa	Stillman Institute	Presb.	2				2
11	Tuskegee	Tuskegec Normal and Industrial Institute	Nonsect ..			41	25	66
ARKANSAS.								
12	Arkadelphia	Shorter University	A. M.			5	2	7
13	do	Arkadelphia Academy	Bapt.			2	2	4
14	Little Rock	Arkansas Baptist College	Bapt.			2	2	4
15	do	Philander Smith College	Meth.	5	6	3	1	15
16	Pine Bluff	Arkansas Normal College	Nonsect ..	3	0	3	1	7
17	Southland	Southland College and Normal Institute	Friends ..	2	4	1	1	8
DELAWARE.								
18	Dover	State College for Colored Students	Nonsect ..	1	0	2	0	3
DIST. COLUMBIA.								
19	Washington	Howard University	Nonsect ..	40	3	15	6	64
20	do	Normal School, 7th and 8th divisions	Nonsect ..	0	0	2	6	8
21	do	High School, 7th and 8th divisions*				13	9	22
22	do	Wayland Seminary	Bapt.	2	4	2	1	9
FLORIDA.								
23	Jacksonville	Cookman Institute	M. E.	0	6	3	0	9
24	do	Edward Walters College*	A. M. E.			3	3	6
25	Live Oak	Florida Institute*	Bapt.	3	5			8
26	Ocala	Emerson Home	M. E.	0	2	0	0	2
27	Orange Park	Orange Park Normal and Manual Training School	Cong.	3	7	0	0	10
28	Tallahassee	State Normal and Industrial College for Colored Students	Nonsect ..	1	0	5	3	9
GEORGIA.								
29	Athens	Jernal Academy	Bapt.			1	3	4
30	do	Knox Institute	Cong.			1	3	4
31	do	West Broad Street School				2	4	6
32	Atlanta	Atlanta Baptist Seminary	Bapt.	3	2	4	0	9
33	do	Atlanta University	Nonsect ..	6	10			16
34	do	Gammon School of Theology	M. E.	3	0	1	0	4
35	do	Morris Brown College	A. M. E.	0	0	4	7	11
36	do	Spelman Seminary	Bapt.	0	34	2	2	38
37	do	Storrs School	Cong.	0	7	0	0	7
38	Augusta	Haines Normal and Industrial School	Presb.		2	3	10	15
39	do	Paine Institute	Meth.	2	1	2	1	6
40	do	Walker Baptist Institute	Bapt.	0	0	4	4	8
41	College	Georgia State Industrial College		0	0	11	0	11
42	La Grange	La Grange Academy	Bapt.			2	2	4
43	McIntosh	Dorchester Academy	Cong.	1	6			7
44	Macon	Ballard Normal School	Cong.	2	12	0	0	14
45	Roswell	Roswell Public School*						
46	Savannah	Beach Institute						
47	South Atlanta	Clark University	M. E.	6	5	4	4	19
48	Thomasville	Allen Normal and Industrial School	Cong.	0	7	0	0	7
49	Waynesboro	Haven Normal Academy*				2	4	6
ILLINOIS.								
50	Cairo	Sumner High School				1	1	2

* Statistics of 1893-94.

Statistics of schools for the education of the colored

	State and post-office.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.				
				White.		Colored.		Total.
				Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
INDIANA.								
51	Evansville.....	Governor High School.....		2	1			3
52	New Albany.....	Scribner High School.....	Nonsect			1	2	3
KENTUCKY.								
53	Berea.....	Berea College.....	Nonsect	15	8	0	0	23
54	Frankfort.....	State Normal School for Colored Persons.	Nonsect			3	3	6
55	Lebanon.....	St. Augustine's Academy*.....	R. C.		3			3
56	Lexington.....	Chandler Normal school*.....	Cong				10	10
57	Louisville.....	Christian Bible School.....	Christian	1	0	1	0	2
58	.....do.....	Central High School.....	Nonsect			8	9	17
59	Paris.....	Paris Colored High School.....	Nonsect			2	4	6
LOUISIANA.								
60	Alexandria.....	Alexandria Academy.....						
61	Baldwin.....	Gilbert Academy and Industrial College.	M. E.			2	5	7
62	New Iberia.....	Mount Carmel Convent.....						
63	New Orleans.....	Leland University.....	Bapt	3	6	3	1	13
64	.....do.....	New Orleans University.....	M. E.	6	6	8	4	24
65	.....do.....	Southern University.....	Nonsect	5	2	1	5	13
66	.....do.....	Straight University.....	Cong	4	18	1	1	24
MARYLAND.								
67	Baltimore.....	Baltimore City Colored High School.....		1	4	0	0	5
63	.....do.....	Morgan College.....	M. E.	4	3	1	1	9
69	Hebbsville.....	Baltimore Normal School for Training of Colored Teachers.*				1		1
70	Melvale.....	Industrial Home for Colored Girls.....	Nonsect		6			6
71	Princess Anne.....	Princess Anne Academy.....		3	0	3	3	9
MISSISSIPPI.								
72	Clinton.....	Mount Hermon Female Seminary*.....						
73	Edwards.....	Southern Christian Institute.....	Christian	2	3	0	0	5
74	Holly Springs.....	Rust University.....	M. E.	3	3	3	1	10
75	.....do.....	State Colored Normal School.....	Nonsect	0	0	1	1	2
76	Jackson.....	Jackson College.....	Bapt.	2	3	1	2	8
77	Meridian.....	Meridian Academy.....	M. E.			2	1	3
78	Natchez.....	Natchez College*.....				1	1	2
79	Tougaloo.....	Tougaloo University.....	Cong	7	15			22
80	Westside.....	Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College.	Nonsect	0	0	15	0	15
MISSOURI.								
81	Hannibal.....	Douglass High School*.....				1	1	2
82	Jefferson City.....	Lincoln Institute.....		2	0	6	3	11
83	Kansas City.....	Lincoln High School.....		0	0	3	1	4
84	Mill Spring.....	Hale's College.....	Nonsect	4	7	0	0	11
85	Sedalia.....	Geo. R. Smith College.....	M. E.	1	3	2	4	10
NEW JERSEY.								
86	Bordentown.....	Colored Normal and Industrial School.....	Nonsect			2	3	5
NORTH CAROLINA.								
87	Ashboro.....	Ashboro Normal School.....		1	3			4
88	Beaufort.....	Washburn Seminary.....	Nonsect	1	4	0	1	6
89	Charlotte.....	Biddle University.....	Presb.	0	0	11	0	11
90	Clinton.....	Clinton Normal Institute*.....				1	0	1
91	Concord.....	Scotia Seminary.....	Presb.	1	10	1	5	17
92	Elizabeth City.....	State Colored Normal School.....	Nonsect			2	1	3
93	Fayetteville.....	State Colored Normal School.....	Nonsect	0	0	2	1	3
94	Franklinton.....	Albion Academy, Normal and Industrial School.	Presb.			5	4	9
95	.....do.....	Franklinton Christian College.....	Christian			2	3	5

* Statistics of 1893-94.

race, 1894-95—Detail table, Part I—Continued.

Pupils enrolled.				Students.												Graduates.								
Total.		Elementary grades.		Secondary grades.		Collegiate classes.		Classical courses.		Scientific courses.		English course.		Normal course.		Business course.		High school course.		Normal course.		Collegiate course.		
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
21	44			21	44			21	44									4	3			0	0	
60	65	45	52	12	16			12	16									3	4				51	
248	212	139	132	64	66	45	14	17	5	39	11			0	4			3	0	0	4			53
43	62	24	35	19	27									19	27					1	6			54
0	76		35		41																			55
0	238		238																					56
26	0				26	0																		57
282	524	232	386	50	138					50	138			6	16			6	16	6	16			58
173	163	90	90	53	61	30	12	12	18	2	8	26	34	2	8	2	8	3	3	3	3			59
95	75	68	63	15	6	12	6	12	6	1	0	114	27	1	2									60
200	239	170	187	20	39	10	13	18	5	0	0	190	200	13	13			3	3	3	3	1	0	61
250	353	212	319	31	34	7	0	33	8					5	26			6	6	3	4	1	0	63
118	190	98	158	12	28	8	4			0	1			1	3			1	2	1	2	0	0	64
255	314	161	206	67	85	50	0	5	0	20	16	14	22	10	12					9	4	1	0	65
40	100			40	100													2	11			0	0	67
103	57	46	50	2	1	55	6											0	0	5	2	1	0	68
7	10													7	10									69
0	160	0	90	0	70							0	60											70
58	44	21	16	28	21	9	7	6	1	6	1	58	44	31	27			1	6	1	6	0	0	71
78	114	78	114																					72
35	47	28	40	4	4	3	3	1	1	2	2							0	0	0	0	0	0	73
113	117	56	71	49	48	6	0	22	4			56	71	33	44					2	2	2	0	74
83	84	32	39	28	24	34	10	7	0					67	63	32	25			4	1	4	1	75
80	82	0	0	80	82							80	82											76
57	112	40	86	17	26							30	52					10	15	8	10			77
50	86	24	58	26	28							30	52											78
201	176	173	159	28	17									22	17					2	1			79
298	7	200	5	45	0	53	2									15	0	14	0			7	0	80
21	24	6	4	15	20									39	26					7	2	1	0	81
111	94	64	67	41	26	7	0	9	0					0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	82
36	64	0	0	36	64	0	0	0	0	36	64	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	83
48	25	5	5	43	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	10	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	84
45	35	30	20	4	6			4	6	5	7	40	30			5	7							85
20	22	5	5	15	17			5	7	0	10	5	0											86
100	90	25	20	75	70							18	9											87
79	84	69	77	10	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	7	10	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	88
260	0	19	0	172	0	69	0	69	0			30	0	30	0	30	0			30	0	13	0	89
25	50	19	46	6	4									6	4						6	4		90
0	283	0	268	0	15			0	8					0	15					0	4	7	9	91
50	114	14	40	32	62	5	11													0	0	0	0	92
42	64			42	64																			93
104	131	15	18	91	111													6	4					94
72	90	66	80	4	12					2	2			4	2									95

a No report.

Statistics of schools for the education of the colored

State and post-office.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					
			White.		Colored.		Total.	
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
NORTH CAROLINA—continued.								
96	Franklinton	State Colored Normal School				4	4	8
97	Goldsboro	do	Nonsect	0	1	2	0	3
98	Greensboro	Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race.*				7	0	7
99	do	Bennett College*	Meth			5	5	10
100	Kings Mountain	Lincoln Academy	Cong		6			6
101	Lumberton	Whitin Normal School	Nonsect	0	0	1	1	2
102	Pee Dee	Barrett Collegiate and Industrial Institute	Nonsect	0	0	2	2	4
103	Plymouth	State Colored Normal School	Nonsect			2	1	3
104	Raleigh	Shaw University	Bapt	12	4	8	2	26
105	do	St. Augustine's School	P. E	2	0	5	5	12
106	Reidsville	City Graded School (colored)		2	7	2	4	15
107	Salisbury	Livingston College	A. M. E. Z.			11	8	19
108	do	State Colored Normal School	Nonsect	0	0	3	1	4
109	Warrenton	Shiloh Institute	Bapt			2	2	4
110	Wilmington	Gregory Normal Institute	Cong	1	11	0	0	12
111	Windsor	Rankin-Richards Institute	Nonsect			2	1	3
112	Winton	Waters Normal Institute	Bapt			2	2	4
OHIO.								
113	Wilberforce	Wilberforce University	A. M. E.	1	3	9	5	18
PENNSYLVANIA.								
114	Lincoln University	Lincoln University*	Presb.	11				11
SOUTH CAROLINA.								
115	Aiken	Schofield Normal and Industrial School	Nonsect ..	2	6	4	3	15
116	Beaufort	Beaufort Academy*				1	1	2
117	do	Harbison Institute	Presb.			2	2	4
118	Camden	Browning Industrial Home and School	M. E.		4			4
119	Charleston	Avery Normal Institute	Cong	1	4	1	2	8
120	do	Wallingford Academy*				1	5	6
121	Chester	Brainerd Institute	Presb.	1	3	1	3	8
122	Columbia	Allen University	A. M.			4	2	6
123	do	Benedict College	Bapt	2	5	1	0	8
124	Frogmore	Penn Industrial and Normal School	Nonsect ..	0	3	4	5	12
125	Greenwood	Brewer Normal School	Cong	1	6			7
126	Orangeburg	Clafin University and Agricultural College and Mechanics' Institute	Nonsect ..	7	3	3	7	20
TENNESSEE.								
127	Jonesboro	Warner Institute	Cong	0	3	0	1	4
128	Knoxville	Austin High School	Nonsect ..			6	4	10
129	do	Knoxville College	U. Presb. ..	5	16			21
130	Maryville	Freedmen's Normal Institute	Friends ..	1	2	7	4	14
131	Memphis	Hannibal Medical College	Nonsect ..	0	0	11	0	11
132	do	Le Moyne Normal Institute*		0	0	3	14	17
133	Morristown	Morristown Normal Academy*	M. E.			5	13	18
134	Murfreesboro	Bradley Academy*						
135	Nashville	Central Tennessee College	M. E.	4	5	2	0	11
136	do	Fisk University	Cong	10	20	1	0	31
137	do	Meigs's High School	Nonsect ..			4	8	12
138	do	Roger Williams University	Bapt	4	5	6	1	16
TEXAS.								
139	Austin	Tillotson College	Cong	3	10	0	0	13
140	Brenham	East End High School*				1	1	2
141	Crockett	Mary Allen Seminary*				1	13	14
142	Galveston	Central High School	Nonsect ..	0	0	4	2	6
143	Hearne	Hearne Academy and Normal and Industrial Institute	Bapt			2	2	4
144	Marshall	Bishop College	Bapt	3	8	6	1	18

* Statistics of 1893-94.

race, 1894-95—Detail table, Part I—Continued.

Pupils enrolled.						Students.										Graduates.										
Total.		Elementary grades.		Secondary grades.		Collegiate classes.		Classical courses.		Scientific courses.		English course.		Normal course.		Business course.		High school course.		Normal course.		Collegiate course.				
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32			
140	116	19	26	121	90			11	6	21	7	96	79	71	90			3	3	5	17			96		
30	75	20	44	10	31																				97	
37	26			30	19		7																		98	
97	106	5	0	92	106										3	12									99	
62	136	57	122	14	5										5	14					3	2			100	
38	43	12	19	24	26	0	0	0	0	0	0				24	26		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	101	
50	85	20	30	22	32	17	14	4	3	19	12	10	12	14	18	3	0	7	9	4	7	1	0		102	
62	118	20	45	42	73									42	73					2	0				103	
194	168	70	59	90	85	30	28	0	0	3	2	20	30	90	85	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1		104	
79	139	54	111	18	23	7	5													0	1				105	
450	361	420	310	30	51	27	16	4	16	4	0	0	0	26	27	0	0	0	0	10	7	3	0		106	
79	69	37	38	26	29	16	4	16	4	0	0	0	0	26	27	0	0	0	0	10	7	3	0		107	
50	51	43	37	5	14	0	0	0	0	7	14	43	37	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		108	
40	55	15	26	25	29			5	8	5	8	5	8	2	2			3	5	3	5				109	
135	225	95	165	40	60									20	35			6	7	6	7				110	
35	75	25	50	10	25																				111	
91	120	64	68	44	45							91	120	9	23			0	2						112	
175	130	77	63	37	77	43	8	22	4	15	7	77	62	50	57	9	6	5	9	7	8	4	0		113	
167						167	0															38	0		114	
74	149	25	35	49	114	0	0	0	0	0	0	49	114	8	10	0	0	1	9	1	9	0	0		115	
185	203	184	196	1	7									1	7										116	
53	52	46	45	7	7													1	2	2	3				117	
55	95	40	30	25	55									65	85	5	20			1	2	1	2		118	
135	275	91	153	44	117	0	0	10	18	0	0	34	99	4	21			4	21	4	21	0	0		119	
73	148	60	112	13	36																				120	
74	77	65	70	9	7			8	0			1	7	9	7			4	3						121	
131	122	52	50	33	29	46	43	1	0	2	0			43	43					6	9				122	
59	76	0	0	59	76	0	0	4	5	0	0	55	71	0	0			6	10						123	
136	118	121	104	15	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	14	15	14	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0		124	
108	123	101	120	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	108	123	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0		125	
342	228	286	187	39	35	17	6	25	19	15	10			20	39			9	9	9	4	8	8		126	
50	61	41	50	7	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	48	56	2	6			0	2	0	1				127	
309	320	298	300	10	12													0	2						128	
146	171	82	104	46	62	18	5	15	5	3	0	0	0	13	11			9	8	9	8	1	0		129	
128	125	51	62	74	60	3	3	0	0	3	3	64	75	64	50	0	0			7	4				130	
6	1	3	1	3	0													1	1	0	0	1	1		131	
223	447	191	386	32	61									66	113					3	6				132	
141	149	39	51	102	98									31	42					8	1				133	
136	206	131	187	5	19																				134	
157	169	57	58	64	94	36	17	27	14	9	1	105	119	23	33					1	3	3	0		135	
212	327	83	138	156	107	46	9	38	9	8	0			3	79	0	0	18	3	1	7	8	4		136	
219	365	176	283	43	82			43	82			176	283					2	9						137	
110	117	58	83	34	33	18	1	15	1	3	0	58	83	10	19			5	5	1	5	4	0		138	
95	98	71	82	22	18	0	0	0	0	4	6	91	88	22	18	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0		139	
203	245	185	216	18	23																				140	
0	232	0	112	0	120									0	120					0	25				141	
90	122	73	104	17	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		142
35	41	22	29	13	12							13	12													143
179	189	112	158	49	16	10	14	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1							144

Statistics of schools for the education of the colored

	State and post-office.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.				
				White.		Colored.		Total.
				Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
TEXAS—cont'd.								
145	Marshall.....	Wiley University.....	M. E.....		2	7	3	12
146	Prairie View.....	Prairie View State Normal School*				2	3	5
147	Waco.....	Paul Quinn College.....	A. M. E.....			5	2	7
VIRGINIA.								
148	Burkeville.....	Ingleside Seminary.....	Presb.....		8			8
149	Hampton.....	Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.	Nonsect..	13	35	9	1	58
150	Lawrenceville.....	St. Paul Normal and Industrial School...	Epis.....			2	8	10
151	Longfield.....	Curry College*.....	Bapt.....			2	2	4
152	Manassas.....	Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth.	Nonsect..	0	0	2	2	4
153	Manchester.....	Public High School, colored.....	Nonsect..			4	4	8
154	Norfolk.....	Norfolk Mission College.....	U. Presb..	4	7	0	3	14
155	Petersburg.....	Bishop Payne Divinity and Industrial School.	Epis.....	1	0	2	0	3
156	.....do.....	Peabody School.....	Nonsect..	0	0	1	11	12
157	.....do.....	Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.	Nonsect..			7	5	12
158	Richmond.....	Hartshorn Memorial College.....	Bapt.....	1	6	0	2	9
159	.....do.....	Richmond Theological Seminary.....	Bapt.....	2	0	2	0	4
160	Staunton.....	Valley Training School*.....				1	2	3
WEST VIRGINIA.								
161	Farm.....	West Virginia Colored Institute.....	Nonsect..			3	2	5
162	Harpers Ferry.....	Storer College.....	Bapt.....	2	1	2	1	6

* Statistics of 1893-94.

race, 1894-95—Detail table, Part I—Continued.

Pupils enrolled.						Students.										Grades.								
Total.		Elementary grades.		Secondary grades.		Collegiate classes		Classical courses		Scientific courses		English course.		Normal course.		Business course.		High school course.		Normal course.		Collegiate course.		
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
130	154	30	59	70	69	33	23	5	0	.....	.....	100	128	13	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3	3	0	145
115	106	23	63	92	43	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	146
60	65	40	59	.....	.....	10	16	1	1	4	4	40	59	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0	1	2	1	147
0	111	0	56	0	55	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0	111	0	26	.....	.....	0	26	0	26	.....	.....	148
436	377	261	265	175	112	0	0	0	0	0	0	175	112	41	39	.....	.....	9	14	9	14	.....	.....	149
112	145	32	60	80	85	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	78	85	78	85	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	4	.....	.....	150
52	43	42	38	10	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	151
37	40	37	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152
28	22	12	14	6	7	10	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	28	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	9	7	9	.....	.....	153
248	438	225	397	23	41	.....	.....	23	41	.....	.....	.....	.....	14	24	.....	.....	11	10	11	10	.....	.....	154
10	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	155
297	450	280	413	17	37	0	0	0	0	17	37	297	450	0	0	0	0	3	10	0	0	0	0	156
142	179	25	31	102	146	15	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	53	94	.....	.....	2	1	8	11	.....	.....	157
1	96	0	22	1	74	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	158
50	0	.....	.....	.....	50	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	159
19	32	9	20	10	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	160
34	44	25	29	9	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	29	9	15	0	0	.....	.....	0	0	.....	.....	161
61	74	20	25	41	49	0	0	9	9	0	0	52	65	41	49	0	0	2	0	6	2	.....	.....	162

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.													
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.	
																				2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
ALABAMA.																				
1	Trinity Normal School*.....																			
2	Calhoun Colored School.....				79	91	170	69										39	4	58
3	Central Alabama Academy.....				15	10	25	2										10	6	7
4	Lincoln Normal School.....																			
5	State Normal School for Colored Students.*.....				250	300	550		75									200	200	
6	State Normal and Industrial School.....	2	16	18	169	279	448	36	53	2	0	7	0	29	0	27	15	100	56	135
7	Burrell School.....				48	44	92		48	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	44		
8	Selma University.....	10	0	10																
9	Talladega College.....	35	0	35	118	225	343	10	75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	135	8	110
10	Stillman Institute.....	31	0	31																
11	Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.....	52	0	52	480	329	809	108	38	31	31	22	13	29	16	19	44	93	35	68
ARKANSAS.																				
12	Shorter University.....				0	18	18											18		
13	Arkadelphia Academy.....																			
14	Arkansas Baptist College.....				12	12	24													24
15	Philander Smith College.....	12	0	12	38	0	38											38		
16	Arkansas Normal College.....	0	0	0	40	20	60	0	15				20	15						
17	Southland College and Normal Institute.....				15	12	27	15	5								5	15	8	
DELAWARE.																				
18	State College for Colored Students.....				21	0	21	7	21	2	0	4	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	0
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.																				
19	Howard University.....	217	34	251	77	64	141		25			12				35	64			5
20	Normal School, 7th and 8th divisions.....																			
21	High School, 7th and 8th divisions. <i>a</i>																			
22	Wayland Seminary.....	34	0	34		23	23											23		
FLORIDA.																				
23	Cookman Institute.....	4	0	4		30	30											15	15	
24	Edward Walters College <i>a</i>																			
25	Florida Institute <i>a</i>																			
26	Emerson Home.....	0	0	0	0	50	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	20	
27	Orange Park Normal and Manual Training School.....				49	57	106		49									57		
28	State Normal and Industrial College for Colored Students.....				20	15	35	20	15											
GEORGIA.																				
29	Jernal Academy.....																			
30	Knox Institute.....				0	85	85											85		
31	West Broad Street School.....																			
32	Atlanta Baptist Seminary.....				10	0	10	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	2
33	Atlanta University.....																			
34	Gammon School of Theology.....	84	0	84																
35	Morris Brown College.....	10	0	10	8	17	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	17	5	0
36	Spellman Seminary.....	0	32	32	0	240	240										37	100	125	
37	Storrs School.....				0	130	130	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	130	0	0
38	Haines Normal and Industrial School.....	0	8	8	10	262	272								5	6	262	10		

* Statistics of 1893-94.

colored race, 1894-95—Detail table, Part II.

Chief sources of support.	Value of bequests or bequests in 1894-95.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of any other prop- erty or endowment.	Amount of State or munic- ipal aid.	Amount received from tui- tion fees.	Amount received from pro- ductive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1894-95.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
A. M. A.....										1
Freedmen's Aid M. E. Ch.....	\$15,076	500	\$10			\$451		\$38	\$549	2
					\$7,500	400	\$700		1,100	3
								2,500	10,000	4
										5
State and U. S.....		1,985	30,142	\$9,009	4,000			32,698	36,698	6
Amer. Miss. Assn.....		500	5,000		0	876		3,004	3,880	7
Am. Bapt. H. M. S.....		500	3,000			350	50	3,000	3,400	8
Amer. Miss. Assn.....	3,089	6,200	128,617	141,354	0	1,503	7,068	8,568	17,139	9
Ch. and contributions.....	1,000	1,500						3,500	3,500	10
State and contributions.....	46,738	4,527	215,000		3,000	9,696	1,250	59,401	73,347	11
A. M. E. Con. in Ark.....			5,000			300		600	900	12
A. B. Home Miss. S.....	600	150	10,000			256	350	700	1,306	13
Popular collection.....	1,500	100	1,200			500			500	14
		700	30,000							15
State and U. S.....	0	3,500	60,000		6,000	300			6,300	16
Society of Friends.....	794		26,000	35,500	0	2,504	2,100	1,294	5,898	17
U. S.....	0	281	20,700		0	0	0	4,000	4,000	18
U. S.....	0	13,000	600,000	200,000	29,500	7,987	8,500	11,541	57,528	19
U. S.....	0	350	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
										21
Am. Bapt. H. M. S.....		3,000	70,000							22
Freedmen's Aid S. M. E. Ch.....		1,000	30,000			461		1,800	2,261	23
A. B. H. M.....										24
H. M. S. M. E. Ch.....		150			0	84	0	219	303	25
Am. Miss. Assn.....		200	25,000	0	0		0	0	0	26
										27
State and U. S.....		516	19,300		2,800	112		10,000	12,912	28
Jeruel B. A. and A. B. H. M. S.....	648	75	5,275			286		662	945	29
Am. Miss. Assn.....		200	5,000				0			30
City.....	5	150	1,200	0	2,019	36	0	5	2,060	31
Am. Bapt. H. M. S.....	402	2,000	50,000	30,000	0	455	1,250	4,820	6,525	32
Tuition and benevolence.....	22,234	7,548	252,000		0	1,551	580	123	2,254	33
Endowment funds.....		9,000	100,000	500,000		357	8,000	2,000	10,357	34
A. M. E. Ch.....		1,200	75,000	0	0	1,335	0	4,000	5,335	35
W. A. H. M. S. Slater Fund.....	2,804	2,500	150,000		0	130		16,850	18,980	36
Tuition and benevolence.....		150	20,000	0	0	1,312	0		1,312	37
Presb. Board Miss. for Freed- men.....		120	20,000			645			2,645	38

a No report.

Statistics of schools for the education of the colored

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.												
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
GEORGIA—continued.																			
39	Paine Institute																		
40	Walker Baptist Institute			0	55	55												55	
41	Georgia State Industrial College.			141	0	141	0	33	13	13	13	30	30						
42	Dorchester Academy			30	115	145	24	20									115	2	16
43	Ballard Normal School			100	250	350	0	70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		275	25	30
44	La Grange Academy																		
45	Roswell Public School																		
46	Beach Institute																		
47	Clark University			160	181	341		20			1		10			16	136	16	244
48	Allen Normal and Industrial School			30	120	150	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	150	15	0
49	Haven Normal Academy																		
ILLINOIS.																			
50	Sumner High School																		
INDIANA.																			
51	Governor High School																		
52	Scribner High School																		
KENTUCKY.																			
53	Berca College			50	30	80													
54	State Normal School for Colored Persons.			43	62	105	30	12									62	62	
55	St. Augustine's Academy																		
56	Chandler Normal School*			50	125	175													
57	Christian Bible School	26	0	26															
58	Central High School																		
59	Paris Colored High School																		
LOUISIANA.																			
60	Alexandria Academy																		
61	Gilbert Academy and Industrial College.			120	30	150	30	10								5	15	15	
62	Mount Carmel Convent																		
63	Leland University	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
64	New Orleans University	36	0	36															
65	Southern University			80	66	155	49	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	66	0	0
66	Straight University	12	0	12	72	115	187	72								38	115		
MARYLAND.																			
67	Baltimore City Colored High School.																		
68	Morgan College	9	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
69	Baltimore Normal School for Training of Colored Teachers.																		
70	Industrial Home for Colored Girls.			0	112	112											75	40	
71	Princess Anne Academy	0	0	0	58	44	102	58	16	0	0	0	0	5	0	6	0	44	44
MISSISSIPPI.																			
72	Mount Hermon Female Seminary.																		
73	Southern Christian Institute.	8	0	8	4	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
74	Rust University			27	60	87		16								11	36	24	

* Statistics of 1893-94.

race, 1894-95—Detail table, Part II—Continued.

Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1894-95.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of any other property or endowment.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1894-95.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
S. Col. M. E. Ch.		502	\$14,484	\$25,000	0	\$159	\$1,663	\$6,304	\$8,126	39
Am. B. H. M. S.		55	5,000		\$500	239	11	1,002	1,802	40
State and U. S.		265								41
Benevolence and tuition	\$1,620	300				613		3,452	4,065	42
Am. M. Assn. and tuition	150	300	25,000	0	0	500	1,800	4,500	6,800	43
State	25	0	1,000	0	300	50	0	24	374	44
										45
F. A. and S. Ed. S. M. E. Ch.		500	250,000			1,855		8,515	10,370	46
Am. Miss. Assn.										47
										48
										49
State		25								50
										51
		250	10,000							52
										53
State and U. S.	14,145	7,000	132,656	100,400	0	3,265	4,073	145	7,483	54
	1,000	631	20,564		3,000	2,900	1		5,901	55
Sisters of Loretto.										56
A. M. A.										57
Gen. Christ. Miss. Con.	0	450	0	3,425	0	0	190	4,031	4,221	58
City		185	20,000							59
City		290	20,000			191			191	60
Church		1,000	40,000							61
Endowment	962	1,000	160,000	92,750	0	480		4,827	5,307	62
F. A., S. Ed. S. M. E. Ch. and S. F.	3,000	5,000	100,000			3,440		5,300	8,740	63
U. S. and State	2,882	727	49,422		7,500	0	0	11,548	19,048	64
Am. Miss. Assn.	4,500	2,500	125,000	6,000	0	3,200		10,800	14,000	65
City		200								66
M. E. Ch. endowment	9,055	2,000	50,000		0	2,800	1,117	13,456	17,373	67
										68
State and city				3,500	6,500			4,900	11,400	69
U. S. and F. A. and S. Ed. So.		0	14,000	1,000	0	1,166		3,834	5,000	70
										71
Christian Ch.	1,000	1,000	25,000	0	0	400	0		400	72
Freedmen's Aid and S. Ed. So.		3,000	90,000			1,631		9,338	10,969	73

a No report.

Statistics of schools for the education of the colored

	Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.												
		Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	MISSISSIPPI—continued.																			
75	State Colored Normal School				0	75	75											75		
76	Jackson College																			
77	Meridian Academy																			
78	Natchez College <i>a</i>																			
79	Tougaloo University	4	25	29	158	150	308	39	83					45				80	70	
80	Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College.							250	37		3	23		26		27	21			2
	MISSOURI.																			
81	Douglass High School <i>a</i>																			
82	Lincoln Institute				85	80	165		40					20	25			80		
83	Lincoln High School																			
84	Haile's College	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
85	Geo. R. Smith College				9	27	36										9	27		
	NEW JERSEY.																			
86	Colored Normal and Industrial School.	0	2	2	20	22	42	6	20			2					17	22		
	NORTH CAROLINA.																			
87	Ashboro Normal School <i>a</i>																			
88	Washburn Seminary				0	49	49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	49	0
89	Biddle University				172		172		41	23	9						29	50		25
90	Clinton Normal Institute <i>a</i>																			
91	Scotia Seminary				0	283	283											283	283	
92	State Colored Normal School (Elizabeth City).																			
93	State Colored Normal School (Fayetteville). <i>a</i>																			
94	Albion Academy, Normal and Industrial School.	5	2	7	80	29	109	50	46	25	10	2	1						18	
95	Franklin Christian College.				126	103	229		89		6	4	3			5		103	28	
96	State Colored Normal School (Franklin).																			
97	State Colored Normal School (Goldsboro).																			
98	Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race. <i>a</i>																			
99	Bennett College <i>a</i>																			
100	Lincoln Academy				17	136	153		3									118	32	
101	Whitin Normal School																			
102	Barrett Collegiate and Industrial Institute.	9	0	9	50	35	85	25									28	20	12	
103	State Colored Normal School (Plymouth).																			
104	Shaw University	110	0	110	100	110	210	0	100	0	0	40	0	0	50	0	0	110	110	0
105	St. Augustine's School				79	139	218	10	9		2	1						55	55	
106	City Graded School, Colored																			
107	Livingston College				15	33	48	4	3							8	21	12		
108	State Colored Normal School (Salisbury).																			
109	Shiloh Institute																			
110	Gregory Normal Institute				20	225	245													
111	Rankin-Richards Institute. <i>a</i>																			
112	Waters Normal Institute	4	0	4																
	OHIO.																			
113	Wilberforce University	10	15	25	50	57	107		43								24	53	44	180

* Statistics of 1893-94.

race, 1894-95—Detail table, Part II—Continued.

Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1894-95.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of any other property or endowment.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1894-95.
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
State.....		\$1,500	\$10,000	0	\$2,000	\$240			\$2,240
Am. Bapt. H. M. So.....		300	35,000						75
M. E. Ch.....		25	2,500			600		\$300	76
.....									77
Am. Miss. Assn.....	\$1,500	2,500	80,600	0	1,000			15,000	78
U. S. and State.....	2,875	102,500	\$163,575	2,321	70	\$5,679		11,600	79
.....									80
.....		31	81,625		65,000	167	1,084		81
State.....	0		18,000						82
Students.....	0		2,500	0	0	0			83
U. S. and S. Ed. So. of M. E. Ch.....	200	800	60,000			1,200	200	50	84
.....									85
State and private.....	7,427	500	10,000	5,000	3,000			500	86
.....									87
Am. Miss. Assn.....	0	0	3,000	0	152	83	0	0	88
Benevolence.....									89
City.....		31			300	50		50	90
Freedmen's N. Presb. Chr.....	11,150	1,000	60,000	4,500	0	0	0	0	91
State.....	0	0	0		900	0	0	0	92
.....									93
Presb. Br. and State.....	5,000	1,100	15,000		1,500				94
State and benevolence.....		219	11,000		1,400		150	2,776	95
.....		1,500	6,000	4,000	100	0	320	1,400	96
State and Peabody F.....	150	300	2,000	0	1,500	0	0	150	97
State.....									98
F. A. and E. S.....									99
Am. Miss. Assn.....	100	200			111				100
Tuition.....	10	150	1,000		0	180	0	15	101
Donations and tuition.....	978	1,000	8,000			3,080			102
State.....		250							103
Am. B. H. M. So.....		2,000	200,000	30,000	0	2,172		8,497	104
State and city.....		200							105
A. M. E. Z. Ch.....	3,500	3,000	110,000	1,000		500	200	5,800	106
State and Peabody F.....	0	920	0	0	1,480	0	0	0	107
Shiloh Bapt. Assn.....	180	100	6,135			250	50	210	109
Tuition.....	2,500	700	12,000	0	0	2,000	200	2,300	110
.....									111
Am. Bapt. H. M. S.....			10,860		175	181		1,446	112
A. M. E. Ch. and State.....	8,000	5,000	200,600	25,000	12,500	3,500	2,300	8,700	113

a No report.

Statistics of schools for the education of the colored

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.*												
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
PENNSYLVANIA.																			
114	Lincoln University *	40	0	40															
SOUTH CAROLINA.																			
115	Schofield Normal and Industrial School.				40	20	60	8	20								6	114	20
116	Beaufort Academy <i>a</i>																		
117	Harbison Institute																		
118	Browning Industrial Home and School.				0	75	75											75	25
119	Avery Normal Institute	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
120	Wallingford Academy*																		
121	Brainerd Institute				36	30	66	36	11			8				6	6	30	30
122	Allen University	7	0	7															
123	Benedict College				28	50	78		21					7		50			
124	Penn Industrial and Normal School.	0	0	0	103	81	184	0	86	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	81	0	0
125	Brewer Normal School	0	0	0		123	123	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	123	20	0
126	Clafin University and Agricultural College and Mechanics Institute.				279	169	448	10	70	118	118	118		70	70		7	113	22
TENNESSEE.																			
127	Warner Institute				10	61	71	10	1									61	20
128	Austin High School																		
129	Knox High College	2	0	2	50	90	140	6	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	108	12	5
130	Freemen's Normal Institute.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
131	Hannibal Medical College.																		
132	Le Moyne Normal Institute. <i>a</i>																		
133	Morristown Normal Academy.*																		
134	Bradley Academy <i>a</i>																		
135	Central Tennessee College.	165	0	165	59	83	142	4	22	0	0	0	6	0	6	0	40	52	3
136	Fisk University	3	0	3	67	128	195		52								22	100	20
137	Meigs' High School																		
138	Roger Williams University.				22	46	68		14							10	44		
TEXAS.																			
139	Tillotson College	0	4	4	91	84	175	5	91	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	84	6
140	East End High School <i>a</i>																		
141	Mary Allen Seminary*																		
142	Central High School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
143	Hearne Academy and Normal and Industrial Institute.				13	12	25	13			2				1	4	12		
144	Bishop College	12	0	12	52	128	180	1	28	16	4	2	1	1	0	0	8	14	12
145	Wiley University	5	0	5	2	75	77									30	75	31	
146	Prairie View State Normal School <i>a</i>																		
147	Paul Quinn College				1	2	3	2	1										
VIRGINIA.																			
148	Ingleside Seminary				0	111	111											111	111
149	Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.				250	191	441	46	22	0	1	5	1	13	6	6	8	104	25
150	St. Paul Normal and Industrial School.	5	0	5	60	35	95	22	12	5	5	2		2		8	12	23	4
151	Curry College <i>a</i>																		

* Statistics of 1893-94.

a No report.

race, 1894-95—Detail table, Part II—Continued.

Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1894-95.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of any other property or endowment.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1894-95.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
.....		15,000	\$212,000	\$394,800			\$22,469	\$11,271	\$33,740	114
Contributions.....		900	33,000		\$150	\$150	1,000	5,000	6,300	115
N. Presb. Ch.....		50	6,000			222			222	116
M. E. Ch.....		300				400			400	117
Am. M. Assn.....	0	500	25,000	0	0	2,800	0	2,500	5,300	119
Presb. Ch. Miss.....		500	1,300	0	0	336	0	1,464	1,800	120
A. M. E. Ch.....	\$600		10,000	0						121
Am. Bapt. H. M. So.....		1,500	40,000	1,000		1,050		3,950	5,000	122
Contributions.....	1,000	300	50,000	40,000						123
Am. M. Assn. Cong. Ch.....		200	5,000	350	0	0		1,000	1,000	124
U. S. State, Slater and Peabody Funds, F. A. and S. E. So.	0	1,800	10,000	0	0	0				125
.....				0	2,000	3,000		22,754	27,754	126
Am. Miss. Assn.....	60	50	8,000		350	160		500	950	127
City.....		305	10,000							128
Church and Miss. Society.....	13,000	1,600	100,000		3,000	500	0	9,500	13,000	129
New Eng. Y. M.....	0				0					130
Donations and tuition.....		300	1,100	0	80	215	80	34	409	131
A. M. A.....										132
F. A. and S. Ed. S.....						877		6,275	7,152	133
F. A. So. M. E. Chr.....	1,687	4,003	110,000	5,000	0	4,667	247	7,000	11,914	134
Am. Miss. Assn.....	600	5,227	400,000	25,000	0	5,285	900	16,000	22,185	135
City.....										136
Am. Bapt. H. M. So.....	10,000	4,000								137
.....										138
Am. Miss. Assn.....	191	1,400	60,000	0	0	1,181	0	2,500	3,681	139
City.....		300	50,000					1,800	1,800	140
Am. Bapt. H. M. So.....	1,237	48	18,000	0		0	0	0	0	141
.....					298			298	298	142
Am. Bapt. H. M. So.....		875	75,000							143
F. A. and S. Ed. So. M. E. Ch.....	2,000									144
.....										145
A. M. E. Ch.....	4,000	400	70,000	500		1,500			1,500	146
Presb. Church.....	5,000	400	3,000							147
U. S.....	80,392	7,332	572,000	424,085	0	0	22,203	97,477	119,680	148
Contributions.....	6,500		40,000							149
.....										150
.....										151

Statistics of schools for the education of the colored

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.												
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
VIRGINIA—continued.																			
152	Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth.	0	0	0	37	40	77	37	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	40	0
153	Public High School, Colored.																		
154	Norfolk Mission College.				18	240	258									18	240		
155	Bishop Payne Divinity and Industrial School.	1	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
156	Peabody School.																		
157	Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.				0	148	148										148	11	
158	Hartshorn Memorial College.																		
159	Richmond Theological Seminary.	50	0	50															
160	Valley Training School.																		
WEST VIRGINIA.																			
161	West Virginia Colored Institute.	0	0	0	34	44	78		32	0	0	0		2	0	0	4	40	
162	Storer College.	0	0	0	25	70	95		12	0	0	0	0	0	0	5			0

α No report.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION OF THE BLACKS.¹

It hardly seems fitting for you to associate my history and thought with those of Alexander Hamilton, one of the great men not born to die. And yet it may not seem immodest in me to suggest that the great and lowly, the rich and poor, the white and black, the ex-master and the ex-slave, have this in common, that each in his own way, and in his own generation, can put forth his highest efforts to serve humanity in the way that our country most needs service; in this all of us can be equal—in this all can be great. If any of you have the faintest idea that I have come here in the capacity of an instructor along any line of education I wish you to part with such an impression at once. My history and opportunity have not fitted me to be your teacher; the most that I can do is to give you a few facts out of my humble experience and leave you to draw your own conclusions.

I was born a slave on a plantation in Virginia, in 1857 or 1858, I think. My first memory of life is that of a one-room log cabin with a dirt floor and a hole in the center that served as a winter home for sweet potatoes, and, wrapped in a few rags on this dirt floor I spent my nights, and, clad in a single garment, about the plantation I often spent my days. The morning of freedom came, and though a child, I recall vividly my appearance with that of forty or fifty slaves before the veranda of the "big house" to hear read the documents that made us men instead of property. With the long prayed for freedom in actual possession, each started out into the world to find new friends and new homes. My mother decided to locate in West Virginia, and after many days and nights of weary travel we found ourselves among the salt furnaces and coal mines of West Virginia. Soon after reaching West Virginia I began work in the coal mines for the support of my mother.

While doing this I heard in some way, I do not now remember how, of General Armstrong's school at Hampton, Va. I heard at the same time, which impressed me most, that it was a school where a poor boy could work for his education, so far as his board was concerned. As soon as I heard of Hampton I made up my mind that in some way I was going to find my way to that institution. I began at once to save every nickel I could get hold of. At length, with my own savings and a little help from my brother and mother, I started for Hampton, although at the time I hardly knew where Hampton was or how much it would cost to reach the school. After walking a portion of the distance, traveling in a stage coach and cars the remainder of the journey, I at length found myself in the city of Richmond, Va. I also found myself without money, friends, or a place to stay all night. The last cent of my money had been expended. After walking about the city till midnight, and growing almost discouraged and quite exhausted, I crept under a sidewalk and slept all that night. The next morning, as good luck would have it, I found myself near a ship that was unloading pig iron. I applied to the captain for work, and he gave it, and I worked on this ship by day and slept under the sidewalk by night, till I had earned money enough to continue my way to Hampton, where I soon arrived with a surplus of 50 cents in my pocket.

I at once found General Armstrong, and told him what I had come for, and what my condition was. In his great hearty way he said that if I was worth anything he would give me a chance to work my way through that institution. At Hampton I found buildings, instructors, industries provided by the generous; in other words, the chance to work for my education. While at Hampton I resolved, if God permitted me to finish the course of study, I would enter the far South, the black belt of the Gulf States, and give my life in providing as best I could the same kind of chance for self-help for the youth of my race that I found ready for me when I went to Hampton, and so in 1881 I left Hampton and went to Tuskegee and started the Normal and Industrial Institute in a small church and shanty, with 1 teacher and 30 students.

Since then the institution of Tuskegee has grown till we have connected with the institution 69 instructors and 800 young men and women, representing 19 States; and, if I add the families of our instructors, we have on our grounds constantly a population of about 1,000 souls. The students are about equally divided between the sexes, and their average is 18½ years. In planning the course of training at Tuskegee we have steadily tried to keep in view our condition and our needs rather than pattern our course of study directly after that of a people whose opportunities of civilization have been far different and far superior to ours. From the first, industrial or hand training has been made a special feature of our work.

This industrial training, combined with the mental and religious, to my mind has several emphatic advantages. At first few of the young men and women who came to us would be able to remain in school during the nine months and pay in cash the \$8 per month charged for board. Through our industries we give them the chance

¹An address delivered by Booker T. Washington, principal of the Tuskegee (Ala.) Normal and Industrial Institute, at the dinner in honor of Alexander Hamilton, Brooklyn, N. Y., January, 1896.

of working out a portion of their board and the remainder they pay in cash. We find by experience that this institution can furnish labor that has economic value to the institution and gives the student a chance to learn something from the labor within itself. For instance, we cultivate by the labor of our students this year about 600 acres of land. This land is not only cultivated in a way to bring in return to our boarding department, but the farm, including stock raising, dairying, fruit growing, etc., is made a constant object lesson for our students and the people in that section of the South. A three-story brick building is now going up, and the bricks for this building are manufactured at our brick yard by students, where we have made 1,500,000 brick this season. The brick masonry, plastering, sawing, sawing of lumber, carpenters' work, painting, tinsmithing, in fact everything connected with the erection of this building is for permanent use, and the students have the knowledge of the trades entering into the erection of such a building. While the young men do this, the girls to a large extent make, mend and laundry their clothing, and in that way are taught these industries.

Now, this work is not carried on in a miscellaneous or irregular manner. At the head of each industrial department we have a competent instructor, so that the student is not only learning the practical work but is taught as well the underlying principles of each industry. When the student is through with brick masonry he not only understands the trade in a practical way, but also mechanical and architectural drawing to such an extent that he can become a leader in this industry. All through the classroom work is dovetailed in the industrial—the chemistry teaching made to tell on the farm and cooking, the mathematics in the carpentry department, the physics in the blacksmithing and foundrying. Aside from the advantage mentioned, the industrial training gives to our students respect and love for labor—helps them to get rid of the idea so long prevalent in the South that labor with the hands is rather degrading, and this feeling as to labor being degrading is not, I might add, altogether original with the black man of the South. The fact that a man goes into the world conscious of the fact that he has within him the power to create a wagon or a horse gives him a certain moral backbone and independence in the world that he would not possess without it.

While friends of the North and elsewhere have given us money to pay our teachers and to buy material which we could not produce, still very largely by the labor of the students, in the way I have attempted to describe, we have built up within about fourteen years a property that is now valued at \$225,000; 37 buildings, counting large and small, located on our 1,400 acres of land, all except three of which are the product of student labor. The annual expense of carrying on this work is now about \$70,000 a year. The whole property is deeded to an undenominational board of trustees, who have control of the institution. There is no mortgage on any of the property. Our greatest need is for money to pay for teaching.

What is the object of all this? In everything done in literary, religious, or industrial training the question kept constantly before all is that the institution exists for the purpose of training a certain number of picked leaders who will go out and reach in an effective manner masses by whom we are surrounded. It is not a practical nor desirable thing for the North to educate all the negroes in the South, but it is a perfectly practical and possible thing for the North to help the South educate the leaders, who in turn will go out and reach the masses and show them how to lift themselves up. In discussing this subject it is to be borne in mind that 85 per cent of the colored people South live practically in the country districts, where they are difficult to reach except by special effort. In some of the counties in Alabama, near Tuskegee, the colored outnumber the whites four and five to one.

In an industrial sense, what is the condition of these masses? The first year our people received their freedom they had nothing on which to live while they grew their first cotton crop; funds for the first crop were supplied by the storkeeper or former master, a debt was created; to secure the indebtedness a lien was given on the cotton crop. In this way we got started in the South what is known as the mortgage or crop lien system—a system that has proved a curse to the black and white man ever since it was instituted. By this system the farmer is charged a rate of interest that ranges from 15 to 40 per cent. By this system you will usually find three-fourths of the people mortgage their crops from year to year, as many deeply in debt and living in one-roomed cabins on rented land. By this system debts and extravagances are encouraged, and the land is impoverished and values fall.

The schools in the country districts rarely last over three and one-half months in the year, and are usually taught in a church or a wreck of a log cabin or under a brush arbor. My information is that each child entitled to attend the public schools in Massachusetts has spent on him each year between \$18 and \$20. In Alabama each colored child has spent on him this year about 71 cents, and the white children but a few cents more. Thus far in my remarks I have been performing a rather ungracious task in stating conditions without suggesting a remedy. What is the remedy for the state of things I have attempted to describe?

If the colored people got any good out of slavery it was the habit of work. In this respect the masses of the colored people are different from most races among whom missionary effort is made, in that the negro as a race works. You will not find anything like that high tension of activity that is maintained here; still the negro works, whether the call for labor comes from the rice swamps of the Carolinas, the cotton plantations of Alabama, or the sugar cane bottoms of Louisiana, the negro is ready to answer it—yes, toil is the badge of all his tribe, though he may do his work in the most shiftless and costly manner, still with him it is labor. I know you will find a class around railroad stations and corners of streets that loaf, just as you will find among my people, and we have got some black sheep in our flock, as there are in all flocks, but the masses in their humble way are industrious.

The trouble centers here: Through the operations of the mortgage system, high rents, the allurement of cheap jewelry and bad whisky, and the gewgaws of life, the negro is deprived of the results of his labor. Unused to self-government, unused to the responsibility of controlling our own earnings or expenditures, or even our own children, it could not be expected that we could take care of ourselves in all respects for several generations. The great need of the negro to-day is intelligent, unselfish leadership in his educational and industrial life.

Let me illustrate, and this is no fancy sketch: Ten years ago a young man born in slavery found his way to the Tuskegee school. By small cash payments and work on the farm he finished the course with a good English education and a practical and theoretical knowledge of farming. Returning to his country home where five-sixths of the citizens were black, he still found them mortgaging their crops, living on rented land from hand to mouth, and deeply in debt. School had never lasted longer than three months, and was taught in a wreck of a log cabin by an inferior teacher. Finding this condition of things, the young man to whom I have referred took the three months public school as a starting point. Soon he organized the older people into a club that came together every week. In these meetings the young man instructed as to the value of owning a home, the evils of mortgaging, and the importance of educating their children. He taught them how to save money, how to sacrifice—to live on bread and potatoes until they could get out of debt, begin buying a home, and stop mortgaging. Through the lessons and influence of these meetings, the first year of this young man's work these people built up by their contributions in money and labor a nice frame schoolhouse that replaced the wreck of a log cabin. The next year this work was continued and those people, out of their own pockets, added two months to the original three months' school term. Month by month has been added to the school term till it now lasts seven months every year. Already fourteen families within a radius of 10 miles have bought and are buying homes, a large proportion have ceased to mortgage their crops and are raising their own food supplies. In the midst of all was the young man educated at Tuskegee, with a model cottage and a model farm that served as an example and center of light for the whole community.

My friends, I wish you could have gone with me some days ago to this community and have seen the complete revolution that has been wrought in their industrial, educational, and religious life by the work of this one teacher, and I wish you could have looked with me into their faces and seen them beaming with hope and delight. I wish you could have gone with me into their cottages, containing now two and three rooms, through their farms, into their church and Sunday school. Bear in mind that not a dollar was given these people from the outside with which to make any of these changes; they all came about by reason of the fact that they had this leader, this guide, this Christian, to show them how to utilize the results of their own labor, to show them how to take the money that had hitherto been scattered to the wind in mortgaging, high rents, cheap jewelry and whisky, and to concentrate in the direction of their own uplifting. My people do not need or ask for charity to be scattered among them; it is very seldom you ever see a black hand in any part of this country reached forth for alms. It is not for alms we ask, but for leaders who will lead and guide and stimulate our people till they can get upon their own feet. Wherever they have been given a leader, something of the kind I have described, I have never yet seen a change fail to take place, even in the darkest community.

In our attempt to elevate the South one other thing must be borne in mind. I do not know how you find it here, but in Alabama we find it a pretty hard thing to make a good Christian of a hungry man. I think I have learned that we might as well settle down to the uncompromising fact that our people will grow in proportion as we teach them that the way to have the most of Jesus, and in a permanent form, is to mix in with their religion some land, cotton, and corn, a house with two or three rooms, and a little bank account; with these things interwoven with our religion there will be a foundation for growth on which we can build for all time. What I have tried to indicate are some of the lessons that we are disseminating into every corner of the black belt of the South, through the work of our graduates and

through the Tuskegee negro conference, that brings together at Tuskegee once a year 800 of the representatives of the black yeomanry of the South to lay plans, to get light and encouragement, and thus add the strength of mothers and fathers to the strength of the schoolroom and pulpit. More than anything else Tuskegee is a great college settlement dropped into the midst of a mass of ignorance that is gradually but slowly leavening the whole lump.

Of this you can be sure that it matters not what is said the black man is doing or is not doing, regardless of entanglements or discouragements, the rank and file of my race is now giving itself to the acquiring of education, character, and property in a way that it has never done since the dawn of our freedom. The chance that we ask is, by your help and encouragement, to be permitted to move on unhindered and unfettered for a few more years, and with this chance, if the Bible is right and God is true, there is no power that can permanently stay our progress. Neither here nor in any part of the world do people come into close relations with a race that is to a large extent empty handed and empty headed. One race gets close to another in proportion as they are drawn in commerce, in proportion as the one gets hold of something that the other wants or respects—commerce, we must acknowledge, in the light of history, is the great forerunner of civilization and peace.

Whatever friction exists between the black man and white man in the South will disappear in proportion as the black man, by reason of his intelligence and skill, can create something that the white man wants or respects; can make something, instead of all the dependence being on the other side. Despite all her faults, when it comes to business pure and simple, the South presents an opportunity to the negro for business that no other section of the country does. The negro can sooner conquer Southern prejudice in the civilized world than learn to compete with the North in the business world. In field, in factory, in the markets, the South presents a better opportunity for the negro to earn a living than is found in the North. A young man educated in head, hand, and heart, goes out and starts a brickyard, a blacksmith shop, a wagon shop, or an industry by which that black boy produces something in the community that makes the white man dependent on the black man for something—produces something that interlocks, knits the commercial relations of the races together, to the extent that a black man gets a mortgage on a white man's house that he can foreclose at will; well, the white man won't drive the negro away from the polls when he sees him going up to vote. There are reports to the effect that in some sections the black man has difficulty in voting and having counted the little white ballot which he has the privilege of depositing about twice in two years, but there is a little green ballot that he can vote through the teller's window three hundred and thirteen days in every year, and no one will throw it out or refuse to count it. The man that has the property, the intelligence, the character, is the one that is going to have the largest share in controlling the Government, whether he is white or black, or whether in the North or South.

It is important that all the privileges of the law be ours. It is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of these privileges. Says the great teacher: "I will draw all men unto me." How? Not by force, not by law, not by superficial glitter. Following in the tracks of the lowly Nazarine, we shall continue to work and wait, till by the exercise of the higher virtues, by the products of our brain and hands, we make ourselves so valuable, so attractive to the American nation, that instead of repelling we shall draw men to us because of our intrinsic worth. It will be needless to pass a law to compel men to come into contact with a negro who is educated and has \$200,000 to lend. In some respects you already acknowledge that as a race we are more powerful, have a greater power of attraction, than your race. It takes 100 per cent of Anglo-Saxon blood to make a white American. The minute that it is proved that a man possesses one one-hundredth part of negro blood in his veins it makes him a black man; he falls to our side; we claim him. The 99 per cent of white blood counts for nothing when weighed beside 1 per cent of negro blood.

None of us will deny that immediately after freedom we made serious mistakes. We began at the top. We made these mistakes, not because we were black people, but because we were ignorant and inexperienced people. We have spent time and money attempting to go to Congress and State legislatures that could have better been spent in becoming the leading real estate dealer or carpenter in our own county. We have spent time and money in making political stump speeches and in attending political conventions that could better have been spent in starting a dairy farm or truck garden and thus have laid a material foundation, on which we could have stood and demanded our rights. When a man eats another person's food, wears another's clothes, and lives in another's house, it is pretty hard to tell how he is going to vote or whether he votes at all.

Gentlemen of the club, the practical question that comes home to you, and to me as an humble member of an unfortunate race, is, how can we help you in working out the great problem that concerns 10,000,000 of my race, and 60,000,000 of yours.

We are here; you rise as we rise; you fall as we fall; we are strong when you are strong; you are weak when we are weak; no power can separate our destinies. The negro can afford to be wronged in this country; the white man can not afford to wrong him. In the South you can help us to prepare the strong, Christian, unselfish leaders that shall go among the masses of our people and show them how to take advantage of the magnificent opportunities that surround them. In the North you can encourage that education among the masses which shall result in throwing wide open the doors of your offices, stores, shops, and factories in the way that shall give our black men and women the opportunity to earn a dollar. * * * Let it be said of all parts of our country that there is no distinction of race or color in the opportunity to earn an honest living. Throw wide open the doors of industry. We are an humble, patient people; we can afford to work and wait. There is plenty of room at the top. The workers up in the atmosphere of goodness, love, patience, forbearance, forgiveness, and industry are not too many or overcrowded. If others would be little, we can be great; if others bad, we can be good; if others try to push us down, we can help to push them up.

Men ask me if measures like those enacted in South Carolina do not hurt and discourage. I answer, Nay, nay; South Carolina and no other State can make a law to harm the black man in great measure. Men may make laws to hinder and fetter the ballot, but men can not make laws that will bind or retard the growth of manhood:

Fleecy locks and black complexion
 Can not forfeit Nature's claim;
 Skins may differ, but affection
 Dwells in white and black the same.

If ever there was a people that obeyed the scriptural injunction, "If they smite thee on one cheek, turn the other also," that people has been the American negro. To right his wrongs the Russian appeals to dynamite, Americans to rebellion, the Irishman to agitation, the Indian to his tomahawk; but the negro, the most patient, the most unresentful and law abiding, depends for the righting of his wrongs upon his songs, his groans, his midnight prayers, and an inherent faith in the justice of his cause, and if we judge the future by the past who may say that the negro is not right? We went into slavery pagans, we came out Christians. We went into slavery a piece of property, we came out American citizens. We went into slavery without a language, we came out speaking the proud Anglo-Saxon tongue. We went into slavery with the slave chains clanking about our waists, we came out with the American ballot in our hands. Progress, progress is the law of nature; under God it shall be our eternal guiding star.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE NEGRO.¹

That education is the strength of our Republic, the source of its prosperity, the chief guarantee of its perpetuity, needs no discussion here. Is it necessary to defend in this presence the proposition that higher education, the work of colleges and universities, is indispensable to the existence of any education among any people? What educated nation exists or ever has existed upon the earth without colleges of higher learning? Did common schools ever make an intelligent nation? Did common schools ever exist in any nation excepting as the fruit of higher learning? Should we ever have had our common-school system but for our colleges?

To ask these questions is to answer them. The intelligence of the old world has all come down from her universities. The brighter civilization of America, with all her common-school system, has grown out of Harvard and Yale, Brown and Columbia, and William and Mary, Dartmouth and Williams, each of which was founded before the public school. The college is the fountainhead of all learning, and the only possible source of supply for all secondary and primary schools of instruction. The colleges are more. They are the only developers of complete manhood. There can be no well-rounded, thoroughly balanced minds, capable of dealing with principles, measuring forces, comprehending relations, grasping and handling the great questions of public life and human leadership, without the broad culture and thorough discipline which years of life in college alone can insure. Exceptional cases of remarkable genius or of abnormal growth do not vitiate this general rule. It has become an axiom in America, and our 500 colleges have grown out of it.

Said Dr. Shedd, fifty years ago: "The common information of society is nothing more nor less than the fine and diffusive radiance of a more substantial and profound culture. This light penetrating in all directions is like a globe of solid fire. All this general and practical information which distinguishes from a savage (or although civilized yet ignorant) state of society—which distinguishes England and the United States from Africa and South America—did not grow up spontaneously from the earth,

¹ An address delivered before the American Baptist Home Mission Society, at Asbury Park, N. J., May 26, 1895, by Edward C. Mitchell, D. D., president of Leland University, New Orleans, La.

is not the effect of a colder climate or a harder soil. It has been exhaling for centuries from colleges and universities—it has been distilling for ages from the alembic of the scholar's brain." The history of the last fifty years has been accumulating evidences of this great truth, and all nations have been furnishing illustrations of it.

A new nation has now come upon the stage. Eight millions of people have been thrust into the center of our civilization. They have been endowed with citizenship, with all its responsibilities, with all its possibilities for good or evil. They constitute about one-eighth part of our body politic. Among them is over one-third of the Baptist denomination of this country. Shall they be educated? Can we afford to leave one stone unturned, one agency unemployed, which might lead this mighty force out of the slough of ignorance and poverty and vice up into the plane of Christian manhood and useful citizenship? There can be but one answer to this question. If we have any love for our country; if we have any regard for our brethren in Christ Jesus; if we have any loyalty to our great Baptist brotherhood, we can not withhold any possible facility for that self-improvement of which, through no fault of their own, they have for centuries been deprived.

It goes without saying in this audience that education is what they need—education, moral, intellectual, physical. Provisionally the moral education is not without a substantial basis. The spirit of God has not been absent from this people in their long night of bondage. With all their ignorance and even superstition at times, none can doubt the genuineness of their love to the Divine Master; and, to this day, religion among them is a very potent influence, and is very widespread in its extension. From the census of 1890 it appears that the proportion of white Baptist communicants to the whole white population of the South is about 8 per cent (or 1 in 12), while the proportion of negro Baptist communicants to the whole negro population is 20 per cent (or 1 in 5). Moreover, the moral and religious training of the negro in the days of slavery was by no means altogether neglected. They enjoyed some advantages which have now passed away from them. A large proportion of them not only received a religious training from members of white Christian families, but they were regular attendants upon white churches, and thus intelligently taught the Word of God. That they no longer enter white churches is a thing to be expected under present circumstances; nor can it be regretted if only a proper leadership, out of themselves, can be raised up for them. It is evident, however, that what they need in religious things is not so much the spiritual as the intellectual. It is a better intelligence to guide their religious proclivities which is the one thing lacking in many localities.

This brings us to the question: What should be the intellectual training of this people?

If negroes are men and women, members of the human family, endowed with similar capacities and tendencies which appear in other races, then our question is already answered by what we said in the beginning. If the experience of five hundred years has taught us any wisdom in regard to the processes of human development; if we, in our American republic, have learned anything in the last two centuries as to what constitutes education, and what means and appliances are best to make it effective, then here and now we have a grand opportunity to employ this wisdom for the elevation of a new race. There is nothing for us to do but to put into operation the same agencies by which we ourselves have been educated, taking advantage of all the improvements which modern science has invented, or our past mistakes have suggested.

To imagine that the negro can safely do without any of the institutions or instrumentalities which were essential to our own mental advancement is to assume that the negro is superior to the white man in mental capacity. To deprive him of any of these advantages, which he is capable of using, would be to defraud ourselves, as a nation and a Christian church, of all the added power which his developed manhood should bring to us. It does not seem to be necessary in this audience to discuss the proposition that intelligence is power, and that the only road to intelligence is through mental discipline conducted under moral influences.

What now have we been doing for our brother in black to help him in his life struggle? The work began somewhat as in the days of our fathers. The John Harvards and the Elihu Yales of Pilgrim history found their counterparts in General Fiske, Dr. Phillips, Seymour Straight, and Hollbrook Chamberlain, who founded colleges, even before it was possible for many to enter upon the college course, but with a wise forecast for the need that would eventually come and is now actually upon us.

A little later, about 1876, the people of the South organized public schools. In nearly all the Southern States the same proportionate provision is made for the negro as for the whites, and this is and must ever be the main dependence of the elevation of the negro. With all the honor which is due, and which is cheerfully rendered to Northern benevolence, for the splendid foundations of higher learning, it should not be forgotten that more than ten times as much money has been appropriated by the South for negro education.

It is true that this provision is inadequate for both races. In about one-third of the States an average of only four months per annum of instruction is given. This is not from want of will, but of means. The poverty of the South is yet very great. We of the prosperous North can not understand it. If we did, we should better appreciate the pluck and energy and uncomplaining self-sacrifice with which they adjust themselves to their new conditions and bear their heavy burdens. President Dreher, of Roanoke College, Virginia, has shown by reliable statistics that with all the apparent inferiority of the South in her appointments for education, yet in proportion to her means she is doing even more than the North for this purpose.

But what shall we teach the negro? Shall we give him anything beyond the three R's? By "we," of course, is meant, "we white folks," but Southern white folks have long ceased to teach the negro the common branches at all. This work has all been relegated to negro teachers. Let us take for example Mississippi, which, hitherto, has shared with Louisiana the unenviable distinction among States of having the greatest amount of illiteracy. The State superintendent of public instruction, Mr. J. R. Preston, wrote for the New York Independent last year, in reply to some inquiry: "There is not a white teacher in the colored schools of the State," and this is substantially true of every State of the South. Your Northern friend, who desires to teach the three R's, might travel from Mason and Dixon's line to the Gulf, and he would find every situation preempted. He would have to adopt for himself the Shakespearian lamentation, "Othello's occupation's gone." The only place where he would find primary instruction given by white teachers would be in our own so-called universities. According to the last report from Washington, the white teachers of public schools in the South are in the proportion of 1 to every 42 white pupils, and the colored teachers of 1 to every 51 colored pupils. The entire public-school system for the negro is carried on by negro teachers.

And this not only in the lower grades of instruction. Superintendent Preston informs us that in Mississippi there are over 600 colored teachers who hold first-grade certificates. Now a first-grade certificate, in most States, means that the teacher has passed an examination in algebra, physics, physiology, chemistry, geometry, Latin, civil government, psychology, pedagogy; or, in other words, with the exception of Greek, he is fitted to enter the freshman class in any Southern college. And Superintendent Preston says: "These teachers are examined by a white board. They have just the same questions that the white teachers have. I make them out and I know. And the board was just to them and gave them all they earned, but it is not likely to err on the side of mercy." It is not probable that any Southern State is behind Mississippi in the proportionate number of its colored teachers. Virginia reports 700, North Carolina 761, Arkansas 500; Texas has a different method of classification, but reports 1,900 as "higher than third grade." As regards the kind and amount of education which Mississippi's colored people have received, Superintendent Preston says: "The other day I was conducting an institute where there were 19 colored teachers in attendance, and I found that 18 of them were college graduates. I went right over into an adjoining county, and took a white institute with 37 in attendance, and found only about one-fourth were college graduates." By college graduates normal graduates are doubtless meant, and, in the case of colored teachers, the normal colleges of our missionary schools.

What, then, I again ask, shall we teach the negro? The answer seems to be as plain as the logic of common sense can make it. Let us teach what our colleges and universities were founded to teach. Let us teach the only thing left for us to teach. Let us teach the only thing that the negro can not do as well for himself. Let us teach the thing which the experience of all the ages and the matured judgment of all true educators has decided to be essential for the full development of manhood. Let us teach the negro who he is and what he is as God made him in his physical and mental structure. Let us teach him what the world is that God has made for him, with all its elements and powers and forces. Let us teach him the history of races and of civilizations, with the laws of that progress. Let us teach him to become master of his own tongue by studying its sources in the ancient world and in classic literature, and master of himself by analyzing the structure and workings of his own mind. In short, let us give him such glimpses of the whole range of science as shall tax his powers to the utmost, while it takes the conceit out of him and brings him nearer to that supreme discovery of Socrates that he "knows nothing."

As Commissioner Harris has well said: "Education, intellectual and moral, is the only means yet discovered that is always sure to help people to help themselves. * * * It produces that divine discontent which goads on the individual and will not let him rest."

But has the negro the capacity for mental training? Is that a question to-day? I am almost ashamed to discuss it in this presence, but my apology is that I have been requested to do so. It will bear examination from any and every point of view. It is vital to the whole subject before us. If anybody doubts, he should inform

himself. If color has anything to do with intellect, it should appear when the two colors or races are brought into contact and competition. The best source of information, therefore, is a study of the negro at school. We have seen, however, that the common-school teacher is now ruled out of court as an interested party. To find white teachers we must go to the colleges. I have recently asked presidents of fifteen colleges these three questions: (1) About what proportion of your pupils are full-blooded negroes? (2) What difference, if any, have you perceived in the average ability of full-blooded negroes as compared with those of mixed blood? (3) What difference, if any, is manifest between your pupils as a whole in intellectual ability and those of white schools under similar conditions? The replies to these questions are before me. The substance of them is this: Not more than one-fifth of all the pupils are full-blooded negroes. The rest are of all degrees from quadroon to blonde. In the second place, there is no difference of mental ability clearly traceable among them; if there be any, it is in favor of the full-blooded negro. Thirdly, as compared with white pupils, there is no perceptible difference, when their environments are taken into account. Of course, there is some difficulty in measuring the force of environments.

This consensus of opinion among Southern educators coincides with my own observations. Having been a teacher for over thirty years, over twenty of which were spent in theological schools in the North and in Europe, I have now spent ten years in the South, and in daily contact with so-called negro pupils, and I can truly say that I find no appreciable difference in original capacity. If they have come from ignorant districts and dark surroundings, their vocabulary is limited, and their first exhibitions of intelligence are inferior to those who come from cultivated homes, though often their greater eagerness to learn counterbalances this disability. We must not, however, be misled by an assumption that the American negro is merely a transplanted savage. Two centuries of life in the midst of the foremost civilization of the world is a long way from savagery. There were intelligent Christian men and women in daily contact with the American bondsmen; they were able Christian ministers, from whose lips they received their doctrine. Though schools were forbidden, there were lovely Christian daughters, white angels, who defied the law in their loving sympathy for the lowly. Life in many a Southern family was an education inferior only to that of their master's children. Only by the intellectual brightness of Southern people, and the Christian character which illuminated Southern homes, can we account for the mental development of thousands of negroes, as they came out of the war too old to come into our schools, but constituting, nevertheless, the present influential leaders of the people.

And it must be in part the memories of those refining influences which are blossoming out all over the South in the neat, attractive homes which these people are building for themselves. The Southern negroes are not all living in one-room cabins, of which we have heard much recently. There are better homes than mine owned by negroes in New Orleans. There are plenty of ex-slaves in Louisiana who are richer than their former masters. There are over 300,000 homes and farms owned by negroes in the South without encumbrance. Six years ago Southern negroes were paying taxes on nearly \$300,000,000. The white Baptists of the South had a church property worth \$18,000,000, the accumulation of two hundred years. The negro Baptists at the same date (twenty-six years out of slavery) had acquired a church property of over nine millions. There must have been an ante bellum civilization behind all this.

Said Rev. A. D. Mayo, at the Mohonk Conference in 1890: "It has never been realized by the loyal North what is evident to every intelligent Southern man, what a prodigious change had been wrought in this people during its years of bondage, and how, without the schooling of this era, the subsequent elevation of the emancipated slave to a full American citizenship would have been an impossibility. * * * In that condition he learned the three great elements of civilization more speedily than they were ever learned before. He learned to work, he acquired the language and adopted the religion of the most progressive of peoples. Gifted with a marvelous aptitude for such schooling, he was found in 1865 farther out of the woods of barbarism than any other people at the end of a thousand years."

The scholastic education of the negro began in earnest only about twenty years ago, 1876 being the date of the complete inauguration of the public school system of the South. This is too short for us to expect great results. The educated generation are not yet fairly out of school, but there have already appeared some isolated cases which show signs of promise. In the class of 1888 at Harvard University were two negroes, one of whom was selected by the faculty to represent his class on commencement day, as being the foremost scholar among his 250 classmates; the other was elected by the class for the highest honor in their gift by being made their orator on class day. The circumstance reflects honor not merely on him, but on the democratic spirit of our oldest university, which recognized merit without regard to color. Boston University has also yielded first honors to a negro. A negro professor of theology at Straight University at New Orleans is a graduate of Vermont University,

who afterwards took the prize for traveling scholarship from Yale Theological Seminary, and spent a year in Germany upon it. Professor Bowen, of the Gammon Theological Seminary, delivered at the Atlanta Exposition opening an address which in classic finish will bear comparison with the best orations of Edward Everett. The principal of one of our auxiliaries, Mr. E. N. Smith, a perfect gentleman and an excellent teacher, is a full-blooded negro, a graduate from Lincoln University and Newton Theological Institution, and pronounced by Dr. Hovey one of the best scholars that have been educated there.

Said President Merrill E. Gates, of Amherst College (The Independent, Dec. 5, 1895): "My observation leads me to believe that the proportion of truly successful men, tried by the highest standards of success, among the colored men who study in our Northern colleges, is quite as great as is the proportion of successful men among the whites who have the same, or equally good, opportunities for an education."

We might multiply examples—they are not necessary. There seems to be nothing better established than the essential manhood of the negro. Intelligent men of the South do not question it. Their recent cordial response to our proposal for cooperation is a good illustration of this.

There are two points of importance to which I wish to call your attention before leaving this subject—one relates to the continued use of our colleges in the South for giving primary instruction, the other is the relation of industrial training to the education of the negro.

We have seen that the public schools of the South are fairly equal in quality for both races, and that negro schools are taught by negro teachers. There is a truth beyond that. In the present deficiency of provision for common-school instruction, the colored people are ready and willing, with proper encouragement, to supplement these with schools supported by themselves. There are twelve such institutions already established in Louisiana. Now, if this be so—if the negro, with the help of the State, is providing his own primary education, and doing it successfully, what propriety is there in our continuing to furnish college endowments and employ college teachers to do primary work? It is a first principle of true beneficence to do nothing for any man which he can be led to do for himself. Certainly we ought not in any way by rivalry to discourage the work of self-education. It has been well said by the Hon. J. L. M. Curry: "An educational charity would sadly fail of its purpose if the least impediment were placed in the path of the free school. In so far as these institutions not under State control impair the efficiency of or divert attendance from the public schools, they are mischievous, for the great mass of children, white and black, must, more in the future than at present, depend almost exclusively upon the State schools for the common branches of education."

In the United States statistics of 1893 and 1894 it appears that in the 158 private schools designed for the secondary and higher education of colored people in the South, there were 18,595 primary pupils, while only 13,262 belong to the secondary or high-school class, and 940 were in collegiate classes. As these schools of higher education are situated for the most part in larger towns and cities, where the best provision for public schools is usually made, it is fair to presume that those 18,000 pupils are drawn from the free schools by the attractive name of "college" or "university," which veils their low grade of standing, and that these learned faculties of 1,320 professors must be largely engaged in rudimentary instruction. Would it not be far better for these pupils to set before them the prize of admission to the college, at least as far as the normal grade, as a motive for excellence in the common schools, and would it not be better for the professors to be allowed to confine their work of instruction to those higher branches for which they are specially fitted?

Of course, the change of policy here recommended would considerably diminish the show of numbers in our so-called colleges, but it would greatly improve the efficiency and thoroughness of their legitimate work, and directly help and stimulate the free schools to better attainment. Said Commissioner Harris, in his discussion of the education of the negro in the Atlantic Monthly for June, 1892: "It is clear from the above consideration that money expended for the secondary and higher education of the negro accomplishes far more for him. It is seed sown where it brings forth an hundredfold, because each one of the pupils of these higher institutions is a center of diffusion of superior methods and refining influences among an imitative and impressive race. State and national aid, as well as private bequests, should take this direction first. There should be no gift or bequest for common or elementary instruction. This should be left to the common schools, and all outside aid should be concentrated on the secondary and higher instruction."

There is an important reason for this wise counsel of Dr. Harris which now presses itself upon our attention. We have reached a crisis in the progress of negro education. The work of the common school now carried on by the people themselves has created all over the South a new generation of educated youth, wiser than their parents, wiser than their ministers, approaching manhood and womanhood, ready soon to take control of affairs and of public sentiment. They already know the

difference between learning and ignorance, between religion and superstition. They have no knowledge of slavery. They are a new generation of free-born people. Their improvement is phenomenal, but no corresponding improvement has come to the ministry. That the ministry has greatly improved during this twenty years no one who has visited their churches or attended their associations can doubt. Considering their advantages, they are a very able body of men. Some of them rank among the best preachers of the South. Many of the younger of them have had more or less training in our colleges. The Richmond, Atlanta, and Gammon theological seminaries have sent out a small quota. But as yet not a thousand in all the South have had even a college education. Nearly the whole educational machinery thus far has been occupied in supplying the great demand for teachers, and the whole force of educated talent has been drawn to the schools.

The fact mentioned a while since that less than 1,000 in the whole South are at this moment engaged in collegiate study is to be accounted for not by want of capacity for higher studies, but for want of motive. Education costs them a great deal. Nearly every one earns every dollar which he pays for his learning. With most it has been a great struggle to reach the point of normal graduation, and then the best salary for teaching at present available is open to them. Every influence urges them to stop here and reap the fruits of their hard-earned attainment. Moreover, the influences around them all tend to discourage higher attainment. Some have brothers and sisters to educate, and must stay at home to earn the money. Others have mothers and fathers who are struggling with poverty and debt, and who now claim their services to help them out. All their neighbors say, "You know enough now, since you have been teaching the whole neighborhood." To break away from all this requires higher incentive and a stronger pressure than comes to most of them. Meanwhile, the old people and their ministers go on in the ruts of ignorance and superstition. The uneducated ministers (however good and gifted with natural ability) are unable to keep pace with the young people in intelligence or to retain their influence over them. A breach is growing. A moral drift away from religion is beginning to manifest itself. There is danger ahead for which no adequate provision is in sight. What shall that provision be? Ministers' institutes? Some helpful suggestions can be doubtless made to the existing ministry by their educated white brethren. But he must have great faith in the receptive powers of the average negro who supposes that a mature man can be transformed from ignorance to erudition by a week or ten days annually of lecturing. Shall we take them into our colleges? It is too late. They are too old to begin a course of study. They are ashamed to expose their ignorance. Many have families. Gladly as we would help them in their conscious need, and deeply as our hearts are stirred by their struggle, the problem is insoluble in that direction. The only hope for a ministry which will really lead and properly teach the next generation of the colored race is through the legitimate methods of education.

How shall this be reached? How shall we bridge this chasm between an educated people and an ignorant ministry? To meet this crisis wisdom and generalship are needful. It is our duty as their friends to point out the danger and to provide the remedy. The motive which is lacking should be somehow supplied. Six hundred years ago illiteracy in England well-nigh approached that of the negro American of to-day. It is said that only five of the twenty-five barons who signed the Magna Charta could write their names. Her Christian philanthropists saw the evil, and established prizes, denominated "bursaries," "scholarships," and "fellowships," to stimulate high attainments in study. The accumulation of these prizes by the wise forecast of our English ancestors really constitutes the basis of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The duty of the hour for us toward our Southern brethren is not only to endow the colleges which we have established, but to offer to those who by their own exertions have attained the rank of college students a prize sufficient to enable and stimulate them to go on to the full stature of intellectual manhood. Here is an opportunity for the use of consecrated wealth. Who will avail himself of it, as Daniel Hand has done for the American Missionary Association?

What shall we say, now, about the relation of industrial training to our problem? Industrial training is good and useful to some persons, if they can afford time to take it. But in its application to the negro several facts should be clearly understood:

1. It appears not to be generally known in the North that in the South all trades and occupations are open to the negro, and always have been. Before the war slaves were taught mechanics' arts, because they thereby became more profitable to their masters. And now every village has its negro mechanics, who are patronized both by white and colored employers, and any who wish to learn the trade can do so.

2. It is a mistake to suppose that industrial education can be wisely applied to the beginnings of school life. Said the Rev. A. D. Mayo, than whom no man in America is better acquainted with the condition and wants of the South: "There are two specious, un-American notions now masquerading under the taking phrase, 'industrial

education." First, that it is possible or desirable to train large bodies of youth to superior industrial skill without a basis of sound elementary education. You can not polish a brickbat, and you can not make a good workman of a plantation negro or a white ignorant until you first wake up his mind, and give him the mental discipline and knowledge that comes from a good school; * * * second, that it is possible or desirable to train masses of American children on the European idea that the child will follow the calling of his father. Class education has no place in the order of society, and the American people will never accept it in any form. The industrial training needed in the South must be obtained by the establishment of special schools of improved housekeeping for girls, with mechanical training for such boys as desire it. * * * And this training should be given impartially to both races, without regard to the thousand and one theories of what the colored man can not do."

3. Industrial training is expensive of time and money, as compared with its results as a civilizer. When you have trained one student you have simply fitted one man to earn an ordinary living. When you have given a college education to a man with brains you have sent forth an instrumentality that will affect hundreds or thousands.

Said Chauncey M. Depew, in his address at the tenth convention of the University of Chicago, in April, 1895: "I acknowledge the position and the usefulness of the business college, the manual training school, the technological institute, the scientific school, and the schools of mines, medicine, law, and theology. They are of infinite importance to the youth who has not the money, the time, or the opportunity to secure a liberal education. They are of equal benefit to the college graduate who has had a liberal education in training him for his selected pursuit. But the theorists, or rather the practical men who are the architects of their own fortunes, and who are proclaiming on every occasion that a liberal education is a waste of time for a business man, and that the boy who starts early and is trained only for his one pursuit is destined for a larger success, are doing infinite harm to the ambitious youth of this country.

"The college, in its four years of discipline, training, teaching, and development, makes the boy the man. His Latin and his Greek, his rhetoric and his logic, his science and his philosophy, his mathematics and his history, have little or nothing to do with law or medicine or theology, and still less to do with manufacturing, or mining, or storekeeping, or stocks, or grain, or provisions. But they have given to the youth, when he has graduated, the command of that superb intelligence with which God has endowed him, by which, for the purpose of a living or a fortune, he grasps his profession or his business and speedily overtakes the boy who, abandoning college opportunities, gave his narrow life to the narrowing pursuit of the one thing by which he expected to earn a living. The college-bred man has an equal opportunity for bread and butter, but beyond that he becomes a citizen of commanding influence and a leader in every community where he settles."

4. Industrial training is liable to divert attention from the real aim and end of education, which is manhood. The young scholar can not serve two masters. It requires all the energy there is in a boy to nerve him to the high resolve that in spite of all difficulties he will patiently discipline himself until he becomes a man. This is one reason why our northern colleges, which in many cases began as manual-labor schools, have abandoned it. Ought we to insist on "putting a yoke upon the necks" of our brethren in black "which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear?"

Finally, experience seems to show that industrial education does not educate, even in trades.

In the report of the Bureau of Education for 1889-90 is a full statistical table of the lines of business in which the graduates of 17 colored schools are employed. In all these schools industrial instruction is given, such as carpentry, tinning, painting, whip making, plastering, shoemaking, tailoring, blacksmithing, farming, gardening, etc. Out of 1,243 graduates of these schools there are found to be only 12 farmers, 2 mechanics, 1 carpenter. The names of the universities are Allen (S. C.); Atlanta (Ga.); Berea (Ky.); Central Tennessee (Tenn.); Clafin (S. C.); Fiske (Tenn.); Knoxville (Tenn.); Livingstone (N. C.); New Orleans (La.); Paul Quinn (Tex.); Philander Smith (Ark.); Roger Williams (Tenn.); Rust (Miss.); Southern, New Orleans, La.; Straight, New Orleans, La.; Tuskegee (Ala.); Wilberforce (Ohio).

The employments of the graduates were: Teachers, 693; ministers, 117; physicians, 163; lawyers, 116; college professors, 27; editors, 5; merchants, 15; farmers, 12; carpenter, 1; United States Government service, 36; druggists, 5; dentists, 14; bookkeepers, 2; printers, 2; mechanics, 2; butchers, 3; other pursuits, 30.

The money appropriated to these schools by the Slater fund from 1884 to 1894 was \$139,981.78.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE SLATER FUND AND THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

Compiled from Occasional Papers published by the trustees of the John F. Slater fund, Nos. 1 to 6.¹

Contents.—I. Difficulties, complications, and limitations connected with the education of the negro. II. Education of the negroes since 1860. III. Occupations of the negroes. IV. A statistical sketch of the negroes in the United States. V. Memorial sketches of John F. Slater. VI. Documents relating to the origin and work of the Slater trustees: (a) Charter from the State of New York; (b) letter of the founder; (c) letter of the trustees accepting the gift; (d) the thanks of Congress; (e) by-laws; (f) members of the board; (g) remarks of President Hayes on the death of Mr. Slater.

I.

DIFFICULTIES, COMPLICATIONS, AND LIMITATIONS CONNECTED WITH THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

[By J. L. M. Curry, LL. D., secretary of the trustees of the John F. Slater fund.]

Civilization certainly, Christianity probably, has encountered no problem which surpasses in magnitude or complexity the negro problem. For its solution political remedies, very drastic, have been tried, but have failed utterly. Educational agencies have been very beneficial as a stimulus to self-government and are increasingly hopeful and worthy of wider application, but they do not cure social diseases, moral ills. Much has been written of evolution of man, of human society, and history shows marvelous progress in some races, in some countries, in the bettering of habits and institutions, but this progress is not found, in any equal degree, in the negro race in his native land. What has occurred in the United States has been from external causes. Usually human development has come from voluntary energy, from self-evolved organizations of higher and higher efficiency, from conditions which are principally the handiwork of man himself. With the negro, whatever progress has marked his life as a race in this country has come from without. The great ethical and political revolutions of enlightened nations, through the efforts of successive generations, have not been seen in his history.

When, on March 4, 1882, our large-hearted and broadminded founder established this trust, he had a noble end in view. For near thirteen years the trustees have kept the object steadily before them, with varying results. Expectations have not always been realized. If any want of highest success has attended our efforts, this is not an unaccompanied experience. As was to have been foreseen, in working out a novel and great problem, difficulties have arisen. Some are inherent and pertain to the education of the negro, however, and by whomsoever undertaken, and some are peculiar to the trust. Some are remedial. In this, as in all other experiments, it is better to ascertain and comprehend the difficulties so as to adopt and adjust the proper measures for displacing or overcoming them. A general needs to

¹ *Announcement to the series.*—The trustees of the John F. Slater fund propose to publish from time to time papers that relate to the education of the colored race. These papers are designed to furnish information to those who are concerned in the administration of schools, and also to those who by their official stations are called upon to act or to advise in respect to the care of such institutions.

The trustees believe that the experimental period in the education of the blacks is drawing to a close. Certain principles that were doubted thirty years ago now appear to be generally recognized as sound. In the next thirty years better systems will undoubtedly prevail, and the aid of the separate States is likely to be more and more freely bestowed. There will also be abundant room for continued generosity on the part of individuals and associations. It is to encourage and assist the workers and the thinkers that these papers will be published.

Each paper will be the utterance of the writer whose name is attached to it, the trustees disclaiming in advance all responsibility for the statement of facts and opinions.

know the strength and character of the opposing force. A physician can not prescribe intelligently until he knows the condition of his patient.

The income of the fund is limited in amount, and the means of accomplishing "the general object" of the trust are indicated in Mr. Slater's letter and conversations and by the repeatedly declared policy of the board—as teacher training and industrial training. He specified "the training of teachers from among the people requiring to be taught and the 'encouragement of such institutions as are most effectually useful in promoting this training of teachers.'" No one, in the least degree familiar with the subject, can deny or doubt that the essential need of the race is a higher and better qualified class of teachers. The fund does not establish nor control schools, nor appoint teachers. It cooperates with schools established by States, by religious denominations, and by individuals. Mr. Slater did not purpose "to bestow charity upon the destitute, to encourage a few exceptional individuals, to build churches, schoolhouses, or asylums." Aided schools may accept money to carry out the specific purposes of the trust, but they often have other and prescribed objects, and hence what the trustees seek is naturally, perhaps unavoidably, subordinated to what are the predetermined and unchangeable ends of some of these schools.

The most obvious hindrance in the way of the education of the negro has so often been presented and discussed—his origin, history, environments—that it seems superfluous to treat it anew. His political status, sudden and unparalleled, complicated by antecedent condition, excited false hopes and encouraged the notion of reaching per saltum, without the use of the agencies of time, labor, industry, discipline, what the dominant race had attained after centuries of toil and trial and sacrifice. Education, property, habits of thrift and self-control, higher achievements of civilization, are not extemporized nor created by magic or legislation. Behind the Caucasian lie centuries of the educating, uplifting influence of civilization, of the institutions of family, society, the churches, the state, and the salutary effects of heredity. Behind the negro are centuries of ignorance, barbarism, slavery, superstition, idolatry, fetichism, and the transmissible consequences of heredity.

Nothing valuable or permanent in human life has been secured without the substratum of moral character, of religious motive, in the individual, the family, the community. In this matter the negro should be judged charitably, for his aboriginal people were not far removed from the savage state, where they knew neither house nor home and had not enjoyed any religious training. Their condition as slaves debarred them the advantage of regular, continuous, systematic instruction. The negro began his life of freedom and citizenship with natural weaknesses uncorrected, with loose notions of piety and morality and with strong racial peculiarities and proclivities, and has not outgrown the feebleness of the moral sense which is common to all primitive races. One religious organization, which has acted with great liberality, and generally with great wisdom, in its missionary and educational work among the negroes, says: "Of the paganism in the South, Dr. Behrends has well said that the note of paganism is its separation of worship from virtue, of religion from morals. This is the characteristic fact of the religion of the negro." The Plantation Missionary, of this year, a journal edited and published for the improvement of the "black belt" of Alabama, says, "five millions of negroes are still illiterate, and multitudes of them idle, bestial, and degraded, with slight ideas of purity or thrift." The discipline of virtue, the incorporation of creed into personal life, is largely wanting, and hence physical and hysterical demonstrations, excited sensibilities, uncontrolled emotions, transient outbursts of ardor, have been confounded with the graces of the spirit and of faith based on knowledge. Contradiction, negation, paradox, and eccentricity are characteristics of the ignorant and superstitious, especially when they concern themselves with religion.

The economic condition is a most serious drawback to mental and moral progress. Want of thrift, of frugality, of foresight, of skill, of right notions of consumption and of proper habits of acquiring and holding property, has made the race the victim and prey of usurers and extortioners. The negro rarely accumulates, for he does not keep his savings, nor put them in permanent and secure investments. He seems to be under little stimulus toward social improvement, or any ambition except that of being able to live from day to day. "As to poverty, 80 per cent of the wealth of the nation is in the North and only 20 per cent in the South. Of this 20 per cent a very small share, indeed, falls to the seven millions of negroes, who constitute by far the poorest element of our American people." (American Missionary, November, 1894, p. 390.) "While it is true that a limited number of the colored people are becoming well-to-do, it is also equally true that the masses of them have made but little advance in acquiring property during their thirty years of freedom. Millions of them are yet in real poverty and can do little more than simply maintain physical existence." (Home Missionary Monthly, August, 1894, p. 318.) No trustworthy statement of the property held by negroes is possible, because but few States, in assessing property, discriminate between the races. In Occasional Papers, No. 4 (see p. 1404) Mr.

Gannett, in discussing the tendency of population toward cities, concludes that "the negro is not fitted, either by nature or education, for those vocations for the pursuit of which men collect in cities," and that as the inclinations of the race "tend to keep it wedded to the soil, the probabilities are that the great body of the negroes will continue to remain aloof from the cities and cultivate the soil as heretofore." The black farm laborers hire to white proprietors, work for wages or on shares, give a lien on future earnings for food, clothing, shelter, and the means for cultivation of the crops. The meager remainder, if it exist at all, is squandered in neighboring stores for whisky, tobacco, and worthless "goods." Thus the negro in his industrial progress is hindered by his rude and primitive methods of farming, his wastefulness and improvidence. The manner of living almost necessarily begets immorality and degradation. Mr. Washington, in his useful annual conferences, has emphasized the need of improved rural abodes and the fatal consequences of crowding a whole family into one room. The report already quoted from (*Home Monthly*, p. 22) says: "On the great plantations (and the statement might be much further extended) there has been but little progress in thirty years. The majority live in one-room cabins, tabernacling in them as tenants at will." The poverty, wretchedness, hopelessness of the present life are sometimes in pitiable contrast to the freedom from care and anxiety, the cheerfulness and frolicsomeness, of ante-bellum days.

The average status of the negro is much misunderstood by some persons. The incurable tendency of opinion seems to be to exaggerated optimism or pessimism, to eager expectancy of impossible results or distrust or incredulity as to future progress. It is not easy to form an accurate judgment of a country, or of its population, or to generalize logically, from a Pullman car window, or from snatches of conversation with a porter or waiter, or from the testimony of one race only, or from exceptional cases like Bruce, Price, Douglass, Washington, Revels, Payne, Simmons, etc. Individual cases do not demonstrate a general or permanent widening of range of mental possibilities. Thirty years may test and develop instances of personal success, of individual manhood, but are too short a time to bring a servile race, as a whole, up to equality with a race which is the heir of centuries of civilization, with its uplifting results and accessories. It should be cheerfully conceded that some negroes have displayed abilities of a high order and have succeeded in official and professional life, in pulpit and literature. The fewness gives conspicuousness, but does not justify an a priori assumption adverse to future capability of the race. Practically, no negro born since 1860 was ever a slave. More than a generation has passed since slavery ceased in the United States. Despite some formidable obstacles, the negroes have been favored beyond any other race known in the history of mankind. Freedom, citizenship, suffrage, civil and political rights, educational opportunities and religious privileges, every method and function of civilization, have been secured and fostered by Federal and State governments, ecclesiastical organizations, munificent individual benefactions, and yet the results have not been, on the whole, such as to inspire most sanguine expectations, or justify conclusions of rapid development or of racial equality. In some localities there has been degeneracy rather than ascent in the scale of manhood, relapse instead of progress. The unusual environments should have evolved a higher and more rapid degree of advancement. Professor Mayo-Smith, who has made an ethnological and sociological study of the diverse elements of our population, says: "No one can as yet predict what position the black race will ultimately take in the population of this country." He would be a bold speculator who ventured, from existing facts, to predict what would be the outcome of our experiment with African citizenship and African development. Mr. Bryce, the most philosophical and painstaking of all foreign students of our institutions, in the last edition of his great work, says: "There is no ground for despondency to anyone who remembers how hopeless the extinction of slavery seemed sixty or even forty years ago, and who marks the progress which the negroes have made since their sudden liberation. Still less is there reason for impatience, for questions like this have in some countries of the Old World required ages for their solution. The problem which confronts the South is one of the great secular problems of the world, presented here under a form of peculiar difficulty. And as the present differences between the African and the European are the product of thousands of years, during which one race was advancing in the temperate, and the other remaining stationary in the torrid zone, so centuries may pass before their relations as neighbors and fellow-citizens have been duly adjusted." It would be unjust and illogical to push too far the comparison and deduce inferences unfair to the negro, but it is an interesting coincidence that Japan began her entrance into the family of civilized nations almost contemporaneously with emancipation in the United States. In 1858 I witnessed the unique reception by President Buchanan, in the east room of the White House, of the commissioners from Japan. With a rapidity without a precedent, she has taken her place as an equal and independent nation, and her rulers demand acknowledgment at the highest courts, and her ministers are officially the equals of their colleagues in every diplomatic corps. By

internal development, without extraneous assistance, Japan has reached a degree of self-reliance, of self-control, of social organization, of respectable civilization, far beyond what our African citizens have attained under physical, civic, and religious conditions by no means unfavorable. It is true that Japan for a long time had a separate nationality, while the freedmen have been dependent wards, but the Oriental nation, without the great ethical and pervasive and ennobling and energizing influence of Christianity (for the propagandism of the daring Jesuit missionaries of the sixteenth century has been effaced) has recorded her ascents by monuments of social life and dramatic events in history. Her mental culture and habits and marvelous military success are witnesses of her progress and power. We have been accustomed to think of the whole Orient, that "fifty years of Europe were better than a cycle of Cathay," but within a quarter of a century Japan has transformed social usages and manners, arts and manufactures, and in 1889, when we were celebrating the centennial of our Constitution, she adopted a constitution, with a limited monarchy and parliamentary institutions.

Much of the aid lavished upon the negro has been misapplied charity and, like much other almsgiving, hurtful to the recipient. Northern philanthropy, "disastrously kind," has often responded with liberality to appeals worse than worthless. Vagabond mendicants have been pampered; schools which were established without any serious need of them have been helped; public-school systems upon which the great mass of children, white and colored, must rely for their education have been underrated and injured, and schools of real merit, and doing good work, which deserve confidence and contributions have had assistance legitimately their due diverted into improper channels. Reluctantly and by constraint of conscience this matter is mentioned, and this voice of protest and warning raised. Dr. A. D. Mayo, of Boston, an astute and thoughtful observer, a tried friend of the black man, an eloquent advocate of his elevation, who for fifteen years has traversed the South in the interests of universal education, than whom no one has a better acquaintance with the schools of that section, bears cogent and trustworthy testimony to which I give my emphatic endorsement:

"It is high time that our heedless, indiscriminating, all-out-doors habit of giving money and supplies to the great invading army of Southern solicitors should come to an end. Whatever of good has come from it is of the same nature as the habit of miscellaneous almsgiving which our system of associated charities is everywhere working to break up. It is high time that we understood that the one agency on which the negroes and nine-tenths of the white people in the South must rely for elementary instruction and training is the American common school. The attempt to educate 2,000,000 colored and 3,000,000 white American children in the South by passing around the hat in the North; sending dribbles of money and barrels of supplies to encourage anybody and everybody to open a little useless private school; to draw on our Protestant Sunday schools in the North to build up among these people the church parochial system of elementary schools which the clergy of these churches are denouncing—all this and a great deal more that is still going on among us, with, of course, the usual exceptions, has had its day and done its work. The only reliable method of directly helping the elementary department of Southern education is that our churches and benevolent people put themselves in touch with the common-school authorities in all the dark places, urging even their poorer people to do more, as they can do more, than at present. The thousand dollars from Boston that keeps alive a little private or denominational school in a Southern neighborhood, if properly applied, would give two additional months, better teaching and better housing to all the children, and unite their people as in no other way. Let the great Northern schools in the South established for the negroes be reasonably endowed, and worked in cooperation with the public-school system of the State, with the idea that in due time they will all pass into the hands of the Southern people, each dependent on its own constituency for its permanent support. I believe in many instances it would be the best policy to endow or aid Southern schools that have grown up at home and have established themselves in the confidence of the people. While more money should every year be given in the North for Southern education, it should not be scattered abroad, but concentrated on strategic points for the uplifting of both races."

After the facts, hard, stubborn, unimpeachable, regrettable, which have been given, we may well inquire whether much hasty action has not prevailed in assigning to the negro an educational position, which ancient and modern history does not warrant. The partition of the continent of Africa by and among European nations can hardly be ascribed solely to a lust for territorial aggrandizement. The energetic races of the North begin to realize that the tropical countries—the food and the material producing regions of the earth—can not, for all time to come, be left to the unprogressive, uncivilized colored race, deficient in the qualities necessary to the development of the rich resources of the lands they possess. The strong powers seem unwilling to tolerate the wasting of the resources of the most fertile regions through the apparent impossibility, by the race in possession, of acquiring the qualities of

efficiency which exist elsewhere. The experiment of the Congo Free State, one of the richest and most valuable tracts in Africa, established and fostered under propitious circumstances by the King of Belgium, seems likely to be a barren failure and to prove that African colonization is not a practicable scheme, without State subvention, or the strong, overmastering hand of some superior race. It requires no superior insight to discover that human evolution has come from the energy, thrift, discipline, social and political efficiency of peoples whose power is not the result of varying circumstances, "of the cosmic order of things which we have no power to control."¹

The negro occupies an incongruous position in our country. Under military necessity slaves were emancipated, and all true Americans accept the jubilant eulogium of the poet, when he declares our country

A later Eden planted in the wilds,
With not an inch of earth within its bounds
But if a slave's foot press, it sets him free.

Partisanship and an altruistic sentiment led to favoritism, to civic equality, and to bringing the negroes, for the first time in their history and without any previous preparation, "into the rivalry of life on an equal footing of opportunity." The whole country has suffered in its material development from the hazardous experiment. The South, as a constituent portion of the Union, is a diseased limb on the body, is largely uncultivated, neglected, unproductive. Farming, with the low prices of products, yields little remunerative return on labor or money invested, and, except in narrow localities and where "trucking" obtains, is not improving agriculturally, or, if so, too slowly and locally to awaken any hopes of early or great recovery.² Crippled, disheartened by the presence of a people not much inferior in numbers, of equal civil rights, and slowly capable of equal mental development or of taking on the habits of advanced civilization, the white people of the South are deprived of any considerable increase of numbers from immigration and any large demand for small freeholds, and are largely dependent on ignorant, undisciplined, uninventive, inefficient, unambitious labor. Intercourse between the Slavs and the tribes of the Ural-Altai stock, fusion of ethnic elements, has not resulted in deterioration, but has produced an apparently homogeneous people, possessing a common consciousness. That the two diverse races now in the South can ever perfectly harmonize while occupying the same territory no one competent to form an opinion believes. Mr. Bryce concludes that the negro will stay socially distinct, as an alien element, unabsorbed and unabsorbable. That the presence in the same country of two distinctly marked races, having the same rights and privileges, of unequal capacities of development—one long habituated to servitude, deprived of all power of initiative, of all high ideal, without patriotism beyond a mere weak attachment—is a blessing is too absurd a proposition for serious consideration. Whether the great resources of the South are not destined, under existing conditions, to remain only partially developed, and whether agriculture is not doomed to barrenness of results, are economic and political questions alien to this discussion.

As trustees of the Slater fund, we are confined to the duty of educating the lately emancipated race. In Occasional Papers, No. 3 (see p. 1374), the history of education since 1860, as derived from the most authentic sources, is presented with care and fullness. "The great work of educating the negroes is carried on mainly by the public schools of the Southern States, supported by funds raised by public taxation, and managed and controlled by public school officers. The work is too great to be attempted by any other agency, unless by the National Government; the field is too extensive, the officers too numerous, the cost too burdensome." (Bureau of Education Report, 1891-92, p. 867.) The American Congress refused aid, and upon the impoverished South the burden and the duty were devolved. Bravely and with heroic self-sacrifice have they sought to fulfill the obligation.

In the distribution of public revenues, in the building of asylums, in provision for public education, no discrimination has been made against the colored people. The law of Georgia of October, 1870, establishing a public school system, expressly states that both races shall have equal privileges. The school system of Texas, begun under its present form in 1876, provides "absolutely equal privileges to both

¹ Since this paper was prepared, Bishop Turner, of Georgia, a colored preacher of intelligence and respectability, in a letter from Liberia, May 11, 1895, advises the reopening of the African slave trade and says that, as a result of such enslavement for a term of years by a civilized race, "millions and millions of Africans, who are now running around in a state of nudity, fighting, necromancing, masquerading, and doing everything that God disapproves of, would be working and benefiting the world." Equally curious and absurd is the conclusion of the editor of the *Globe Quarterly Review* (July, 1895, New York), a Northern man, that "nothing but some sort of reenslavement can make the negro work, therefore he must be reenslaved, or driven from the land." Could anything be more surprising than these utterances by a former slave and by an abolitionist, or show more clearly "the difficulties, complications, and limitations" which environ the task and the duty of "uplifting the lately emancipated race?"

² The last assessment of property in Virginia, 1895, shows a decrease of \$8,133,374 from last year's valuation.

white and colored children." In Florida, under the constitution of 1868 and the law of 1877, both races share equally in the school benefits. Several laws of Arkansas provide for a school system of equal privileges to both races. Under the school system of North Carolina there is no discrimination for or against either race. The school system of Louisiana was fairly started only after the adoption of the constitution of 1879, and equal privileges are granted to white and colored children. Since 1883 equal privileges are granted in Kentucky. The school system of West Virginia grants equal rights to the two races. The system in Mississippi was put in operation in 1871 and grants to both races "equal privileges and school facilities." The same exact and liberal justice obtains in Virginia, Alabama, and Tennessee.

In 1893-94 there were 2,702,410 negro children of school age—from 5 to 18 years—of whom 52.72 per cent, or 1,424,710, were enrolled as pupils. Excluding Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, the receipts from State and local taxation for schools in the South were \$14,397,569. It should be borne in mind that there are fewer taxpayers in the South, in proportion to population generally and to school population especially, than in any other part of the United States. In the South Central States there are only 65.9 adult males to 100 children, while in the Western Division there are 156.7. In South Carolina, 37 out of every 100 are of school age; in Montana, only 18 out of 100. Consider also that in the South a large proportion of the comparatively few adults are negroes with a minimum of property. Consider, further, that the number of adult males to each 100 children in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut is twice as great as in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. In view of such and other equally surprising facts, it is a matter of national satisfaction that free education has made such progress in the South. (Bureau of Education Report, 1890-91, pp. 5, 19, 21, 24.)

It is lamentable, after all the provision which has been made, that the schools are kept open for such a short period, that so many teachers are incompetent, and that such a small proportion of persons of schoolage attend the schools. This does not apply solely to the colored children or to the Southern States. For the whole country the average number of days attended is only 89 for each pupil, when the proper school year should count about 200. While the enrollment and average attendance have increased, "what the people get on an average is about one-half an elementary education, and no State is now giving an education in all its schools that is equal to seven years per inhabitant for the rising generation. Some States are giving less than three years of 200 days each." (Annual Statement of Commissioner of Education for 1894, p. 18.) It is an obligation of patriotism to support and improve these State-managed schools, because they are among the best teachers of the duties of citizenship and the most potent agency for molding and unifying and binding heterogeneous elements of nationality into compactness, unity, and homogeneity. We must keep them efficient if we wish them to retain public confidence.

In No. 3 of Occasional Papers (see page 1379) is described what has been undertaken and accomplished by different religious denominations. The information was furnished by themselves, and full credit was given for their patriotic and Christian work. These schools are of higher grades in name and general purpose and instruction than the public schools, but unfortunately most of them are handicapped by high-sounding and deceptive names and impossible courses of study. There are 25 nominal "universities" and "colleges," which embrace primary, secondary, normal, and professional grades of instruction. These report, as engaged in "collegiate" studies, about 1,000 students. The work done is in some instances excellent; in other cases it is as defective as one could well imagine it to be. This misfortune is not confined to colored schools. The last accessible report from the Bureau of Education gives 22 schools of theology and 5 each of schools of law and of medicine, and in the study of law and medicine there has in the last few years been a rapid increase of students.

A noticeable feature of the schools organized by religious associations is the provision made for industrial education. In the special colored schools established or aided by the State of higher order than the public schools, such as those in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, manual training is required for both sexes. As few white schools of the South are provided with this necessary adjunct of education, it would be unjust to criticize too severely what is being done along industrial lines in colored schools. It is rather a matter for rejoicing that the schools have even been started in this most hopeful direction, and especially as the long-wished-for industrial development seems to be dawning on the South. Whatever may be our speculative opinions as to the progress and development of which the negro may be ultimately capable, there can hardly be a well-grounded opposition to the opinion that the hope for the race in the South is to be found not so much in the high courses of university instruction or in schools of technology as in handicraft instruction. This instruction, by whatever name called, encourages us in its results to continued and liberal effort. What such schools as Hampton, the Spelman, Claflin, Tuskegee, Tougaloo, and others have done is the demonstration of the feasibility and the value of

industrial and mechanical training.¹ The general instruction heretofore given in the schools, it is feared, has been too exclusively intellectual, too little of that kind which produces intelligent and skilled workmen, and therefore not thoroughly adapted to racial development nor to fitting for the practical duties of life. Perhaps it has not been philosophical nor practical, but too empirical and illusory in fitting a man for "the conditions in which he will be compelled to earn his livelihood and unfold his possibilities." The effort has been to fit an adult's clothing to a child, to take the highest courses of instruction and apply them to untutored minds. Misguided statesmanship and philanthropy have opened "high schools and universities and offered courses in Greek and Latin and Hebrew, in theology and philosophy, to those who need the rudiments of education and instruction in handicraft." This industrial training is a helpful accompaniment to mental training, and both should be based on strong moral character. It has been charged that the negroes have had too strong an inclination to become preachers or teachers, but this may be in part due to the fact that their education has been ill adjusted to their needs and surroundings, and that when the pupils leave school they do so without having been prepared for the competition which awaits them in the struggle for a higher life.

Whatever may be the discouragements and difficulties and however insufficient may be the school attendance, it is a cheering fact that the schools for the negroes do not encounter the prejudices which were too common a few years ago. In fact, there may almost be said to be coming a time when soon there will be a sustaining public opinion. The struggle of man to throw off fetters and rise into true manhood and save souls from bondage is a most instructive and thrilling spectacle, awakening sympathetic enthusiasm on the part of all who love what is noble. * * * Having gathered testimony from many of the leading colored schools of the South in answer to these direct questions, "Is there any opposition from the white race to your work in educating the negroes? If so, does that opposition imperil person or property?" I group it into a condensed statement:

1. CONGREGATIONALISTS.

Storrs School, Atlanta, says: "There is no aggressive opposition to our work among the negroes." Pisk University, Nashville: "There is no special manifestation of open opposition to our work on the part of the white people; indeed, the better citizens have a good degree of sympathy with our work and take a genuine pride in the university." Talladega College, Alabama: "I do not know of any opposition from the white race to our work. * * * We have more opposition from the very people for whom we are especially laboring than from the other race." By act of incorporation, February 28, 1880, the college may hold, purchase, dispose of, and convey property to such an amount as the business of the college requires, and so long as the property, real or personal, is used for purposes of education it is exempt from taxation of any kind. Knoxville College: "No opposition from the white race disturbs us." Beach Institute, Savannah, Ga.: "There seems to be here no active opposition to our work in educating the negroes." Straight University, New Orleans: "There is no opposition from the white race." Ballard Normal School, Macon, Ga.: "We meet now with no opposition from the whites."

2. METHODISTS.

From Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark.: "No opposition that amounts to anything." Cookman Institute, Jacksonville, Fla.: "There is no active opposition from the white race to our work, as far as I know." Claflin University, Orangeburg, S. C.: "There is no opposition to it on the part of the white race." Central Tennessee College, Nashville, Tenn.: "On the part of the intelligent whites there is none; on the contrary, they have nearly always spoken well of it and seem to rejoice that their former slaves and their children are being educated. Having been here over twenty-seven years, I feel quite safe." Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C., gives an emphatic negative to both questions. New Orleans University: "No opposition from white people to our work."

3. PRESBYTERIANS.

From Biddle University, Charlotte, N. C.; "No opposition from the white race; on the contrary, very pleasant neighbors."

¹Principal Washington, of Tuskegee Institute, as the representative of his race, made an address at the opening of the great Atlanta Exposition which elicited high commendation from President Cleveland and the press of the country for its practical wisdom and its broad, catholic, and patriotic sentiments. The Negro Building, with its interesting exhibits, shows what progress has been made by the race in thirty years and excites strong hopes for the future. The special work displayed by the schools of Hampton and Tuskegee received honorable recognition from the jury of awards.

4. BAPTISTS.

Bishop College, Marshall, Tex.: "We have experienced opposition from certain classes of white people to the extent of threats and assaults, yet such have come from those who were entirely unacquainted with the real work being done, and I think that now sentiment is changing." Leland University, New Orleans, La.: "There is not to my knowledge, nor ever has been since I came in 1887, any opposition from the white race to our work." Spelman Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.: "We are not aware of any opposition from the white race to our work." Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.: "It gives us pleasure to say the feeling for our work among the whites seems of the kindest nature and everything is helpful." Roger Williams University, Nashville, Tenn.: "No opposition meets us from any sources; on the contrary we are generally treated with entire courtesy." Selma University, Alabama: "There is no opposition to our work from the white race. So far as I know they wish us success."

5. NONDENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Alabama; "I am glad to state that there is practically no opposition on the part of the whites to our work; on the contrary, there are many evidences of their hearty approval." Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute, Virginia: "This school meets no opposition to the work from the white race, and, with occasional individual exceptions, has never met any, but receives for itself and its graduate teachers a great amount of practical sympathy, and is glad of this and every opportunity to acknowledge it."

CONCLUSIONS.

I. It follows that in addition to thorough and intelligent training in the discipline of character and virtue, there should be given rigid and continuous attention to domestic and social life, to the refinements and comforts and economies of home.

II. Taught in the economies of wise consumption, the race should be trained to acquire habits of thrift, of saving earnings, of avoiding waste, of accumulating property, of having a stake in good government, in progressive civilization.

III. Besides the rudiments of a good and useful education there is imperative need of manual training, of the proper cultivation of those faculties or mental qualities of observation, of aiming at and reaching a successful end, and of such facility and skill in tools, in practical industries, as will insure remunerative employment and give the power which comes from intelligent work.

IV. Clearer and juster ideas of education, moral and intellectual, obtained in cleaner homelife and through respected and capable teachers in schools and churches. Ultimate and only sure reliance for the education of the race is to be found in the public schools, organized, controlled, and liberally supported by the State.

V. Between the races occupying the same territory, possessing under the law equal civil rights and privileges, speculative and unattainable standards should be avoided, and questions should be met as they arise, not by Utopian and partial solutions, but by the impartial application of the tests of justice, right, honor, humanity, and Christianity.

II.

EDUCATION OF THE NEGROES SINCE 1860.

[By J. L. M. Curry, LL. D., secretary of the trustees of the John F. Slater fund.]

INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this paper is to put into permanent form a narrative of what has been done at the South for the education of the negro since 1860. The historical and statistical details may seem dry and uninteresting, but we can understand the significance of this unprecedented educational movement only by a study of its beginnings and of the difficulties which had to be overcome. The present generation, near as it is to the genesis of the work, can not appreciate its magnitude, nor the greatness of the victory which has been achieved, without a knowledge of the facts which this recital gives in connected order. The knowledge is needful, also, for a comprehension of the future possible scope and kind of education to be given to the Afro-American race. In the field of education we shall be unwise not to reckon with such forces as custom, physical constitution, heredity, racial characteristics and possibilities, and not to remember that these and other causes may determine the limitations under which we must act. The education of this people has a far-reaching and complicated connection with their destiny, with our institutions, and possibly with the Dark Continent, which may assume an importance akin, if not superior, to what it

had centuries ago. The partition of its territory, the international questions which are springing up, and the effect of contact with and government by a superior race, must necessarily give an enhanced importance to Africa as a factor in commerce, in relations of governments, and in civilization. England will soon have an unbroken line of territorial possessions from Egypt to the Cape of Good Hope. Germany, France, Portugal, Italy, Spain, possibly Russia, will soon have such footholds in Africa as, whatever else may occur, will tend to the development of century-paralyzed resources.

What other superior races have done, and are doing, for the government and uplifting of the inferior races, which, from treaty or conquest, have been placed under their responsible jurisdiction, may help in the solution of our problem. Italy had a grand question in its unification; Prussia a graver one in the nationalization of Germany, taxing the statesmanship of Stein, Bismarck, and their collaborators; Great Britain, in the administration of her large and widely remote colonial dependencies with their different races; but our problem has peculiar difficulties which have not confronted other governments, and therefore demands the best powers of philanthropist, sociologist, and statesman.

The emergence of a nation from barbarism to a general diffusion of intelligence and property, to health in the social and civil relations; the development of an inferior race into a high degree of enlightenment; the overthrow of customs and institutions which, however indefensible, have their seat in tradition and a course of long observance; the working out satisfactorily of political, sociological, and ethical problems—are all necessarily slow, requiring patient and intelligent study of the teachings of history and the careful application of something more than mere empirical methods. Civilization, freedom, a pure religion, are not the speedy outcome of revolutions and cataclysms any more than has been the structure of the earth. They are the slow evolution of orderly and creative causes, the result of law and preordained principles.

The educational work described in this paper has been most valuable, but it has been so far necessarily tentative and local. It has lacked broad and definite generalization, and, in all its phases, comprehensive, philosophical consideration. An auxiliary to a thorough study and ultimate better plans, the Slater fund, from time to time, will have prepared and published papers bearing on different phases of the negro question.

I. The history of the negro on this continent is full of pathetic and tragic romance, and of startling, unparalleled incident. The seizure in Africa, the forcible abduction and cruel exportation, the coercive enslavement, the subjection to environments which emasculate a race of all noble aspirations and doom inevitably to hopeless ignorance and inferiority, living in the midst of enlightenments and noblest civilization and yet forbidden to enjoy the benefits of which others were partakers, for four years amid battle and yet, for the most part, having no personal share in the conflict, by statute and organic law and law of nations held in fetters and inequality, and then, in the twinkling of an eye, lifted from bondage to freedom, from slavery to citizenship, from dependence on others and guardianship to suffrage and eligibility to office—can be predicated of no other race. Other peoples, after long and weary years of discipline and struggle against heaviest odds, have won liberty and free government. This race, almost without lifting a hand, unappreciative of the boon except in the lowest aspects of it, and unprepared for privileges and responsibilities, has been lifted to a plane of citizenship and freedom, such as is enjoyed, in an equal degree, by no people in the world outside of the United States.

Common schools in all governments have been a slow growth, reluctantly conceded, grudgingly supported, and perfected after many experiments and failures and with heavy pecuniary cost. Within a few years after emancipation, free and universal education has been provided for the negro, without cost to himself, and chiefly by the self-imposed taxes of those who, a few years before, claimed his labor and time without direct wage or pecuniary compensation.

II. Slavery, recognized by the then international law and the connivance and patronage of European sovereigns, existed in all the colonies prior to the Declaration of Independence, and was reinforced by importation of negroes from Africa. In course of time it was confined to the Southern States, and the negroes increased in numbers at a more rapid rate than did the whites, even after the slave trade was abolished and declared piracy.

For a long time there was no general exclusion by law of the slaves from the privileges of education. The first prohibitory and punitive laws were directed against unlawful assemblages of negroes, and subsequently of free negroes and mulattoes, as their influence in exciting discontent or insurrection was deprecated and guarded against. Afterwards legislation became more general in the South, prohibiting meetings for teaching reading and writing. The Nat Turner insurrection in Southampton County, Va., in 1831, awakened the Southern States to a consciousness of the perils which might environ or destroy them from combinations of excited, inflamed, and ill-advised negroes.

As documents and newspapers tending to inflame discontent and insurrection were supposed to have been the immediate provocation to this conspiracy for murder of whites and for freedom of the blacks, laws were passed against publishing and circulating such documents among the colored population, and strengthening the prohibitions and penalties against education.

Severe and general as were these laws they rarely applied, and were seldom, if ever, enforced against teaching of individuals or of groups on plantations or at the homes of the owners. It was often true that the mistress of a household or her children would teach the house servants, and on Sundays include a larger number. There were also Sunday schools in which black children were taught to read, notably the school in which Stonewall Jackson was a leader. It is pleasant to find recorded in the memoir of Dr. Boyce, a trustee of this fund from its origin until his death, that as an editor, a preacher, and a citizen he was deeply interested in the moral and religious instruction of the negroes.

After a most liberal estimate for the efforts made to teach the negroes, still the fact exists that as a people they were wholly uneducated in schools. Slavery doomed the millions to ignorance, and in this condition they were when the war began.

III. Almost synchronously with the earliest occupation of any portion of the seceding States by the Union army efforts were begun to give the negroes some schooling. In September, 1861, under the guns of Fortress Monroe, a school was opened for the "contrabands of war." In 1862 schools were extended to Washington, Portsmouth, Norfolk, and Newport News, and afterwards to the Port Royal islands on the coast of South Carolina, to Newbern and Roanoke Island in North Carolina. The proclamation of emancipation, January 1, 1863, gave freedom to all slaves reached by the armies, increased the refugees, and awakened a fervor of religious and philanthropic enthusiasm for meeting the physical, moral, and intellectual wants of those suddenly thrown upon charity. In October, 1863, General Banks, then commanding the Department of the Gulf, created commissioners of enrollment, who established the first public schools for Louisiana. Seven were soon in operation, with 23 teachers and an average attendance of 1,422 scholars. On March 22, 1864, he issued General Order No. 38, which constituted a board of education "for the rudimental instruction of the freedmen" in the department, so as to "place within their reach the elements of knowledge."

The board was ordered to establish common schools, to employ teachers, to acquire school sites, to erect school buildings where no proper or available ones for school purposes existed, to purchase and provide necessary books, stationery, apparatus, and a well-selected library; to regulate the course of studies, and "to have the authority and perform the same duties that assessors, supervisors, and trustees had in the Northern States in the matter of establishing and conducting common schools." For the performance of the duties enjoined the board was empowered to "assess and levy a school tax upon real and personal property, including crops of plantations." These taxes were to be sufficient to defray expense and cost of establishing, furnishing, and conducting the schools for the period of one year. When the tax list and schedules should be placed in the hands of the parish provost-marshal he was to collect and pay over within thirty days to the school board. Schools previously established were transferred to this board; others were opened, and in December, 1864, they reported under their supervision 95 schools, 162 teachers, and 9,571 scholars. This system continued until December, 1865, when the power to levy the tax was suspended. An official report of later date says: "In this sad juncture the freedmen expressed a willingness to endure and even petitioned for increased taxation in order that means for supporting their schools might be obtained."

On December 17, 1862, Col. John Eaton was ordered by General Grant to assume a general supervision of freedmen in the Department of Tennessee and Arkansas. In the early autumn of that year schools had been established, and they were multiplied during 1863 and 1864. In the absence of responsibility and supervision there grew up abuses and complaints. By some "parties engaged in the work" of education "exorbitant charges were made for tuition," and agents and teachers, "instead of making common cause for the good of those they came to benefit, set about detracting, perplexing, and vexing each other." "Parties and conflicts had arisen." "Frauds had appeared in not a few instances—evil-minded, irresponsible, or incompetent persons imposing upon those not prepared to defeat or check them." "Bad faith to fair promises had deprived the colored people of their just dues."¹

On September 26, 1864, the Secretary of War, through Adjutant-General Thomas, issued Order No. 28, in which he said: "To prevent confusion and embarrassment the general superintendent of freedmen will designate officers, subject to his orders, as superintendents of colored schools, through whom he will arrange the location of all schools, teachers, occupation of houses, and other details pertaining to the education of the freedmen." In accordance with this order Colonel Eaton removed his

¹See report of Chaplain Warren, 1864, relating to colored schools.

headquarters from Vicksburg to Memphis. On October 20, 1864, he issued sixteen rules and regulations for the guidance of superintendents and teachers of colored schools in his supervision. These instructions to subordinates were wise and provided for the opening of a sufficient number of schools, for the payment of tuition fees from 25 cents to \$1.25 per month for each scholar, according to the ability of the parents; for the admission free of those who could not pay and the furnishing of clothing by the aid of industrial schools, for the government of teachers in connection with the societies needing them, etc. The "industrial schools" were schools in which sewing was taught, and in which a large quantity of the clothing and material sent from the North was made over or made up for freedmen's use, and were highly "useful in promoting industrious habits and in teaching useful arts of housewifery." The supervision under such a competent head caused great improvement in the work, but department efforts were hindered by some representatives of the benevolent societies who did not heartily welcome the more orderly military supervision. An assistant superintendent, March 31, 1865, reports, in and around Vicksburg and Natchez, 30 schools, 60 teachers, and 4,393 pupils enrolled; in Memphis, 1,590 pupils, and in the entire supervision, 7,360 in attendance.

General Eaton submitted a report of his laborious work, which is full of valuable information. Naturally, some abatement must be made from conclusions which were based on the wild statements of excited freedmen, or the false statements of interested persons. "Instinct of unlettered reason" caused a hegira of the blacks to camps of the Union army, or within protected territory. The "negro population floated or was kicked about at will." Strict supervision became urgent to secure "contraband information" and service and protect the ignorant, deluded people from unscrupulous harpies. "Mental and moral enlightenment" was to be striven for, even in those troublous times, and it was fortunate that so capable and faithful an officer as General Eaton was in authority.

All the operations of the supervisors of schools did not give satisfaction, for the inspector of schools in South Carolina and Georgia, on October 13, 1865, says: "The bureau does not receive that aid from the Government and Government officials it had a right to expect, and really from the course of the military officials in this department you might think that the only enemies to the Government are the agents of the bureau."

IV. By act of Congress, March 3, 1865, the Freedmen's Bureau was created. The scope of its jurisdiction and work extended far beyond education. It embraced abandoned lands and the supply of the negroes with food and clothing, and during 1865 as many as 148,000 were reported as receiving rations. The Quartermaster and Commissary Departments were placed at the service of the agents of the bureau, and, in addition to freedom, largesses were lavishly given to "reach the great and imperative necessities of the situation." Large and comprehensive powers and resources were placed in the hands of the bureau, and limitations of the authority of the Government were disregarded in order to meet the gravest problem of the century. Millions of recently enslaved negroes, homeless, penniless, ignorant, were to be saved from destitution or perishing, to be prepared for the sudden boon of political equality, to be made self-supporting citizens and to prevent their freedom from becoming a curse to themselves and their liberators. The commissioner was authorized "to seize, hold, use, lease, or sell all buildings and tenements and any lands appertaining to the same, or otherwise formally held, under color of title by the late Confederate States, and buildings or lands held in trust for the same, and to use the same, or appropriate the proceeds derived therefrom to the education of the freed people." He was empowered also to "cooperate with private benevolent associations in aid of the freedmen." The bureau was attached to the War Department, and was at first limited in duration to one year, but was afterwards prolonged. Gen. O. O. Howard was appointed commissioner, with assistants. He says he was invested with "almost unlimited authority," and that the act and orders gave "great scope and liberty of action." "Legislative, judicial, and executive powers were combined, reaching all the interests of the freedmen." On June 2, 1865, the President ordered all officers of the United States to turn over to the bureau "all property, funds, lands, and records in any way connected with freedmen and refugees." This bestowment of despotic power was not considered unwise because of the peculiar exigencies of the times and the condition of the freedmen, who, being suddenly emancipated by a dynamic process, were without schools, or teachers, or means to procure them. To organize the work a superintendent of schools was appointed for each State. Besides the regular appropriation by Congress the military authorities aided the bureau. Transportation was furnished to teachers, books, and school furniture, and material aid was given to all engaged in education.

General Howard used his large powers to get into his custody the funds scattered in the hands of many officers, which could be made available for the freedmen. Funds bearing different names were contributed to the work of "colored

education."¹ During the war some of the States sent money to officers serving in the South to buy substitutes from among the colored people to fill up their quota under the draft. A portion of the bounty money thus sent, by an order of General B. F. Butler, August 4, 1864, was retained in the hands of officers who had been superintendents of negro affairs, and by the President's order of June 2, 1865, was turned over to the disbursing officers of the Bureau of Freedmen. After the organization of the bureau, General Howard instructed agents to turn money held by them over to the chief disbursing officer of the bureau. This was in no sense public money, but belonged to individuals enlisted as contraband recruits to fill the State quotas. What was unclaimed of what was held in trust under General Butler's order was used for educational purposes.

In the early part of 1867 the accounting officers of the Treasury Department ascertained that numerous frauds were being perpetrated on colored claimants for bounties under acts of Congress. Advising with General Howard, the Treasury officials drew a bill which Congress enacted into a law, devolving upon the commissioner the payment of bounties to colored soldiers and sailors. This enlarged responsibility gave much labor to General Howard, in his already multifarious and difficult duties, and made more honorable the acquittal which he secured when an official investigation was subsequently ordered upon his administration of the affairs of the bureau.

The act of Congress of July 16, 1866, gave a local fund, which was expended in the district in which it accrued, and besides there were general appropriations for the support of the bureau, which were in part available for schools.

Mr. Ingle, writing of school affairs in the District in 1867 and 1868, says:

"Great aid was given at this period by the Freedmen's Bureau, which, not limiting its assistance to schools for primary instruction, did much toward establishing Howard University, in which no distinction was made on account of race, color, or sex, though it had originally been intended for the education of negro men alone."

The monograph of Edward Ingle on "The negro in the District of Columbia," one of the valuable Johns Hopkins University studies, gives such a full and easily accessible account of the education of the negroes in the District, that it is needless to enlarge the pages of this paper by a repetition of what he has so satisfactorily done.

The bureau found many schools in localities which had been within the lines of the Union armies, and these, with the others established by its agency, were placed under more systematic supervision. In some States schools were carried on entirely by aid of the funds of the bureau, but it had the cooperation and assistance of various religious and benevolent societies. On July 1, 1866, Mr. Alvord, inspector of schools and finances, reported 975 schools in 15 States and the District, 1,405 teachers, and 90,778 scholars. He mentioned as worthy of note a change of sentiment among better classes in regard to freedmen's schools, and that the schools were steadily gaining in numbers, attainments, and general influence. On January 17, 1867, General Howard reports to the Secretary of War \$115,261.56 as used for schools, and the Quartermaster's Department as still rendering valuable help. Education "was carried on vigorously during the year," a better feeling prevailing, and 150,000 freedmen and children "occupied earnestly in the study of books." The taxes, which had been levied for schools in Louisiana, under the administration of T. W. Conway, had been discontinued, but \$500,000 were asked for schools and asylums. In 1867 the Government appointed Generals Steedman and Fullerton as inspectors, and from General Howard's vehement reply to their report—which the War Department declines to permit an inspection of—it appears that their criticisms were decidedly unfavorable. Civilians in the bureau were now displaced by army officers. In July, 1869, Mr. Alvord mentions decided progress in educational returns, increasing thirst for knowledge, greater public favor, and the establishment of 39 training schools for teachers, with 3,377 pupils. Four months later General Howard says, "hostility to schools and teachers has in great measure ceased." He reported the cost of the bureau at \$13,029,816, and earnestly recommended "the national legislature" to establish a general system of free schools, "furnishing to all children of a suitable age such instruction in the rudiments of learning as would fit them to discharge intelligently the duties of free American citizens." Solicitor Whiting had previously recommended that the head of the Freedmen's Bureau should be a Cabinet officer, but this was not granted, and the bureau was finally discontinued, its affairs being transferred to the War Department by act of Congress, June 10, 1872. It is apparent from the reports of Sprague, assistant commissioner in Florida, and of Alvord in 1867 and 1870, that the agents of the bureau sometimes used their official position and influence for organizing the freedmen for party politics and to control elections. A full history of the Freedmen's Bureau would furnish an interesting chapter in negro education, but a report from Inspector Shriver, on October 3, 1873, says the department has "no means of verifying the amount of retained bounty fund;" and

¹ See Spec. Ed. Rep., District of Columbia, p. 259.

on December 4, 1873, the department complains of "the incomplete and disordered condition of the records of the late bureau." (See Ex. Doc. No. 10, Forty-third Congress, first session, and House Mis. Doc. No. 87, Forty-second Congress, third session.)

That no injustice may be done to anyone, the answer of the "Record and Pension Office, War Department," May 21, 1894, to my application for statistics drawn from the records, is embodied in this paper. So far as the writer has been able to investigate, no equally full and official account has heretofore been given.

The following consolidated statement, prepared from records of superintendents of education of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, shows the number of schools, teachers, and pupils in each State, under control of said bureau, and the amount expended for schools, asylums, construction and rental of school buildings, transportation of teachers, purchase of books, etc.:

Year.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Expended by bureau.	Received from freedmen.	Received from benevolent associations.
1865-66.....	1,264	1,795	111,193	\$225,722.94	\$18,500.00	\$83,200.00
1867.....	1,673	2,032	109,245	415,330.00	17,200.00	65,087.00
1868.....	1,739	2,104	102,562	909,210.20	42,130.00	154,736.50
1869.....	1,942	2,472	108,485	591,267.56	85,726.00	27,200.00
1870.....	1,900	2,376	108,135	480,737.82	17,187.00	4,240.00

"This statement or statistical table is made up from the reports of the superintendents of education of the several States under the control of the bureau from 1865 to 1870, when Government aid to the freedmen's schools was withdrawn. It embraces the number of schools established or maintained, the number of teachers employed, the number of pupils, and the amount expended for school purposes in each State and the District of Columbia. The expenditures also include the amounts contributed by the bureau for the construction and maintenance of asylums for the freedmen, which can not be separated from the totals given.

"The table is based upon the reports of the school superintendents, and has been prepared with great care. The results thus obtained, however, differ in some material respects from the figures given by the commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in his annual reports. These discrepancies, which this department is unable to reconcile or explain, will be seen by a comparison of the table with the following statement made from the reports of the commissioner:

Year.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Disbursements for school purposes.			
				By bureau.	By benevolent associations.	By freedmen.	Total.
1866.....	975	1,405	90,778	\$123,659.39	\$82,200.00	\$18,500.00	\$224,359.39
1867.....	1,339	2,087	111,442	531,345.48	65,087.01	17,200.00	613,632.49
1868.....	1,831	2,295	104,327	965,896.67	700,000.00	α 360,000.00	2,025,896.67
1869.....	2,118	2,455	114,522	924,182.16	365,000.00	α 190,000.00	1,479,182.16
1870.....	2,677	3,300	149,581	976,853.29	360,000.00	α 200,000.00	1,536,853.29

α Estimated.

"It has been found impracticable to ascertain the amounts expended by the Freedmen's Bureau for Howard and Fisk Universities, and the schools at Hampton, Atlanta, and New Orleans, the items of expenditure for these schools not being separated in the reports from the gross expenditures for school purposes."

A committee of investigation upon General Howard's use of the bureau for his pecuniary aggrandizement were divided in opinion, but a large majority exonerated him from censure and commended him for the excellent performance of difficult duties. An equally strong and unanimous verdict of approval was rendered by a court of inquiry, General Sherman presiding, which was convened under an act of Congress, February 13, 1874.

V. It has been stated that the bureau was authorized to act in cooperation with benevolent or religious societies in the education of the negroes. A number of these organizations had done good service before the establishment of the bureau and continued their work afterwards. The teachers earliest in the field were from the American Missionary Association, Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, American Baptist Home Mission Society, and the Society of Friends. After the surrender of Vicksburg and the occupation of Natchez, others were sent by the United Presbyterians, Reformed Presbyterians, United Brethren in Christ, Northwestern Freedmen's

Aid Commission, and the National Freedmen's Aid Association. The first colored school in Vicksburg was started in 1863 by the United Brethren in the basement of a Methodist church.

The American Missionary Association was the chief body, apart from the Government, in the great enterprise of meeting the needs of the negroes. It did not relinquish its philanthropic work because army officers and the Federal Government were working along the same line. Up to 1866 its receipts were swollen by "the aid of the Free Will Baptists, the Wesleys, the Congregationalists, and friends in Great Britain." From Great Britain it is estimated that "a million of dollars in money and clothing were contributed through various channels for the freedmen." The third decade of the association, 1867-1876, was a marked era in its financial history. The Freedmen's Bureau turned over a large sum, which could be expended only in buildings. A Congressional report says that between December, 1866, and May, 1870, the association received \$243,753.22. Since the association took on a more distinctive and separate denominational character, because of the withdrawal of other denominations into organizations of their own, it, along with its church work, has prosecuted, with unabated energy and marked success, its educational work among the negroes. It has now under its control or support—

Chartered institutions	6
Normal schools	29
Common schools	43
Totals:	
Schools	78
Instructors	389
Pupils	12, 609
Pupils classified:	
Theological	47
Collegiate	57
College preparatory	192
Normal	1, 091
Grammar	2, 378
Intermediate	3, 692
Primary	5, 152

Some of these schools are not specially for negroes. It would be unjust not to give the association much credit for Atlanta University and for Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute, which are not included in the above recapitulation, as the latter stands easily first among all the institutions designed for negro development, both for influence and usefulness. During the war and for a time afterwards the school work of the association was necessarily primary and transitional, but it grew into larger proportions, with higher standards, and its normal and industrial work deserves special mention and commendation. From 1860 to October 1, 1893, its expenditures in the South for freedmen, directly and indirectly, including church extension as well as education, have been \$11,610,000.

VI. In 1866 was organized the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Under that compact, powerful, well-disciplined, enthusiastic organization more than \$6,000,000 have been expended in the work of education of negroes. Dr. Hartzell said before the World's Congress in Chicago that Wilberforce University, at Xenia, Ohio, was established in 1857 as a college for colored people, and "continues to be the chief educational center of African Methodism in the United States." He reports, as under various branches of Methodism, 65 institutions of learning for colored people, 388 teachers, 10,100 students, \$1,905,150 of property, and \$652,500 of endowment. Among these is Meharry Medical College, of high standard and excellent discipline, with dental and pharmaceutical departments as well as medical. Near 200 students have been graduated. The school of mechanic arts in Central Tennessee College, under the management of Professor Sedgwick, has a fine outfit, and has turned out telescopes and other instruments which command a ready and remunerative market in this and other countries.

VII. On April 16, 1862, slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia. By November 13,000 refugees had collected at Washington, Alexandria, Hampton, and Norfolk. Under an unparalleled exigency, instant action was necessary. The lack of educational privileges led Christian societies to engage in educational work—at least in the rudiments of learning—for the benefit of these people, who were eager to be instructed. Even where education had not previously been a part of the functions of certain organizations, the imperative need of the liberated left no option as to duty. With the assistance of the Baptist Free Mission Society and of the Baptist Home Mission Society, schools were established in Alexandria as early as January 1, 1862, and were multiplied through succeeding years. After Appomattox the Baptist Home Mission Society was formally and deliberately committed to the education of the blacks, giving itself largely to the training of teachers and

preachers. In May, 1892, the society had under its management 24 schools with 216 instructors, 4,861 pupils, of whom 1,756 were preparing to teach, school property worth \$750,000 and endowment funds of \$156,000. Probably not less than 50,000 have attended the various schools. Since 1860 \$2,451,859.56 have been expended for the benefit of the negroes. The superintendent of education says: "The aggregate amount appropriated for the salaries of teachers from the time the society commenced its work until January, 1883, was: District of Columbia, \$59,243.57; Virginia, \$65,254.44; North Carolina, \$41,788.90; South Carolina, \$29,683.71; Florida, \$3,161.16; Georgia, \$26,963.21; Alabama, \$4,960.37; Mississippi, \$6,611.05; Louisiana, \$39,168.25; Texas, \$2,272.18; Arkansas, \$150; Tennessee, \$57,898.86; Kentucky, \$1,092.54; Missouri, \$300. The following gives the aggregate amount appropriated for teachers and for all other purposes, such as land, buildings, etc., from January, 1883, to January, 1893: District of Columbia, \$103,110.01; Virginia, \$193,974.08; North Carolina, \$142,861.95; South Carolina, \$137,157.79; Florida, \$55,923.96; Georgia, \$314,061.48; Alabama, \$35,405.86; Mississippi, \$86,019.0; Louisiana, \$33,720.93; Texas, \$131,225.27; Arkansas, \$13,206.20; Tennessee, \$164,514.05; Kentucky, \$49,798.56; Missouri, \$6,543.13. Until January, 1883, the appropriations for teachers and for lands, buildings, etc., were kept as separate items. I have already given the appropriations for the teachers up to that date. For grounds and buildings \$421,119.50 were appropriated." In connection with the Spelman Seminary and the male school in Atlanta, there has been established, under intelligent and discriminating rules, a first-class training department for teachers. A new, commodious structure, well adapted to the purpose, costing \$55,000, was opened in December. At Spelman there is an admirable training school for nurses, where the pupils have hospital practice. Shaw University, at Raleigh, has the flourishing Leonard Medical School and a well-equipped pharmacy.

VIII. The Presbyterian Church at the North in May, 1865, adopted a deliverance in favor of special efforts in behalf of the "lately enslaved African race." From the twenty-eighth annual report of the Board of Missions for Freedmen it appears that, besides building churches, special exertions have been put forth "in establishing parochial schools, in planting academies and seminaries, in equipping and supporting a large and growing university." The report mentions 15 schools—3 in North Carolina, 4 in South Carolina, 3 in Arkansas, and 1 in each of the States of Texas, Mississippi, Virginia, Georgia, and Tennessee. One million two hundred and eighty thousand dollars have been spent. "In the high schools and parochial schools we have (May, 1893) 10,520 students, who are being daily molded under Presbyterian educational influence." The United Presbyterian Church reports for May, 1893, an enrollment in schools of 2,558. The Southern Presbyterians have a theological seminary in Birmingham, Ala., which was first opened in Tuscaloosa in 1877.

IX. The Episcopal Church, through the Commission on Church Work among the Colored People, during the seven years of its existence (1887-1893) has expended \$272,068, but the expenditure is fairly apportioned between ministerial and teaching purposes. The schools are parochial, "with an element of industrial training," and are located in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama; but the "reports" do not give the number of teachers and scholars. The Friends have some well-conducted schools, notably the Schofield in Aiken, S. C. They have sustained over 100 schools and have spent \$1,004,129. In the mission work of the Roman Catholic Church among the negroes school work and church work are so blended that it has been very difficult to make a clear separation. Schools exist in Baltimore, Washington, and all the Southern States, but with how many teachers and pupils and at what cost the report of the commission for 1893 does not show. A few extracts are given. "We need," says one, "all the help possible to cope with the public schools of Washington. In fact, our school facilities are poor, and unless we can do something to invite children to our Catholic schools many of them will lose their faith." Another person writes: "Next year we shall have to exert all the influence in our power to hold our school. Within two doors of our school a large public-school building is being erected; this new public-school building will draw pupils away from the Catholic school unless the latter be made equally efficient in its work."

X. On February 6, 1867, George Peabody gave to certain gentlemen \$2,000,000 in trust, to be used "for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, or industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the Southwestern States of our Union." This gift embraced both races, and Dr. Barnas Sears was fortunately selected as the general agent, to whom was committed practically the administration of the trust. In his first report he remarked that in many of the cities aided by the fund provision was made for the children of both races, but said that as the subject of making equal provision for the education of both races was occupying public attention, he thought it the safer and wiser course not to set up schools on a precarious foundation, but to confine help to public schools and make efforts in all suitable ways to improve or have established State systems of education. Still,

in some localities aid was judiciously given, and the United States superintendent of education for the negroes in North Carolina gave testimony that but for the Peabody aid many of the colored schools would be closed. "Our superintendents have aided largely in distributing the Peabody fund in nearly all the States." "Great good has thereby been accomplished at very little added expense." The Peabody fund bent its energies and directed its policy toward securing the establishment of State systems of education which should make adequate and permanent provision for universal education. State authorities would have more power and general influence than individuals or denominational or private corporations. They represent the whole people, are held to a strict accountability, protected "from the charge of sectarianism and from the liability of being overreached by interested parties." State systems, besides, have a continuous life and are founded on the just principle that property is taxable for the maintenance of general education. The fund now acts exclusively with State systems, and continues support to the negroes more efficiently through such agencies.

XI. Congress, by land grants since 1860, has furnished to the Southern States substantial aid in the work of agricultural and mechanical education. On March 2, 1867, the Bureau of Education was established for the collection and diffusion of information. This limited sphere of work has been so interpreted and cultivated that the Bureau, under its able Commissioners, especially under the leadership of that most accomplished American educator, Dr. W. T. Harris, has become one of the most efficient and intelligent educational agencies on the continent. To the general survey of the educational field and comparative exhibits of the position of the United States and other enlightened countries have been added discussions by specialists and papers on the various phases of educational life produced by the incorporation of diverse races into our national life or citizenship. The annual reports and circulars of information contain a vast mass of facts and studies in reference to the colored people, and a digest and collaboration of them would give the most complete history that could be prepared.

The Bureau and the Peabody education fund have been most helpful allies in making suggestions in relation to legislation in school matters, and giving, in intelligible, practical form, the experiences of other States, home and foreign, in devising and perfecting educational systems. All the States of the South, as soon as they recovered their governments, put in operation systems of public schools which gave equal opportunities and privileges to both races. It would be singularly unjust not to consider the difficulties—social, political, and pecuniary—which embarrassed the South in the efforts to inaugurate free education. It required unusual heroism to adapt to the new conditions, but she was equal in fidelity and energy to what was demanded for the reconstruction of society and civil institutions. The complete enfranchisement of the negroes and their new political relations, as the result of the war and the new amendments to the Constitution, necessitated an entire reorganization of the systems of public education. To realize what has been accomplished is difficult at best—impossible, unless we estimate sufficiently the obstacles and compare the facilities of to-day with the ignorance and bondage of a generation ago, when some statutes made it an indictable offense to teach a slave or free person of color. Comparisons with densely populated sections are misleading, for in the South the sparseness and poverty of the population are almost a preventive of good schools. Still the results have been marvelous. Out of 448 cities in the United States with a population each of 8,000 and over, only 73 are in the South. Of 28 with a population from 100,000 to 1,500,000, only 2 (St. Louis being excluded) are in the South. Of 96, with a population between 25,000 and 100,000, 17 are in the South. The urban population is comparatively small, and agriculture is the chief occupation. Of 858,000 negroes in Georgia, 130,000 are in cities and towns and 728,000 in the country; in Mississippi, urban colored population 42,000, rural 700,000; in South Carolina, urban 74,000, rural 615,000; in North Carolina, urban 66,000 against 498,000 rural; in Alabama, 65,000 against 613,000; in Louisiana, 93,000 against 466,000. The schools for colored children are maintained on an average 89.2 days in a year, and for white children 98.6, but the preponderance of the white over the black race in towns and cities helps in part to explain the difference. While the colored population supplies less than its due proportion of pupils to the public schools, and the regularity of attendance is less than with the white, yet the difference in length of school term in schools for white and schools for black children is trifling. In the same grades the wages of teachers are about the same. The annual State school revenue is apportioned impartially among white and black children, so much per capita to each child. In the rural districts the colored people are dependent chiefly upon the State apportionment, which is by law devoted mainly to the payment of teachers' salaries. Hence, the schoolhouses and other conveniences in the country for the negroes are inferior, but in the cities the appropriation for schools is general and is allotted to white and colored, according to the needs of each. A small proportion of the school fund comes from colored sources. All the States do not

discriminate in assessments of taxable property, but in Georgia, where the ownership is ascertained, the negroes returned in 1892 \$14,869,575 of taxable property against \$448,884,959 returned by white owners. The amount of property listed for taxation in North Carolina in 1891 was, by white citizens, \$234,109,568; by colored citizens, \$8,018,446. To an inquiry for official data, the auditor of the State of Virginia says: "The taxes collected in 1891 from white citizens were \$2,991,646.24 and from the colored \$163,175.67. The amount paid for public schools for whites, \$588,564.87; for negroes, \$309,364.15. Add \$15,000 for colored normal and \$80,000 for colored lunatic asylum. Apportioning the criminal expenses between the white and the colored people in the ratio of convicts of each race received into the penitentiary in 1891, and it shows that the criminal expenses put upon the State annually by the whites are \$53,749.57 and by the negroes \$204,018.99."

Of the desire of the colored people for education the proof is conclusive, and of their capacity to receive mental culture there is not the shade of a reason to support an adverse hypothesis. The Bureau of Education furnishes the following suggestive table:

Sixteen former slave States and the District of Columbia.

Year.	Common-school enrollment.		Expenditures (both races).	Year.	Common-school enrollment.		Expenditures (both races).
	White.	Colored.			White.	Colored.	
1876-77.....	1,827,139	571,506	\$11,231,073	1885-86.....	2,773,145	1,048,659	\$20,208,113
1877-78.....	2,034,946	675,150	12,093,091	1886-87.....	2,975,773	1,118,556	20,821,969
1878-79.....	2,013,684	685,942	12,174,141	1887-88.....	3,110,606	1,140,405	21,810,158
1879-80.....	2,215,674	754,709	12,678,685	1888-89.....	3,197,830	1,213,092	23,171,878
1880-81.....	2,234,877	802,374	13,656,814	1889-90.....	3,402,420	1,296,959	24,880,107
1881-82.....	2,249,263	802,982	15,241,740	1890-91.....	3,570,624	1,329,549	26,090,310
1882-83.....	2,370,110	817,240	16,363,471	1891-92.....	3,607,549	1,354,316	27,691,488
1883-84.....	2,546,448	1,002,313	17,884,558	1892-93.....	3,697,899	1,367,515	28,535,738
1884-85.....	2,676,911	1,030,463	19,253,874	1893-94*.....	3,835,593	1,424,995	29,170,351

* Approximately.

Total amount expended in 18 years, \$353,557,559.

In 1890-91 there were 79,962 white teachers and 24,150 colored. To the enrollment in common schools should be added 30,000 colored children who are in normal or secondary schools. The amount expended for education of negroes is not stated separately, but Dr. W. T. Harris estimates that there must have been nearly \$75,000,000 expended by the Southern States in addition to what has been contributed by missionary and philanthropic sources. In Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas annual grants are made for the support of colored normal and industrial schools.

The negroes must rely very largely upon the public schools for their education, and so they should. They are and will continue to be the most efficient factors for uplifting the race. The States, at immense sacrifice, with impartial liberality, have taxed themselves for a population which contributes very little to the State revenues, and nothing could be done more prejudicial to the educational interests of the colored people than to indulge in any hostility or indifference to or neglect of these free schools. Denominations and individuals can do nothing more harmful to the race than to foster opposition to the public schools.

XII. A potential agency in enlightening public opinion and in working out the problem of the education of the negro has been the John F. Slater fund. "In view of the apprehensions felt by all thoughtful persons," when the duties and privileges of citizenship were suddenly thrust upon millions of lately emancipated slaves, Mr. Slater conceived the purpose of giving a large sum of money to their proper education. After deliberate reflection and much conference, he selected a board of trust and placed in their hands \$1,000,000. This unique gift, originating wholly with himself, and elaborated in his own mind in most of its details, was for "the uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern States and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education." "Not only for their own sake, but also for the sake of our common country," he sought to provide "the means of such education as shall tend to make them good men and good citizens," associating the instruction of the mind "with training in just notions of duty toward God and man, in the light of the Holy Scriptures." Leaving to the corporation the largest discretion and liberty in the prosecution of the general object, as described in his letter of trust, he yet indicated as "lines of operation adapted to the condition of things" the encouragement of "institutions as are most effectually useful in promoting the training of teachers." The trust was to be administered "in no partisan, sectional, or sectarian spirit, but in the interest of a generous patriotism and

an enlightened Christian spirit." Soon after organization the trustees expressed very strongly their judgment that the scholars should be "trained in some manual occupation, simultaneously with their mental and moral instruction," and aid was confined to such institutions as gave "instruction in trades and other manual occupations," that the pupils might obtain an intelligent mastery of the indispensable elements of industrial success. So repeated have been similar declarations on the part of the trustees and the general agents that manual training, or education in industries, may be regarded as an unalterable policy; but only such institutions were to be aided as were, "with good reason, believed to be on a permanent basis." Mr. Slater explained "Christian education," as used in his letter of gift, to be teaching, "leavened with a predominant and salutary Christian influence," such as was found in "the common school teaching of Massachusetts and Connecticut," and that there was "no need of limiting the gifts of the fund to denominational institutions." Since the first appropriation near fifty different institutions have been aided, in sums ranging from \$500 to \$5,000. As required by the founder, neither principal nor income is expended for land or buildings. For a few years aid was given in buying machinery or apparatus, but now the income is applied almost exclusively to paying the salaries of teachers engaged in the normal or industrial work. The number of aided institutions has been lessened, with the view of concentrating and making more effective the aid and of improving the instruction in normal and industrial work. The table appended presents a summary of the appropriations which have been made from year to year.

Cash disbursed by John F. Slater fund as appropriations for educational institutions.

To—	Amount.	To—	Amount.
August 13, 1884.....	\$24,881.66	April 30, 1891.....	\$50,650.00
April 30, 1885.....	30,414.19	April 30, 1892.....	45,816.33
April 30, 1886.....	38,724.98	April 30, 1893.....	37,475.00
April 30, 1887.....	39,816.28	April 30, 1894.....	40,750.00
April 30, 1888.....	46,183.34		
April 30, 1889.....	43,709.98	Total.....	439,981.78
April 30, 1890.....	41,560.02		

III.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE NEGROES.

[By Henry Gannett, of the United States Geological Survey.]

The statistics of occupations used in this paper are from the census of 1890, and represent the status of the race on June 1 of that year. The census takes cognizance only of "gainful" occupations, excluding from its lists housewives, school children, men of leisure, etc. Its schedules deal only with wage earners, those directly engaged in earning their living.

GENERAL STATISTICS.

In 1890, out of a total population of 62,622,250, 22,753,884 persons, or 34.6 per cent, were engaged in gainful occupations. Of the negroes, including all of mixed negro blood, numbering 7,470,040, 3,073,123, or 41.1 per cent were engaged in gainful occupations. The proportion was much greater than with the total population. This total population, however, was composed of several diverse elements, including, besides the negroes themselves, the foreign born (of which a large proportion were adult males), and the native whites. The following table presents the proportions of each of these elements which were engaged in gainful occupations:

	Per cent.
Total population.....	34.6
Whites.....	35.5
Native whites.....	31.6
Foreign born.....	55.2
Negroes.....	41.1

The diagram No. 1 sets forth these figures in graphic form. The total area of the square represents the population. This is subdivided by horizontal lines into rectangles representing the various elements of the population, and the shaded part of each rectangle represents the proportions engaged in gainful occupations.

The proportion was greatest among the foreign born because of the large proportion of adults, and particularly of males, among this element. Next to that, the proportion was greatest among the negroes, being much greater than among the whites collectively, and still greater than among the native whites.

Classifying the wage earners of the country in respect to race and nativity, it appears that 64.5 per cent were native whites, 22 per cent were of foreign birth, and 13.5 per cent were negroes.

Analyzing the statistics of occupation by sex, it is discovered that the proportion of native white males who had occupations was 53.4 and of females 9.4 per cent. The corresponding proportion of male negroes was 56.3 per cent and of female negroes 26 per cent. The male negroes were slightly more fully occupied than were the native whites, while among females the proportion of wage earners was much greater. The difference between native whites and negroes in the proportion of wage earners was, therefore, due mainly to the fuller occupation of women. To put it in another form: Out of every 100 native whites who pursued gainful occupations, 85 were males and 15 were females; of every 100 negroes, 69 were males and 31 were females. Indeed, a larger proportion of women pursued gainful occupations among negroes than in any other class of the population.

CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS.

The primary classification of occupations made by the census recognized five great groups, as follows: (1) Professions, (2) agriculture, (3) trade and transportation, (4) manufactures, (5) personal service. These titles are self explanatory, with the possible exception of the last class, which is mainly composed of domestic servants.

The following table shows the proportion of the negro wage earners engaged in each of these groups of occupations. In juxtaposition, for comparison, are placed similar figures for the native white and the foreign born:

	Native white.	Foreign born.	Negro.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Professions.....	5.5	2.2	1.1
Agriculture.....	41.0	25.5	57.2
Trade and transportation.....	17.0	14.0	4.7
Manufactures.....	22.9	31.3	5.6
Personal service.....	13.6	27.0	31.4
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

Similar facts are shown by diagram No. 2. In this the total area of the square represents the number of persons in the country pursuing gainful occupations. This is divided into rectangles by horizontal lines, the rectangles being proportioned respectively to the numbers of the native whites, the foreign born, and the negroes. The subdivision of these rectangles by vertical lines indicates the proportion in each group of wage earners.

The most striking facts brought out by this table and diagram are that only a trifling proportion of the negroes were in the professions, that much more than one-half were farmers, and nearly one-third were engaged in personal (mainly domestic) service. Indeed, over seven-eighths of them were either farmers or servants. The proportions engaged in trade and transportation and in manufactures were very small. In respect to the farming class, they contrasted sharply with the foreign born. In trade and transportation and in manufactures the contrast was even greater, in the contrary direction. The foreign born contained a much larger proportion of professional men.

Comparing the negroes with the native whites, equally interesting contrasts appear. Professional men were much more numerous among whites than among negroes. The proportion of the farming class, although much smaller, was nearer that of the negroes than was the same class among the foreign born. In trade and transportation and in manufactures the native whites had much greater proportions, while in personal service the proportion was much less than that of the negroes.

MALE AND FEMALE WAGE EARNERS.

It will be interesting to analyze these figures further. The following table classifies negro wage earners by occupation and by sex, giving for each sex the percentage engaged in each group of occupations:

	Male.	Female.
Professions.....	1.2	0.9
Agriculture.....	63.4	44.0
Trade and transportation.....	6.8	.2
Manufactures.....	7.0	2.8
Personal service.....	21.6	52.1

DIAGRAM NO. 1.—Proportion of the population and its elements, which were engaged in gainful occupations in 1890.

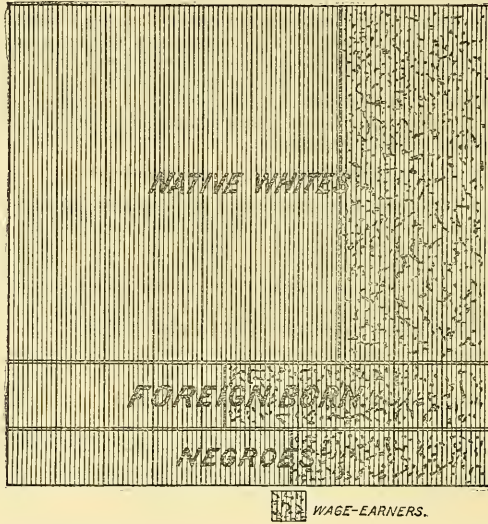
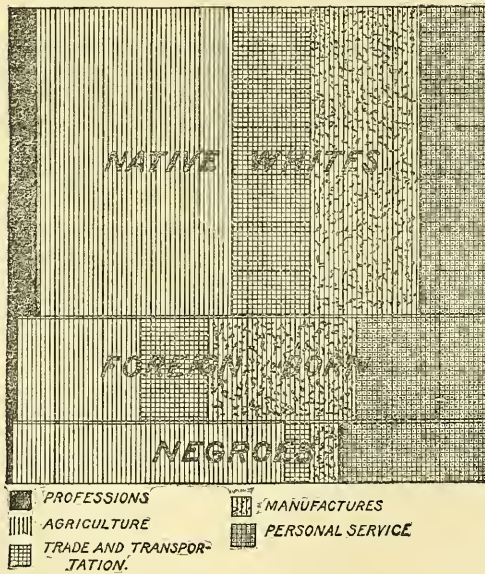
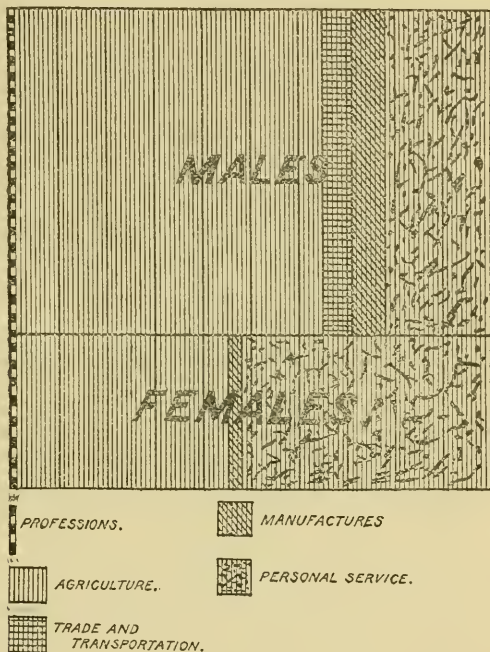


DIAGRAM NO. 2.—Classification of the wage-earners by race and nativity and by occupations.



These figures are also illustrated by diagram No. 3, the area of which represents all negro wage earners. The two rectangles into which it is divided represent the males and females; each of these is subdivided into rectangles representing the number in each group of occupations. Of the male negro wage earners, more than three-fifths were farmers and a little less than one-fourth were servants. The two classes jointly accounted for nearly 85 per cent of all.

DIAGRAM NO. 3.—*Classification of negro wage-earners by sex and occupation.*



Of the females, considerably less than one-half were farmers and more than one-half were servants—the two classes together accounting for 95 per cent of all. This large proportion of female negro farmers was doubtless made up in the main of women and female children employed in the cotton fields.

NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS.

The following table, abstracted from the census publications, shows the number of negroes in all occupations and in each of the five great groups of occupations by sex and by States and Territories:

State or Territory.	All occupations.		Agriculture, fisheries, and mining.		Professional service.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
The United States.....	2, 101, 233	971, 890	1, 329, 584	427, 835	25, 171	8, 829
Alabama.....	192, 322	101, 085	146, 361	66, 123	1, 471	491
Alaska.....						
Arizona.....	1, 091	71	29		3	
Arkansas.....	86, 861	30, 115	68, 219	19, 069	1, 226	238
California.....	4, 301	1, 041	1, 084	14	86	21
Colorado.....	2, 765	792	180	4	75	13
Connecticut.....	4, 064	1, 964	879	1	61	10
Delaware.....	9, 334	3, 016	4, 157	34	97	32
District of Columbia.....	21, 238	18, 770	553	16	390	335
Florida.....	46, 302	19, 071	23, 690	7, 629	776	223
Georgia.....	246, 913	122, 352	172, 496	54, 073	2, 122	958
Idaho.....	83	23	16			
Illinois.....	19, 270	4, 713	4, 323	134	486	116
Indiana.....	14, 648	4, 210	3, 273	37	330	126
Iowa.....	3, 615	730	8, 973	11	78	11
Kansas.....	13, 889	3, 400	4, 171	110	357	69
Kentucky.....	76, 411	31, 255	38, 456	1, 013	1, 406	420
Louisiana.....	159, 180	83, 978	111, 820	49, 428	1, 251	355
Maine.....	409	145	104	2	8	2
Maryland.....	63, 166	32, 642	29, 516	743	640	275
Massachusetts.....	7, 593	3, 435	601	4	162	57
Michigan.....	5, 065	1, 329	1, 458	45	115	39
Minnesota.....	1, 719	383	72	2	57	13
Mississippi.....	198, 531	105, 306	167, 995	77, 925	1, 970	775
Missouri.....	43, 940	16, 715	15, 757	324	897	337
Montana.....	971	140	41		25	4
Nebraska.....	3, 741	959	242	3	63	7
Nevada.....	130	22	41	1		
New Hampshire.....	242	107	60		5	
New Jersey.....	16, 143	7, 738	4, 166	29	287	82
New Mexico.....	888	156	163	3	10	
New York.....	23, 272	13, 664	3, 031	25	571	135
North Carolina.....	148, 370	68, 220	106, 493	33, 796	1, 619	565
North Dakota.....	146	23	35		7	
Ohio.....	28, 085	7, 791	6, 201	108	617	246
Oklahoma.....	958	125	635	17	22	3
Oregon.....	536	99	106	2	23	5
Pennsylvania.....	37, 534	15, 704	4, 602	29	584	197
Rhode Island.....	2, 337	1, 362	270	2	38	18
South Carolina.....	186, 714	102, 836	149, 915	73, 588	1, 543	506
South Dakota.....	284	43	33	1	1	2
Tennessee.....	121, 016	44, 701	72, 316	12, 510	1, 736	592
Texas.....	123, 395	46, 691	85, 824	20, 758	2, 031	563
Utah.....	298	51	21		1	
Vermont.....	322	169	112	1	3	
Virginia.....	169, 343	71, 752	93, 745	10, 164	1, 654	911
Washington.....	902	153	250	2	16	2
West Virginia.....	11, 475	2, 623	4, 790	50	166	63
Wisconsin.....	855	205	168	4	27	11
Wyoming.....	563	75	141		58	1

Table showing the number of negroes in all occupations, etc.—Continued.

State or Territory.	Domestic and personal service.		Trade and transportation.		Manufacturing and mechanical industries.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
The United States.....	457,002	505,898	143,350	2,309	146,126	26,929
Alabama.....	25,426	33,380	9,147	140	9,917	951
Alaska.....						
Arizona.....	1,034	67	13		12	4
Arkansas.....	11,226	10,506	2,787	27	3,403	275
California.....	2,316	897	457	3	358	106
Colorado.....	1,702	715	406	5	402	55
Connecticut.....	1,925	1,781	634	7	565	165
Delaware.....	3,631	2,878	633	21	816	51
District of Columbia.....	12,680	16,734	4,776	195	2,839	1,490
Florida.....	13,229	10,421	4,106	52	4,501	746
Georgia.....	39,294	65,025	16,397	372	16,604	1,924
Idaho.....	57	21	8		2	1
Illinois.....	10,865	4,061	1,994	41	1,602	361
Indiana.....	7,950	3,849	1,426	23	1,669	175
Iowa.....	1,966	672	289	1	309	35
Kansas.....	6,898	3,077	1,148	20	1,315	124
Kentucky.....	22,649	28,916	7,381	66	6,519	840
Louisiana.....	31,609	31,292	6,045	129	8,455	2,774
Maine.....	174	128	68	2	55	11
Maryland.....	21,014	30,406	7,538	144	4,458	1,074
Massachusetts.....	4,296	2,914	1,402	34	1,132	426
Michigan.....	2,495	1,102	448	6	549	137
Minnesota.....	1,286	315	216	5	88	48
Mississippi.....	17,209	25,729	5,671	74	5,686	803
Missouri.....	18,899	15,614	4,862	44	3,525	396
Montana.....	815	122	45	1	45	13
Nebraska.....	2,743	881	323	4	370	64
Nevada.....	67	18	17	1	5	2
New Hampshire.....	81	84	24		72	23
New Jersey.....	7,715	7,339	2,111	25	1,864	263
New Mexico.....	651	150	40		24	3
New York.....	13,151	12,445	4,231	54	2,288	1,005
North Carolina.....	20,580	31,393	7,564	106	12,114	2,360
North Dakota.....	90	22	10		4	1
Ohio.....	14,814	6,955	3,027	40	3,426	442
Oklahoma.....	231	102	28	1	42	2
Oregon.....	328	81	42	1	37	10
Pennsylvania.....	22,505	14,297	5,213	104	4,630	1,077
Rhode Island.....	1,161	1,169	546	3	322	170
South Carolina.....	18,554	26,213	6,860	188	9,842	2,341
South Dakota.....	115	35	121	1	14	4
Tennessee.....	25,606	30,333	10,954	125	10,404	1,141
Texas.....	23,360	24,840	6,386	69	5,794	461
Utah.....	248	48	14	1	14	2
Vermont.....	143	102	33		31	6
Virginia.....	39,425	55,941	15,655	253	18,864	4,483
Washington.....	480	134	69		87	15
West Virginia.....	3,515	2,462	2,080	7	927	41
Wisconsin.....	481	161	74	1	105	28
Wyoming.....	313	71	31	3	20	

DIAGRAM NO. 4.—*Proportion of negro wage-carriers to negro population.*

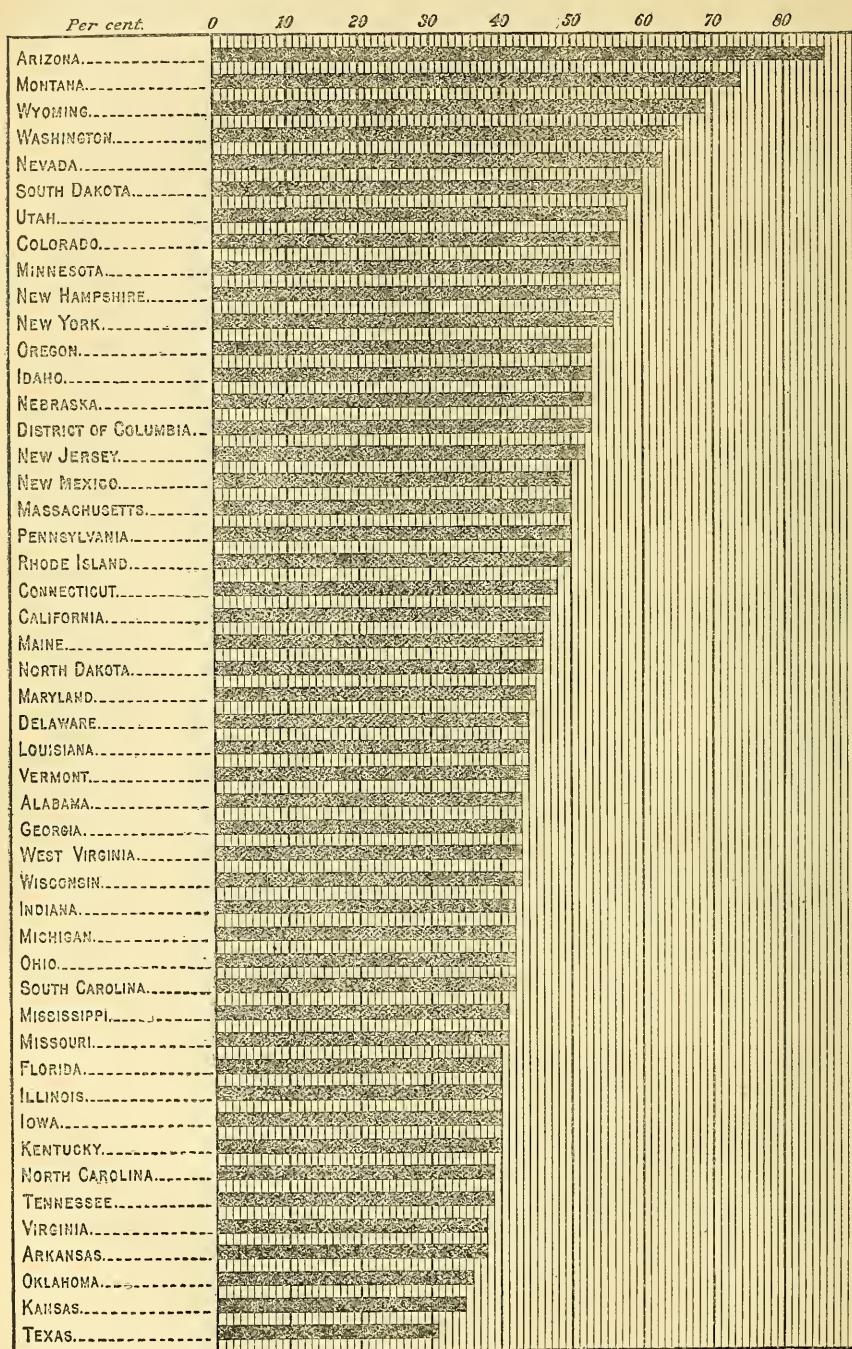


DIAGRAM NO. 5.—Grouping of the States and Territories.

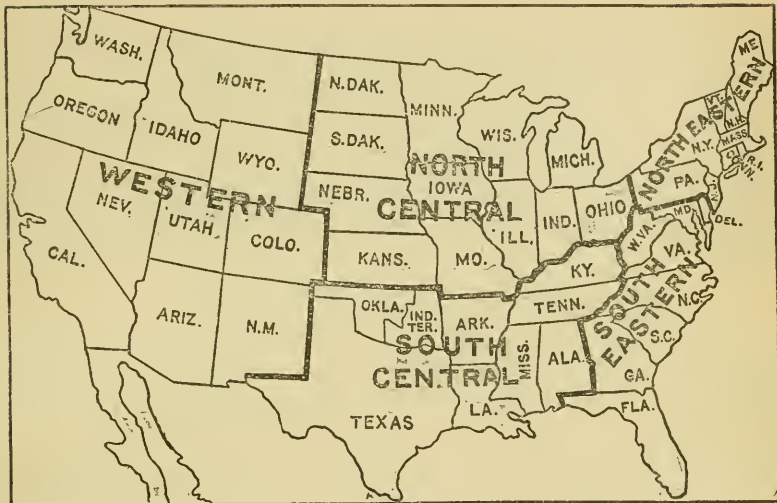
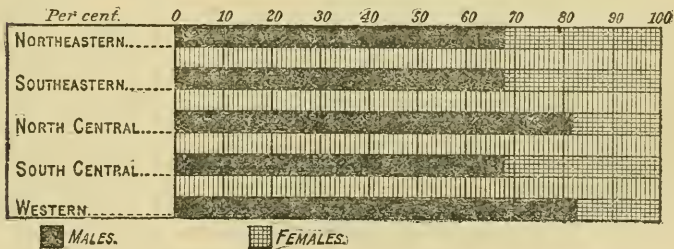


DIAGRAM NO. 6.—Proportions of male and female wage-earners.



PROPORTION OF WAGE EARNERS TO POPULATION.

The foregoing diagram No. 4 shows by the length of the bars the proportion which the negro wage earners bore in 1890 to the negro population of each State. This proportion was greatest in the States and the Territories of the West. Following these are the Northeastern States, while the lower part of the column is made up of the States in the Upper Mississippi Valley and those of the South.

OCCUPATIONS BY GROUPS OF STATES.

The distribution of wage earners among the five occupation groups differed widely in different parts of the country. To study it, it will be sufficient to group the States and analyze the statistics of each group.

The groups which will be used here are those which have been in use in the last two censuses, namely, the Northeastern and Southeastern, North Central and South Central, and Western groups. The States and Territories of which each group is composed are shown in map No. 5.

Examination of the States forming the above groups will show that the groups are in many respects very characteristic. The Southeastern and South Central groups contain nine-tenths of the negroes of the country. These States may be said to constitute the home of the negro, while in the Northern and Western States he is an immigrant.

OCCUPATIONS BY SEX AND STATE GROUPS.

Diagram No. 6 shows the distribution by sex and by groups of States of the negro wage earners. It appears that in the Northeastern, Southeastern, and South Central groups two-thirds of the wage earners were males and one-third were females, while in the North Central and Western groups about five-sixths were males and one-sixth only were females. This is in part due to the disproportionate number of males in these parts of the country.

Diagram No. 7 shows the distribution of the negro wage earners, classified by sex, among the five occupation groups and by groups of States. The length of each bar represents 100 per cent, and each bar is divided proportionately among the different occupation groups. Thus from it we read that in the Northeastern States 15 per cent of the male wage earners were engaged in agriculture, 56 per cent in personal service, 16 per cent in trade and transportation, 12 per cent in manufactures, and 2 per cent in the professions.

It is seen that a far larger proportion of male wage earners were engaged in agriculture in the Southern States than in the Northern and Western States, the proportion in the two groups of the former States being 64 and 71 per cent, while in the Northeastern States only 15 per cent were engaged in agriculture, in the North Central States 26 per cent, and in the Western States 17 per cent.

In trade and transportation the highest proportion was found in the Northeastern States, where it was 16 per cent; in the North Central States it was 14, and in the Western States 10 per cent, while in the Southeastern States it was 7 per cent and in the South Central States 7 per cent.

Of course, the magnitude of the proportion in the Northeastern States is due to the fact that this is the commercial and manufacturing section of the country, where a large proportion of all the population is engaged in these avocations. The same is the case, though in less degree, in the North Central States, while the Southern States are almost purely agricultural. The figures relating to manufacturing occupations show similar characteristics. It will be noted that in the Northern and Western States the occupations of the negroes were more diversified than in the Southern States. Agriculture and personal service in the Northeastern States occupied but 71 per cent of all wage earners, in the North Central States they occupied 75 per cent, and in the Western States 81 per cent, while in the Southeastern States these two occupation groups comprised 84 per cent and in the South Central 88 per cent of all.

The diagram shows in a similar manner the distribution of the female negro wage earners. There were engaged in agriculture in the Northern and Western States but a trifling proportion of negro women, while in the Southern States as a whole nearly one-half of the female negro wage earners were engaged in that avocation. On the other hand, personal service occupied fully nine-tenths of the female wage earners in the Northern and Western States, while in the Southern States less than one-half were engaged in it. Indeed, 94 per cent of the female wage earners of the West were engaged in personal service, 91 per cent in the Northeastern States, and 87 per cent in the North Central States. In trade and transportation the proportion was trifling and in manufactures it was small, although much larger in the North and West than in the South.

DIAGRAM NO. 7.—Distribution of occupations by sex and sections of the country.

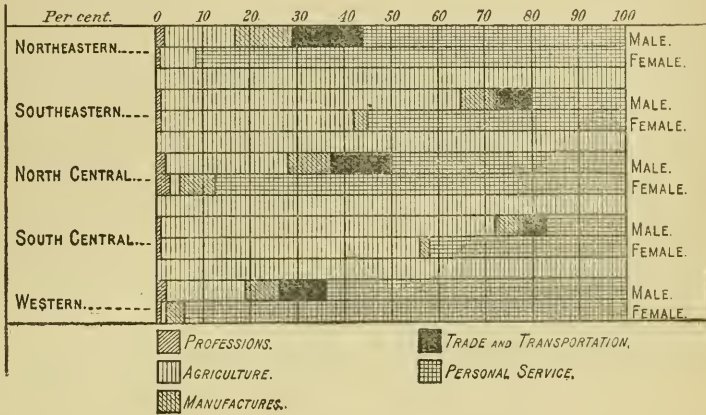
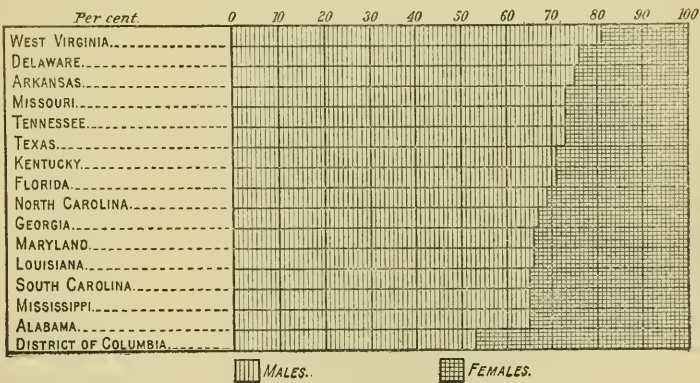


DIAGRAM NO. 8.—Proportions of males and females among the negro wage-earner.



Here also we see that agriculture and personal service occupied nearly all wage earners—91 per cent in the Northeastern States, 96 per cent in the Southeastern States, 89 per cent in the North Central States, 97 per cent in the South Central States, and 95 per cent in the Western States. Occupations were slightly more diversified in the North and West than in the Southern States, as was the case with the males.

OCCUPATIONS BY STATES.

It will now be of interest to extend this study in detail by States, but in doing so the study will be confined to the Southern, the former slave States, which are in a sense the home of the negro and in which more than nine-tenths of them live. In most of the Northern States the number of negroes is so small that any conclusions drawn from statistics regarding them are worthless and are likely to be misleading.

Diagram No. 8 shows the distribution by sex of the negro wage earners of these Southern States. The total length of the bar represents in each case all the wage earners, the white portion representing the males and the shaded portion the females.

This diagram shows that the greatest proportion of female wage earners is in the District of Columbia, where it is nearly one-half of all negro wage earners, and the least in West Virginia, where it is less than one-fifth of all. In most of the cotton States it ranges from one-fourth to one-third of all negro wage earners.

Diagrams Nos. 9 and 10 present the proportion of male and of female negro wage earners who are engaged in agriculture, personal service, and other occupations in the Southern States.

The first of these diagrams, representing male wage earners, shows that agriculture and personal service accounted for from 63 to 94 per cent of all male wage earners. Indeed, excluding the District of Columbia from consideration, from 73 to 93 per cent were accounted for by these two occupations.

Again, excluding the District of Columbia, which is not a farming community, the male wage earners who were farmers constituted in the different States proportions varying from 36 per cent in Missouri to 85 per cent in Mississippi. The proportion of farmers was highest in the cotton States and decidedly less in the border States. On the other hand, the proportion of males engaged in personal service was least in the cotton States and increased decidedly in those farther north.

The second diagram, illustrating the occupations of female wage earners, has certain features in common with that relating to males, but these features are more accentuated. In the cotton States a large proportion of the female wage earners worked in the fields and was therefore reported as engaged in agriculture, while in the border States but a small proportion was found there. On the other hand, domestic service claimed nearly all female wage earners in the border States, but in the cotton States a relatively small proportion.

Both the diagrams, and especially the first, show an important feature. In the cotton States wage earners were almost entirely either farmers or those engaged in personal service, but in the States farther north these classes were relatively smaller and occupations were somewhat more varied.

OWNERSHIP OF FARMS AND HOMES.

The statistics of farm and home ownership and of mortgage indebtedness of the Eleventh Census throw some light upon the pecuniary condition of the negro race.

The total number of farms and homes in the country in 1890 was 12,690,152, of which the negroes occupied 1,410,769, or 11.1 per cent. The proportion of negroes to the total population was at that time 12.20 per cent, showing a deficiency in the proportion occupying homes and farms when compared with the population.

The number of farms in the country was 4,767,179. Of these 549,642, or 11.5 per cent, were occupied by negroes, being a proportion greater than that of farms and homes combined.

The number of homes, as distinguished from farms, in the country was 7,922,973, of which 861,137, or 10.9 per cent, were occupied by negroes, being a proportion less than that of farms and homes combined.

Of the 549,632 farms in the country occupied by negroes 120,738, or 22 per cent, were owned by their occupants. The corresponding proportion for whites was 71.7 per cent. Of course, as regards tenants, the reverse was the case, the proportions being for whites 28.3 per cent and for negroes 78 per cent. More than three-fourths of the farms occupied by negroes were rented; in other words, more than three-fourths of the negro farmers were tenants, while less than one-fourth of the white farmers were tenants.

Of the farms owned by negroes 90.4 per cent were without incumbrance. Of those owned by whites 71.3 were without incumbrance, showing a much larger proportion incumbered than among those owned by negroes.

Of 861,137 homes occupied by negroes in 1890, 143,550 were owned by their occupants and 717,587 were rented, the proportions being 19 per cent and 81 per cent.

DIAGRAM NO. 9.—Proportions of male negro wage-earners engaged in agriculture, personal service, and other occupations.

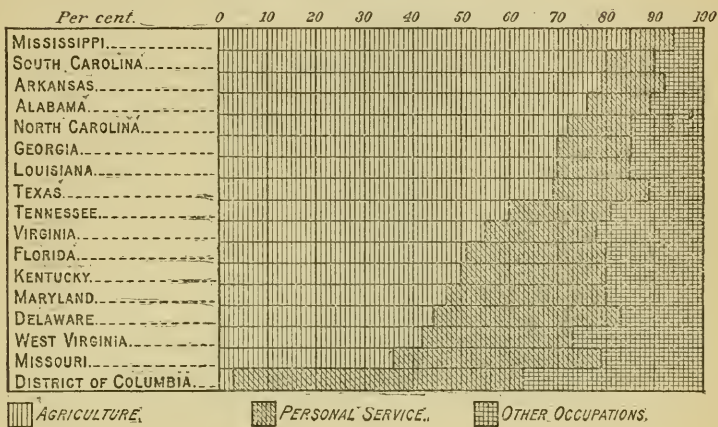
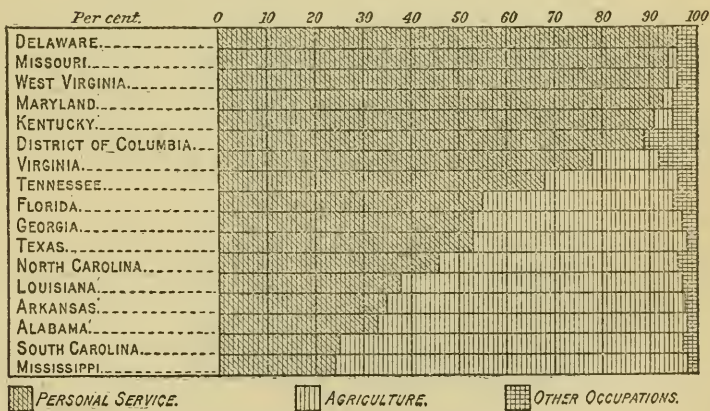


DIAGRAM NO. 10.—Proportions of female negro wage-earners engaged in personal service, agriculture, and other occupations.



Corresponding proportions for whites were 39.4 per cent and 60.6 per cent. Of the houses owned by negro occupants 126,264, or 87.7 per cent, were free, and 12.3 incumbered. Corresponding figures for whites were 71.3 and 28.7 per cent, showing, as before, a much greater proportion of free holdings among negroes than among whites.

Diagrams Nos. 11 and 12 summarize the above facts in graphic form. The total areas of the squares represent the number of farms and homes, respectively, those occupied by whites and negroes, respectively, being represented by the rectangles into which the squares are divided by horizontal lines. The vertical lines subdivide these rectangles into others proportional to the numbers occupied by owners without and with incumbrance, and by renters.

The male negroes occupied in agriculture numbered, in 1890, 1,329,581. Of these 510,619 occupied farms, the remainder, 818,965, being presumably farm laborers. The negro farmers—i. e., occupants of farms—constituted 38.3 per cent of the male negroes engaged in agriculture, leaving 61.7 per cent of the number as laborers. The corresponding figures for whites were 60.4 per cent and 39.6 per cent. The proportion of negroes engaged in agriculture who were farmers—i. e., occupied farms—was, therefore, much smaller than that of the whites. In spite of this low comparative showing, however, it must be agreed that, considering all the attendant circumstances, the proportion of negro farm occupants—more than one-third of all negroes engaged in agriculture—is unexpectedly large.

Summing up the salient points in this paper, it is seen that in the matter of occupations the negro is mainly engaged either in agriculture or personal service. He has, in a generation, made little progress in manufactures, transportation, or trade. In these two groups of occupations males are in greater proportion engaged in agriculture and females in domestic service. They have, however, during this generation, made good progress toward acquiring property, especially in the form of homes and farms, and, in just so far as they have acquired possession of real estate, it is safe to say that they have become more valuable as citizens. The outlook for them is very favorable as agriculturists, but there is little prospect that the race will become an important factor in manufactures, transportation, or commerce.

IV.

A STATISTICAL SKETCH OF THE NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES.

[By Henry Gannett, of the United States Geological Survey.]

From the time of the earliest settlement upon these shores the United States has contained two elements of population, the white race and the negro race. These two races have together peopled this country, increasing partly by accessions to their numbers from abroad and partly by natural increase, until to-day (1894) the white race numbers probably 61,000,000 and the negroes 8,000,000. The history of the latter race, thus brought into close association with a more civilized and stronger people for two and three-fourths centuries, is one of surpassing interest. Unfortunately, however, this history, for the earlier part of the period, is, with the exception of a few fragments, utterly lost. For the last century, however, since the year 1790, the date of the first United States census, we have, at ten-year intervals, pictures of the distribution of the race and considerable information regarding its social condition.

SLAVE TRADE.

The slave trade flourished actively up to the close of the last century, and indeed it did not entirely cease until the year 1808. It was mainly in the hands of the English, including their North American colonies. It was a large and flourishing business for the shipowners of New England.

Of the number of slaves brought from Africa to this country, either directly or by way of the West India Islands, we have very little information. Prior to 1788 there are no records, and since that time the records of the slave trade do not distinguish between the slaves brought to the United States and those to other parts of America.

Of the number of slaves in this country in colonial times the information is almost equally scanty, consisting of little more than estimates by different historical writers. Of these, Bancroft's are perhaps as reliable as any. His estimates of the number of negroes at different times are as follows:

1750.....	220,000	1770.....	462,000
1754.....	260,000	1780.....	562,000
1760.....	310,000		

DIAGRAM No. 11.—*Farms.*

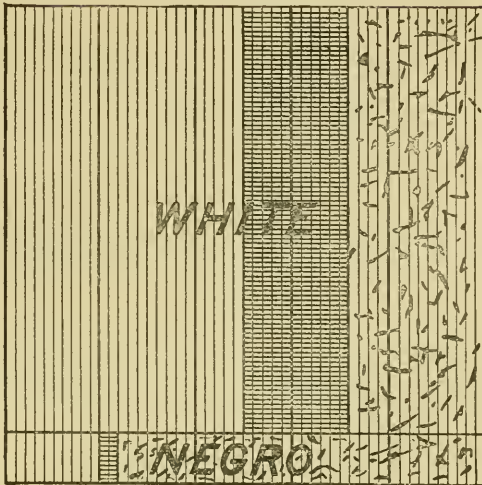
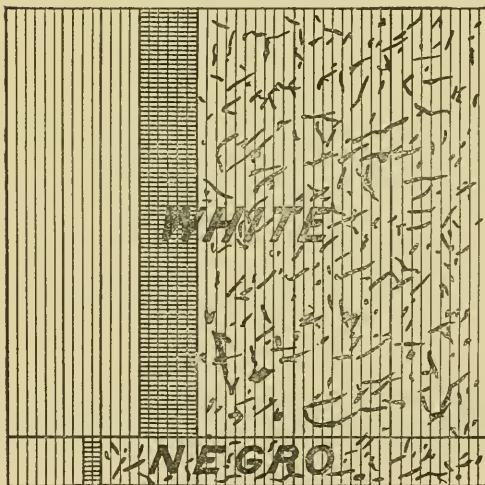





DIAGRAM No. 12.—*Homes.*



 OWNED BY OCCUPANTS WITHOUT INCUMBRANCE.
 OWNED WITH INCUMBRANCE.  RENTED.

NUMBERS OF EACH RACE.

In 1790 we have the first reliable data regarding the number and distribution of the negroes. The total number of each race at this and each succeeding decennial enumeration is shown in the following table:

Census year.	White.	Negro.	Census year.	White.	Negro.
1790	3, 172, 006	757, 208	1850	19, 553, 068	3, 638, 808
1800	4, 306, 446	1, 002, 037	1860	26, 922, 537	4, 441, 830
1810	5, 862, 073	1, 377, 808	1870	33, 589, 377	4, 880, 009
1820	7, 862, 166	1, 771, 656	1880	43, 402, 970	6, 580, 793
1830	10, 537, 378	2, 328, 642	1890	54, 983, 890	7, 470, 040
1840	14, 195, 805	2, 873, 648			

From this it appears that the whites have increased in a century from a little over 3,000,000 to nearly 55,000,000, and the negroes from three-fourths of a million to about 7,500,000. The whites were in 1890 nearly eighteen times as numerous as in 1790, the negroes nearly ten times as numerous.

The diagram constituting Plate I presents the same facts in graphic form. In each case the total length of the bar is proportional to the total population in the year indicated. The white portion of each bar represents the white population of the country, while the shaded portion represents the negro population.

The tables and diagram illustrate the rapid growth of the country in population, both of its white and its negro element.

PROPORTIONS OF EACH RACE.

The following table shows the proportions in which the total population was made up of these two elements at each census, expressed in percentages of the total population:

Census year.	White.	Negro.	Census year.	White.	Negro.
1790	80.73	19.27	1850	84.31	15.69
1800	81.12	18.88	1860	85.62	14.38
1810	80.97	19.03	1870	87.11	12.89
1820	81.61	18.39	1880	86.54	13.46
1830	81.90	18.10	1890	87.80	12.20
1840	83.16	16.84			

This table and Plate II show that on the whole the negroes have diminished decidedly in proportion to the whites. In 1790 they formed 19.27 per cent, or very nearly one-fifth of the whole population. At the end of this century they constituted only 11.93 per cent, or less than one-eighth of the population. At the end of the century their proportion was less than two-thirds as large as at the beginning. Moreover, this diminution in the proportion has been almost unbroken from the beginning to the end of the century. The proportion of the negroes has apparently increased in only two out of eleven censuses, namely, in 1810, immediately after the cessation of the slave trade, and in 1880. I say apparently, because in the latter case the increase is only apparent, due to a deficient enumeration of this race in the census preceding, namely, that of 1870.

RATES OF INCREASE.

The following table and the diagram accompanying it show the rates of increase of the negroes during each of the ten-year periods for the last century, and placed in juxtaposition therewith for comparison are the rates of increase of the whites of the entire country:

Decade.	Percentage of increase.		Decade.	Percentage of increase.	
	White.	Negro.		White.	Negro.
1790 to 1800	35.76	32.33	1840 to 1850	37.74	26.63
1800 to 1810	36.12	37.50	1850 to 1860	37.69	22.07
1810 to 1820	34.12	23.59	1860 to 1870	24.76	9.86
1820 to 1830	34.03	31.44	1870 to 1880	29.22	34.85
1830 to 1840	34.72	23.40	1880 to 1890	26.68	13.51

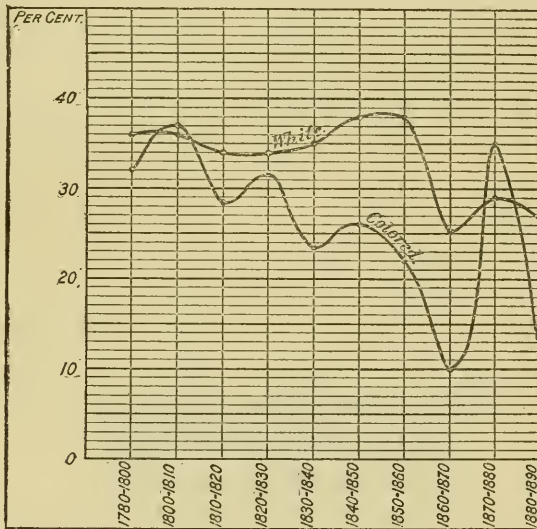
This table and diagram show that, with the exception of two ten-year periods, namely, those from 1800 to 1810 and 1870 to 1880, the negro element has in every case increased at a less rapid rate than the white element, and in many cases its rate of increase has been very much smaller.

Thus a comparison of the numerical progress of the negroes with that of the whites in the country, as a whole, shows that the former have not held their own, but have constantly fallen behind. They have not increased as rapidly as the whites.

It may be said that this is due to the enormous immigration which certain parts of the country have received, an immigration composed entirely of whites. This suggestion can easily be tested. White immigration on a considerable scale began about 1847. Prior to that time it was not of importance. We may then divide the century into two equal parts and contrast the relative rates of increase of the races during those half centuries. Between 1790 and 1840 the whites increased 4.5 times, the negroes 3.8 times. The latter element had diminished in relative importance in this half century from about one-fifth of the population to one-sixth.

In the succeeding fifty years the whites had increased 3.9 times, and the colored 2.6 times only. In other words, the greater increase of the whites has not been dependent upon immigration, since their rate of increase was greater than that of the negroes before immigration set in.

Rates of increase of white and negro population.



These figures, and the conclusions necessarily derived from them, should set at rest forever all fears regarding any possible conflict between the two races. We have before us the testimony of a century to show us that the negroes, while in no danger of extinction, while increasing at a rate probably more rapid than in any other part of the earth, are yet increasing less rapidly than the white people of the country, and to demonstrate that the latter will become more and more numerically the dominant race in America. Whether the negro will, through an improvement in his social condition, become of greater importance relatively to his numbers is a matter to be discussed later.

CENTER OF POPULATION.

The center of population, as it is called, may be described as the center of gravity of the inhabitants as they are distributed at the time under consideration, each inhabitant being supposed to have the same weight and to press downward with a force proportional to his distance from this center.

The center of population of all the inhabitants of the United States has been computed for each census. At the time of the first census, in 1790, the center of population was found to be in Maryland, on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay, nearly opposite Baltimore. The general westward movement of population has caused a corresponding westward movement of this center, such movement following very

PLATE I.—*Total population and white and negro elements.*

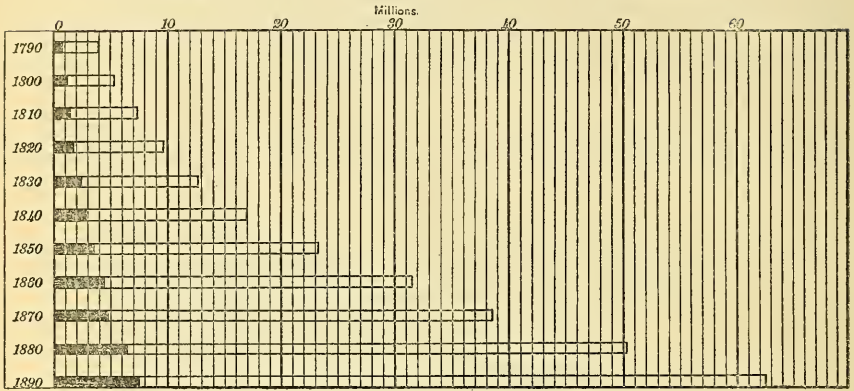
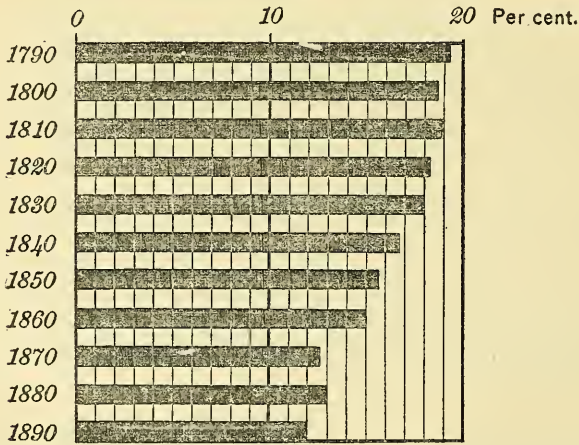


PLATE II.—*Proportion of the negro element to the total population.*



nearly the line of the thirty-ninth parallel of north latitude. In 1880 the center of the total population was found on the south bank of the Ohio River, nearly opposite Cincinnati, and in 1890 it was found in southern Indiana, 20 miles east of Columbus, in latitude $39^{\circ} 12'$ and in longitude $85^{\circ} 33'$.

The center of the negro population has been computed in 1880 and in 1890. At the first of these dates it was found in latitude $31^{\circ} 42'$ and in longitude $84^{\circ} 58'$. This position is in the northwestern corner of Georgia, not far from Dalton. In 1890 it was found to have moved southwestward into latitude $31^{\circ} 26'$ and longitude $85^{\circ} 18'$, being not far from the boundary between Alabama and Georgia and a few miles west of Rome, Ga. The longitude of the center of the negro population was very nearly the same as that of the total population, but in latitude it was nearly 5 degrees, or more than 300 miles, south of it. The positions of the center of total population and of the negro population in 1880 and in 1890 are shown upon the map which constitutes Plate VI.

The movements of the center of population are the net resultant of all the movements of population. During the past decade the negroes have moved in all directions, north, south, east, and west; but, as indicated by the movement of the center, the net resultant of their movements has been toward the southwest. As a whole this element moved in a southwesterly direction a distance of about 25 miles.

FREE NEGROES AND SLAVES.

Prior to 1870 the negro element, as returned by the successive censuses, was made up of two parts, free negroes and slaves. The proportions of these elements differed at different times, as is shown by the following table:

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.
Per cent which free negroes bore to all negroes.	8	11	13.5	13	14	13	12	11
Per cent of all free negroes found in former slave States.	55	56	58	57	57	56	55	54
Per cent of all free negroes found in free States.	45	44	42	43	43	44	45	46

From this it appears that the free negroes constituted in 1790 only 8 per cent of all negroes, that the proportion increased rapidly to 1830, when they constituted not less than 14 per cent, and from that time the proportion diminished, until in 1860 they constituted 11 per cent of all negroes.

Moreover, the proportions of the free negroes found within the slave States and the free States differed at different times. More than half of the free negroes were found within the former slave States and less than one-half within the free States, and the proportion of free negroes found in the former slave States ranged from 54 per cent in 1860 to 58 per cent in 1810.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO ELEMENT.

The negroes are distributed very unequally over the country. While they are found in every State and Territory and in almost every county of the land, the vast body of them are found in the Southern States, in those States lying south of Mason and Dixon's line, the Ohio River, the northern boundary of Missouri, and westward as far as Texas and Arkansas. The two maps on Plate III illustrate their distribution, State by State, over the country. One of these maps shows their density—that is, the average number in each square mile. It is an absolute measure of their numbers in different parts of the country. It is seen that they are the most plentiful in Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Mississippi, and secondarily in North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana. On the other hand, in nearly all the Northern and Western States they are very sparsely distributed, there being in these States, with scarcely an exception, less than four of them to a square mile, while in many of them there is less than one to a square mile.

The other map shows the proportion which the negro element bears to the total population, State by State. This is a measure of its importance relative to the whites. From this map it is seen that in three States, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, more than half the people are negroes. Indeed, in South Carolina three out of every five of the inhabitants are of this race. It is seen further that in all the States along the Atlantic and Gulf, from Virginia to Louisiana, together with Arkansas, more than one-fourth of the people are negroes, while, on the other hand, throughout the entire North and West the proportion of negroes is less than 5 per cent, and in many of the States it is less than 1 per cent of the total population.

PROPORTION OF THE NEGROES IN THE SLAVE STATES.

The distribution of the negro race may be still more closely characterized by the statement that in 1890 there were found in the former slave States not less than 92 per cent of all negroes. This proportion has differed at different times during the last century, as is shown in the following table:

Proportion of total negro element comprised in former slave States.

Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.
1790	91	1830	93	1870	93
1800	91	1840	94	1880	93
1810	92	1850	95	1890	92
1820	93	1860	95		

From this table it will be seen that at the commencement of this history the former slave States contained 91 per cent of the negroes of the country. As time wore on this proportion increased, until in 1850 and 1860 they comprised 95 per cent, or nineteen-twentieths of all, while since that date, i. e., during the period of freedom of the race, it has shown a slight tendency northward, the proportion in the former slave States having become reduced, as above stated, to 92 per cent.

THE NEGROES OF THE SLAVE STATES.

In the above pages the history of the negroes has been traced in a broad, general way, and compared with that of the entire population and the white element of the country. The history is more or less complicated with the results of immigration, and with other disturbing factors, which have affected mainly the North and West. We may now, without serious error, confine our study of the race to the Southern States, the former slaveholding States, in which are found more than nine-tenths of the whole number of the negroes. The movement of these people from the South into the North has been inconsiderable, and there has been but little movement of the whites in either direction across the boundary line between the sections. The South has received little immigration either from the North or from Europe, and the emigration from it has been unimportant. So far as emigration and immigration are concerned, it has been throughout our history almost isolated from the rest of the world. So we may, without serious error, study the relations of the whites and blacks of this region by itself, without reference to other parts of the country.

PROPORTIONS OF THE RACES.

The following table and accompanying diagram (Pl. IV) show the proportions in which the population of this part of the United States was composed at each census for the past hundred years.

Proportions in which the population of former slave States was made up.

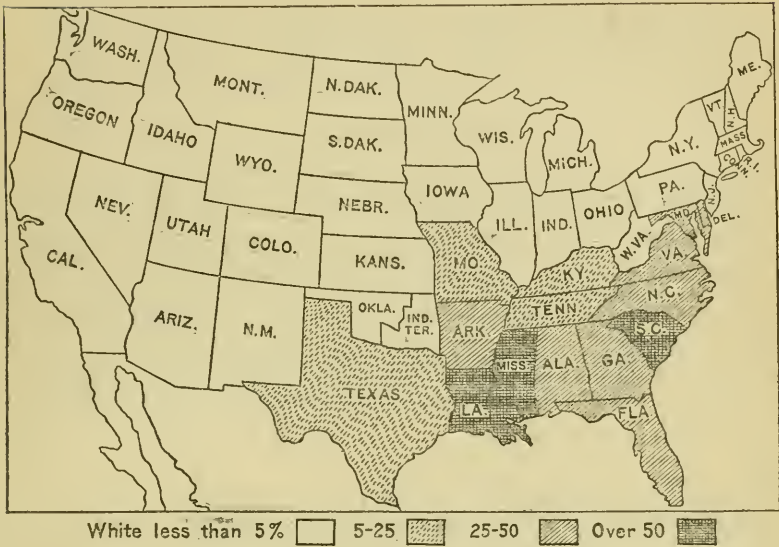
Census year.	White.	Negro.	Census year.	White.	Negro.
1790	65	35	1850	64	36
1800	65	35	1860	66	34
1810	63	37	1870	68	32
1820	63	37	1880	67	33
1830	63	37	1890	69	31
1840	63	37			

It appears from the above table that a century ago the population of the South was made up of whites and negroes in the proportions of 65 and 35 per cent, and that in 1890 the proportions were 69 and 31 per cent. The proportion of negroes increased from 1790 to 1810, when it reached 37 per cent, leaving only 63 per cent as the proportion of the whites, and remained practically stationary for three decades. Since 1840 the proportion of negroes has diminished.

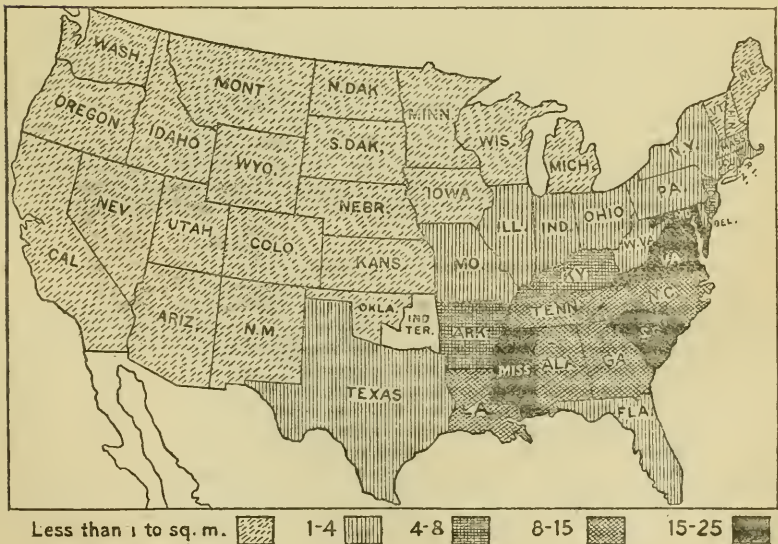
RATES OF INCREASE.

The following table, showing the rates of increase of the two races for each ten-year period during the past century, leads to a similar conclusion—that is, that for a half century the negroes increased more rapidly than the whites, while during the last half century they have increased less rapidly.

PLATE III.—Proportion of negroes to total population in 1890.



Density of negro population in 1890.



Rates of increase of white and negro elements of former slave States.

From—	White.	Negro.	From—	White.	Negro.
1790 to 1800.....	34	33	1840 to 1850.....	34	27
1800 to 1810.....	30	39	1850 to 1860.....	30	22
1810 to 1820.....	28	30	1860 to 1870.....	17	8
1820 to 1830.....	29	32	1870 to 1880.....	33	34
1830 to 1840.....	27	24	1880 to 1890.....	24	13

THE NEGROES IN CITIES.

It is well known that as the population of a State or country increases such increase goes in constantly rising proportion into its cities; in other words, that urban population increases at a more rapid rate than the total population, especially after the population has passed a certain average density. This country presents an excellent example of this tendency of population toward the cities. At the time of the first census only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total population was in cities of 8,000 inhabitants or more, while in 1890, a century later, the proportion in cities had increased to over 29 per cent. The total population of the country had become very nearly 16 times as great, while its urban element had become 139 times as great. The latter had increased more than 8 times as rapidly as the former.

Having thus illustrated the general tendency of the people toward cities, it will be instructive to see how the negroes have behaved in this regard. In measuring their appetency for urban life I shall consider only the population of the former slave States, and shall contrast the negro with the white element of those States in this regard. I shall follow the practice of the Census Office also in considering as urban the inhabitants of cities of 8,000 or more.

In cities of 8,000 inhabitants or more there were found in 1860 only 4.2 per cent of the negroes of these States, while of the whites 10.9 per cent were found at that time in these cities. The violent social changes attendant upon the war produced, among other results, an extensive migration of negroes to the cities, so that in 1870 the proportion of them found in cities had more than doubled, being no less than 8.5 per cent, while of the whites there were found 13.1 per cent. In 1880 the proportion of negroes in cities had diminished to 8.4 per cent, while that of the whites had also diminished, being 12.4 per cent.

The census of 1890 shows a decided increase in the proportion of each race in the cities, that of the negroes being 12 per cent, and that of the whites being 15.7 per cent.

Thus it is seen that the proportion of the negroes in the cities has in every case been less than that of the whites, but that they have gained upon the whites in this regard. This gain is, however, very slight and is probably not significant. While the negro is extremely gregarious and is by that instinct drawn toward the great centers of population, on the other hand, he is not fitted either by nature or education for those vocations for the pursuit of which men collect in cities—that is, for manufactures and commerce. The inclinations of this race, drawn from its inheritance, tend to keep it wedded to the soil, and the probabilities are that as cities increase in these States in number and size, and with them manufactures and commerce develop, the great body of the negroes will continue to remain aloof from them and cultivate the soil as heretofore.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

The geographical environment of the negro has been made a subject of careful study by the Census Office, and many interesting facts regarding its distribution with reference to topography, altitude, rainfall, and temperature have been developed.

It is found that more than 17 per cent of them live in the low, swampy regions of the Atlantic Coast and in the alluvial region in the Mississippi Valley. This proportion contrasts sharply with that of the total population, of which only 4 per cent are found in these regions. Upon the Atlantic plain the proportion of negroes is also much greater than that of the total population, and, generally speaking, it may be said that they seek low, moist regions and avoid mountainous country. This peculiarity of their distribution is brought out more forcibly in their distribution with reference to elevation above sea level. At an altitude less than 100 feet above the sea there are found nearly one-fourth of the negroes, while only about one-sixth of the total population is in these regions. Below 500 hundred feet are found seven-tenths, while nearly two-fifths of the total population are found at this altitude. Again, below 1,000 feet there are found 94.5 per cent of all the negroes of the country, while of the total population there are found only 77 per cent below that altitude.

PLATE IV.—Proportion which negroes of former slave States bore to population of those States.

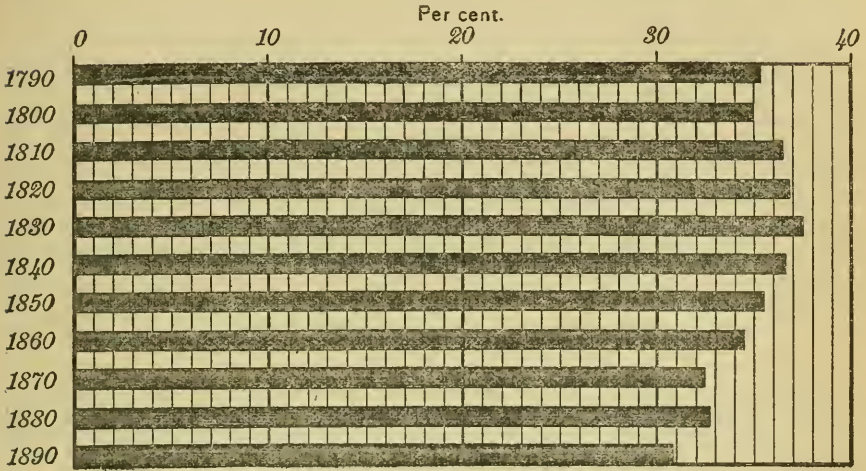
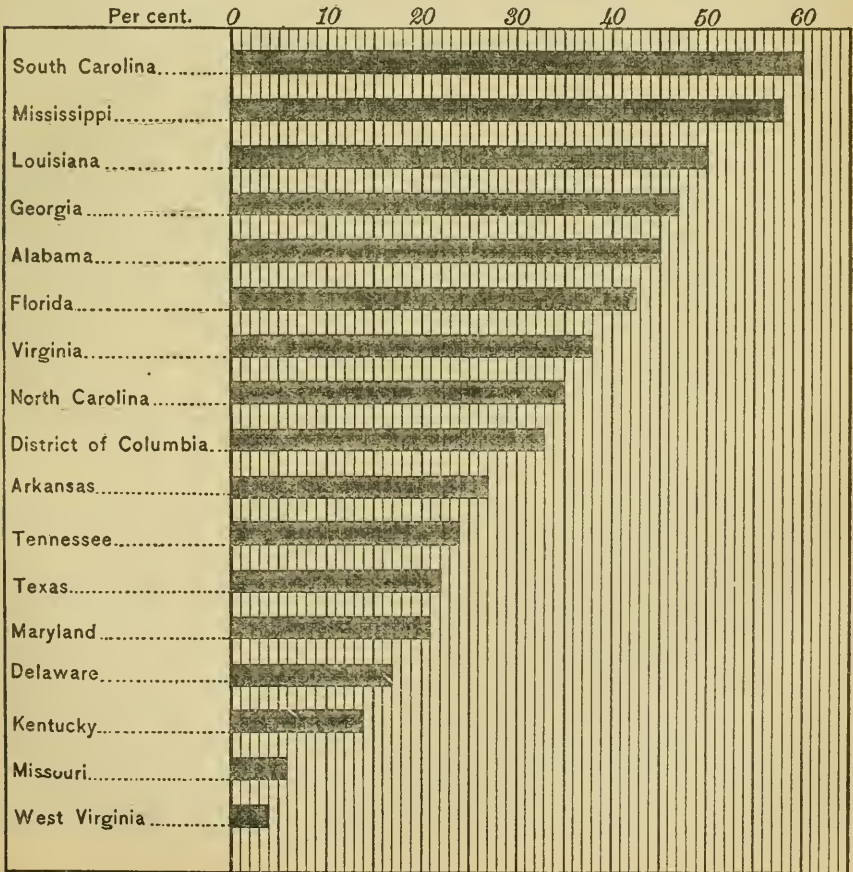


PLATE V^a.—Proportion of negroes to total population in 1890.



It is, of course, well known that the negroes prefer higher temperatures than the white race. A measure of this is given by the statement that while the total population lives, on an average, under a mean annual temperature of 53° F., that under which the negro lives is, on an average, 61°, or not less than 8° higher. The great body of the negroes live where the mean annual temperature ranges from 55° to 70°, very nearly 85 per cent of this element being found within the region thus defined.

Nothing perhaps more sharply characterizes the difference in the habitat of the negroes and the element of foreign birth than the difference in temperature conditions under which they are found, a difference which may be characterized by the following statement: In those regions where the annual temperature exceeds 55° are found seven-eighths of the negroes. On the other hand, in those regions where the temperature is less than 55° are found nine-tenths of the foreign born.

Those who are acquainted with the relations between the distribution of population and rainfall over the surface of the country are aware that the great body of the negroes is found in regions of heavy rainfall. Indeed, more than nine-tenths of their numbers are found where it exceeds 40 inches annually, and more than three-fifths where it exceeds 50 inches. These figures are greatly in excess of those concerning the total population.

HISTORY OF THE NEGRO IN EACH SLAVE STATE.

Thus far the distribution and history of the race have been considered broadly. It will now be of interest to take up each of the former slave States individually and trace the history of the race within its limits. This is summarized in the following table and group of diagrams (Pl. V), which present in each of the former slave States the proportion which the negro element bore to the total population at each census.

For economy of space the black bars representing the proportions in the diagrams are not extended to their full length, so the lengths of the bars do not represent the absolute percentage which the negroes bear to the total population. Since we are interested mainly in the relative lengths of the different bars of each State, and not in comparing those of one State with those of another, this is a matter of no consequence.

In Delaware the proportion of negroes in 1790 was about 22 per cent. This proportion increased gradually until 1840, when it was 25 per cent. Since then it has diminished, and in 1890 was about 17 per cent. In Maryland over one-third of the population were negroes in 1790. The proportion increased and reached a maximum in 1810, when it was 38 per cent. Since then it has diminished, and in 1890 was but 21 per cent. In the District of Columbia the proportion of negroes in 1800, the first year of record, was about 29 per cent. It reached its maximum with 33 per cent in 1810, and from that time steadily diminished until the opening of the civil war. In 1860 the proportion was 19 per cent. During the war large numbers of negroes took refuge within the capital, increasing the proportion to about one-third of the total population, which ratio has been maintained.

In Kentucky one-sixth of the population were negroes in 1790. The proportion increased until 1830, when it was about one-fourth of the population, since which time it has diminished and is at present but 14 per cent.

In Tennessee only one-tenth of the population were negroes at the time of the first census. That proportion steadily increased for 90 years, reaching its maximum in 1880, when it slightly exceeded one-fourth of the population. In the last ten years it has diminished a trifle.

The first report of population regarding Missouri was made in 1810. At that time about one-sixth of the inhabitants were negroes. In 1830 the proportion was slightly greater. Since then it has diminished rapidly, and in 1890 the negroes constituted less than 6 per cent of the population.

In the State of Virginia the negroes constituted in 1790 not less than 41 per cent of the inhabitants, and their proportion increased slightly for twenty years, reaching a maximum in 1810 of over 43 per cent. Since that time it has diminished steadily, and in 1890 constituted but 27½ per cent, taking the States of Virginia and West Virginia together.

All the above are border States, and all, with the exception of Tennessee and the District of Columbia, show a similar history. They show an increase in the proportion for two, three, or four of the earlier decades, and then a constant and great diminution in the proportion. The other States show a very different history. North Carolina, starting with 27 per cent, has increased slowly and with some slight oscillations up to 1880, when the proportion reached 38 per cent. In the last decade it has diminished. South Carolina, starting with 44 per cent, increased her proportion until 1880, when more than three-fifths of the population were negroes. Since then there has been a trifling diminution. Georgia started with 36 per cent, and with

some slight oscillations continued to increase until 1880. Within the last ten years there has been a slight reduction. In Florida the oscillations have been considerable. The history commenced with 1830, when 47 per cent of the population were negroes. It reached a maximum of 49 per cent at the next census, followed by a diminution for two decades. Then in 1870 it rose again to 49 per cent, since which time it has diminished rapidly, especially during the decade between 1880 and 1890. The history of Alabama commenced in 1820, when one-third of her people were negroes. The proportion increased up to 1870, and since then has diminished. Mississippi's history began in 1800, when 41 per cent of her people were negroes, and with some slight oscillations the proportion has increased up to the present time. The history of Louisiana commenced in 1810, when 55 per cent of her population were negroes. Her history has been a diversified one, the maximum proportion of this race being reached in 1830, with 59 per cent. Since that time it has, on the whole, diminished, and in 1890 half the people of the State were negroes. The history of Texas began in 1850, when 23 per cent of her people were negroes. The proportion increased for two decades, when it reached 31 per cent. Since that time it has diminished rapidly, owing largely to immigration to the central parts of the State. The history of Arkansas begins in 1820, when a little less than one-eighth of its people were negroes. The proportion has increased almost continuously from that time to the present, and in 1890 the negroes formed 27 per cent of the total population.

Thus it is seen that in the cotton States the proportion of the negro element has in nearly all cases increased until a very recent time. Indeed, in two or three of them it has increased up to the time of the last census, while in most of them the only diminution in the proportion has occurred during the last ten years. All this indicates in the most unmistakable terms a general southward migration of this race. As compared with the whites, the border States have lost in proportion of negroes for the past half century, while the cotton States have continued to gain until very recently.

Percentage of negroes to total population.

State.	1890.	1880.	1870.	1860.	1850.	1840.	1830.	1820.	1810.	1800.	1790.
Delaware.....	16.85	18.04	18.23	19.27	22.25	25.00	24.95	24.01	23.82	22.44	21.64
Maryland.....	20.69	22.49	22.46	24.91	28.32	32.30	34.88	36.12	38.22	36.66	34.74
District of Columbia.	32.89	33.55	32.96	19.07	26.59	29.87	30.81	31.55	33.07	28.57	.....
Kentucky.....	14.42	16.46	16.82	20.44	22.49	24.31	24.73	22.95	20.24	18.59	17.03
Tennessee.....	24.37	26.14	25.61	25.50	24.52	22.74	21.43	19.60	17.52	13.16	10.59
Missouri.....	5.61	6.70	6.86	10.03	13.20	15.58	18.33	15.78	17.23	.....	.....
Virginia and West Virginia.....	27.51	30.85	31.84	34.39	37.06	40.23	42.69	43.33	43.41	41.57	40.86
North Carolina.....	34.67	37.96	36.56	36.42	36.36	35.64	35.93	34.33	32.24	29.35	26.81
South Carolina.....	59.85	60.70	58.93	58.59	58.93	56.41	55.63	52.77	48.40	43.21	43.72
Georgia.....	46.74	47.02	46.04	44.05	42.44	41.03	42.57	54.41	42.40	37.14	35.93
Florida.....	42.46	47.01	48.84	44.63	46.02	48.71	47.06	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama.....	44.84	47.53	47.69	45.40	44.73	43.26	38.48	33.19	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	57.58	57.47	53.65	55.28	51.24	52.33	48.44	44.10	42.94	41.48	.....
Louisiana.....	49.99	51.46	50.10	49.49	50.65	55.04	58.54	52.01	55.18	.....	.....
Texas.....	21.84	24.71	30.97	30.27	27.54	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	27.40	26.25	25.22	25.55	22.73	20.91	15.52	11.76	.....	.....	.....

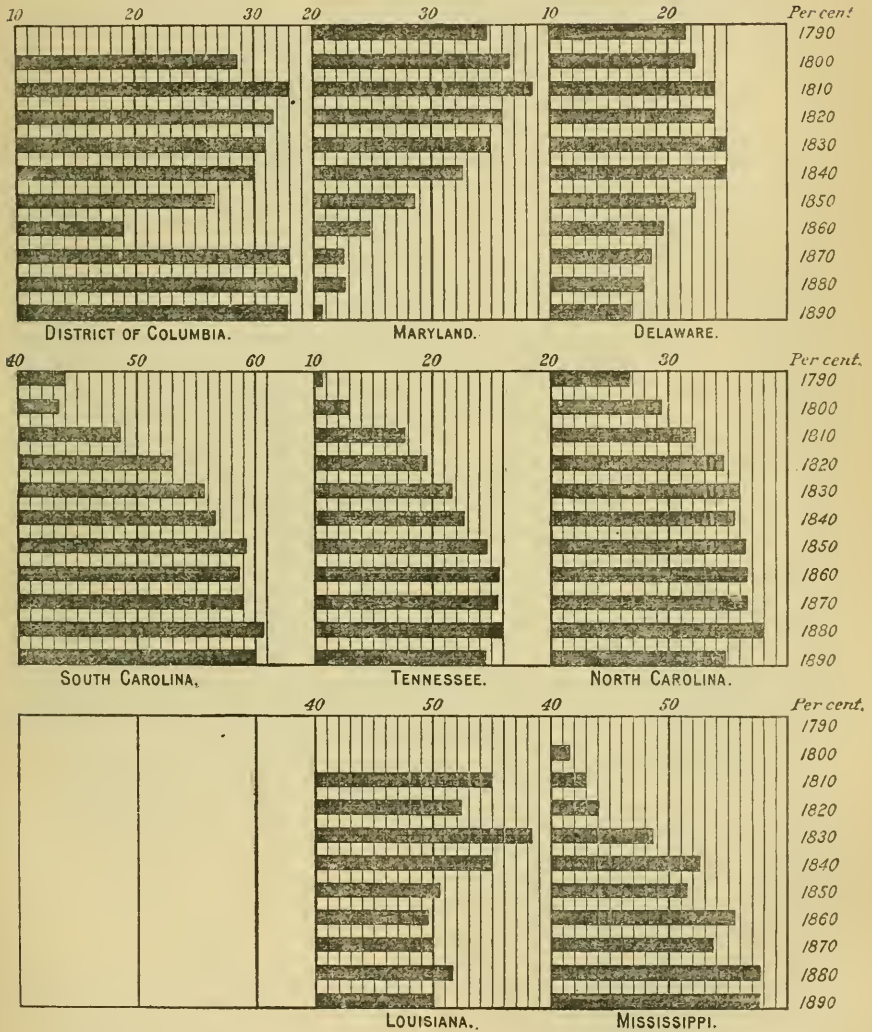
DETAILS OF MOVEMENTS OF NEGROES BETWEEN 1880 AND 1890.

The map on Pl. VI shows the movements of this race in detail during the ten years between 1880 and 1890, within the former slave States. The northern part of Missouri and western Texas are not represented upon this map, inasmuch as the number of negroes in these regions is not large.

The areas upon this map which have the darkest shade are those in which the number of negroes has absolutely diminished during the decade in question. The areas in the lightest tint are those in which the negroes have increased, but at a rate less than the increase of the same element in the country at large. The areas of medium tint are those in which the negroes have increased more rapidly than in the country at large.

It is seen at once that the areas in which the negroes have decreased are mainly comprised in the northern of these States, principally in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, and secondarily in Tennessee and North Carolina. There are also areas of decrease in Texas and small areas in the other States, but these are of little importance in comparison with the great areas of the border States in which the number of negroes has actually diminished.

each of the Southern States at each census, 1790 to 1890.



On the other hand, the areas in which the negroes have increased more rapidly than in the country at large are found mainly in the southern parts of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and eastern Texas, with nearly all of Arkansas and Florida. In other words, the most rapid increase of the race has been in the southern and western parts of the region under consideration. There does not appear to be any decided movement into the "Black Belt," which traverses the central part of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Indeed, the heaviest increase is south of this region.

CONJUGAL CONDITION.

The conjugal condition of the negroes is set forth for the first time in the reports of the Eleventh Census. With the exception of the matter of divorce, it is summarized in the following diagram (Pl. VII). This shows the proportion of males and females at various ages who were single, married, or widowed. It shows that under the age of 15 there are practically no marriages among the race. Between 15 and 20 a small proportion, perhaps about 1 per cent, of males were married and 14 per cent of the females. At ages between 20 and 25 a third of the males and nearly three-fifths of the females were married, and with advancing age a constantly increasing proportion of both sexes is either married or widowed. It is evident, however, that the women marry much younger than men. The proportion of widowed first becomes appreciable between the ages of 20 and 25 years. It increases much more rapidly among females than among males, and altogether the proportion of widows is many times greater than that of widowers, showing that many more widowers remarry than widows, and that they marry largely unmarried women.

Comparison of conjugal statistics of the negroes with those of the whites develops two points of difference: First, that the negroes marry younger than the whites; second, that the proportion of widows at most ages is greater than among whites. The first of these facts is in accord with the shorter life period of the race; the second is a result of the greater death rate of the race.

Statistics of divorce show more frequent severance of conjugal relations among the negroes than among the whites. The proportion of divorced persons to married persons in the United States at large among the native whites was 0.59 of 1 per cent, while among the negroes it was 0.67 of 1 per cent.

MORTALITY.

There is no question but that the rate of mortality among the negro population is considerably greater than among the whites. It is not easy, however, to obtain an accurate measure of the relative death rates of the two races. The census statistics upon this subject are unreliable, since the returns from which they are derived are by no means complete. Were the omissions uniformly distributed between the two races we might still derive a comparison from them regarding the death rates of the two races, but unfortunately there is every probability that the omissions are much greater proportionally among the negroes than among the whites. It is only in a few large Southern cities which maintain a registration of deaths that reliable figures are to be had. In these cities the relative death rates during the census year (1890) are shown in the following table:

	Death rate per 1,000.		
	Total population.	Native whites.	Negroes.
St. Louis	19	17	35
Baltimore	25	22	36
New Orleans	28	22	37
Washington	26	19	38
Louisville	22	18	32

From these figures it appears that in the large cities the annual death rate of the negroes is very nearly if not quite double that of the native whites. It is probable that in the rural districts the disproportion among the death rates is not as great, since it is probable that a rural environment is better suited to the negroes than the environment of a large city. However this may be, there is no reasonable question, as stated above, that the death rate of the negroes is much larger than that of the whites.

CRIMINALITY.

The proportion of criminals among the negroes is much greater than among the whites. The statistics of the last census show that the white prisoners of native extraction confined in jails at the time the census was taken were in the proportion of 9 to each 10,000 of all whites of native extraction, while the negro prisoners were

in the proportion of 33 to each 10,000 of the negro population. Thus it appears that the proportion of negroes was nearly four times as great as for the whites of native extraction. It should be added, however, that the commitments of negroes are for petty offenses in much greater proportion than among the whites.

PAUPERISM.

In respect to pauperism, the investigations of the census have been confined to paupers maintained in almshouses and have not been extended to those persons receiving outdoor relief, either permanent or temporary. The number of white paupers of native extraction in almshouses was found to be in the proportion of 8 to every 10,000 whites of native extraction, while the negro paupers were in the same proportion. Lest these figures should mislead, however, it must be added to this statement that in the South but little provision is made in the form of almshouses for the relief of the poor, this provision being confined almost entirely to the northern part of the country, a fact which in itself explains the small proportion of the negro paupers in almshouses. On the other hand, it is a matter of common knowledge to any resident of a Southern city that the negroes form a disproportionately large element of the recipients of outdoor charity.

ILLITERACY AND EDUCATION.

Of the progress of the negro race in education, the statistics are by no means as full and comprehensive as is desirable. Such as we possess, however, go to indicate a remarkably rapid progress of the race in the elements of education. During the prevalence of slavery this race was kept in ignorance. Indeed, generally, throughout the South it was held as a crime to teach the negroes to read and write, and naturally when they became freemen only a trifling proportion of them were acquainted with these elements of education. In 1870, five years after they became free, the records of the census show that only two-tenths of all the negroes over 10 years of age in the country could write. Ten years later the proportion had increased to three-tenths of the whole number, and in 1890, only a generation after they were emancipated, not less than 43 out of every 100 negroes, of 10 years of age and over, were able to read and write. These figures show a remarkably rapid progress in elementary education.

In 1860 the number of negroes who were enrolled in the schools of the South was absolutely trifling. Since the abolition of slavery the number has increased with the greatest rapidity. This is shown in the following table, which relates only to the inhabitants of former slave States. The first column shows the proportion which the number of white children enrolled in the public schools bore to the white population, and the second column the proportion which the number of negro children in the public schools bore to the total negro population of these States.

	White.	Negro.
1870.....	13.50	3.07
1880.....	18.33	13.07
1890.....	21.92	18.71

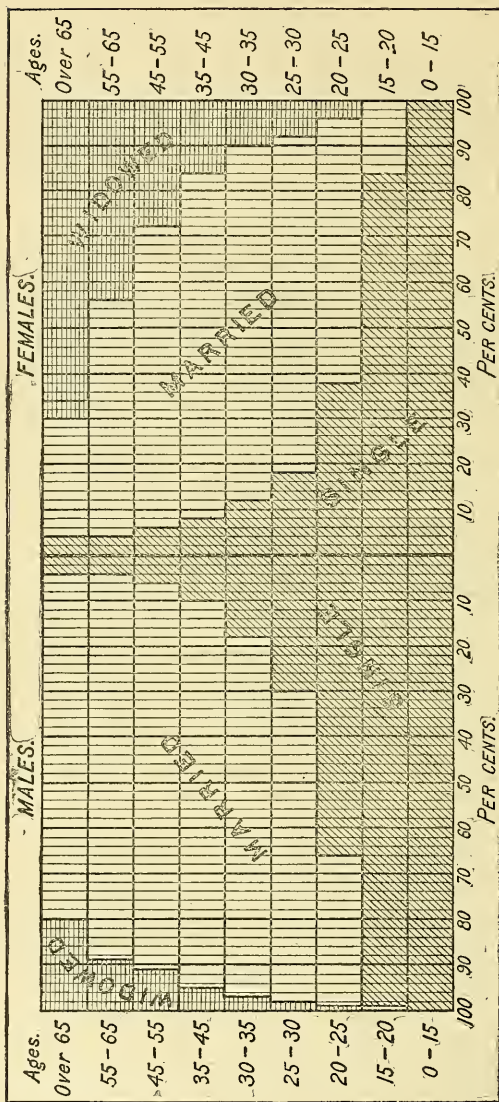
It is seen from the above table that in 1870 the white pupils constituted 13.5 per cent of the white population, and that in 20 years this proportion increased to nearly 22 per cent. On the other hand, the negro school children constituted in 1870 only 3 per cent of all negroes, but that in 20 years it has increased to nearly 19 per cent of all negroes. The proportion of negro school children increased at a far more rapid rate than that of the white school children, and in 1890 had nearly reached it.

The following table shows the proportion of such enrollment to population in 1890 in each of these states:

Per cent of school enrollment to population in 1890.

State.	White.	Negro.	State.	White.	Negro.
Delaware.....	19.12	16.38	Kentucky.....	22.27	20.40
Maryland.....	17.93	16.69	Tennessee.....	26.49	23.58
District of Columbia.....	15.24	17.61	Alabama.....	22.40	17.10
Virginia.....	21.59	19.20	Mississippi.....	27.71	24.60
West Virginia.....	25.58	20.04	Louisiana.....	13.43	8.82
North Carolina.....	19.79	20.80	Texas.....	21.06	22.21
South Carolina.....	19.49	16.46	Arkansas.....	19.98	19.22
Georgia.....	21.40	15.51	Missouri.....	23.24	21.76
Florida.....	24.37	21.85			

PLATE VII.—Conjugal condition of the negro element.



An examination of this table shows that in the District of Columbia, North Carolina, and Texas the proportional enrollment of negroes was greater than that of the whites, while in other States it was less.

The following table shows the rate of increase in the enrollment in each of these States from 1880 to 1890:

State.	White.	Negro.	State.	White.	Negro.
	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>		<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Delaware.....	10.75	108.42	Kentucky.....	34.44	89.20
Maryland.....	20.07	35.78	Tennessee.....	53.88	65.56
District of Columbia.....	27.62	67.34	Alabama.....	66.99	53.52
Virginia.....	41.44	78.77	Mississippi.....	30.75	50.65
West Virginia.....	33.68	59.72	Louisiana.....	61.72	42.56
North Carolina.....	29.51	22.97	Texas.....	179.36	143.75
South Carolina.....	45.64	55.33	Arkansas.....	101.08	121.20
Georgia.....	39.09	53.81	Missouri.....	27.18	36.42
Florida.....	98.07	132.71			

From this table it appears that in all excepting four States, namely, North Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas, the enrollment of negro children in the public schools has increased more rapidly than that of the whites.

Summing up this article in a paragraph, the following conclusions may be stated: The negroes, while increasing rapidly in this country, are diminishing in numbers relative to the whites. They are moving southward from the border States into those of the south Atlantic and the Gulf. They prefer rural life rather than urban life. The proportion of criminals among the negroes is much greater than among the whites, and that of paupers is at least as great. In the matter of education, the number of negro attendants at school is far behind the number of whites, but is gaining rapidly upon that race.

Only one generation has elapsed since the slaves were freed. To raise a people from slavery to civilization is a matter, not of years, but of many generations. The progress which the race has made in this generation in industry, morality, and education is a source of the highest gratification to all friends of the race, to all excepting those who expected a miraculous conversion.

V.

MEMORIAL SKETCH OF JOHN F. SLATER.

John Fox Slater, of Norwich, Conn., who gave a generous fund to promote the education of the freedmen, was a quiet, thoughtful, well-trained man of business, who rose by industry, sagacity, and prudence to the possession of a fortune. His chief occupation through life was the manufacturing of cotton and woolen goods in Connecticut and Rhode Island. In recent years, as his means increased, he was interested in many enterprises, some of them established in New York and others in the West. He was a close observer of the social, political, and religious progress of the country, and a frequent, unostentatious contributor to benevolent undertakings, especially such as were brought to his attention in the town where he resided and in the church which he attended. From all positions which made him conspicuous he was inclined to withdraw himself, and he probably underrated the influence which he might have exerted by the more public expression of his opinions; but whenever he did participate in public affairs he showed the same independence, sagacity, and resolution which marked the conduct of his business. Under these circumstances the story of his life is simply that of a private citizen who was faithful to the responsibilities which devolved upon him, and who gradually acquired the means to contribute liberally toward the welfare of others. Notwithstanding the well-known unwillingness of Mr. Slater to attract the attention of the public, those who are concerned in the administration of his trust desire to put on record the characteristics of his long and useful life.

For three generations the Slater family has been engaged, either in England or the United States, in the improvement of cotton manufactures. Their English home was at Belper, Derbyshire, where William Slater, a man of considerable property, the grandfather of John F. Slater, resided more than a hundred years ago, until his death in 1782. At Belper and at Milford, not far from Belper, Jedediah Strutt was engaged as a partner of Sir Richard Arkwright, in the business of cotton spinning, then just becoming one of the great branches of industry in England.

Samuel Slater, fifth son of William Slater, was apprenticed to Mr. Strutt, and near the close of his service was for some years general overseer of the mill at Milford. Having completed his engagement he came to this country in 1789, and brought with

him such an accurate knowledge of the business of cotton spinning, that without any written or printed descriptions, without diagrams or models, he was able to introduce the entire series of machines and processes of the Arkright cotton manufacture in as perfect a form as it then existed in England. He soon came into relations with Moses Brown, of Providence, and through him with his son-in-law and his kinsman, William Almy and Smith Brown. With the persons last named he formed the partnership of Almy, Brown & Slater. For this firm Samuel Slater devised machinery and established a mill for the manufacture of cotton, at Pawtucket, R. I., in the year 1790, but as this proved an inadequate enterprise, he constructed a larger mill at the same place in 1793.

A few years later, about 1804, at the invitation of his brother Samuel, John Slater, a younger son of William, came from England and joined his brother in Rhode Island. The village of Slatersville, on a branch of the river Blackstone, was projected in 1806, and here until the present time the Slaters have continued the manufacture of cotton goods.

John F. Slater, son of John and nephew of Samuel, was born in the village just named, in the town of Smithfield, R. I., March 4, 1815, and received a good education in the academies of Plainfield, in Connecticut, and of Wrentham and Wilbraham, in Massachusetts. At the age of 17 (in connection with Samuel Collier) he began to manage his father's woolen mill at Hopeville, in Griswold, Conn., and there he remained until he became of age. In 1836 he took full charge of this factory, and also of a cotton mill at Jewett City, another village of the same town, where he made his home. Six years later he removed to Norwich, with which Jewett City was then connected by railway. Here he married, May 13, 1844, a daughter of Amos H. Hubbard, and here his six children were born. Only two of them, the eldest and the youngest, a daughter and a son, survived the period of infancy, and of these the son alone is living. Norwich continued to be Mr. Slater's home until he died there, at the beginning of his seventieth year, May 7, 1884.

Before his last great gift, Mr. Slater made generous contributions to religious and educational enterprises. He was one of the original corporators of the Norwich Free Academy, to which he gave at different times more than \$15,000. To the construction of the Park Congregational Church, which he attended, he gave the sum of \$33,000, and subsequently a fund of \$10,000, the income of which is to keep the edifice in repair. At the time of his death he was engaged in building a public library in Jewett City, which will soon be completed, at a cost of \$16,000. His private benefactions and his contributions to benevolent societies were also numerous. During the war his sympathies were heartily with the Union, and he was a large purchaser of the Government bonds when others doubted their security.

Some years before his death, Mr. Slater formed the purpose of devoting a large sum of money to the education of the freedmen. It is believed that this humane project occurred to him, without suggestion from any other mind, in view of the apprehensions which all thoughtful persons felt, when, after the war, the duties of citizenship were suddenly imposed upon millions of emancipated slaves. Certainly, when he began to speak freely of his intentions, he had decided upon the amount of his gift and its scope. These were not open questions. He knew exactly what he wished to do. It was not to bestow charity upon the destitute, nor to encourage a few exceptional individuals; it was not to build churches, schoolhouses, asylums, or colleges; it was not to establish one strong institution as a personal monument; it was, on the other hand, to help the people of the South in solving the great problem which had been forced upon them, how to train, in various places and under differing circumstances, those who have long been dependent, for the duties belonging to them now that they are free. This purpose was fixed. In respect to the best mode of organizing a trust, Mr. Slater sought counsel of many experienced persons—of the managers of the Peabody educational fund in regard to their work; of lawyers and those who had been in official life, with respect to questions of law and legislation; of ministers, teachers, and others who have been familiar with charitable and educational trusts, or who were particularly well informed in respect to the condition of the freedmen at the South. The results of all these consultations, which were continued during a period of several years, were at length reduced to a satisfactory form, and were embodied in a charter granted to a board of trustees by the State of New York, in the spring of 1882, and in a carefully thought-out and carefully written letter, addressed to those who were selected to administer the trust.

The characteristics of this gift were its Christian spirit, its patriotism, its munificence, and its freedom from all secondary purposes or hampering conditions. In broad and general terms, the donor indicated the object which he had in view; the details of management he left to others, confident that their collective wisdom and the experience they must acquire would devise better modes of procedure, as the years go on, than any individual could propose in advance. * * *

On the 18th of May, 1882, Mr. Slater met the board of trustees in the city of New York and transferred to them the sum of \$1,000,000, a little more than half of it

being already invested, and the remainder being cash, to be invested at the discretion of the board. On that occasion the trustees addressed him a letter acknowledging his generosity, and they invited him always to attend their meetings; but he never met with them again, and declined to guide in any way their subsequent action.

The gift of Mr. Slater was acknowledged by expressions of gratitude from every part of the country, and especially from those who were watching with anxiety the future of the blacks. The echoes of gratitude came also from distant lands. Henceforward, in the annals of Christian philanthropy, the name of John F. Slater will be honored among those who have given wisely, freely, and in their lifetime, to enlighten the ignorant and to lift up the depressed.

MEMOIR.

[By Rev. Dr. S. H. Howe, pastor of the Park Church, Norwich, Conn.]

Mr. John Fox Slater, founder of the fund that bears his name, was born in Rhode Island, March 4, 1815. His family came a generation before from England, and was identified with manufacturing interests in the countries both of its birth and its adoption. He who was to be associated in the public mind with industrial education among one of the races on the continent was born to the inheritance of a name which has held high eminence for its relation to industrial progress. One of his near relatives has been called the "father of American manufactures." Family tradition and family prominence along these lines early determined for him the career of a manufacturer, by which he laid the foundations of the fortune which he ultimately amassed. He early developed rare business aptitudes, as was evidenced by the intrustment to him of one of the mills of his father at the age of 17. From this early period he continued in the career of a manufacturer until his death, maintaining and enlarging the plant covered by his sole ownership not only, but also identified with other large manufacturing corporations as shareholder and director. Starting from the solid foundation of a good academical education, he found in business life a training and discipline which fitted him to grapple, with the hand of a master, with the largest questions in business and finance, and to achieve success where others failed. He had large experience in business life, and developed rare powers for the grasp of its intricate problems. His business successes were not due to the chances of trade, or the fluctuations of values, or to the daring and the ventures of speculation, but were the fruit of the sagacious and alert use of the opportunities which were in his own as in other men's reach. He possessed profound insight and exhaustive knowledge of affairs and men, with mental grasp and business training, some have believed, sufficient to have wisely controlled the financial interests of a nation. His judgment and counsel were sought by great corporations in the management of enterprises and industries which represented large investments and a vast outlay of capital. It is not strange that his ventures were so largely successful, and that his failures and losses were exceptional and rare.

Then his sagacity in business, which amounted to genius, was allied to honorable methods and to inflexible business integrity. Few men have had an aversion so severe and uncompromising to unfairness and to doubtful practices. His opportunities for speculation were many, but he carefully held himself aloof from all but the legitimate channels of trade. He gathered fortune by honorable methods—a fact of some significance to those who handle his munificent trust, and a significant fact to those who are helped to manhood and culture by it. The hands which created this noble foundation were clean hands.

Mr. Slater, as may be inferred from what has been said, was a man of wide intelligence, peculiarly receptive and hospitable to truth. To his strong Puritan sense of right and devotion to principle, he added that larger interest in the world and the age in which he lived, which gives scope and breadth to thought, and defends against mere local and provincial sympathies. And yet he was a public-spirited citizen in his adopted city, jealous of its good name, generous toward its charities. Toward his country he was patriotic and loyal, interested in its politics and its legislation.

He was a man of strong, pronounced personality; of fine fiber and of genuine manliness—a gentleman by instinct and training and habit; reserved and self-respecting, though genuinely sympathetic toward and accessible to all classes of men. He was sensitive concerning and deeply averse to that adulation which goes after great fortune for its own sake. It is the testimony of a friend who saw him most frequently through a long period of years and shared his confidence in a larger sense than others that in all his intercourse with him he had not heard a sentence that suggested the pride of fortune. He wished to be estimated for what he was and not for what he possessed. And this rule governed him in the estimate which he placed upon others. He was modest and unostentatious to the last degree. While

he was touched and gratified by the honor which came to him in connection with his great gift to benevolence, he did nothing to invoke it or to stimulate it. He remained amidst it all the same quiet, reserved, unostentatious citizen. He was to those who knew him well a most delightful and resourceful conversationalist. His breadth of view, his versatility, his familiar acquaintance with affairs and men, with questions of finance, politics, and religion, his taste for art, his knowledge of the world gained from travel, made his companionship delightful to those who shared it.

His interest in and gifts to benevolence antedated his later beneficence. Great gifts are never a bit of pure extemporization. Great things are not done on the spur of the moment. Those who develop unexpected resources on great occasions or show themselves capable of conspicuous sacrifices or services have had in advance their rehearsals. The noblest philanthropies are not extemporized or wrung forcibly from their authors by the stern importunity of death. Even legacies have generally a background of practical benevolence. Mr. Slater has given wisely and generously to objects that commended themselves to him. Many of these gifts were in the public eye, but it is the testimony of his nearest friends that he gave with larger liberality than the public could be aware of, with simplicity, and without ostentation, responding to cases of distress and suffering generously, but in such fashion as to conceal the giving hand.

But the conspicuous act of his life with which the public had most concern is of course the creation of the foundation for industrial education among the freedmen. Much that had gone before in his life had been leading up to this princely gift. He had always manifested a profound interest in education, had given largely, and had projected generous measures for educational work in the community, which, however, were yielded in the interest of his larger purpose. His interest in local education has been most worthily commemorated by the splendid memorial building erected in his honor by his son in connection with the Norwich Free Academy. Mr. Slater realized, and as his fortune grew was oppressed with, the sense of the responsibility of wealth, and planned long in advance to give in bulk to some worthy object of benevolence; and he resolved to execute this purpose in life rather than by bequest. The issues of the great civil war which unloosed the fetters of the slave, but which did not qualify him for the responsible duties of citizenship, gave Mr. Slater his great opportunity. He thought this problem through. He had been loyal, patriotic, and generous in his gifts when the struggle was upon the nation, and he rejoiced in the successful outcome; but here was a new field and an unlimited opportunity which he resolved to appropriate. His plan originated wholly and without suggestion from others with himself, and was elaborated to its minutest detail in advance of its publicity. Standing at this distance and looking through the experimental test of more than a decade of its working, it is impossible to resist the conviction that it was statesmanlike, patriotic, and Christian in its conception and spirit. Mr. Slater was wise to see what we have been learning, that the exigent want for the emancipated race was practical and industrial education. The higher education has its offices to take in exceptional instances, but for the masses of the race, so long submerged and held down to the low levels of intelligence where emancipation found it, the wisest, most practical, and resultful plan for its elevation was that devised by the founder of this educational fund. It was the instinct of patriotism and of practical statesmanship to go to the weakest spot in the body politic to strengthen it, as it was the impulse of Christian thought to place the ladder of ascent within reach of the foot of the lowest man, who was most hopeless of self-recovery. Perhaps this is occasion for surprise. Mr. Slater might have been patrician in his sympathies, exclusive and reserved in his associations. He had aptitudes and opportunities for aloofness from other than the privileged classes; he might have been exclusive in his sympathies rather than inclusive. But his sympathies swept him around to the opposite pole from that on which he stood. He crossed the whole diameter of society to find the lowest groove in our social and national life that he might do this conspicuous act of beneficence to the poorest of this nation's poor. Such examples of wise beneficence, which express the sympathy of the privileged for the unprivileged classes, do much to lighten the strain of self-government in a nation like ours. They do much to allay the antagonisms of society and to bridge the chasm which opens between those zones of enormous wealth on the one hand and a degrading poverty which are drawn across the map of our modern life. When wealth consents after this fashion to reach out helping hands toward the nation's poor and gives aid toward self-help, then many of the perplexing problems of modern socialism will be solved.

The wisdom of this foundation in its intent and aim can not easily be overstated. Not to create the conspicuous institution, that by concentration of forces focuses the public eye upon the giver, but rather and more wisely to distribute aid over a wide area, among a score or more of institutions; not to do the premature thing of providing foundations for university training for which the race has and for generations will have such scant preparation, but rather to make provision for training

along those practical and industrial lines, which is the exigent need, in order to self-help toward the creation of the home and an ordered life in the social community. The verdict of his fellow-workers in this field of philanthropic effort, after watching the experiment for a decade, is "Well done, good and faithful servant," and we may well believe that in these words we hear a higher verdict than man's.

The reflex influence of Mr. Slater's beneficence, we are persuaded, has been great. We can not estimate the good we do when we do good. The effect of this splendid beneficence in stimulating philanthropic enterprise, passing as it has into the currency of popular thought as a quickening inspiration, its impetus to the noble army of workers for the uplifting of the race, has been enormous. Its inspiration and influence upon this greatest decade of giving in all the history of the world has been immense we are confident. Other millions have gotten into the wake of this one; and we believe other men to whom God has given great wealth, and into whose hearts the passion of the cross has been poured, are to be moved by it to the breaking of their costly boxes of alabaster in the presence of the world's Christ. Such men are and are to be the saving and the enduring forces of the world. They may disappear from the eye; they cease to be seen as visible personalities, but they become immortal in the world as quickening influences. They walk in uncrowned regality through the ages. Their gifts, their lives, will be reduplicated as they spread by contagion the spirit of philanthropy among men; passing for a sort of fresh incarnation into the minds and hearts of others, who catch their spirit, and go to spread it and give it fresh forms and embodiments. Over such lives even death can have no power.

Mr. Slater only lived to see the genesis of the work he did, and of the forces he started in the world. His great gift, at that time almost an unprecedented one, awakened wide-spread interest. The news spread over the land and was borne across the sea. Hundreds of letters congratulatory and appreciative poured in upon him. His friends gave expression to their admiration. His city, to whose name his beneficence had imparted a fresh eminence and fame, made him aware of her appreciation of the honor he had bestowed upon her; but amid it all he remained the same unostentatious, quiet citizen—grateful and appreciative of the honor which had come to him, but accepting it rather as an unreckoned-upon accompaniment of his unselfish act. He remained in the routine of his accustomed business, and in the fellowship of friends and neighbors, as if he had only done a duty or accepted a privilege which lay in the path of his accustomed living. Two years later the fatal disease laid its hand upon him, when in the faith of a Christian he girded himself to go unto his Father's house. To many of us it was the summons to the presence of Him who was and is ever the Supreme Friend of the poor and the lowly, to hear His commendation: "In as much as ye have done these things unto the least of these, my brethren, ye have done them unto me. Enter into the joy of thy Lord."

VI.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE ORIGIN AND WORK OF THE SLATER TRUSTEES, 1882 TO 1894.

Charter from the State of New York, approved April 28, 1882.

AN ACT to incorporate the trustees of the John F. Slater fund.

Whereas Messrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, Morrison R. Waite, of the District of Columbia, William E. Dodge, of New York, Phillips Brooks, of Massachusetts, Daniel C. Gilman, of Maryland, John A. Stewart, of New York, Alfred H. Colquitt, of Georgia, Morris K. Jesup, of New York, James P. Boyce, of Kentucky, and William A. Slater, of Connecticut, have, by their memorial, represented to the senate and assembly of this State that a letter has been received by them from John F. Slater, of Norwich, in the State of Connecticut, of which the following is a copy:

[Here the letter printed below is inserted.]

And whereas said memorialists have further represented that they are ready to accept said trust and receive and administer said fund, provided a charter of incorporation is granted by this State, as indicated in said letter; now, therefore, for the purpose of giving full effect to the charitable intentions declared in said letter;

The people of the State of New York, represented in senate and assembly, do enact as follows:

SEC. 1. Rutherford B. Hayes, Morrison R. Waite, William E. Dodge, Phillips Brooks, Daniel C. Gilman, John A. Stewart, Alfred H. Colquitt, Morris K. Jesup, James P. Boyce, and William A. Slater are hereby created a body politic and corporate by the name of The Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, and by that name shall have perpetual succession; said original corporators electing their associates

and successors, from time to time, so that the whole number of corporators may be kept at not less than nine nor more than twelve.

Said corporation may hold and manage, invest and reinvest, all property which may be given or transferred to it for the charitable purposes indicated in said letter, and shall, in so doing, and in appropriating the income accruing therefrom, conform to and be governed by the directions in said letter contained; and such property and all investments and reinvestments thereof, excepting real estate, shall, while owned by said corporation and held for the purposes of said trust, be exempt from taxation of any and every nature.

SEC. 2. Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, shall be the first president of the corporation, and it may elect such other officers and hold such meetings, whether within or without this State, from time to time, as its by-laws may authorize or prescribe.

SEC. 3. Said corporation shall annually file with the librarian of this State a printed report of its doings during the preceding year.

SEC. 4. This act shall take effect immediately.

Letter of the founder.

To Messrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio; Morrison R. Waite, of the District of Columbia; William E. Dodge, of New York; Phillips Brooks, of Massachusetts; Daniel C. Gilman, of Maryland; John A. Stewart, of New York; Alfred A. Colquitt, of Georgia; Morris K. Jesup, of New York; James P. Boyce, of Kentucky, and William A. Slater, of Connecticut.

GENTLEMEN: It has pleased God to grant me prosperity in my business, and to put it into my power to apply to charitable uses a sum of money so considerable as to require the counsel of wise men for the administration of it.

It is my desire at this time to appropriate to such uses the sum of \$1,000,000; and I hereby invite you to procure a charter of incorporation under which a charitable fund may be held exempt from taxation, and under which you shall organize; and I intend that the corporation, as soon as formed, shall receive this sum in trust to apply the income of it according to the instructions contained in this letter.

The general object which I desire to have exclusively pursued, is the uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern States, and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education. The disabilities formerly suffered by these people, and their singular patience and fidelity in the great crisis of the nation, establish a just claim on the sympathy and good will of humane and patriotic men. I can not but feel the compassion that is due in view of their prevailing ignorance, which exists by no fault of their own.

But it is not only for their own sake, but also for the safety of our common country in which they have been invested with equal political rights, that I am desirous to aid in providing them with the means of such education as shall tend to make them good men and good citizens—education in which the instruction of the mind in the common branches of secular learning shall be associated with training in just notions of duty toward God and man, in the light of the Holy Scriptures.

The means to be used in the prosecution of the general object above described I leave to the discretion of the corporation, only indicating as lines of operation adapted to the present condition of things, the training of teachers from among the people requiring to be taught, if, in the opinion of the corporation, by such limited selection the purposes of the trust can be best accomplished; and the encouragement of such institutions as are most effectually useful in promoting this training of teachers.

I am well aware that the work herein proposed is nothing new or untried. And it is no small part of my satisfaction in taking this share in it that I hereby associate myself with some of the noblest enterprises of charity and humanity, and may hope to encourage the prayers and toils of faithful men and women who have labored and are still laboring in this cause.

I wish the corporation which you are invited to constitute to consist at no time of more than twelve members, nor of less than nine members for a longer time than may be required for the convenient filling of vacancies, which I desire to be filled by the corporation, and, when found practicable, at its next meeting after the vacancy may occur.

I designate as the first president of the corporation the Hon. Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio. I desire that it may have power to provide from the income of the fund, among other things, for expenses incurred by members in the fulfillment of this trust and for the expenses of such officers and agents as it may appoint, and, generally, to do all such acts as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of this trust. I desire, if it may be, that the corporation may have full liberty to invest its funds according to its own best discretion, without reference to or restriction by

any laws or rules, legal or equitable, of any nature, regulating the mode of investment of trust funds; only I wish that neither principal nor income be expended in land or buildings for any other purpose than that of safe and productive investment for income. And I hereby discharge the corporation and its individual members, so far as it is in my power so to do, of all responsibility, except for the faithful administration of this trust according to their own honest understanding and best judgment. In particular, also, I wish to relieve them of any pretended claim on the part of any person, party, sect, institution, or locality, to benefactions from this fund that may be put forward on any ground whatever, as I wish every expenditure to be determined solely by the convictions of the corporation itself as to the most useful disposition of its gifts.

I desire that the doings of the corporation each year be printed and sent to each of the State libraries in the United States, and to the Library of Congress.

In case the capital of the fund should become impaired, I desire that a part of the income, not greater than one-half, be invested, from year to year, until the capital be restored to its original amount.

I purposely leave to the corporation the largest liberty of making such changes in the methods of applying the income of the fund as shall seem from time to time best adapted to accomplish the general object herein defined. But being warned by the history of such endowments that they sometimes tend to discourage rather than promote effort and self-reliance on the part of beneficiaries; or to inure to the advancement of learning instead of the dissemination of it; or to become a convenience to the rich instead of a help to those who need help, I solemnly charge my trustees to use their best wisdom in preventing any such defeat of the spirit of this trust, so that my gift may continue to future generations to be a blessing to the poor.

If at any time after the lapse of thirty-three years from the date of this foundation it shall appear to the judgment of three-fourths of the members of this corporation that, by reason of a change in social conditions, or by reason of adequate and equitable public provision for education, or by any other sufficient reason, there is no further serious need of this fund in the form in which it is at first instituted, I authorize the corporation to apply the capital of the fund to the establishment of foundations subsidiary to then already existing institutions of higher education, in such wise as to make the educational advantages of such institutions more freely accessible to poor students of the colored race.

It is my wish that this trust be administered in no partisan, sectional, or sectarian spirit, but in the interest of a generous patriotism and an enlightened Christian faith; and that the corporation about to be formed may continue to be constituted of men distinguished either by honorable success in business, or by services to literature, education, religion, or the State.

I am encouraged to the execution in this charitable foundation of a long-cherished purpose by the eminent wisdom and success that has marked the conduct of the Peabody education fund in a field of operation not remote from that contemplated by this trust. I shall commit it to your hands, deeply conscious how insufficient is our best forecast to provide for the future that is known only to God, but humbly hoping that the administration of it may be so guided by divine wisdom as to be in its turn an encouragement to philanthropic enterprise on the part of others, and an enduring means of good to our beloved country and to our fellow-men.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your friend and fellow-citizen,

JOHN F. SLATER.

NORWICH, CONN., *March 4, 1882.*

Letter of the trustees accepting the gift.

NEW YORK, *May 18, 1882.*

JOHN F. SLATER, Esq., *Norwich, Conn.:*

The members of the board of trustees whom you invited to take charge of the fund which you have devoted to the education of the lately emancipated people of the Southern States and their posterity, desire, at the beginning of their work, to place on record their appreciation of your purpose, and to congratulate you on having completed this wise and generous gift at a period of your life when you may hope to observe for many years its beneficent influence.

They wish especially to assure you of their gratification in being called upon to administer a work so noble and timely. If this trust is successfully managed, it may, like the gift of George Peabody, lead to many other benefactions. As it tends to remove the ignorance of large numbers of those who have a vote in public affairs, it will promote the welfare of every part of our country, and your generous action will receive, as it deserves, the thanks of good men and women in this and other lands.

Your trustees unite in wishing you long life and health, that you may have the satisfaction of seeing the result of your patriotic forecast.

The thanks of Congress.

JOINT RESOLUTION of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, approved February 6, 1883.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the thanks of Congress be, and they hereby are, presented to John F. Slater, of Connecticut, for his great beneficence in giving the large sum of \$1,000,000 for the purpose of "uplifting the lately emancipated population of the Southern States and their posterity by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education."

SEC. 2. That it shall be the duty of the President to cause a gold medal to be struck with suitable devices and inscriptions, which, together with a copy of this resolution, shall be presented to Mr. Slater in the name of the people of the United States.

JOINT RESOLUTION of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, approved April 9, 1896.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of one thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be needed, is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to defray the cost of the medal ordered by public resolution numbered six, approved February sixth, eighteen hundred and eighty-three, to be presented to John F. Slater, of Connecticut, then living, but now deceased.

SEC. 2. That said medal and a copy of the original resolution aforesaid shall be presented to the legal representatives of said John F. Slater, deceased.

By-laws adopted May 18, 1882, and amended from time to time.

1. The officers of the board shall be a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a treasurer, chosen from the members. These officers shall serve until death, resignation, or removal for cause, and vacancies, when they occur, shall be filled by ballot.

2. There shall be appointed at each annual meeting a finance committee and an executive committee. The finance committee shall consist of three, and the executive committee of five, the president of the board being, ex officio, one of the five.

3. There shall also be an educational committee consisting of six persons, three of whom shall be appointed by the board and three of whom shall be ex officio members, to wit, the president, the treasurer, and the secretary of the board.

4. The annual meeting of the board shall be held at such place in the city of New York as shall be designated by the board, or the president, on the second Wednesday in April in each year. Special meetings may be called by the president or the executive committee at such times and places as in their judgment may be necessary.

5. A majority of the members of the board shall be a quorum for the transaction of business.

6. In case of the absence or disability of the president, the vice-president shall perform his duties.

7. The secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the board, which shall be annually published for general distribution.

8. The executive committee shall be charged with the duty of carrying out the resolutions and orders of the board as the same are from time to time adopted. Three shall constitute a quorum for business.

9. The finance committee, in connection with the treasurer, shall have charge of the moneys and securities belonging to the fund, with authority to invest and reinvest the moneys and dispose of the securities at their discretion, subject, however, at all times to the instructions of the board.

All securities belonging to the trust shall stand in the name of "the trustees of the John F. Slater fund," and be transferred only by the treasurer when authorized by a resolution of the finance committee.

10. The secretary of the board shall be, ex officio, secretary of the executive committee.

11. In case of the absence or disability of the treasurer, the finance committee shall have power to fill the vacancy temporarily.

12. Vacancies in the board shall be filled by ballot, and a vote of two-thirds of all the members shall be necessary for an election.

13. These by-laws may be altered or amended at any annual or special meeting by a vote of two-thirds of all the members of the board.

Members of the board.

Name.	Year.	Resigned or died.
APPOINTED.		
Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio.....	1882	* 1893
Morrison R. Waite, of the District of Columbia.....	1882	* 1883
William E. Dodge, of New York.....	1882	* 1883
Phillips Brooks, of Massachusetts.....	1882	† 1889
Daniel C. Gilman, of Maryland.....	1882	.....
John A. Stewart, of New York.....	1882	.....
Alfred H. Colquitt, of Georgia.....	1882	* 1894
Morris K. Jesup, of New York.....	1882	.....
James P. Boyce, of Kentucky.....	1882	* 1888
William A. Slater, of Connecticut.....	1882	.....
ELECTED.		
William E. Dodge, jr., of New York.....	1883	.....
Melville W. Fuller, of the District of Columbia.....	1888	.....
John A. Broadus, of Kentucky.....	1889	* 1895
Henry C. Potter, of New York.....	1889	.....
J. L. M. Curry, of the District of Columbia.....	1891	.....
William J. Northen, of Georgia.....	1891	.....
Ellison Capers, of South Carolina.....	1891	† 1895
C. B. Galloway, of Mississippi.....	1891	.....
Alexander E. Orr, of New York.....	1895	.....

* Died in office.

† Resigned.

From 1882 to 1891 the general agent of the trust was Rev. A. G. Haygood, D. D., of Georgia, who resigned the office when he became a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Since 1891 the duties of a general agent have been discharged by Dr. J. L. M. Curry, of Washington, D. C., chairman of the educational committee.

*Remarks of President Hayes on the death of Mr. Slater.**Gentlemen of the Board of Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund:*

Our first duty at this the fifth meeting of the trustees of the John F. Slater fund for the education of freedmen is devolved upon us by the death, since our last meeting, of the founder of this trust.

John F. Slater died early Wednesday morning, the 7th of May last, at his home in Norwich, Conn., at the age of 69. He had suffered severely from chronic complaints for several months, and his death was not a surprise to his family or intimate friends.

Two of the members of this board of trustees, Mr. Morris K. Jesup and myself, had the melancholy privilege of representing the board at the impressive funeral services of Mr. Slater at his home, at the Congregational Church, and at the cemetery in Norwich, on the Saturday following his death.

When he last met this board, his healthful appearance and general vigor gave promise of a long and active life. It was with great confidence that we then expressed to him our conviction that his wise and generous gift for the education of the emancipated people of the South and their posterity was made at a period of his life when he might reasonably hope to observe during many years its beneficent influence. But in the providence of God it has been otherwise ordered, and the life which we fondly wished would last long enough to yield to him the satisfaction of seeing the results of his patriotic forecast has been brought to a close.

He had a widely extended and well-earned reputation for ability, energy, integrity, and success as a manufacturer and as a man of affairs. He was a philanthropist, a patriot, a good citizen, and a good neighbor. He was a member of the Park Congregational Society in Norwich for many years and was warmly and strongly attached to the denomination of his choice. His church relations did not limit his sympathies, nor narrow his views of duty. In his letter establishing this trust is the following clause:

"The general object which I desire to have exclusively pursued is the uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern States, and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education."

When asked the precise meaning of the phrase "Christian education," he replied that "the phrase Christian education is to be taken in the largest and most general sense—that, in the sense which he intended, the common-school teaching of

Massachusetts and Connecticut was Christian education. That it is leavened with a predominant and salutary Christian influence. That there was no need of limiting the gifts of the fund to denominational institutions. That, if the trustees should be satisfied that at a certain State institution their beneficiaries would be surrounded by wholesome influences such as would tend to make good Christian citizens of them, there is nothing in the use of the phrase referred to to hinder their sending pupils to it."

I forbear to attempt to give a full sketch of Mr. Slater. Enough has perhaps been said to bring to your attention the great loss which this trust has sustained in the death of its founder, and the propriety of placing on our records and giving to the public a worthy and elaborate notice of his life, character, and good deeds.

CHAPTER XLII.

EDUCATION OF THE COLORED RACE.

References to preceding reports of the United States Bureau of Education, in which this subject has been treated: In annual reports—1870, pp. 61, 337-339; 1871, pp. 6, 7, 61-70; 1872, pp. xvii, xviii; 1873, p. lxvi; 1875, p. xxiii; 1876, p. xvi; 1877, pp. xxxiii-xxxviii; 1878, pp. xxviii-xxxiv; 1879, pp. xxxix-xlv; 1880, p. lviii; 1881, p. lxxxii; 1882-83, pp. liv, xlvi-lvi, xlix, 85; 1883-84, p. liv; 1884-85, p. lxvii; 1885-86, pp. 596, 650-656; 1886-87, pp. 790, 874-881; 1887-88, pp. 20, 21, 167, 169, 988-998; 1888-89, pp. 768, 1412-1439; 1889-90, pp. 620, 621, 624, 634, 1073-1102, 1388-1392, 1395-1485; 1890-91, pp. 620, 624, 792, 808, 915, 961-980, 1469; 1891-92, pp. 8, 686, 688, 713, 861-867, 1002, 1234-1237; 1892-93, pp. 15, 442, 1551-1572, 1976; 1893-94, pp. 1019-1061; 1894-95, pp. 1331-1424; also in Circulars of Information—No. 3, 1883, p. 63; No. 2, 1886, pp. 123-133; No. 3, 1888, p. 122; No. 5, 1888, pp. 53, 54, 59, 60, 80-86; No. 1, 1892, p. 71. Special Report on District of Columbia for 1869, pp. 193, 300, 301-400. Special report, New Orleans Exposition, 1884-85, pp. 468-470, 775-781.

The estimated number of persons 5 to 18 years of age in the sixteen Southern States and the District of Columbia for the scholastic year 1895-96 was 8,562,970. Of this number 5,768,680 were white and 2,794,290 were colored. The total enrollment in the public schools of the South was 5,291,013, the enrollment in the white schools being 3,861,300, or 66.93 per cent of the white children of school age, and the enrollment in the colored schools 1,429,713, or 51.16 per cent of the colored children of school age. While the colored children constitute 32.63 per cent of the school population of the South, they make but 27 per cent of the school enrollment. In the District of Columbia and in Kentucky the per cent of colored children enrolled is higher than for the white children. In Alabama and South Carolina the per cent of attendance is higher for the colored than for white children. For the entire South the average daily attendance was 63.23 per cent of the enrollment for the white children and 62.04 per cent of the enrollment for the colored children. These statistics for each of the sixteen Southern States and the District of Columbia are given in Table 1 on the following page.

The total expenditure for public schools in the South for 1895-96 was \$30,729,819. In only one or two States are separate accounts kept of the expenditure of money for the colored schools, but at a low estimation the cost of public schools for the colored race for 1895-96 was not less than \$5,500,000. Table 2 shows that from 1870 to 1896 the cost of public schools in the South was \$483,777,467. Between \$90,000,000 and \$95,000,000 of this sum must have been expended for the education of the colored children. The same table shows the enrollment in the white and colored schools for each year, and also the total expenditure for each year from 1870-71 to 1895-96.

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION.

For the year 1895-96 this Bureau received reports from 178 schools for the secondary and higher education of the colored race. Three of these schools are in Pennsylvania, two in Ohio, two in Indiana, one in Illinois, and one in New Jersey. All the others are within the boundaries of the former slave States. Table 3 shows the number of these schools in each State and the number of teachers and students for each State. The total enrollment in these 178 schools was 40,127. The number in the elementary grades was 25,092, in the secondary 13,563, and in the collegiate grades 1,455. The number of teachers employed was 1,626. The statistics of these schools are given in detail in Tables 9 and 10.

TABLE 1.—Common school statistics, classified by race, 1895-96.

State.	Estimated number of persons 5 to 18 years of age.		Percentages of the whole.		Pupils enrolled in the public schools.		Per cent of persons 5 to 18 years enrolled.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	328,700	281,600	53.85	46.15	a 198,710	a 120,816	a 60.45	a 42.90
Arkansas	326,700	126,700	72.06	27.94	218,299	78,276	66.82	61.79
Delaware (1891-92)	39,850	8,980	81.60	18.40	28,316	4,858	71.05	54.09
District of Columbia	44,800	24,640	64.51	35.49	27,289	15,175	60.91	61.59
Florida	89,130	70,670	55.79	44.21	63,586	36,787	71.35	52.06
Georgia	369,000	346,300	51.59	48.41	253,516	170,270	68.70	49.16
Kentucky	557,400	95,400	85.38	14.62	337,618	62,508	60.57	65.54
Louisiana	203,400	216,700	48.42	51.58	98,400	65,917	48.38	30.44
Maryland	263,300	75,900	77.62	22.38	179,408	39,954	68.14	52.65
Mississippi (1894-95)	212,700	309,800	40.71	59.29	162,830	187,785	76.56	60.61
Missouri	881,200	53,600	94.26	5.74	631,957	32,990	71.72	61.54
North Carolina	389,700	233,700	62.52	37.48	244,376	126,544	62.70	54.14
South Carolina	174,200	292,200	37.34	62.66	109,159	123,178	62.67	42.15
Tennessee (1894-95)	475,100	160,300	74.77	25.23	377,626	100,499	79.48	62.70
Texas	800,500	245,500	76.55	23.45	481,419	135,149	60.13	55.05
Virginia	338,700	241,000	58.43	41.57	240,356	121,777	70.96	50.52
West Virginia	274,300	11,300	96.04	3.96	208,435	7,230	76.00	63.97
Total	5,768,680	2,794,290	67.37	32.63	3,861,300	1,429,713	66.93	51.16
Total, 1889-90	b5,132,948	b2,510,847	67.15	32.85	3,402,420	1,296,959	66.28	51.66

State.	Average daily attendance.		Per cent of enrollment.		Number of teachers.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	a 124,300	a 79,700	a 62.56	a 65.98	4,831	2,350
Arkansas	128,460	43,488	58.84	55.55	5,225	1,448
Delaware (1891-92)	a 19,746	a 2,947	a 69.74	a 60.66	794	106
District of Columbia	20,858	11,295	76.43	74.43	688	343
Florida	41,992	24,143	66.03	65.63	1,929	579
Georgia	154,896	99,246	61.11	58.29	5,868	3,053
Kentucky	247,203	39,658	73.23	63.44	8,727	1,482
Louisiana	50,373	44,943	71.52	68.11	2,576	961
Maryland	103,798	19,429	57.86	48.63	3,892	724
Mississippi (1894-95)	99,048	103,635	60.81	55.19	4,591	3,294
Missouri	a 415,368	a 21,020	a 65.72	a 63.71	14,114	730
North Carolina	155,899	75,826	63.79	59.93	5,129	2,756
South Carolina	78,391	91,810	71.83	74.52	2,688	1,759
Tennessee (1894-95)	270,982	67,348	71.77	67.00	7,048	1,865
Texas	349,913	90,336	72.70	66.85	10,470	2,747
Virginia	141,825	67,703	59.01	55.60	6,320	2,097
West Virginia	130,614	4,467	65.54	61.79	6,219	235
Total	2,559,666	886,994	66.28	62.04	91,049	26,499
Total, 1889-90	2,165,249	813,710	63.83	62.42	78,903	24,072

a Approximately.

b United States Census.

TABLE 2.—Sixteen former slave States and the District of Columbia.

Year.	Common school enrollment.		Expenditures (both races).	Year.	Common school enrollment.		Expenditures (both races).
	White.	Colored.			White.	Colored.	
1870-71			\$10,385,404	1884-85	2,676,911	1,030,463	\$19,253,874
1871-72			11,623,238	1885-86	2,773,145	1,048,659	20,208,113
1872-73			11,176,048	1886-87	2,975,773	1,118,556	20,821,969
1873-74			11,823,775	1887-88	3,110,606	1,140,405	21,810,158
1874-75			13,021,514	1888-89	3,197,830	1,213,692	23,171,878
1875-76			12,093,865	1889-90	3,402,420	1,296,959	24,880,107
1876-77	1,827,139	571,506	11,231,073	1890-91	3,570,624	1,329,549	26,690,310
1877-78	2,034,946	675,150	12,093,091	1891-92	3,607,549	1,354,316	27,691,488
1878-79	2,013,684	685,942	12,174,141	1892-93	3,697,899	1,367,515	28,535,738
1879-80	2,215,674	784,709	12,678,685	1893-94	3,835,593	1,424,995	29,223,546
1880-81	2,234,877	802,374	13,656,314	1894-95	3,845,414	1,441,282	29,372,990
1881-82	2,249,263	802,982	15,241,740	1895-96	3,861,300	1,429,713	30,729,819
1882-83	2,370,110	817,240	16,363,471	Total			483,777,467
1883-84	2,546,448	1,002,313	17,884,558				

Table 4 shows that in the 178 schools there were 1,494 students in classical courses, 1,345 in scientific courses, 9,139 in English courses, and 398 in business courses. Table 5 shows that 4,672 students were in normal courses. There were 826 graduates from high school courses, 966 from normal courses, and 161 from collegiate courses.

Table 6 is an exhibit of the number of students in professional courses in the colored schools. The total number in professional courses was 1,319, only 126 of these being females. There were 703 students and 76 graduates in schools and departments of theology, 124 students and 20 graduates in law, 286 students and 30 graduates in medicine, 32 students and 6 graduates in dentistry, 48 students and 13 graduates in pharmacy, and 126 students and 40 graduates in nurse training.

Table 7 is a summary of the statistics of industrial training in the 178 colored schools. The number receiving industrial training was 12,341, the number of males being 4,476 and of females 7,865. The table shows that the number being trained in farm and garden work was 1,098, in carpentry 1,821, in bricklaying 254, in plastering 165, in painting 257, in tin and sheet-metal work 126, in forging 327, in machine-shop work 223, in shoemaking 165, in printing 565, in sewing 6,302, in cooking 2,455, and in other trades not named 1,677. The details of the statistics of industrial training are given in Table 10.

The financial statistics of the colored schools of secondary and higher grade are summarized in Table 8. These schools received in benefactions during the scholastic year 1895-96 the sum of \$323,718. The income of these schools aggregated \$1,117,569. Of this amount the sum of \$289,845 was derived from public funds, \$92,297 from productive funds, and \$124,481 from tuition fees. The sources of the unclassified income of \$610,946 are uncertain. Many schools reported only total incomes for 1895-96.

INTERVIEWS WITH LEADING EDUCATORS OF THE COLORED RACE.

Interviews with bishops of the African Methodist Church and with leading educators of the colored race were printed in the New Orleans Times-Democrat of January 24, 1897. Those who read, in the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1894-95, the two chapters on the Education of the Colored Race will be interested in these interviews. The Times-Democrat made the following editorial comment:

"EDUCATION FOR THE NEGRO.

"We publish elsewhere interviews with the presidents of the several colored colleges of this city, the bishops of the African Methodist Church now in New Orleans, and others interested in the education of the colored race, upon a subject, than which there is none more important before the South and the country to-day. It is a part—and the most important part—of the great negro problem of the United States. What is better for the education of the negro—a classical education or an industrial and mechanical education? Shall we turn his ambition in the direction of the learned professions rather than toward the industries?

"When we consider that there are 8,000,000 negroes in this country, that they constitute one-ninth of its population, and in several of the Southern States are in a majority, we can form some idea of the importance of this matter of educating them and making them useful and valuable citizens.

"A great deal of work has been done already. Over \$80,000,000 have been expended on colored schools and colleges since 1876 alone. Thirty-three years have passed since the emancipation proclamation—a full generation—and we ought by this time to gather some fruit from the millions expended on the education of the negro. What do the results show—that a classical education or an industrial or mechanical one is better for the present condition and needs of the negro and for the South?

"The two sides of the case are well stated by Prof. Booker T. Washington, president of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, of Alabama, on the one hand, and President Edward Cushing Mitchell, of Leland University, in this city, on the other.

"President Mitchell takes a very decided stand against simple industrial education. He calls attention to the fact that the Northern colleges, which in many cases began with manual labor schools, have abandoned this appendage to their curriculum. 'Ought we to insist,' he asks, 'upon putting a yoke upon the necks of our brethren in black which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear?' And he calls attention to the fact that the report of the Bureau of Education for 1889-90 shows that the graduates of 17 colored schools in which industrial instruction is

TABLE 3.—*Teachers and students in institutions for the colored race in 1895-96.*

State.	Number of schools.			Teachers.		Students.										
						Elementary.			Secondary.			Collegiate.			Total.	
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	
Alabama	11	91	95	186	1,118	1,294	2,412	860	795	1,655	36	12	48	2,056	2,059	4,115
Arkansas	7	20	27	47	565	667	1,232	246	242	488	13	3	16	822	914	1,736
Delaware	1	3	0	3	—	—	—	32	6	38	10	6	16	42	12	54
Dist. of Columbia	4	5	4	9	89	61	150	9	2	11	—	—	—	98	63	161
Florida	19	27	46	96	307	395	602	188	201	389	—	—	—	438	553	991
Georgia	23	67	151	218	1,842	2,901	4,743	558	847	1,405	167	48	215	2,564	3,799	6,363
Illinois	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	11	23	34	0	0	0	11	23	34
Indiana	2	3	3	6	296	338	634	45	70	115	0	0	0	341	408	749
Kentucky	30	48	78	566	744	1,310	200	330	530	32	2	34	784	1,090	1,874	
Louisiana a	7	32	38	70	411	543	954	106	148	254	38	28	66	535	739	1,274
Maryland	5	13	18	31	58	134	192	79	219	298	34	7	41	176	372	548
Mississippi	10	39	49	88	530	421	951	375	485	860	118	76	194	1,033	972	2,005
Missouri	6	20	24	44	213	233	446	160	204	364	7	0	7	391	426	817
New Jersey	1	2	4	6	24	25	49	8	18	26	—	—	—	35	40	75
North Carolina	27	94	93	187	927	1,674	2,601	1,159	1,172	2,331	163	72	235	2,274	2,893	5,167
Ohio	2	11	10	21	77	63	140	64	107	171	43	8	51	202	160	362
Pennsylvania	3	15	7	22	47	64	111	74	125	199	170	0	170	291	189	480
South Carolina	12	41	71	112	1,178	1,292	2,470	402	566	968	13	4	17	1,599	1,859	3,455
Tennessee	15	48	104	152	1,058	1,343	2,401	548	725	1,273	164	71	235	1,715	2,194	3,909
Texas	11	40	55	95	536	869	1,405	377	427	804	23	17	40	948	1,301	2,249
Virginia	13	76	108	184	959	1,227	2,246	395	595	990	65	5	70	1,469	1,837	3,306
West Virginia	3	10	9	19	22	21	43	140	220	360	0	0	0	162	241	403
Total	178	680	946	1,626	10,823	14,269	25,092	6,036	7,527	13,563	1,066	350	1,455	17,983	22,144	40,127

a Two schools not reporting.

TABLE 4.—*Classification of colored students, by courses of study, 1895-96.*

State.	Students in classical course.			Students in scientific courses.			Students in English course.			Students in business course.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Alabama	17	4	21	12	12	24	472	518	990	10	8	18
Arkansas	28	24	52	17	22	39	324	141	365	8	4	12
Delaware	0	1	1	10	5	15	32	6	38	—	—	—
Dist. of Columbia	109	235	335	56	194	250	56	75	131	65	51	116
Florida	86	54	140	21	8	29	230	321	551	—	—	—
Georgia	—	—	—	—	—	—	432	645	1,077	0	0	0
Illinois	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	23	34	0	0	0
Indiana	45	70	115	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kentucky	7	0	7	—	—	—	113	245	358	0	15	15
Louisiana	32	16	48	12	0	12	207	269	476	20	10	30
Maryland	34	7	41	—	—	—	102	248	350	—	—	—
Mississippi	70	36	106	57	53	110	251	344	595	—	—	—
Missouri	15	9	24	47	103	155	45	55	100	23	33	61
New Jersey	10	12	22	8	10	18	10	14	24	—	—	—
North Carolina	75	20	95	80	125	205	489	653	1,142	21	14	35
Ohio	22	4	26	15	7	22	77	62	139	9	6	15
Pennsylvania	115	0	115	—	—	—	19	15	34	6	8	14
South Carolina	40	17	57	21	24	45	317	442	759	31	41	72
Tennessee	139	67	206	35	19	54	395	513	908	—	—	—
Texas	2	0	2	99	172	271	82	188	268	4	6	10
Virginia	19	0	19	30	66	96	347	379	726	0	0	0
West Virginia	18	44	62	—	—	—	32	42	74	—	—	—
Total	874	620	1,494	520	825	1,345	3,943	5,193	9,139	202	196	398

given in carpentering, farming, shoemaking, etc., have generally drifted off into the professions. Out of 1,243 graduates of these schools 693 are teachers, 117 ministers, 163 physicians, 116 lawyers, while only 12 are farmers, and 5 following mechanical pursuits (2 printers, 1 carpenter, and 2 unclassified). From these facts, President Mitchell reaches the conclusion that industrial education is not what the negro needs, but the same higher or classical education provided for the whites.

"We think President Mitchell altogether wrong in his conclusions. It is the same mistake that was made when the suffrage was given the negro. Those who gave it so hastily and prematurely imagined that the fifteenth amendment would immediately make the negro a valuable citizen and endow him with all the political experience which it has taken the white race centuries—and centuries of struggle, too—to secure. There could have been no more unfortunate mistake for the negro and the South. The saturnalia that prevailed between 1868 and 1872 in consequence of conferring of the franchise on a people not yet fitted for it not only cost the South millions of dollars and thousands of lives, but did the negro race a serious injustice, setting back its civilization, arousing old prejudices, and causing even its most ardent friends to doubt its ability for the higher development and civilization.

"Mr. Mitchell would have us do in education what was attempted in politics, but failed. He himself recognizes that the white race began with industrial schools, and as it advanced, steadily elevated its schools, widened its curriculum, and raised the standard of education. He would have the negro at the very start try to do what the whites have taken centuries to reach. He would begin with classical education, a policy which will cause only discontent and failure. It is not what we should offer a race only just struggling to the front, steeped in ignorance, the fruit of centuries of slavery. If it were proposed to establish a dozen great universities like Oxford and Cambridge in the heart of Africa, as a means of checking cannibalism and raising and developing the natives, and bringing them civilization and prosperity, it would cause a national protest as a pure waste of money, and yet this would be only an exaggeration of President Mitchell's proposition.

"His statistics, which are the strongest point of his argument, really prove nothing. It may be true that a large proportion of the negroes educated in the colored colleges have drifted into the professions. It is equally true that a considerable proportion of them drifted into politics in 1868-1872; but we must not conclude from this that what the negro wants is a political instead of an industrial education. We see that among the college graduates there are ten ministers to every one farmer. We will not accept this as proof that what the negroes need is more theology. There are a thousand negroes engaged in farming for every one who enters the church, and if the farmers were only better taught how to cultivate their lands they would be better off materially and morally. The poverty and the ignorance of the negro race are keeping up a sick rate, a death rate, and a prison rate which are preventing that advance it would otherwise make.

"It is natural that half the graduates of the colored normal and industrial schools should become teachers. In providing for a race whose education has been so long neglected, the first graduates will naturally devote themselves to teaching. President Mitchell says that in giving an industrial education to a negro you help only the individual. His own statistics disprove this, for so far a majority of these graduates have devoted themselves to scattering among the race the information which they themselves have gained. The industrial schools are teaching not a few negroes better work, but through them the entire colored race.

"In marked contrast are the views of Prof. Booker T. Washington, president of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, one of the leading representatives of his race, certainly in the field of education. Professor Washington has had the best opportunities of studying the question thoroughly and practically. The institute over which he presides has done good work for the negro, and its graduates have carried the lessons learned there throughout the South. One of its best fruits is the conference now held each year at Tuskegee of representatives of the negro race from all parts of the Union to discuss questions affecting its interests.

"'I am convinced,' says Professor Washington, 'that whether the negro receives much or little education, whether it be called high or low, we have reached the point in our development where a large proportion of those who are being educated should, while they are receiving their education or after they have received it, be taught to connect their education with some industrial pursuit.'

"Professor Washington thinks, as we do, that in the present condition of the negro, the first thing for him to learn is how to secure an independent position in the industrial world, how to work and to work intelligently. If the colored colleges drop industrial education and turn their attention solely to graduating theologians, lawyers, etc., he sees that the negro will very soon be crowded out of

TABLE 5.—Number of normal students and graduates in 1895-96.

State.	Students in normal course.			Graduates of high-school course.			Graduates of normal course.			Graduates of collegiate course.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Alabama	244	315	559	11	10	21	203	161	364	0	1	1
Arkansas	29	15	44	8	5	13	7	5	12	2	0	2
Delaware												
District of Columbia	19	58	77	18	23	46	25	30	55	1	7	8
Florida	49	50	99	0	0	0	2	3	5	0	0	0
Georgia	96	379	475	38	92	130	7	31	38	19	17	36
Illinois				0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indiana				23	40	63	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kentucky	67	93	160	4	19	23	4	1	5	3	0	3
Louisiana	10	55	65	15	19	34	13	29	42	1	0	1
Maryland	44	44	88	2	11	13	12	10	22	2	0	2
Mississippi	93	75	168	29	18	47	44	55	99	29	6	35
Missouri	66	40	106	5	13	18	7	2	9	1	0	1
New Jersey	3	5	8									
North Carolina	301	502	803	55	22	77	39	48	87	13	5	18
Ohio	50	57	107	11	14	25	7	8	15	4	0	4
Pennsylvania	42	72	114	0	1	1				21	0	21
South Carolina	101	222	323	25	33	58	20	38	58	1	1	2
Tennessee	212	286	498	24	55	79	11	37	48	22	2	24
Texas	106	210	316	12	16	28	1	6	7			
Virginia	201	337	538	33	96	129	23	57	80	3	0	3
West Virginia	60	64	124	5	14	19	8	9	17			
Total	1,793	2,879	4,672	318	508	826	436	520	956	122	39	161

TABLE 6.—Colored professional students and graduates in 1895-96.

State.	Students in professional courses.			Professional students and graduates.											
				Theology.		Law.		Medicine.		Dentistry.		Pharmacy.		Nurse training.	
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.
Alabama	43	0	43	43	6										
Arkansas	52	0	52	52	0										
District of Columbia	314	33	347	66	10	105	17	112	9	13	3	18	5	33	13
Florida	4	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Georgia	171	12	183	171	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	7
Kentucky	19	0	19	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Louisiana	12	0	12	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maryland	6	0	6	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mississippi	14	54	68	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	54	16
Missouri	9	0	9	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Carolina	142	12	154	76	12	8	0	47	10	0	0	11	2	12	0
Ohio	10	15	25	10	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	4
Pennsylvania	43	0	43	43	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Carolina	43	0	43	40	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tennessee	222	0	222	49	1	8	3	127	11	19	3	19	6		
Texas	19	0	19	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia	65		65	65	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1,193	126	1,319	703	76	124	20	286	30	32	6	48	13	126	40

the industries in the South, as he already is in the North. Even in slavery he was taught carpentering, blacksmithing, and kindred mechanical trades. If he abandon this field, he will close the avenues of employment to himself and drift into a condition of uselessness. It will be a bad thing for the race if it allows itself to be driven out of every industry upon which its living depends, and is satisfied with book learning alone, in which it is naturally at a great disadvantage in competition with the whites, if for no other reason because the latter has had the advantage of centuries of schooling. It will be giving up the field where, because of his strength, the negro can compete most successfully for a field where he is at the greatest disadvantage.

‘Professor Washington notes sadly the tendency of the negroes to neglect the very industry by which nine-tenths of them make their living—farming. To the advocates of ‘the higher education,’ it is hardly worth while to teach the negro how to farm intelligently and profitably, although thousands of white youths are learning scientific agriculture; and it is actually pointed to with pride instead of sorrow that twenty negroes who receive a better education follow theology and law for one who follows agriculture, the profession with which his race has been connected for all time.

‘We are glad to see that nearly all the colored men interviewed by us, and particularly those of Southern birth, agree with Professor Washington that what their race needs most is industrial education, rather than simple book learning.

‘They are right, and it is an auspicious sign to see them recognizing the potency of industry, and seeing the right road for the elevation of their race. The philanthropy of the North has given millions of dollars to the education of the colored race. The spirit of justice of the Southern people has given ten times as much. The negroes constitute so large a proportion of the population of the South that their prosperity and morality, even their health, affect the entire body politic. It is in negro sections of our cities where the first rules of sanitation are defied and that are bred the diseases which sweep through the white residential districts and carry off thousands—victims of negro ignorance and neglect; and the moral atmosphere of these negro Ghettos more or less permeates the whole community.

‘A few months ago the American Economic Association issued among its publications, *The Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*, by Frederick L. Hoffman, F. S. S., statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company of America. It is the best book yet issued on the subject, the fruit of years of close study of the subject and absolutely free of bias; yet the conclusion Mr. Hoffman reached was:

‘‘Instead of making the race more independent, modern educational and philanthropic efforts have succeeded in making it even more dependent on the white race at the present time than it was previous to education. It remains to be seen how far a knowledge of the facts about its own diminishing vitality, low state of morality, and economic efficiency will stimulate the race in adopting a higher standard. Unless a change takes place, a scheme that will strike at the fundamental errors that underlie the conduct of the higher race toward the lower, the gradual extinction (of the negro) is only a question of time.’

‘Unless the negro race can make a proper place for itself, unless it can find work to do for which it is fitted, it will meet, Mr. Hoffman predicts, the same fate as every other colored race coming into conflict with the Anglo-Saxon—extinction. The preachers and the lawyers and the colored editors will not prevent this, but those who render the negroes industrially independent, find them work to do, improve their material condition, and with that improvement bring about higher spirit of self-confidence and morality.

‘The child must be taught to stand before it tries running. The negro is in his infancy as a free man. He should have solid foundations of education first, and open the industries to his race, instead of depending too much on the higher classical education. There has been a disposition of late by many to declare that education is doing the negro more harm than good. The Senate Labor Committee found a number of witnesses to testify to that effect. The Chattanooga Tradesman, after a searching inquiry of the employers of colored labor, learned from them that education generally detracted from a negro’s efficiency. We know to the contrary from the experience of every race that this can not be so, and is no more true of the negro than of the white man. It is not education that is causing any lack of efficiency, but the kind of education. It should, for the present at least, be mainly industrial, intended to advance the condition of the negro, to assure him work, and to improve his material status. Whether it will be well afterwards to establish higher universities for the colored race, we may leave to time to determine. We should give him a chance now to improve and raise himself. To give him a classical education in his present condition is like giving a stone to him who asks for bread.

TABLE 7.—Industrial training of colored students in 1895-96.

State.	Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.												
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
Alabama	515	748	1,263	176	178			6		31		28	45	473	68	381
Arkansas	63	49	112	19	42				40	40	40	28	33	13	7	
Delaware	23	28	51		17					5	1					
District of Columbia	103	73	176	0	48	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	41	71	0	6
Florida	72	161	233	41	64								8	102	76	24
Georgia	234	1,302	1,536	48	119	13	5	9	0	12	0	4	82	1,088	231	179
Illinois																
Indiana																
Kentucky	6	143	149		6									63	63	80
Louisiana	171	149	320	62	72	0	0	0	66	0	37	0	21	127	30	15
Maryland	37	191	228	37	15	0	0	0	0	7	7	7	12	105	187	
Mississippi	413	364	777	111	176					59	0	61	43	363	191	5
Missouri	85	80	165	0	40	0	6	0	0	29	25	0	0	80	0	0
New Jersey	18	25	43		18								12	25		
North Carolina	641	962	1,603	115	299	97	22	124	3	56	45	16	46	837	671	0
Ohio	50	57	107		43								24	53	44	180
Pennsylvania																
South Carolina	733	931	1,664	267	254	135	131	113	0	63	63	25	32	761	183	32
Tennessee	371	925	1,296	5	177	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	76	808	203	40
Texas	305	685	990	54	115					15	1	5	39	641	172	68
Virginia	569	899	1,468	162	85	9	7	3	0	17	11	17	39	582	276	660
West Virginia	67	119	186	1	53					2			3	110	53	7
Total	4,476	7,865	12,341	1,098	1,821	254	165	257	126	327	223	165	565	6,302	2,455	1,677

TABLE 8.—Financial summary of the 178 colored schools.

State.	Value of benefactions or bequests, 1895-96.	Volumes in libraries.	Value of libraries.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from sources unclassified.	Total income for the year 1895-96.
Alabama	\$32,670	12,950	\$11,425	\$384,782	\$7,000	\$12,631	\$6,479	\$103,146	\$129,256
Arkansas	2,747	5,550	5,925	167,000	9,450	5,937	2,965	4,378	21,830
Delaware	200	450	400	15,800	4,200	61			4,261
District of Columbia	4,000	17,550	11,300	895,000	34,500	6,683	8,500	7,000	56,683
Florida		3,316	2,656	99,875	2,800	590	0	12,765	16,065
Georgia	35,264	34,469	29,190	1,202,629	16,760	15,364	5,122	63,358	100,634
Illinois		50	100	2,500	1,300	0	0	0	1,300
Indiana	0	400	800	3,000					
Kentucky	23,618	10,301	7,425	182,864	9,900	5,230	2,450	4,361	22,941
Louisiana	1,125	16,769	8,000	499,821	7,500	5,281	6,900	29,106	39,787
Maryland		2,450	1,400	45,000	9,000	3,306	584	19,578	31,528
Mississippi	1,366	13,205	15,275	309,500	18,368	5,328		27,817	51,513
Missouri	500	1,531	900	184,125	68,000	2,142	1,284		71,423
New Jersey	26,000	1,000	500	2,500	3,000		100	3,900	7,000
North Carolina	40,945	20,682	16,695	656,102	21,077	8,700	2,773	36,832	67,382
Ohio	8,000	5,000	2,500	205,000	12,500	3,500	22,300	8,700	27,000
Pennsylvania		14,000	7,000	212,000	0		25,000	10,600	35,000
South Carolina	8,552	7,200	3,500	340,800	17,840	10,073	1,300	20,313	49,226
Tennessee	10,163	20,494	20,958	765,600	2,856	16,523	1,630	72,811	93,814
Texas	9,847	6,365	4,650	297,550	25,800	16,740	300	30,648	73,488
Virginia	116,221	16,068	13,025	905,500	15,000	6,972	25,226	159,795	207,027
West Virginia	2,500	6,000	3,550	100,000	3,000	450	1,250	5,708	10,408
Total	323,718	209,801	166,574	7,524,948	289,845	124,481	92,297	610,946	1,117,569

"The Times-Democrat gives below interviews with the bishops of the African Methodist Church, now in this city, with the presidents of the several colored colleges in New Orleans, the president of the Tuskegee (Ala.) Normal and Industrial Institute, and with a number of the more prominent representative colored men of New Orleans interested in the matter of education. The Times-Democrat has sought in these interviews to shed some light on the matter of the education of the negro—a subject that is attracting great attention just now, and is being earnestly and extensively discussed pro and con.

"The questions propounded to the presidents of the several colored colleges were as follows:

"1. How many pupils do you graduate each year?

"2. What are these young men and women fitted for when they leave your institutions?

"3. Have you any knowledge of what becomes of them after leaving your care?

"4. Can you make any estimate as to what percentage of them secure useful and lucrative occupations?

"5. What is your candid opinion, after years of experience, as to the advisability of the higher education of the negro, i. e., a classical education, as opposed to an industrial or mechanical education?

"The last question, it will be seen, is the most important, and is the one upon which light is most sought. A very large sum of money is being expended each year on the education of the negro, and large educational funds are being created for their benefit. It is, therefore, important to know what is being accomplished in the way of his education, and what system is yielding the best fruit. Are those colleges which confine themselves mainly to a classical education doing the most good, or those mainly employed in turning the colored youth to industrial pursuits? A full and complete answer to this question will probably largely influence future donations. It is to secure such an answer that the Times-Democrat has interviewed those who, from their position as the heads of leading colored colleges or from their association with or knowledge of the negro, are best able to speak authoritatively on this matter.

"BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

"TUSKEGEE, ALA., January 21.

"To the Editor of the Times-Democrat:

"The Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute graduates from forty to fifty-five young men and women each year from its industrial and literature departments. When these men and women graduate they are fitted to become teachers in the public schools or to work at various trades or industries, such as carpentry, wheelwrighting, blacksmithing, foundry work, machinists, tinsmiths, harness making, shoemaking, printing, farming, dairying, horticulture, stock raising, house painting, brick making, brick masonry, plastering, mattress making, tailoring, sewing, millinery work, laundering, general housekeeping, cooking, and nursing.

"We have a definite plan of keeping closely up with the work accomplished by our graduates after they leave us. In fact, one teacher devotes a large portion of his time to the work of visiting our graduates and in keeping up in various ways with the work done by them. It is safe in saying at least 90 per cent of those who graduate from this institution secure useful and lucrative positions. In fact, most of them are usually engaged before they graduate. Especially is this true of those who graduate from our various industrial departments. So great is the demand from all parts of the South for our graduates who understand the various industrial pursuits, especially agriculture, dairying, carpentry, etc., that we can not begin to supply this demand. Only this week we received applications from two prominent white men, one in Florida and another in Alabama, for men to take charge of large modern dairy establishments.

"I have never been opposed to what is called the higher education of the negro, but after years of experience I am convinced that, whether the negro receives much or little education, whether it be called high or low, we have reached the point in our development where a larger proportion of those who are educated should, while they are receiving their education or after they have received it, be taught to connect their education with some industrial pursuit. To the masses of the negroes in our present condition intellectual training means little except as the negro can use that education along industrial lines in securing for himself an independent position in the industrial world. There should be a more vital and practical connection between the negro's educated brain and his opportunity for

earning an independent living. I do not mean to say that all educated colored men should have industrial training, for we need colored men in the professions. By reason of our failure to give more attention to industrial development we are running the risk of losing the most valuable thing which we got out of slavery. American slavery, as bad as it was, made the Southern white men do business with the negro for two hundred and fifty years. If a white man wanted a house built or a suit of clothes made during slavery, he consulted a negro about the building of that house or the making of those clothes. Thus the two races for two hundred and fifty years were brought into business contact, which left the negro at the close of the war in possession of all the skilled labor, as well as other lines of industry in the South.

"The question which is now pressing upon us more and more each year is, 'Can we hold on to this skilled labor in the face of a large number of men and women of other races from Europe and from the North and West who are continually coming into the South?' These foreigners are not only educated in their brains, but are skilled in their hands. In other words, they have brains coupled with skilled hands, and as a result we are forced more and more every day to compete with these foreigners.

"Heretofore we have left this competition almost wholly to the ignorant men and women who learned their trades during slavery. I claim that a large proportion of the colored men and women who are educated in the colleges should take up industrial pursuits, should start brick yards, steam laundries, become contractors, become trained nurses, intelligent farmers, so that we will not be driven out of every industry on which our life depends. Mere book education not coupled with industrial training too often takes the young man from the farm and makes him yield to the temptation of trying to earn a living in a city by the use of his wits.

"Notwithstanding the fact that nine-tenths of the colored people in the Gulf States earn their living by agriculture in some form, if we leave out what has been done by Hampton and Tuskegee we have done almost nothing in educating the people in the very industry in which they must earn their living. I claim that we should so educate the young colored man that he will not leave the farm, but will return to the farm after he has secured his education, and show his father and mother how, by the use of improved machinery, and by properly enriching the land, they can raise 50 bushels of corn on an acre of land where only 15 bushels were growing before. When a negro owns and cultivates the best farm and is the largest taxpayer in his county, his white neighbors will not object very long to his voting, and having that vote honestly counted.

"BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

"EDWARD CUSHING MITCHELL.

"President Edward Cushing Mitchell, A. M., D. D., of Leland University, entertains very pronounced views regarding the importance of a higher education for the colored race. In this connection he pointed out that no people had ever taken rank among the civilized nations of the earth without colleges which were the fountains of learning and of a higher civilization. The colleges had always preceded the common-school systems, which were really the outgrowth of the colleges. This country had suddenly found within its borders a new nation, a people having a population of about 8,000,000 admitted to citizenship. The question was as to whether this vast population should be subjected to the same influences which had made a great nation of the American people or left to grope in the darkness of semisavagery. To say that the negro did not need the same educational advantages which had raised the white American to his present moral and intellectual status was to assume a moral and intellectual superiority for the African race.

"In answer to a question as to the desirability of industrial education for the negro in lieu of the higher collegiate course, Dr. Mitchell referred the questioner to the following extract from one of his public utterances as an explicit expression of his views on the subject:

"What shall we say now about the relation of industrial training to our problem? Industrial training is good and useful to some persons, if they can afford time to take it. But in its application to the negro, several facts should be clearly understood.

"1. It appears not to be generally known in the North that in the South all trades and occupations are open to the negro, and always have been. Before the war slaves were taught mechanic arts, because they thereby became more profitable to their masters. And now every village has its negro mechanics, who are patronized both by white and colored employers, and any who wish to learn trades can do so.

"2. It is a mistake to suppose that industrial education can be wisely applied to the beginnings of school life. Said the Rev. A. D. Mayo, than whom no man in America is better acquainted with the condition and wants of the South: 'There are two specious, un-American notions now masquerading under the taking phrase, "Industrial Education." First, that it is possible or desirable to train large bodies of youth to superior industrial skill without a basis of sound elementary education. You can not polish a brickbat, and you can not make a good workman of a plantation negro or a white ignoramus until you first wake up his mind and give him the mental discipline and knowledge that comes from a good school. * * * Second, that it is possible or desirable to train masses of American children on the European idea that the child will follow the calling of his father. Class education has no place in the order of society, and the American people will never accept it in any form. The industrial training needed in the South must be obtained by the establishment of special schools of improved housekeeping for girls, with mechanical training for such boys as desire it. * * * And this training should be given impartially to both races, without regard to the thousand and one theories of what the colored man can not do.'—Address for National Educational Association, August 9, 1873.

"3. Industrial training is expensive of time and money as compared with its results as a civilizer. When you have trained one student, you have simply fitted one man to earn an ordinary living. When you have given a college education to a man with brains, you have sent forth an instrumentality that will affect hundreds of thousands.

"Said Chauncey M. Depew, in his address at the tenth convocation of the University of Chicago, in April, 1895: 'I acknowledge the position and usefulness of the business college, the manual-training school, the technological institute, the scientific school, and the schools of mines, medicine, law, and theology. They are of infinite importance to the youth who has not the money, the time, or the opportunity to secure a liberal education. They are of equal benefit to the college graduate who has had a liberal education in training him for his selected pursuit. But the theorist, or rather the practical men who are the architects of their own fortunes, and who are proclaiming on every occasion that a liberal education is a waste of time for a business man, and that the boy who starts early and is trained only for his one pursuit is destined for a larger success, are doing infinite harm to the ambitious youth of this country. The college, in its four years of discipline, training, teaching, and development, makes the boy the man. His Latin and his Greek, his rhetoric and his logic, his science and his philosophy, his mathematics and his history have little or nothing to do with law or medicine or theology, and still less to do with manufacturing, or mining, or storekeeping, or stocks, or grain, or provisions. But they have given to the youth, when he has graduated, the command of that superb intelligence with which God has endowed him, by which, for the purpose of a living or a fortune, he grasps his profession or his business and speedily overtakes the boy who, abandoning college opportunities, gave his narrow life to the narrowing pursuit of the one thing by which he expected to earn a living. The college-bred man has an equal opportunity for bread and butter, but beyond that he becomes a citizen of commanding influence and a leader in every community where he settles.'

"4. Industrial training is liable to divert attention from the real aim and end of education, which is a developed manhood. The young scholar can not serve two masters. It requires all the energy there is in a boy to nerve him to the high resolve that in spite of all difficulties he will patiently discipline himself until he becomes a man. This is one reason why our Northern colleges, which in many cases began as manual-labor schools, have abandoned this appendage to their curriculum. Ought we to insist on 'putting a yoke upon the necks' of our brethren in black 'which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear?'

"Finally, Experience seems to show that industrial education does not educate, even in trades. In the report of the Bureau of Education for 1889-90 is a full statistical table of the lines of business in which the graduates of seventeen colored schools are employed. In all these schools industrial instruction is given, such as carpentry, tinning, painting, whip making, plastering, shoemaking, tailoring, blacksmithing, farming, gardening, etc. Out of 1,243 graduates of these schools there are found to be only 12 farmers, 2 mechanics, and 1 carpenter. The names of the universities are: 'Allen,' South Carolina; 'Atlanta,' Georgia; 'Berea,' Kentucky; 'Central Tennessee,' Tennessee; 'Claffin,' South Carolina; 'Fiske,' Tennessee; 'Knoxville,' Tennessee; 'Livingstone,' North Carolina; 'New Orleans,' Louisiana; 'Paul Quinn,' Texas; 'Philander Smith,' Arkansas; 'Roger Williams,' Tennessee; 'Rust,' Mississippi; 'Southern,' Louisiana; 'Straight,' Louisiana; 'Tuskegee,' Alabama; 'Wilberforce,' Ohio.

“The employment of the graduates were: Teachers, 693; ministers, 117; physicians, 163; lawyers, 116; college professors, 27; editors, 5; merchants, 15; farmers, 12; carpenters, 1; United States Government service, 36; druggists, 5; dentists, 14; bookkeepers, 2; printers, 2; mechanics, 2; butchers, 3; other pursuits, 30.

“The money appropriated to these schools by the Slater fund from 1884 to 1894 was \$439,981.78.

“L. G. ADKINSON.

“President L. G. Adkinson, A. M., D. D., of the New Orleans University, said that, while he believed in the value of an industrial education for the youth of any race, white or black, he would not be in favor of in any way curtailing the present curriculum in use in the colleges for the colored race. As far as his own experience taught him, there was apparently little danger of any plethora of colored graduates in the near future. In the first place, a majority of colored students had so little means available for the securing of an education that very few of them were in a position to take an extended college course, and, in the second place, they were, in most instances, so anxious to go out in life and earn a livelihood that they were inclined to leave college as soon as they had become qualified to teach in the public schools for their own race, and, as the demand for teachers generally exceeded the supply, they had no difficulty in obtaining satisfactory employment.

“As to the effect of a higher education upon the young people of the colored race, he had always found it beneficial, from a moral as well as from an intellectual point of view. The training received by the young men and women not only gave them a clearer and broader view of their responsibilities in life, but it endowed them with greater steadiness of purpose and business sense.

“Among the more advanced students this improvement in moral and intellectual character had always been more marked than among the students who had left the college from the lower grades, but, as far as he had been able to trace them, he had not learned of a single student, male or female, who had gone out to lead a life of vice or idleness after having spent two years or more in the Southern University. In fact, he had not known of a single instance in which one of his students or ex-students had been arrested for lawbreaking of any kind. He believed that higher education was as beneficial to the one race as the other, but he thought that, as far as practicable, an industrial education should go hand in hand with a literary or scientific training.

“In proof of his belief that a higher education was good for the young people of the colored race, President Adkinson pointed out the records of the lives of the past graduates of the New Orleans University, many of whom are now occupying honorable positions in the literary and educational world, while all were respectably and creditably employed.

“He was also of the opinion that a college training was beneficial to colored boys and girls who contemplated going into domestic service. Many of the students who were then attending the college were devoting their spare time to domestic service in families who lived near the college, and their employers had always expressed themselves as more than satisfied with their services.

“PRESIDENT HENRY A. HILL.

“President Henry A. Hill, of the Southern University, expressed the opinion that there was no conflict between industrial and the higher collegiate education. He was of opinion that the two should go hand in hand to build up anything like a desirable manhood. If one or the other had to be neglected, he would consider it desirable to cling to the education of the mind rather than of the hands. Just as the mind was the more important part of man, so it was of importance that it should not be neglected. A collegiate education never failed to make a man brighter, to give him broader and more comprehensive views, and to make in all respects a better man of him. It was trite in these days to talk of the importance of education for the masses, as everybody admitted it to be of the last importance. It was not the negroes who had the advantages of a collegiate training who went to the bad, but in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred the negroes who could neither read nor write. A skillful mechanic who was lacking in intelligence was not likely to be a good nor successful member of society. As far as the Southern University was concerned, its students were mostly young men and women without means, and as soon as they had gone far enough in their studies to enable them to earn a comfortable livelihood they generally left the college to take such situations as might be open to them. In fact, since the establishment of the Southern University not one had as yet taken the full collegiate course. Some had become fairly advanced, and they were now doing well. They were not all

engaged in professional pursuits. Among those whom he could most readily call to mind, several were engaged in mechanical pursuits, such as plastering, brick-laying, carpentering, and they were all doing well, most of them being now employers of labor and engaged in prosperous business. These men were good mechanics and intelligent business men, much more so than they would have been had they not had the advantage of a few sessions at college.

“Of the female pupils who had attended the college for two or three years, most of them were teachers, while the others were in most instances married. Some were milliners or dressmakers, but all had proven by their lives after leaving college that they had been materially benefited by the training they had received. The demand for colored school-teachers was so active that it seemed as if the colleges situated in New Orleans could not turn them out fast enough to meet the wants of the State in this direction. This was true of the boys as well as the girls trained in the local universities. Among the boys and girls who had found it impossible to remain long enough at the college to fit themselves for teaching, many had taken situations as domestic servants, and they had been found to be very desirable for this purpose. They were much more intelligent and better behaved than those who had no education. They knew their places better, and were much more apt to hold a situation than those who had not attended college. They were in all respects brighter and more trustworthy.

“In the Southern University all received an industrial as well as a collegiate training. This he considered of great importance. Boys who had spent several years in a college without having their muscles as well as their minds developed found it a great hardship to engage in manual labor after leaving college. Their muscles had become lax through protracted disuse, and to them, for a time at least, severe manual labor meant severe pain that was almost unendurable. Whether a boy was white or colored, he did not believe in educating one portion of his system without the other. He did not believe that the industrial training at all interfered with the collegiate training proper, for the training of the muscles could go on at the same time as the training of the mind in such a way that the one would in no way retard the other. Anyone who had had long experience in educating young children had not failed to notice how utterly impossible it was for many of them to keep still. They would squirm and twist restlessly in their seats. This was not perversity nor natural unruliness, but simply the demand of nature for the exercise of their muscles. To such children a very moderate amount of industrial training was a positive luxury, a rest and relaxation, and he had always found that they took kindly to it. If their industrial training continued to be neglected, they would in time become less impatient of restraint. This did not mean that they were becoming more obedient and tractable, but only that their muscles had begun to be vitiated in quality through disuse, a condition that was in all respects highly undesirable.

“Upon the whole, President Hill was unqualifiedly opposed to the curtailing of the curriculum for colored students, whom he considered quite as likely to be benefited by a higher education as white students could be.

“R. L. DESDUNES.

“R. L. Desdunes said: ‘While the right of acquiring education of any sort or degree is not to be denied, yet that subject, like others, may properly divide the opinions of mankind. I regard as education the use we make of our sense to accomplish the ends of our existence. This definition leads me to consider availing education as the best to be desired. I mean that training of our faculties best calculated to promote our own happiness and the happiness of others. Parents should consult surroundings, and from the inexorable logic of those surroundings pluck the rule of their conduct in what concerns the welfare of their children.

“The colored man of to-day may or may not be the colored man of to-morrow, and for that reason he should live for the all-absorbing present. If he teaches his child how to work in skilled labor, he places in the possession of that child the key to self-support, self-reliance, and dutifulness. As all philosophy may be resumed into what man owes to his God, to his family, to himself, to his neighbor, and humanity, it is therefore wise in him to pursue such a course in life as will more easily and more successfully help him to come up to the requirements of his manifest destiny. The past has proven that an elementary education, coupled with the manual training I advocate by preference, has secured for some colored people in the United States most satisfactory results. Before the war it was the custom among the free colored families to send their children to school up to the age of 14, in some cases 15. After that time they were apprenticed up to 20 and 21 years. This rule applied to girls and boys. That sort of education furnished to

this city some of its best mechanics and seamstresses, and developed a population which, in point of intelligence, respectability, and industrious habits, could compare without disadvantage with any other of the same size and opportunities. It was a working population, yet it produced its poets, musicians, painters, etc. The book known as "Les Ceneilles" is the fruit of their leisure. Lanusse and Questy were carpenters, Dede was a cigar maker, Populus a bricklayer, and Hewlett could turn his hand at almost any trade.

"The colored man of to-day should not seek after higher education, not because he deserves it less than his more fortunate fellow-man, but because it is not profitable once in a thousand times. The average colored classic with his high Latin and Greek in this country is a literary Tantalus, only allowed to see, but without power to conquer. Let us have the skilled workman and the needlewoman; they will do more good for the present than this multitude of collegiates who for the want of opportunity lapse into servility or rascality."

"BISHOP W. B. DERRICK.

"Bishop W. B. Derrick, of New York, said that so far as the present generation of the colored race is concerned he favored educating the youth in the industrial and mechanical branches, without so much attention being paid to their scientific and professional education.

"I think it will be better," he said, "for these girls and boys to have a thorough education in the common-school branches, with special training in mechanics and agriculture, than to pursue the higher or classical education.

"It is for this reason that I am opposed to the so-called higher education of the present generation of the colored youth; that the race has not yet amassed sufficient wealth to enable these higher educated youths to take their place in their professions where, of necessity, they must be supported until they obtain a start. In other words, the boys' parents are not rich enough to both educate them and support them while they make a start in the professions. And the time has not yet come when the negro can successfully pose as an ornament to society with advantage to his race. No; I think that the negro will advance more surely and rapidly by educating them gradually. Teach this generation how to work and manufacture or conduct business enterprises. When they have amassed the wealth, then let their children be educated for whatever anybody else is educated--the professions and all branches of knowledge and culture."

"OSCAR ATWOOD.

"President Oscar Atwood, A. M., of Straight University, while deprecating any reduction or curtailment of the college curriculum, entertained very pronounced views as to the great value of an industrial training, which, in his opinion, ought always to be constantly associated with the education of the young people of both sexes. The institution over which he presided took the youngest pupils into the kindergarten department and undertook to train them up to final graduation, although there was only a small proportion of the pupils whom they advised to undertake the full course. They usually had about 600 pupils of all grades in the institution, and the average number graduated annually from the highest grade did not exceed 15. It was their practice to encourage none but the brightest students to take the full course, although those who contemplated entering the Christian ministry were encouraged to reach as high attainments as their circumstances would permit. He conducted the interviewer over the premises, taking particular pains to point out the completeness of the industrial department, which is thoroughly equipped and well appointed for the purpose it is intended to serve. The boys show admirable proficiency in cabinetmaking and joiner work, printing, and other occupations, while the mechanical drawings were excellent. The female students are all taught plain sewing, dressmaking, needle and fancy work, and the product of these industrial classes was found in all instances to be extremely creditable.

"As to the benefit to be given to the young people of the colored race through a careful college training, President Atwood entertained much the same views as those expressed by the other college presidents interviewed on the subject, although he laid rather more stress upon the value and importance of an industrial training than any of the others.

"BISHOP J. C. EMBRY.

"Bishop J. C. Embry said the tendency of the day was unquestionably toward mechanical and industrial education in both colored and white educational institutions. The changed and changing conditions of this country made the enlargement of this system of education absolutely necessary if the greatest good and best results were to be obtained for the youth of the country. On the one hand the apprentice system that once obtained had practically passed away, while on the other hand the skilled mechanics and artisans of Europe were pouring into this country year after year and driving out such American labor as was not fitted to meet it. The effects of this immigration were being seriously felt, and the necessity of meeting it is fully realized in the East by both white and colored educators. The African-American colored colleges and institutions, Bishop Embry said, were reaching out and adding mechanical instruction whenever the opportunity offered.

"BISHOPS ARNETT AND SALTER.

"Bishop B. W. Arnett, of Ohio, said that he thought it was for the best advantage of the negro race to get all the education he could, both common-school and in the higher branches. 'It is shown by the records,' he said, 'that even when all the youth are offered the advantages of higher education, not more than one-fifth are able from one reason or another to avail themselves of it. The proportion of one-fifth I do not regard as too high for the number of those in the professions, and, therefore, I see no good reason for confining the education of the negro strictly to the industrial and mechanical branches.'

"Bishop M. B. Salter, of South Carolina, said: 'Let the negro get all the education he can, both with their hands and in their heads.'

"BISHOP H. M. TURNER.

"Bishop H. M. Turner said that during the present generation, at least, the greatest efforts of the educators should be directed to the industrial and mechanical training of negro children. In this field there was a much wider range for work and development, and it was much easier to succeed under the conditions that prevail and were likely to continue in a large degree for years to come than in the arts and professions. Bishop Turner said he had many scholars educated in the higher branches for whom he could find no employment.

"BISHOP B. F. LEE.

"Bishop B. F. Lee said he favored following the same educational system that had made the white man strong and great and independent; without properly training the hand, all intellectual development is useless. 'Simply elevating the intellect,' said the Bishop, 'only makes man vicious. The educational system should be blended. Some should be trained as thinkers, while others should be educated in mechanical and industrial callings.'

"COL. JAMES LEWIS.

"Col. James Lewis said while colleges were essential for the higher attainments of the race, the inclination for usefulness of a child could best be ascertained at home and in the schoolroom. Those children showing aptness for the professions or mathematics or mechanics should then be trained according to the bent of their mind. Colonel Lewis said the race was sadly in need of more normal, mechanical, and industrial schools.

"BISHOP A. GRANT.

"Bishop A. Grant said: 'In the first place, I think that the negro should not be educated as a race, but as anybody else. Why make any distinction? Secondly, whatever has served to educate and cultivate other races I think should also be taught to the negro. In other words, I think the negro should be educated just like anybody else, without regard to his color or race.'"

TABLE 9.—Schools for the education of the colored

State and post-office.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					Pupils enrolled.				
			White.		Colored.			Total.		Elementary grades.		
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
ALABAMA.												
1	Athens	Trinity Normal School. <i>a</i>	Cong	0	0	2	3	5	50	118	36	102
2	Calhoun	Calhoun Colored School.	Nonsect.	1	11	2	2	16	132	164	132	164
3	Huntsville	Central Alabama Academy.		0	0	4	2	6	44	102	40	72
4	Marion	Lincoln Normal School.	Cong	0	7			7	40	80		
5	Montgomery	State Normal School for Colored Students. <i>a</i>				12	8	20	420	439	293	294
6	Normal	State Normal and Industrial School.				11	9	20	177	181	88	82
7	Selma	Burrell School.	Cong	1	5	1	1	8	137	150	90	88
8	do	Alabama Baptist University.	Bapt	0	2	5	4	11	124	133	43	45
9	Talladega	Talladega College.	Cong	8	15	0	1	24	244	333	193	295
10	Tuscaloosa	Stillman Institute.	Presb	3				3	30	1	3	2
11	Tuskegee	Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.	Nonsect.	0	0	41	25	66	658	358	200	150
ARKANSAS.												
12	Arkadelphia	Shorter University.	A. M. E.	0	0	1	2	3	30	41	39	41
13	do	Arkadelphia Academy.	Bapt	0	0	1	3	4	36	61	25	40
14	Little Rock	Arkansas Baptist College.	Bapt	0	0	2	2	4	83	59	78	57
15	do	Philander Smith College.	Meth	3	4	3	2	12	158	114		
16	do	Union High School.	Nonsect.	0	0	2	7	9	300	462	273	405
17	Pine Bluff	Arkansas Normal College.	Nonsect.	2	0	3	1	6	106	53	83	41
18	Southland	Southland College and Normal Institute.	Friends	2	4	1	2	9	109	124	76	83
DELAWARE.												
19	Dover	State College for Colored Students.	Nonsect.			3	0	3	42	12		
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.												
20	Washington	High School, 7th and 8th divisions.	Nonsect.	0	0	16	8	24	200	475	0	0
21	do	Howard University.	Nonsect.	38	0	12	7	57	425	159	0	0
22	do	Normal School, 7th and 8th divisions.	Nonsect.	0	0	2	5	7	127	175	120	152
23	do	Wayland Seminary*.	Bapt	2	4	2	1	9	98	63	89	61
FLORIDA.												
24	Fernandina	Graded School No. 1.	Nonsect.	0	0	2	4	6	128	150	90	29
25	Jacksonville	Cookman Institute*.	M. E.	0	6	3	0	9	103	144	75	111
26	do	Edward Walters College. <i>a</i>	A. M. E.			3	3	6	96	63	74	44
27	Live Oak	Florida Institute.	Bapt			2	3	5	44	64	20	32
28	Ocala	Emerson Home and School.	Meth		2			2	0	40	0	0
29	Orange Park	Normal and Manual Training School.	Cong	3	5			8	46	45	32	39
30	Tallahassee	State Normal and Industrial College for Colored Students.	Nonsect.	1		5	4	10	21	47	16	40
GEORGIA.												
31	Albany	Albany Normal School.	Nonsect.			2	4	6	80	123	80	119
32	Americus	McKay High School.	Nonsect.			1	12	13	341	411	339	396
33	Athens	Jerual Academy.	Bapt			1	3	4	73	95	43	55
34	do	Knox Institute.	Cong			1	3	4	108	170	104	161
35	do	West Broad Street School.	Nonsect.			1	1	2	15	14		
36	Atlanta	Atlanta Baptist Seminary.	Bapt	3	3	6	0	12	151	0	89	0
37	do	Atlanta University.	Nonsect.	7	13	1	1	22	110	155	24	36
38	do	Morris Brown College.	A. M. E.			4	7	11	165	236	134	212
39	do	Spelman Seminary.	Bapt	0	35	2	2	39	0	548	0	445
40	do	Storrs School.	Cong	0	7	0	0	7	70	150	70	150
41	Augusta	Haines Normal and Industrial School.	Presb			3	11	14	193	246	168	201

* Statistics for 1891-95.

a Statistics for 1893-94.

race—teachers, students, and courses of study.

Pupils enrolled.				Students.												Graduates.					
Secondary grades.		Collegiate classes.		Classical courses.		Scientific courses.		English course.		Normal course.		Business course.		High school course.		Normal course.		Collegiate course.			
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32		
	14	16																	1		
5	19	2	8					13	164		5	19							3		
40	80																		4		
127	145									127	145					9	10		5		
89	99							177	181	89	99	6	6			13	18		6		
52	57	0	0	2	0	9	11	126	139	17	40	4	4			1	3		7		
78	85	3	3	3	3			37	34					2	2			0	1		
35	48	6	0	12	1	3	1			0	12					47	43		9		
420	346	25	1													133	87		10		
		0	0																11		
																			12		
12	20																		13		
5	12																		14		
146	114	12	0	14	1	4	0	109	60	1	1					1	1	1	0		
27	57			11	22	11	32	12	35	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	15		
23	12			2	0			83	41	23	12					3	3	3	0		
33	37	1	3	1	1									1	0	3	1	1	0		
																			17		
																			18		
32	6	10	6	0	1	10	5	32	6										19		
200	475	0	0	82	232	53	192					65	51	18	28	0	0	0	0		
161	134	264	25	18	3	3	2	56	75	12	35			6	0	4	0	1	7		
7	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	33	0	0	0	0	7	23	0	0		
																			21		
9	2															14	7		22		
																			23		
95	64	0	0	0	0	0	0	128	150	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24		
28	33							84	129										25		
22	19																		26		
24	32																		27		
0	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28		
14	6									46	45			0	0	1	0		29		
5	7							18	42	3	5					1	3		30		
1	3									1	6			0	0	0	0		31		
2	15													0	10	0	0	0	32		
20	41													1	2	0	0	0	33		
4	9							104	161					1	6				34		
15	14	0	0	15	14									1	2				35		
39	0	23	0	7	0									3	0				36		
67	110	19	9	19	9					0	105					0	16	3	37		
16	31	8	0	8	0	16	0	134	212	0	31	0	0			0	4		38		
0	64	0	39	0	0	0	0	0	56	0	15	0	0	0	5	0	3		39		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40		
25	45							15	45	0	8			12	40	0	0	0	41		

TABLE 9.—Schools for the education of the colored race—

State and post-office.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					Pupils enrolled.				
			White.		Colored.		Total.	Total.		Elementary grades.		
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
GEORGIA—cont'd.												
42	Augusta	The Paine Institute.....	M. E.....	2	1	2	1	6	107	96	43	30
43	do	Walker Baptist Institute.	Bapt.....	0	0	0	1	3	27	72	.....	.....
44	College	Georgia State Industrial College.	Nonsect.....	.....	12	0	12	148	45	40	36	.....
45	La Grange.....	La Grange Baptist Academy.	Bapt.....	0	0	1	2	3	71	122	50	81
46	McIntosh.....	Dorchester Academy.....	Cong.....	2	8	.....	10	193	240	178	226	
47	Macon	Ballard Normal School.....	Cong.....	2	10	0	1	13	115	275	115	235
48	Roswell	Roswell Public School a.	Nonsect.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	143	146	111	109	
49	Savannah.....	Beach Institute.....	Cong.....	0	8	0	0	8	78	201	66	105
50	South Atlanta.....	Clark University.....	M. E.....	4	4	2	3	13	145	187	109	144
51	do.....	Gamma Theological Seminary.	M. E.....	3	0	1	0	4	93	0	.....	.....
52	Thomasville.....	Allen Normal and Industrial School.	Cong.....	0	6	0	0	6	33	100	29	33
53	Waynesboro	Haven Normal Academy a	.....	.....	2	4	6	105	167	50	67	.....
ILLINOIS.												
54	Cairo	Summer High School.....	Nonsect.....	0	6	1	1	2	11	23	0	0
INDIANA.												
55	Evansville.....	Governor High School.....	Nonsect.....	0	0	2	2	4	302	364	275	316
56	New Albany.....	Scribner High School.....	Nonsect.....	.....	1	1	2	39	44	21	32	.....
KENTUCKY.												
57	Berea	Berea College.....	Nonsect.....	18	13	0	0	31	87	70	.....	.....
58	Frankfort.....	State Normal School for Colored Persons.	Nonsect.....	0	0	3	3	6	59	63	19	26
59	Lebanon.....	St. Augustine's Academy.	R. C.....	0	8	0	0	8	40	60	20	27
60	Lexington.....	Chandler Normal School.	Cong.....	0	6	0	2	8	60	95	62	70
61	Louisville.....	Christian Bible School.....	Christian	1	0	1	0	2	19	0	.....	.....
62	do.....	Central High School.....	Nonsect.....	0	0	6	10	16	319	606	269	426
63	Paris	Paris High School.....	Nonsect.....	0	0	1	6	7	200	196	196	185
LOUISIANA.												
64	Alexandria.....	Alexandria Academy b	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
65	Baldwin.....	Gilbert Academy and Industrial College.	M. E.....	0	0	5	6	11	85	89	69	73
66	New Iberia.....	Mount Carmel Convent b.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
67	New Orleans.....	Leland University.....	Bapt.....	3	4	4	0	11	42	39	16	23
68	do.....	New Orleans University.	M. E.....	3	6	9	4	22	211	342	199	276
69	do.....	Southern University.....	Nonsect.....	5	2	1	5	13	138	196	115	168
70	do.....	Straight University.....	Cong.....	0	0	2	11	13	59	73	12	0
MARYLAND.												
71	Baltimore.....	Baltimore City Colored High School.	Nonsect.....	1	4	0	0	5	35	105	.....	.....
72	do.....	Morgan College.....	M. E.....	3	3	2	1	9	78	46	39	34
73	Hebbsville.....	Baltimore Normal School for Training of Colored Teachers. a	.....	.....	1	.....	1	7	10	.....	.....	.....
74	Melvale	The Industrial Home for Colored Girls.	Nonsect.....	0	6	0	1	7	0	157	0	80
75	Princess Anne.....	Princess Anne Academy.	.....	2	0	4	3	9	56	54	19	29
MISSISSIPPI.												
76	Clinton.....	Mount Hermon Female Seminary.	Nonsect.....	0	4	0	4	8	7	58	0	0
77	Edwards.....	Southern Christian Institute.	Christian	2	3	0	0	5	40	63	7	9
78	Holly Springs.....	Rust University.....	M. E.....	3	3	3	2	11	98	129	.....	.....

* Statistics of 1894-95.

a Statistics of 1893-94.

b No report.

teachers, students, and courses of study—Continued.

Pupils enrolled.				Students.										Graduates.						
Secondary grades.		Collegiate classes.		Classical courses.		Scientific courses.		English course.		Normal course.		Business course.		High school course.		Normal course.		Collegiate course.		
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
61	63	6	0											4	9	1	0	4	9	42
27	72			15	0					87	0	10	35							43
102	0	15	0	15	0					6	0	6	0			5	0	12	0	44
10	52	0	0	0	0	0	0	71	122	0	0	0	0	5	7	0	0	0	0	45
15	14							5	2	10	12	3	1	1	1					46
6	34	0	0							6	34	6	34	0	0	0	3			47
32	37																			48
12	36	0	0	5	26	0	0	11	37	4	14	0	0	4	13			0	0	49
32	44	3	0	17	5					11	30			6	3			0	6	50
		93	0																	51
8	63	0	0	0	0									0	0	1	5	0	0	52
55	100											55	100							53
11	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	23	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	54
27	48			27	48	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	22					55
18	32	0	0	18	32									4	12	0	0	0	0	56
74	68	13	2	7	0							53	63			3	1	3	0	57
40	37																			58
20	33							40	60			0	15							59
12	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	11	12	11	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	60
		19	0																	61
50	170							50	170	2	19					19				62
4	11	0	0					11	4							0	0	0	0	63
																				64
9	12	9	2	9	2			69	73	1	2	4	2	6	13					65
																				66
22	11	4														3	2	0	0	67
22	46	8		8		0	0	0	0	1	41	0	0	6	3	1	13	1	0	63
19	26	4		15	12			138	196	0	0	0	0	3	3	12	14	0	0	69
34	53	13	20			12	0			8	12	16	8							70
																				71
35	105													2	11					71
7	3	34	7	34	7	0	0	46	37			0	0			2	4	2	0	72
										7	10									73
0	77							0	157					0	0	0	0	0	0	74
37	34							56	54	37	34					10	6			75
																				76
5	31	2	27											0	2			0	0	76
31	49	3	4	2	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			0	0	77
75	118	23	11	23	11			59	90							17	30	23	6	78

TABLE 9.—Schools for the education of the colored race—

State and post-office.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					Pupils enrolled.				
			White.		Colored.		Total.	Total.		Elementary grades.		
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
MISSISSIPPI—continued.												
79	Holly Springs.....	Mississippi State Colored Normal School.	Nonsect.	1	0	3	2	6	107	106	30	40
80	Jackson.....	Jackson College.....	Bapt.....	2	3	1	2	8	74	99	---	---
81	Meridian.....	Lincoln School.....	Cong.....	0	6	0	1	7	104	128	45	60
82	do.....	Meridian Academy*.....	M. E.....	---	---	3	1	3	57	113	40	86
83	Natchez.....	Natchez College a.....	---	---	1	1	3	50	86	24	58	---
84	Tongaloo.....	Tongaloo University.....	Cong.....	5	16	0	1	22	177	183	152	161
85	Westside.....	Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College.	Nonsect.	0	0	16	0	16	319	8	232	7
MISSOURI.												
86	Boonville.....	Sumner High School.....	---	0	0	1	4	5	125	141	113	126
87	Hannibal.....	Douglass High School.....	Nonsect.	0	0	1	1	2	18	24	---	---
88	Jefferson City.....	Lincoln Institute*.....	---	2	0	6	3	11	111	94	64	67
89	Kansas City.....	Lincoln High School.....	Nonsect.	0	0	3	1	4	38	91	0	0
90	Mill Spring.....	Hale's College*.....	Nonsect.	4	7	0	0	11	48	25	5	5
91	Sedalia.....	George R. Smith College.	M. E.....	1	4	2	4	11	51	51	31	35
NEW JERSEY.												
92	Bordentown.....	Manual Training and Industrial School.	Nonsect.	---	---	2	4	6	35	40	24	25
NORTH CAROLINA.												
93	Ashboro.....	Ashboro Normal School*.....	---	1	3	---	---	4	100	90	25	20
94	Beaufort.....	Washburn Seminary.....	Nonsect.	2	4	0	0	6	55	50	40	41
95	Charlotte.....	Biddle University.....	Presb.	1	0	11	0	12	249	0	63	0
96	Clinton.....	Clinton Colored Graded School.	Nonsect.	0	0	1	1	2	40	44	20	30
97	Concord.....	Scotia Seminary.....	Presb.	1	9	0	6	16	0	287	0	274
98	Elizabeth City.....	State Colored Normal School.	Nonsect.	0	0	3	1	4	42	131	10	44
99	Fayetteville.....	do.....	Nonsect.	---	---	2	2	4	100	169	17	33
100	Franklinton.....	Albion Academy Normal and Industrial School*.....	Presb.	---	---	5	4	9	104	131	15	18
101	do.....	Franklinton Christian College.	Christian	1	3	1	0	5	72	79	38	47
102	do.....	State Colored Normal School.*.....	Nonsect.	---	---	4	4	8	140	116	19	26
103	Goldsboro.....	do.....	Nonsect.	0	1	2	0	3	45	127	13	45
104	Greensboro.....	Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race.	Nonsect.	2	0	4	1	7	45	15	0	0
105	do.....	Bennett College a.....	Meth.	---	---	5	5	10	97	106	5	0
106	High Point.....	High Point Normal and Industrial School.	Friends	1	1	0	2	4	94	117	94	117
107	Kings Mountain.....	Lincoln Academy.....	Cong.	0	0	0	0	6	69	145	67	131
108	Lumberton.....	Whitin Normal School*.....	Nonsect.	0	0	1	1	2	38	43	12	19
109	Peedee.....	Barrett Collegiate and Industrial Institute.	Nonsect.	0	0	1	1	2	142	0	---	---
110	Plymouth.....	Plymouth Normal School.	Nonsect.	0	0	3	1	4	52	132	17	56
111	Raleigh.....	St. Augustine's School.....	P. E.....	1	1	5	5	12	91	137	63	112
112	do.....	Shaw University.....	Bapt.	10	5	8	1	24	158	169	40	51
113	Reidsville.....	Graded School (colored).....	Nonsect.	0	0	2	4	6	156	240	153	237
114	Salisbury.....	Livingston College.....	A. M. E. Z.	0	0	6	5	11	88	70	27	43
115	do.....	State Colored Normal School.	Nonsect.	0	0	3	1	4	43	70	36	52
116	Warrenton.....	Shiloh Institute*.....	Bapt.	---	---	2	2	4	40	55	15	26
117	Wilmington.....	Gregory Normal Institute	Nonsect.	1	9	0	0	10	80	190	67	134
118	Windsor.....	Rankin-Richards Institute.	Nonsect.	0	0	2	1	3	42	84	28	56
119	Winton.....	Waters Normal Institute.	Bapt.	0	0	2	3	5	92	96	43	62
OHIO.												
120	Wilberforce.....	Wilberforce University*.....	A. M. E.	1	3	9	5	18	175	130	77	63
121	Xenia.....	Colored High School.....	Nonsect.	---	---	1	2	3	27	30	---	---

* Statistics of 1894-95.

a Statistics of 1893-94.

teachers, students, and courses of study—Continued.

Pupils enrolled.				Students.										Graduates.						
Secondary grades.		Collegiate classes.		Classical courses.		Scientific courses.		English course.		Normal course.		Business course.		High school course.		Normal course.		Collegiate course.		
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
31	35	44	33	7	5	44	33			44	33	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	0	79
74	99			12	1			62	98											80
50	77			12	16	13	16	100	104	34	20			15	1	14	8			81
17	26							30	52					10	15	8	10			82
26	22									35	32					4	2			83
25	22			14	3															84
41	0	46	1											7	0			6	0	85
12	15			1	5	0	0	11	10					23	23	4				86
18	24			5	3	7	16	3	10			18	24	23	23	1				87
41	26	7	0	9	0					30	23					7	2	1	0	88
38	91					3	91							0	8					89
43	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	10	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	90
2	28	0	0	0	1	2	1	31	35	2	4	6	2							91
8	18			10	12	8	10	10	14	3	5									92
75	70							18	9											93
15	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	9					0	0	0	0	0	0	94
124	0	62	0	56	0	6	0							22	0			12	0	95
15	19													1	1					96
0	13					0	11			0	13			0	0					97
28	49	15	27							43	76					5	1			98
83	136					17	33	83	136	100	169					7	8			99
91	111													6	4					100
27	22	7	10	0	0	7	10	0	0	7	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	101
121	90			11	6	21	7	96	79	71	50			3	3	5	17			102
32	82			0	0	0	0	45	15	0	0	15	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	103
39	15	15	0	0	0	0	0							0	0	0	0	0	0	104
92	106			0	0	0	0	94	117	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	105
0	0	0	0																	106
2	14			0	0	0	0			24	23			0	0	0	0	0	0	107
24	26	0	0	0	0	0	0			6	8									108
142	0							0	10											109
35	76							52	132	32	73					15	5			110
18	15	10	10													2	6			111
58	118	37	23	6	6											0	4	1	5	112
3	3	0	0	0	0	20	40													113
44	25	17	2			4	16	29	54	1	5			11	5					114
7	18																			115
25	29			5	8	5	8	5	8	2	2			2	5	3	5			116
14	53	0	0	0	0	0	0			6	14	0	14	2	4			0	0	117
14	28							42	84	6	8									118
40	43													1	0					119
37	77	43	8	22	4	15	7	77	62	50	57	9	0	5	9	7	8	4	0	120
27	30	0	0	0	0									0	5					121

TABLE 9.—Schools for the education of the colored race—

State and post-office.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					Pupils enrolled.				
			White.		Colored.		Total.	Total.		Elementary grades.		
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
PENNSYLVANIA.												
122	Carlisle.....	High School (North Pitt st.).	Nonsect.....			1	0	1	12	15		
123	Lincoln University.	Lincoln University.....	Presb.....	10	0	1	0	11	170	0	0	0
124	Philadelphia.....	Institute for Colored Youth..	Friends.....			3	7	10	109	174	47	61
SOUTH CAROLINA.												
125	Aiken.....	Schofield Normal and Industrial School.	Nonsect.....	2	4	1	1	8	170	178	140	150
126	Beaufort.....	Beaufort Academy.....	Nonsect.....	0	0	1	4	5	122	164	115	142
127	do.....	Harbison Institute.....	Presb.....			2	2	4	70	83	25	35
128	Camden.....	Browning Industrial Home and School.*	M. E.....			4		4	55	95	40	30
129	Charleston.....	Avery Normal Institute.....	Cong.....	1	4	1	2	8	135	265	87	144
130	do.....	Wallingford Academy.....				1	5	6	73	148	60	112
131	Chester.....	Brainerd Institute.....	Presb.....	1	4	1	2	8	85	92	77	87
132	Columbia.....	Allen University.....	A. M. E.....	0	0	4	2	6	131	122	122	119
133	do.....	Benedict College.....	Bapt.....	4	5	3	1	13	131	125	0	0
134	Frogmore.....	Penn Industrial and Normal School.	Nonsect.....	0	3	2	7	12	150	146	132	130
135	Greenwood.....	Brewer Normal School.....	Cong.....	1	6	0	0	7	161	165	135	136
136	Orangeburg.....	Clafin University and Agricultural College, and Mechanics' Institute.	Nonsect.....	9	3	7	12	31	313	276	245	207
TENNESSEE.												
137	Chattanooga.....	Howard High School.....	Nonsect.....	0	0	1	1	2	11	17		
138	Columbia.....	Maury County Turner Normal and Industrial School.	Nonsect.....	0	0	0	3	3	18	58	18	55
139	Dickson.....	Wayman Academy.....				2	2	4	85	98	81	91
140	Jonesboro.....	Warner Institute.....	Cong.....	0	3	0	1	4	45	59	41	50
141	Knoxville.....	Austin High School.....		0	0	6	4	10	225	300	215	288
142	do.....	Knoxville College.....	U. Presb.....	7	15	0	0	22	156	174	93	110
143	Maryville.....	Freedmen's Normal Institute.	Friends.....	2	1	1	1	5	121	122	84	85
144	Memphis.....	Hannibal Medical College							8	0		
145	do.....	Le Moyne Normal Institute.	Cong.....	2	10	1	4	17	297	406	199	284
146	Morristown.....	Morristown Normal Academy.	M. E.....	1	11	1	1	14	136	187	39	49
147	Murfreesboro.....	Bradley Academy.....	Nonsect.....			2	4	6	77	93	11	18
148	Nashville.....	Central Tennessee College.	M. E.....	2	6	2	2	12	145	165	103	126
149	do.....	Fisk University.....	Cong.....	7	22	1	0	30	188	231	123	127
150	do.....	Meigs High School.....	Nonsect.....	0	0	4	7	11	76	154		
151	do.....	Roger Williams University.	Bapt.....	4	5	2	1	12	127	100	48	65
TEXAS.												
152	Austin.....	High School*.....	Nonsect.....			2	4	6	70	140		
153	do.....	Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute.	Cong.....	3	10	0	0	13	71	102	17	33
154	Brenham.....	East End High School.....				1	1	2	203	245	185	216
155	Crockett.....	Mary Allen Seminary.....	Presb.....	1	13	0	1	15	0	225	0	225
156	Galveston.....	Central High School.....	Nonsect.....	0	0	3	2	5	90	128	67	97
157	Hearne.....	Hearne Academy Normal and Industrial Institute.	Bapt.....	0	0	2	2	4	24	18	16	13
158	Marshall.....	Bishop College.....	Bapt.....	3	8	7	2	20	165	163	109	137
159	do.....	Wiley University.....	M. E.....	0	2	7	3	12	162	140	128	132
160	Palestine.....	Colored High School.....	Nonsect.....			1	1	2	20	24	14	16
161	Prairie View.....	Prairie View State Normal School.	Nonsect.....	0	0	7	4	11	77	74		
162	Waco.....	Paul Quinn College.....	A. M. E.....			3	2	5	66	42		

* Statistics of 1894-95.

a Statistics of 1893-94.

TABLE 9.—Schools for the education of the colored race—

	State and post-office.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					Pupils enrolled.			
				White.		Colored.			Total.		Elementary grades.	
				Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
VIRGINIA.												
163	Burkeville	Ingleside Seminary*	Presb	8			8	0	111	0	56	
164	Cappahosic	Gloucester Agricultural and Industrial School.	Nonsect..	0	0	4	5	9	44	54	37	49
165	Danville	Colored Graded School.	Nonsect..	0	0	1	8	9	214	261	210	255
166	Hampton	Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.	Nonsect..	23	42	9	0	80	458	384	351	335
167	Lawrenceville	St. Paul Normal and Industrial School.	Epis	0	0	12	9	21	150	170	30	49
168	Manassas	Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth.	Nonsect..	0	0	3	2	5	50	42	50	42
169	Manchester	Public High School	Nonsect..	0	0	4	4	8	47	83	31	61
170	Norfolk	Norfolk Mission College.	U. Presb.	4	7	0	3	14	269	413	248	372
171	Petersburg	Bishop Payne Divinity and Industrial School.	Epis	1	0	2	0	3	9	0	2	0
172	do	Peabody High School	Nonsect..	0	0	1	1	2	19	54	0	0
173	do	Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.	.....	0	0	7	5	12	149	161	.....	.....
174	Richmond	Hartshorn Memorial College.	Bapt	1	6	0	2	9	2	104	0	17
175	do	Richmond Theological Seminary.	Bapt	2	0	2	0	4	58	0	0	0
WEST VIRGINIA.												
176	Farm	West Virginia Colored Institute.	Nonsect..	0	0	4	2	6	43	67	.....	.....
177	Harpers Ferry	Storer College	Free Bapt	2	4	2	1	9	72	70	22	21
178	Parkersburg	High School	Nonsect..	0	0	2	2	4	47	104	.....	.....

* Statistics of 1894-95.

teachers, students, and courses of study—Continued.

Pupils enrolled.				Students.										Graduates.						
Secondary grades.		Collegiate classes.		Classical courses.		Scientific courses.		English course.		Normal course.		Business course.		High school course.		Normal course.		Collegiate course.		
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
0	55							0	111	0	26			0	25					163
7	5													5	5					164
4	6	0	0	0	0	4	6	4	6	0	0	0	6	19	28			0	0	165
57	39	0	0	0	0	0	0	250	151	57	39	0	0			11	18			166
120	130									120	130					2	8			167
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	168
16	22					4	14	43	69					6	2					169
21	41	0	0			21	41			10	28			3	11					170
		7	0																	171
19	54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	172
149	161			19	0					12	22					10	31	3	0	173
2	82	0	5			1	5			2	82			0	14					174
0	0	58	0																	175
43	67	0	0	0	0	0	0	32	42	10	15	0	0			6	8			176
50	49			12	14					50	49					2	1			177
47	104			6	30									5	14					178

TABLE 10.—Schools for the education of the colored race—

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.												
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
ALABAMA.																			
1																			
2				65	105	170	55										48	12	55
3																			
4																			
5																			
6				121	145	266	27	41					27		28	38	93	60	77
7				72	79	151		62			6		4				79		
8	23	0	23	14	82	96										3	82		11
9	12	0	12	110	250	360	30	75									4	171	6
10	8	0	8																
11				183	87	220	64												156
ARKANSAS.																			
12																			
13																			
14	12	0	12	8	4	12	2												
15				7	5	12													
16																			
17	40	0	40	40	30	70	11	40				40	40	40		3			
18				8	10	18	6	2							2	5	13	7	
DELAWARE.																			
19				23	2	25		17					5	1		2			
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.																			
20				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	280	33	313	103	50	153		48				10				41	48		6
22				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	34	0	34	0	23	23												23	
FLORIDA.																			
24				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25	4	0	4	0	30	30											15	15	
26																			
27				8	0	8											8		
28				0	40	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	14	0
29				43	44	87	20	43											24
30				21	47	68	21	21									47	47	
GEORGIA.																			
31																			
32				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
33																			
34				0	107	107												107	
35																			
36	19	0	19	10	0	10											10		
37				67	110	177		55					12				15	105	16

* Statistics of 1894-95.

a Statistics of 1893-94.

professional and industrial training—equipment and income.

Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1895-96.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1895-96.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
	\$17,459	450	\$21,432	0	\$584	\$263	\$288	\$1,135	1
									2
									3
									4
									5
State and United States.....	1,000	2,830	50,000	\$4,000			11,000	15,000	6
Amer. Miss. Assn.....		700	7,000						7
Amer. Bapt. H. M. S.....	3,462	1,000	20,000	0	755		2,469	3,224	8
	10,749	6,000	126,618	0	1,568	6,044	4,500	12,112	9
Presbyterian Church.....		2,000	150,732	3,000	9,724	172	84,889	97,785	10
									11
			10,000				1,227	1,227	12
		150	12,000		256	30	1,080	1,366	13
Amer. Bapt. Home Miss. Society		100	10,000		500		1,486	1,986	14
Freedmen's Aid and S. Ed. So.	2,500	600	31,000						15
	0	0	21,000	4,500	0	0	0	4,500	16
State.....	3,500		50,000	4,950	384			5,334	17
Tuition and benevolence.....	247	1,200	35,000		4,797	2,035	585	7,417	18
State and United States.....	200	450	15,800	4,200	61			4,261	19
United States.....	0	1,200	125,000	0	0	0	0	0	20
do.....	4,000	13,000	700,000	34,500	6,683	8,500	7,000	56,683	21
do.....		350		0	0	0	0	0	22
Am. Bapt. H. M. S.....		3,000	70,000						23
County.....	0		2,875		0	0	0	0	24
Freedmen's Aid S. M. E. Ch.....	1,000		30,000		461		1,800	2,261	25
									26
Home Society N. Y. and Beth-		1,200	7,000						27
lehem Assn.....									
W. H. M. S. M. E. Ch.....	100		5,000	0	39	0	465	504	28
Amer. Miss. Assn.....	500		30,000	0		0			29
		516	25,000	2,800			10,500	13,300	30
Amer. Miss. Assn.....	25	100	4,000		800			800	31
City and State.....	0	72	5,000	16,400	310			16,710	32
A. B. H. M. S. Jernal Assn.....	500		6,175		438		1,616	2,054	33
Amer. Miss. Assn.....		150	6,000						34
		350	4,000		23		30	53	35
A. B. H. M. S.....	700	3,000	50,000		500	1,200	3,970	5,670	36
Tuition and benevolence.....	27,566	9,400	252,000	0	1,920	580	196	2,496	37

TABLE 10.—Schools for the education of the colored race—

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.													
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
GEORGIA—continued.																				
38 Morris Brown College	8	6	8	6	26	32	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
39 Spelman Seminary	0	7	7	0	240	240											34	152	136	73
40 Storrs School					128	128	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	128	0	0
41 Haines Normal and Industrial School	0	5	5	16	145	161	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	20	150	6	0
42 The Paine Institute	43	0	43																	
43 Walker Baptist Institute	8	0	8																	
44 Georgia State Industrial College				45	0	45	28	10	13	5	5									
45 La Grange Baptist Academy				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
46 Dorchester Academy				18	116	134	2	4	0	0	4							116	2	
47 Ballard Normal School				60	240	300	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	240	8	2
48 Roswell Public School <i>a</i>																				
49 Beach Institute				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50 Clark University				0	140	140												64	37	42
51 Gammon Theological Seminary	93	0	93																	
52 Allen Normal and Industrial School				12	50	62														62
53 Haven Normal Academy <i>a</i>																				
ILLINOIS.																				
54 Sumner High School																				
INDIANA.																				
55 Governor High School																				
56 Scribner High School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KENTUCKY.																				
57 Berea College																				
58 State Normal School for Colored Persons				6	63	69		6										63	63	
59 St. Augustine's Academy																				
60 Chandler Normal School	0	0	0	0	80	80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	80
61 Christian Bible School	19	0	19																	
62 Central High School																				
63 Paris High School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LOUISIANA.																				
64 Alexandria Academy <i>b</i>																				
65 Gilbert Academy and Industrial College				40	22	62	15	6										8	18	15
66 Mount Carmel Convent <i>b</i>																				
67 Leland University	0	0	0																	
68 New Orleans University	0	0	0	45	66	111	0	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	58	12	0	
69 Southern University	0	0	0	86	61	147	47	39	0	0		66	0	37	0	0	61	0	0	
70 Straight University	12	0	12																	
MARYLAND.																				
71 Baltimore City Colored High School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
72 Morgan College	6	0	6																	
73 Baltimore Normal School for Training of Colored Teachers, <i>a</i>																				
74 The Industrial Home for Colored Girls				0	157	157												75	157	
75 Princess Anne Academy				37	34	71	37	15	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	7	12	30	30	

* Statistics of 1894-95.

a Statistics of 1893-94.*b* No report.

professional and industrial training—equipment and income—Continued.

Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1895-96.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1895-96.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
A. M. E. Ch.	0		\$78,000	0	\$1,190	0	\$4,310	\$5,500	38
W. A. H. M. S. Slater Fund		3,000	150,000		12,206		20,174	22,380	39
Tuition and benevolence		200	20,600	0	1,340		0	1,340	40
Presb. Board Miss. for Freedmen.	\$250	300	25,000	0	300	0	3,200	3,500	41
S. Col. M. E. Ch.		400	14,484		264	\$1,905	5,648	7,817	42
State and United States		100	25,000	0	0		708	1,113	43
Western Union Bapt. Assn.	23	0	600	\$360	25	0	23	408	45
Benevolence and tuition		850	11,000		625	672	4,135	5,432	46
Am. M. Assn. and tuition	140	3,000	39,550	0	1,800	225	3,675	5,700	47
Am. M. Assn. and benevolence.	280	797	12,250	0	1,278	0	280	1,558	48
F. A. and S. Ed. S. M. E. Ch.	5,800	1,550	400,000		1,550		423	1,973	49
Endowment		11,000	100,000						51
Am. M. Assn. and tuitions		200	8,570	0	300	540	0	930	52
State		50	2,500	1,300	0	0	0	1,300	54
State and United States	0	400	3,000						55
State and United States	23,543	8,500	113,450	0	3,500	3,200	0	6,700	57
Tuition		631	20,584	5,900		75	61	6,036	58
A. M. Assn.	75	300	15,000	0	1,600		300	1,300	59
Am. Christian Miss. Soc.	0	450	0	0	680			680	60
State		170	25,850		0	175	4,000	4,175	61
City	0	250	8,000	4,000	50	0	0	4,050	62
Endowment		1,000	40,000			2,400		2,400	65
F. A. S. Ed. Soc. M. E. Ch. and S. F.	500	1,000	175,000	0	0	3,500	500	4,000	66
United States and State	0	5,000	100,000	0	3,281	400	4,600	8,281	67
Am. Miss. Assn.	0	1,169	59,821	7,500	0	0	14,006	21,506	69
City	625	2,600	125,000		2,000	600	1,000	3,600	70
M. E. Ch.		2,000	45,000		1,252	584	13,964	15,800	72
State and city		200	35,000	6,500			5,614	12,114	74
United States and State		0	15,000	2,500	1,114			3,614	75

TABLE 10.—Schools for the education of the colored race—

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.												
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
MISSISSIPPI.																			
76				7	58	65											58	58	
77				6	3	9	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	2
78	0	34	34	0	81	81											81	30	
79				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80	11	0	11	0	99	99											99		
81	0	20	20	12	20	32	20										20	16	
82																			
83																			
84	3	0	3	104	163	207	35	104									103	83	
85				284	0	284	52	71					59		61	41			3
MISSOURI.																			
86																			
87																			
88				85	80	165	0	40					20	25			80		
89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
90	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
91	4	0	4																
NEW JERSEY.																			
92				18	25	43	18									18	25		
NORTH CAROLINA.																			
93																			
94				26	41	67	0	26	0	0	0	0	26		0	0	41	0	0
95	21	0	21	165	0	165	57	22	7	0	0	0			16	46	21		
96				0	287	287											287	287	
97																			
98																			
99																			
100	5	2	7	80	29	109	50	46	25	10	2	1						18	
101	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
102				0	75	75												75	
103				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
104				45	15	60	45	45	45	0	0	0	30	45	0	0	15	15	0
105																			
106				0	117	117	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	117	0	0
107	0	10	10	20	130	140	4	3			2						120	55	
108																			
109	5	0	5																
110																			
111				91	137	228		12	5	5		2					91	91	
112	85	0	85	120	80	200	120				120						80	80	
113																			
114	19	0	19	80	40	120	16	10									30	50	

* Statistics of 1894-95.

a Statistics of 1893-94.

professional and industrial training—equipment and income—Continued.

Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or be- quests in 1895-96.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of State or munic- pal aid.	Amount received from tui- tion fees.	Amount received from pro- ductive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1895-96.
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
Tuition and contributions.....			\$25,000	0				76
Am. M. Soc. and tuition.....	\$1,000	1,000	30,000	0	\$400	0	\$2,600	\$3,000 77
F. A., S. Ed. Soc. M. E. Ch		2,000	100,000		1,739		3,709	5,448 78
State.....	0	3,000	12,000	0	0	0	2,435	2,435 79
Am. Bapt. H. M. S.....	316	200	35,000		989		4,234	5,223 80
Am. Miss. Assn.....	50	100	2,500		600		600	600 81
M. E. Ch.....		25	2,500		600		300	900 82
Am. Miss. Assn.....		4,000	80,000		1,000		13,000	14,000 84
United States and State.....	2,880		102,500	\$18,368			1,539	19,907 85
State.....		200	8,000	3,000	175			3,175 86
do.....		500	14,000					87
City.....		31	81,625	65,000	167	\$1,084		66,251 88
City.....			18,000					89
Students.....	0		2,500	0	0			90
F. A., S. Ed. S. M. E. Ch.....	500	800	60,000		1,800	200		2,000 91
State and private subscription.....	26,000	1,000	2,500	3,000		100	3,900	7,000 92
Am. Miss. Assn.....	0	0	7,000		95	0	2,600	2,755 93
Presb. Ch.....		8,500	130,000					95
City.....				350	35		200	585 96
Freedman's N. Presb. Ch.....	10,000	1,000	65,000	0	0	0		97
State.....	0	50	1,000	1,166	0	0	730	1,896 98
do.....	0	331	3,000	1,666			190	1,856 99
Presb. Br. and State.....	5,000	1,100	15,000	1,500				1,500 100
State and benevolence.....	0	1,500	6,000	128	0	348	1,221	1,697 101
State.....		1,500	10,000	2,000	240			2,240 102
State and Peabody Fund.....	290	200		1,566	0			1,566 103
United States and State.....	0	200	60,000	7,500	95	0	7,500	15,095 104
F. A. and E. S.....								105
State.....				547				547 106
Am. Miss. Assn.....			4,316	122	241			363 107
Tuition.....	16	150	1,000	0	180	0	15	195 108
State.....	290	300	1,500	1,666			290	1,956 110
Endowment.....	9,000			0	3,000			3,000 111
Tuition and benevolence.....	12,000	1,500	175,000		2,500	175	8,568	11,183 112
State and city.....	0	0	2,000	1,100	0	0	60	1,160 113
A. M. E. Z. Ch.....	3,000	3,200	127,151	0	438	200	9,640	10,278 114

TABLE 10.—Schools for the education of the colored race—

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.													
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.	
																				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
NORTH CAROLINA—cont'd.																				
115	State Colored Normal School.																			
116	Shiloh Institute*																			
117	Gregory Normal Institute.				0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
118	Rankin-Richards Institute.				14	21	35											35	0	0
119	Waters Normal Institute.	1	0	1																
OHIO.																				
120	Wilberforce University*	10	15	25	50	57	107		43								24	53	44	180
121	Colored High School.																			
PENNSYLVANIA.																				
122	High School (North Pitt st.).																			
123	Lincoln University.	48	0	48																
124	Institution for Colored Youth.																			
SOUTH CAROLINA.																				
125	Schofield Normal and Industrial School.	0	0	0	170	178	348	118	38	0	0	10	0	0	0	7	7	178	71	28
126	Beaufort Academy.	0	0	0	0	10	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
127	Harbison Institute.					75	75											75	25	
128	Browning Industrial Home and School.*				0	75	75													
129	Avery Normal Institute.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
130	Wallingford Academy				20	40	60		20		6				10	6	40	45		
131	Brainerd Institute.																			
132	Allen University.	6	0	6																
133	Benedict College.	37	0	37	131	125	256	99	8	4	0	10	0	0	0	8	8	125	25	
134	Penn Industrial and Normal School.	0	0	0	99	91	190	0	94	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	91	0	0	
135	Brewer Normal School.	0	0	0	0	136	136											136		
136	Clafin University and Agricultural College and Mechanics' Institute.				313	276	589	50	91	131	131	87		63	63		6	116	17	
TENNESSEE.																				
137	Howard High School.																			
138	Maury County Turner Normal and Industrial School.	1	0	1	8	55	63		8									55	9	
139	Wayman Academy.	2	0	2																
140	Warner Institute.				20	21	41											41	10	
141	Austin High School.																			
142	Knoxville College.	10	0	10	119	193	312	5	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	212	54	0	
143	Freedmen's Normal Institute.																			
144	Hannibal Medical College.	8	0	8																
145	Le Moyne Normal Institute.	0	0	0	122	275	397	0	86	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	160	45	25	
146	Morristown Normal Academy.				0	187	187											187	75	
147	Bradley Academy.																			
148	Central Tennessee College.	184	0	184	47	9	56		17			7			26				6	
149	Fisk University.	8	0	8	35	108	143	0	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	98	10	1	
150	Meigs High School.																			
151	Roger Williams University	9	0	9	20	77	97	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	55	0	8	

* Statistics of 1894-95.

a Statistics of 1893-94.

professional and industrial training—equipment and income—Continued.

Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1895-96.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1895-96.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
State				1,650			\$219	\$1,869	115
Shiloh Bapt. Assn	\$180	100	\$6,135		\$250	\$50	210	510	116
Am. Miss. Assn and tuition	375	300	25,000	0	1,400	0	3,000	4,400	117
State and benevolence	800	700	5,000	116			800	916	118
Am. Bapt. H. M. S.		52	12,000		226		1,589	1,815	119
A. M. E. Ch. and State	8,000	5,000	200,000	12,500	3,500	2,300	8,700	27,000	120
.....			5,000						121
.....		0							122
Endowment		14,000	212,000	0		25,000	10,000	35,000	123
.....									124
Contributions	0	1,000	30,000	150	241	1,300	5,009	6,700	125
U. S., State	0	250	3,500	690	0	0	540	1,230	126
Presb. Ch			5,000		300			300	127
M. E. Ch.		300			400			400	128
Am. Miss. Assn. and tuition		600	25,000		2,800		2,500	5,300	129
.....		500	1,300	0	336	0	1,464	1,800	130
Presb. Ch			10,000						131
A. M. E. Church		200	30,000		1,000		4,000	5,000	132
Am. Bapt. H. M. S.	7,552	2,000	70,000	0					133
Contributions	1,000	300	4,000	0	296	0	1,000	1,296	134
Am. Miss. Assn		250	12,000	0	700			700	135
U. S. Slater, and Peabody State, funds, F. A. and S. E. So.	0	1,800	150,000	17,000	4,000		5,500	23,500	136
Tuition	0	500		0	225	0	0	225	137
.....									138
do	0	18	1,500	0		0	0		139
Am. Miss. Assn	23	150	11,000	300	70		347	717	140
City		307							141
Church and Miss. Society		1,905	100,000	1,000	300		13,000	14,300	142
New Eng. Y. M.					428		686	1,114	143
Donations and tuition		412							144
Am. Miss. Assn. and tuition	5,009	2,200	45,000	0	4,120	0	600	4,720	145
F. A. S. M. E. Ch.		1,000	50,000		1,000		8,837	9,837	146
State and county			2,100	1,550				1,550	147
F. A. and S. Ed. S. M. E. Ch.	140	3,984	100,000	0	3,971	260	6,600	10,831	148
.....	5,000	6,000	350,000	0	5,292	1,310	42,259	48,861	149
City		18	6,000						150
Am. Bapt. H. M. S.	0	4,000	100,000	0	1,117	60	482	1,659	151

TABLE 10.—Schools for the education of the colored race—

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.													
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.	
																				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
TEXAS.																				
152 High School*.....																				
153 Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute.....				54	75	129		54										75		
154 East End High School a.....																				
155 Mary Allen Seminary.....	0	0	0	0	225	225												225	100	0
156 Central High School.....				15	16	31	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
157 Hearne Academy Normal and Industrial Institute.....	0	0	0	15	16	31	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
158 Bishop College.....	19	0	19	154	145	299		22					15	1		30	125	40	66	
159 Wiley University.....				5	150	155									5		150	31		
160 Colored High School.....																				
161 Prairie View State Normal School.....				77	74	151	35	39									66			
162 Paul Quinn College.....																				
VIRGINIA.																				
163 Ingleside Seminary*.....				0	111	111												111	111	
164 Gloucester Agricultural and Industrial School.....				44	54	98	40	2							2		54	54		
165 Colored Graded School.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
166 Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.....				307	190	497	60	23	2		3		17	11	5	8				368
167 St. Paul Normal and Industrial School.....				150	170	320	12	10	7	7						10	11	14	6	244
168 Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth.....	0	0	0	50	42	92	50	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	73	73	48	
169 Public High School.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
170 Norfolk Mission College.....				18	202	220										20	200			
171 Bishop Payne Divinity and Industrial School.....	7	0	7																	
172 Peabody High School.....				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
173 Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.....				0	130	130											130	32		
174 Hartshorn Memorial College.....																				
175 Richmond Theological Seminary.....	58	0	58																	
WEST VIRGINIA.																				
176 West Virginia Colored Institute.....				43	67	110	1	32	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	60	4	7	
177 Storer College.....				24	52	76		21									5	50	49	
178 High School.....																				

* Statistics of 1894-95.

professional and industrial training—equipment and income—Continued.

Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1895-96.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1895-96.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
Am. Miss. Assn.....	\$115	600 1,700	\$63,000	\$3,000 0	\$100 526		\$9,613	\$6,100 4,139	152 153
Donations.....	5,500	400	50,000		522		5,740	6,262	154
State.....		65						156	155
Bapt. H. M. S.....				0				157	157
Am. Bapt. H. M. S.....		900	90,000		1,354		8,614	9,968	158
Freedmen's Aid Society.....		2,000	25,000		880		7,681	8,561	159
State.....		300	2,550	3,200		\$300	5,000	3,200	160
A. M. E. Ch.....	4,232	400	73,000		1,358			33,900	161
Presb. Church.....	5,000	400	3,000					1,358	162
Benevolent contributions.....		500	14,000		125		2,775	2,900	163
United States.....	0	0	3,500					125	164
Contributions.....	108,736	8,484	572,000	0	0	24,860	134,636	159,496	165
do.....	0		10,000	0		0	4,891	4,891	166
United Presb. Ch.....		84	5,000						167
Contributions.....	1,200	1,200	60,000		1,900		7,100	9,000	168
State and city.....	0	0	4,000			400	800	1,200	169
State.....			157,000	15,000	3,718		600	19,318	170
Am. Bapt. H. M. S.....			45,000		841		5,176	6,020	171
do.....	1,285	5,000	30,000	0	385	0	3,817	4,202	172
United States and State.....	0	600	40,000	3,000	0	0	5,000	8,000	173
Contributions.....	2,500	5,000	60,000	0	450	1,250	708	2,408	174
		400							175



CHAPTER XLIV.

EDUCATION OF THE COLORED RACE.

References to preceding Reports of the United States Bureau of Education, in which this subject has been treated: In Annual Reports—1870, pp. 61, 337-339; 1871, pp. 6, 7, 61-70; 1872, pp. xvii, xviii; 1873, p. lxvi; 1875, p. xxiii; 1876, p. xvi; 1877, pp. xxxiii-xxxviii; 1878, pp. xxviii-xxxiv; 1879, pp. xxxix-xlv; 1880, p. lviii; 1881, p. lxxxii; 1882-83, pp. liv, xlvi-lvi, xlix, 85; 1883-84, p. liv; 1884-85, p. lxvii; 1885-86, pp. 596, 650-656; 1886-87, pp. 790, 874-881; 1887-88, pp. 20, 21, 167, 169, 988-998; 1888-89, pp. 768, 1412-1439; 1889-90, pp. 620, 621, 624, 634, 1073-1102, 1388-1392, 1395-1485; 1890-91, pp. 620, 624, 792, 808, 915, 961-980, 1469; 1891-92, pp. 8, 686, 688, 713, 861-867, 1002, 1234-1237; 1892-93, pp. 15, 442, 1551-1572, 1976; 1893-94, pp. 1019-1061; 1894-95, pp. 1331-1424; 1895-96, pp. 2081-2115; also in Circulars of Information—No. 3, 1883, p. 63; No. 2, 1886, pp. 123-133; No. 3, 1888, p. 122; No. 5, 1888, pp. 53, 54, 59, 60, 80-86; No. 1, 1892, p. 71. Special Report on District of Columbia for 1869, pp. 193, 300, 301-460. Special report, New Orleans Exposition, 1881-85, pp. 468-470, 775-781.

The total enrollment in the public schools of the 16 Southern States and the District of Columbia for the year 1896-97 was 5,398,076, the number of colored children being 1,460,084 and the number of white children 3,937,992. The estimated number of children in the South from 5 to 18 years of age was 8,625,770. Of this number 2,816,340, or 32.65 per cent, were children of the negro race, and 5,809,430, or 67.35 per cent, were white children. By reference to Table 1 on page 2297 it will be seen that the number of colored children enrolled was 51.84 per cent of the colored school population, and the number of white children enrolled was 67.79 per cent of the white school population. The average daily attendance in the public schools of the Southern States was 3,565,611, the number in the colored schools being 904,505, or 61.95 per cent of the colored school enrollment, and the number in average attendance in the white schools being 2,661,106, or 67.58 per cent, of the white school enrollment.

It may be noted that in Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina the colored school population exceeds the white school population. In Kentucky the number of colored children enrolled was 65.52 per cent of the colored school population, a percentage of enrollment for the colored schools greater than in any other State, and larger than the percentage of white enrollment in at least six of the Southern States. In the colored schools of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, and South Carolina the average daily attendance was a greater percentage of their enrollment than was credited to the white schools of the same States upon their enrollment. Of the 119,893 public school teachers in the Southern States, 27,435 belong to the colored race. There was one colored teacher to every 33 colored children in average attendance, and one white teacher to every 29 white children in average attendance.

For the year 1896-97 the total expenditure for the public schools of the 16 Southern States and the District of Columbia was \$31,144,801. The cost of the schools for the colored race can not be accurately stated, but a fair estimate would place the cost of the colored schools at about \$6,575,000. This is something over 20 per cent of the aggregate expenditure for the Southern States, while the average attendance of colored children was about 26 per cent of the entire average attendance of white and colored pupils. Since 1870 the amount of money expended for public schools in

the South has reached \$514,922,268. It is believed that about \$100,000,000 of this sum must have been expended for the education of the colored children. The total expenditure for each year, and the aggregate for the twenty-seven years, as well as the common school enrollment of white and of colored children for each year since 1876 are shown in Table 2 on the next page.

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION.

There are at least 178 schools in the United States for the secondary and higher education of colored youth exclusively. For the year 1896-97 only 169 of these schools reported to this office. Of this number 1 was in Illinois, 2 in Indiana, 1 in New Jersey, 2 in Ohio, and 3 in Pennsylvania, the remaining 160 being in the Southern States. These schools are all to be found classified according to their grades in the lists of universities and colleges, normal schools, and public and private secondary schools in other chapters of this annual report, but more complete statistics are given for each of these schools in detail in Tables 9 and 10 of this chapter, and summarized in Tables 3 to 8.

Table 3 shows that in the 169 schools there were employed 1,795 professors and teachers, 787 males and 1,008 females. There was a total enrollment in these schools of 45,402 students, 20,243 males and 25,159 females, an increase of 5,275 over the enrollment of the previous year. In collegiate grades there were 2,108 students, 1,526 males and 582 females, an increase of 653 over the previous year. In the secondary grades there were 15,203 students, 6,944 males and 8,259 females, an increase of 1,640 over the year before. In the elementary grades of these secondary and collegiate institutions there were 28,091 pupils, 11,773 males and 16,318 females, an increase of 2,999 over the year 1895-96.

The classification of students according to courses of study is given in Table 4 and part of Table 5. In all the colored schools there were 2,410 students pursuing the classical course, 1,312 males and 1,098 females. There were 974 students in scientific courses, 447 males and 527 females. In English courses there were 11,340 students, 4,667 males and 6,673 females. The business courses had 295 students, 179 males and 116 females. Table 5 shows that there were 5,081 students in normal or teachers' training courses, 2,382 males and 2,699 females.

Table 5 shows that there were 117 graduates from college courses, 103 males and 14 females. There were 1,256 graduates from normal courses, 537 males and 719 females. The high school courses had 846 graduates, 333 males and 513 females.

The number of students pursuing professional courses and the number of graduates from such courses are given in Table 6. In all there were 1,311 professional students, 1,137 males and 174 females. There were 611 students and 68 graduates in theology, 104 students and 30 graduates in law, 345 students and 71 graduates in medicine, 38 students and 10 graduates in dentistry, 39 students and 20 graduates in pharmacy, and 174 students and 35 graduates in nurse training.

Table 7 shows that in the 169 schools for the colored race there were 13,581 pupils and students receiving industrial training, 4,970 males and 8,611 females. The number in industrial training was almost 40 per cent of the total enrollment in these schools. There were 1,027 of these pupils being trained in farm and garden work, 1,436 in carpentry, 166 in bricklaying, 144 in plastering, 149 in painting, 85 in tin and sheet metal work, 227 in forging, 248 in machine-shop work, 185 in shoemaking, 689 in printing, 6,728 in sewing, 2,349 in cooking, and 2,753 in other trades.

The financial summary of the 169 colored schools is given in Table 8. In the libraries of these schools there were 224,794 volumes, valued at \$203,731. The aggregate value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus was \$7,714,958. The value of benefactions or bequests received during the year 1896-97 was \$303,050. The schools received from public funds for support for the year \$271,839, from tuition fees \$141,262, from productive funds \$92,080, and from sources not named \$540,097, making an aggregate income of \$1,045,278 for the year.

TABLE 1.—Common school statistics, classified by race, 1896-97.

State.	Estimated number of persons 5 to 18 years of age.		Percentage of the whole.		Pupils enrolled in the public schools.		Per cent of persons 5 to 18 years enrolled.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	334,700	286,900	53.84	46.10	198,605	120,921	59.34	42.15
Arkansas	331,700	128,500	72.08	27.92	234,078	82,192	70.57	63.96
Delaware (1891-92)	39,850	8,980	81.61	18.39	28,316	4,858	71.06	54.10
District of Columbia	45,440	25,000	64.51	35.49	27,797	15,198	61.17	60.79
Florida	92,240	73,060	55.80	44.20	65,913	39,502	71.46	54.07
Georgia	369,000	346,300	51.59	48.41	266,991	179,180	72.36	51.74
Kentucky (1895-96)	557,400	95,400	85.39	14.61	357,618	62,508	60.57	65.52
Louisiana	206,500	220,000	48.42	51.58	103,868	66,079	50.30	30.36
Maryland	268,000	77,200	77.64	22.36	186,416	43,551	69.56	56.39
Mississippi (1894-95)	212,700	309,800	40.71	59.29	162,830	187,785	76.55	60.61
Missouri	890,300	54,200	94.26	5.74	641,237	31,915	72.02	58.88
North Carolina (1895-96)	389,700	233,700	62.51	37.49	244,376	126,544	62.71	54.15
South Carolina	176,700	296,500	37.34	62.66	119,027	139,156	67.36	46.93
Tennessee (1895-96)	480,300	162,000	74.78	25.22	386,483	95,102	80.47	58.70
Texas (1895-96)	800,500	245,500	74.53	25.47	481,419	135,149	60.14	55.05
Virginia	340,100	242,000	58.43	41.57	244,583	123,234	71.92	50.92
West Virginia (1895-96)	274,300	11,300	96.04	3.96	208,435	7,230	75.99	63.98
Total	5,800,430	2,816,340	67.85	32.65	3,937,992	1,460,084	67.79	51.84
Total, 1889-90	5,132,948	2,510,847	67.15	32.85	3,402,420	1,296,959	66.29	51.65

State.	Average daily attendance.		Per cent of enrollment.		Number of teachers.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	b 130,230	b 82,770	65.57	68.45	4,725	2,398
Arkansas	144,532	50,977	61.75	62.02	5,617	1,564
Delaware (1891-92)	b 19,746	b 2,947	69.73	60.66	734	106
District of Columbia	21,783	11,530	78.36	75.87	715	356
Florida	43,023	25,854	66.18	65.45	2,016	642
Georgia	156,504	90,179	58.62	50.33	6,014	3,247
Kentucky (1895-96)	247,203	39,658	73.23	63.44	8,727	1,482
Louisiana	75,384	48,739	72.58	73.76	2,630	1,052
Maryland	111,208	22,419	59.66	51.50	4,062	774
Mississippi (1894-95)	99,048	103,635	60.83	55.19	4,591	3,264
Missouri	468,611	21,820	73.08	68.37	14,176	762
North Carolina (1895-96)	155,899	75,826	63.79	59.92	5,129	2,756
South Carolina	82,627	99,932	69.42	71.81	2,928	2,045
Tennessee (1895-96)	272,963	65,213	70.63	68.57	7,257	1,878
Texas (1895-96)	349,913	90,336	72.66	66.84	10,470	2,747
Virginia	145,218	68,203	59.37	55.34	6,448	2,127
West Virginia (1895-96)	136,614	4,467	65.54	61.78	6,219	235
Total	2,661,106	904,505	67.58	61.95	92,458	27,435
Total, 1889-90	2,165,249	813,710	63.64	62.74	78,903	24,072

a United States Census.

b Approximately.

TABLE 2.—Sixteen former slave States and the District of Columbia.

Year.	Common school enrollment.		Expenditures (both races).	Year.	Common school enrollment.		Expenditures (both races).
	White.	Colored.			White.	Colored.	
1870-71			\$10,385,464	1885-86	2,773,145	1,048,659	\$20,208,113
1871-72			11,623,238	1886-87	2,975,773	1,118,556	20,821,969
1872-73			11,176,048	1887-88	3,110,606	1,140,405	21,810,158
1873-74			11,823,775	1888-89	3,197,830	1,213,092	23,171,878
1874-75			13,021,514	1889-90	3,402,420	1,296,959	24,880,107
1875-76			12,033,865	1890-91	3,570,624	1,329,549	26,690,310
1876-77	1,827,139	571,506	11,231,073	1891-92	3,607,549	1,354,316	27,691,488
1877-78	2,034,946	675,150	12,093,091	1892-93	3,697,899	1,367,515	28,535,738
1878-79	2,013,684	685,942	12,174,141	1893-94	3,835,593	1,424,995	29,223,546
1879-80	2,215,674	784,709	12,678,635	1894-95	3,845,414	1,441,282	29,372,990
1880-81	2,234,877	802,374	13,656,814	1895-96	3,861,300	1,429,713	30,729,819
1881-82	2,249,263	802,982	15,241,740	1896-97	3,937,992	1,460,084	31,144,801
1882-83	2,370,110	817,240	16,363,471				
1883-84	2,546,448	1,002,313	17,884,558	Total			514,922,268
1884-85	2,076,911	1,030,463	19,253,874				

TABLE 3.—Teachers and students in institutions for the colored race in 1896-97.

State.	Teachers.			Students.												
	Number of schools.	Male.	Female.	Elementary.			Secondary.			Collegiate.			Total.			
				Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	
Alabama	13	104	111	215	1,131	1,427	2,558	1,223	1,008	2,231	98	12	50	2,392	2,447	4,839
Arkansas	8	29	29	49	593	696	1,289	253	210	463	23	7	30	859	913	1,782
Delaware	1	3	0	3	-----	-----	-----	24	6	30	19	2	12	54	8	42
District of Columbia	4	85	31	116	141	148	292	408	599	998	342	82	424	894	820	1,714
Florida	5	10	15	25	250	329	579	67	96	163	-----	-----	-----	317	425	742
Georgia	20	71	153	224	1,354	2,416	3,770	629	1,049	1,678	174	16	199	2,157	3,481	5,638
Illinois	1	1	1	2	-----	-----	-----	16	24	40	0	0	0	16	24	40
Indiana	2	8	10	18	26	27	53	35	50	85	-----	-----	-----	61	77	138
Kentucky	7	34	40	74	453	784	1,237	466	586	1,052	98	80	178	1,017	1,450	2,467
Louisiana	6	48	50	98	841	1,193	2,034	186	181	367	49	21	70	1,076	1,395	2,471
Maryland	6	8	29	28	60	183	243	93	186	279	19	0	10	163	369	532
Mississippi	9	42	52	94	415	561	976	520	234	854	105	72	177	1,040	967	2,007
Missouri	5	17	16	33	226	247	483	171	218	389	5	0	5	412	465	877
New Jersey	1	3	5	8	11	7	18	17	16	33	0	0	0	28	23	51
N. Carolina	23	84	90	174	983	1,661	2,644	672	860	1,532	201	66	261	1,856	2,581	4,437
Ohio	2	14	9	23	71	79	150	82	97	179	47	15	62	200	191	391
Pennsylvania	3	17	8	25	111	156	267	236	137	373	48	0	48	395	293	688
S. Carolina	12	48	75	123	1,202	1,270	2,472	410	524	934	14	3	17	1,626	1,797	3,423
Tennessee	14	49	161	150	1,772	2,272	4,044	579	601	1,171	193	179	372	2,535	3,052	5,587
Texas	10	40	59	99	568	1,006	1,574	349	440	789	84	31	115	1,061	1,477	2,478
Virginia	14	70	123	193	1,458	1,745	3,203	433	941	1,374	85	2	87	1,976	2,688	4,664
West Virginia	3	11	10	21	94	111	205	84	105	189	-----	-----	-----	178	216	394
Total	169	787	1,008	1,795	11,773	16,318	28,091	6,944	8,259	15,203	1,526	582	2,108	20,243	25,159	45,462

TABLE 4.—Classification of colored students, by courses of study, 1896-97.

State.	Students in classical courses.			Students in scientific courses.			Students in English courses.			Students in business courses.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Alabama	11	3	14	2	1	3	392	497	889	9	6	15
Arkansas	52	29	81	32	38	70	168	229	397	7	0	7
Delaware	3	0	3	5	2	7	2	0	2	0	0	0
District of Columbia	129	218	347	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	52	49	101
Florida	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	233	326	559	0	0	0
Georgia	121	150	271	46	68	114	735	1,359	2,094	0	0	0
Illinois	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	24	40	0	0	0
Indiana	35	50	85	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Kentucky	73	161	234	3	12	15	70	170	240	2	1	3
Louisiana	47	35	82	53	28	81	330	422	752	10	7	17
Maryland	40	107	147	0	0	0	57	237	294	-----	-----	-----
Mississippi	41	30	71	21	6	27	129	187	316	0	0	0
Missouri	19	11	30	64	111	175	18	20	38	-----	-----	-----
New Jersey	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N. Carolina	175	14	189	33	55	88	533	696	1,229	69	25	94
Ohio	14	3	17	15	9	24	56	40	96	15	2	17
Pennsylvania	165	29	194	35	29	64	56	29	85	5	6	11
S. Carolina	67	31	98	12	17	29	678	658	1,336	10	29	39
Tennessee	218	176	394	55	50	105	486	775	1,261	0	0	0
Texas	40	7	47	57	44	101	186	237	423	0	0	0
Virginia	44	36	80	14	57	71	522	767	1,283	0	0	0
West Virginia	18	8	26	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	0	0	0
Total	1,312	1,088	2,410	447	527	974	4,667	6,673	11,340	179	116	295

TABLE 5.—Number of colored normal students and graduates in 1896-97.

State.	Students in normal courses.			Graduates of high-school courses.			Graduates of normal courses.			Graduates of collegiate courses.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Alabama.....	828	669	1,497	8	10	18	398	281	583	2	0	2
Arkansas.....	103	61	164	7	4	11	6	7	13	3	1	4
Delaware.....												
District of Columbia.....	75	79	154	27	58	85	26	36	62	5	0	5
Florida.....	17	10	27	0	2	2	7	3	10	0	0	0
Georgia.....	114	240	354	44	71	115	3	41	44	9	5	14
Illinois.....	0	0	0	1	4	5				0	0	0
Indiana.....				6	10	16						
Kentucky.....	77	144	221				4	13	17			
Louisiana.....	12	60	72	14	19	33	8	17	25	5	0	5
Maryland.....	17	53	50	11	19	30	1	11	12	2	0	2
Mississippi.....	85	156	241	14	4	18	24	26	50	3	0	3
Missouri.....	61	57	118	14	23	37	6	5	11	2	0	2
New Jersey.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Carolina.....	221	232	453	44	14	58	33	36	69	11	2	13
Ohio.....	29	54	83	7	20	27	2	12	14	7	3	10
Pennsylvania.....	54	29	83				5	6	11	30	0	30
South Carolina.....	102	223	325	37	58	95	14	43	57	0	0	0
Tennessee.....	266	365	631	55	111	166	31	60	91	16	2	18
Texas.....	137	138	275	24	30	54	14	24	38	5	1	6
Virginia.....	168	65	173	20	54	74	36	89	125	3	0	3
West Virginia.....	76	84	160	0	2	2	9	9	18	0	0	0
Total.....	2,382	2,699	5,081	333	513	846	537	719	1,256	103	14	117

TABLE 6.—Colored professional students and graduates in 1896-97.

State.	Students in professional courses.			Professional students and graduates.												
				Theology.		Law.		Medicine.		Dentistry.		Pharmacy.		Nurse training.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	
Alabama.....	107	25	132	107	6										25	0
Arkansas.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delaware.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
District of Columbia.....	295	0	295	73	14	79	25	106	22	20	4	17	8	0	0	
Florida.....																
Georgia.....	154	39	193	151	11	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	2
Illinois.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indiana.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kentucky.....	13	0	13	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Louisiana.....	38	5	43	0	0	0	0	38	8	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
Maryland.....	2	0	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mississippi.....	5	52	57	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	52	8
Missouri.....	4	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Jersey.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Carolina.....	116	6	122	43	7	11	3	51	7	0	0	11	8	6	0	0
Ohio.....	15	0	15	13	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pennsylvania.....	48	0	48	48	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Carolina.....	50	36	86	47	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	22
Tennessee.....	221	0	221	36	1	6	2	150	34	18	6	11	4	0	0	0
Texas.....	4	9	13	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	3
Virginia.....	65	2	67	65	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
West Virginia.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total.....	1,137	174	1,311	611	68	104	20	345	71	38	10	39	20	174	25	

TABLE 7.—Industrial training of colored students in 1896-97.

State.	Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.												
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
Alabama.....	1,117	988	2,105	294	195	17	17	17	8	45	12	38	69	542	125	687
Arkansas.....	132	182	314	40	29	0	0	0	0	14	9	3	23	119	83	13
Delaware.....	31	6	40	14	20			1					3			
District of Columbia..	151	74	225		88				10					71	43	
Florida.....	76	118	194	44	68			44					1	10	112	63
Georgia.....	251	1,272	1,523	23	165	9	9	7	0	11	11	0	66	956	85	283
Illinois.....																
Indiana.....																
Kentucky.....	20	201	221	18	7								2	81	81	120
Louisiana.....	394	433	827	73	78	10	1	21	60	10	48	0	45	319	70	209
Maryland.....	48	207	255	0	8									164	147	75
Mississippi.....	360	432	792	90	94			5				47	57	416	160	104
Missouri.....	65	140	205	0	31					22	12			140		
New Jersey.....	23	23	51	15	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	23	15
North Carolina.....	442	1,116	1,558	66	142	26	20	14	2	80	5	31	65	941	446	236
Ohio.....	83	133	216	0	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	46	67	65	0
Pennsylvania.....	28	88	116	0	28	18						18	16		88	96
South Carolina.....	667	1,042	1,709	53	182	79	79	26	0	22	76	18	42	995	196	93
Tennessee.....	142	416	558	5	41				4				92	407	116	6
Texas.....	421	693	1,114	167	125			4				5	36	517	214	2
Virginia.....	452	915	1,367	125	77	7	10	10	1	19	16	18	42	760	318	814
West Virginia.....	59	132	191		52		8			4	40		4	126	69	
Total.....	4,970	8,611	13,581	1,027	1,496	166	144	149	85	227	248	185	689	6,728	2,349	2,753

TABLE 8.—Financial summary of the 169 colored schools.

State.	Value of benefactions or bequests, 1896-97.	Volumes in library.	Value of library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from sources unclassified.	Total income for the year 1896-97.
Alabama.....	\$35,377	16,125	\$15,970	\$532,247	\$14,730	\$7,271	\$7,766	\$36,778	\$66,545
Arkansas.....	1,020	5,660	2,935	170,200	8,200	5,807	2,100	4,145	20,252
Delaware.....	200			17,800	4,000			4,200	8,200
District of Columbia..	0	17,319	14,500	965,000	32,600	7,914	9,000	11,000	60,514
Florida.....	15	2,376	2,350	70,500	11,500	292	0	145	11,937
Georgia.....	10,703	33,770	29,659	1,324,262	17,300	23,014	5,700	81,115	127,129
Illinois.....		169	190	18,000					
Indiana.....		212	200	2,500					
Kentucky.....	133	18,567	17,025	294,203	20,220	5,094	4,578	8,173	47,065
Louisiana.....	2,600	10,700	8,800	326,236	9,000	4,054	6,440	22,610	42,104
Maryland.....		5,000	4,400	110,000	12,900	3,200	1,240	11,610	28,500
Mississippi.....	8,110	16,820	24,400	431,500	9,750	7,313	10,000	23,222	50,235
Missouri.....	200	2,910	2,159	166,300	18,000	1,761	125	2,996	22,882
New Jersey.....	0	100	75	1,000	3,000	0	0	0	3,000
North Carolina.....	24,464	17,250	16,035	523,710	17,889	8,588	725	49,857	77,050
Ohio.....	0	6,600	6,500	108,900	16,400	1,822	1,323	8,771	28,316
Pennsylvania.....		14,000	14,000	214,000					
South Carolina.....	1,745	8,475	5,680	212,500	3,100	8,485	1,000	37,633	50,218
Tennessee.....	47,538	18,166	17,330	904,400	3,100	24,958	2,800	38,633	69,491
Texas.....	1,950	7,575	6,700	324,600	20,600	23,683	500	25,134	69,917
Virginia.....	167,480	17,400	11,223	888,000	25,550	7,681	37,224	164,406	234,861
West Virginia.....	3,515	5,600	3,660	110,000	15,000	325	1,559	9,669	26,553
Total.....	305,050	224,794	203,731	7,714,958	271,839	141,262	92,080	540,097	1,045,278

“SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL CONDITION OF NEGROES IN CITIES.”

Under the above title the Atlanta University has recently published a valuable report of an investigation made under the direction of that institution by a number of its graduates. The introduction to that report and the three leading papers by the principal investigators are reprinted below:

INTRODUCTION.

The papers presented in this report were written exclusively by colored men and women, and are based upon statistical investigations made by them under the direction of Atlanta University.

The investigation was begun by an inquiry on the part of three graduates of Atlanta University into the causes of the excessive mortality among negroes. A conference was held on the subject at Atlanta University in May, 1896, and the facts brought out at that conference were so significant that the investigation was continued for another year along similar lines, but on a more extensive scale, and a second conference was held in May, this year. The cooperation of graduates of other institutions was invited. The present investigation, therefore, is the result of the joint efforts of graduates of Atlanta University, Fisk, Berea, Lincoln, Spelman, Howard, Meharry, and other institutions for the higher education of the negroes.

The conclusions which these men and women have reached as a result of their investigations are, in some respects, most surprising; especially their conclusions as to the effect of environment and economic conditions upon the vital energies of the race. Their conclusions were, in substance, that the excessive mortality of their people can not be attributed in any large degree to unfavorable conditions of environment, but must be chiefly attributed to the ignorance of the masses of the people and their disregard of the laws of health and morality. The significance of this conclusion is tersely expressed by one of the writers, who says:

“This last fact, that the excessive death rate of the colored people does not arise from diseases due to environment, is of vast importance. If poor houses, unhealthy localities, bad sewerage, and defective plumbing were responsible for their high death rate, there would be no hope of reducing the death rate until either the colored people became wealthy, or philanthropic persons erected sanitary houses, or municipalities made appropriations to remove those conditions. But since the excessive death rate is not due to these causes, there is reason for the belief that it may be reduced without regard to the present economic condition of the colored people.”

The attention of the members of the conference seemed to be mainly directed to a consideration of the social questions affecting the progress of the race. The sentiment of the conference was voiced by one writer in these words:

“If we are to strike at the root of the matter, it will not be at sanitary regulation, but at social reconstruction and moral regeneration.”

The solution of the problem will be found in the wise direction of the numerous charitable, religious, and educational organizations of colored people already established. As a means toward that end, the university will continue the city problem investigation along the lines upon which it was begun, and will hold a third conference at Atlanta next May. The subject of the next conference can not now be announced, but in accordance with the expressed wish of members of the last conference, it will be some subject dealing with the social conditions of the people.

The result of the present investigation has been, on the whole, distinctly encouraging. In the opinion of the committee having the investigation in charge, the negro has nothing to fear from a most rigid and searching investigation into his physical and social condition, but such an investigation can be made most helpful and valuable.

RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION.

[NOTE.—The three following papers on the results of the investigation were written by the three members of the conference who individually collected the most data: Mr. Butler E. Wilson, a member of the committee, who gathered data relating to 100 families that had migrated from North Carolina to Cambridge, Mass.; Prof. Eugene Harris, of Fisk University, who made an extensive investigation in Nashville, and Mr. L. M. Hershaw, of Washington, D. C., who had in charge the very laborious work of analyzing the reports of the boards of health for the past fifteen years.—ED.]

GENERAL SUMMARY.¹

In making this investigation of the habits, morals, and environment of negroes living in cities, three things have been kept constantly in view, viz:

First. To obtain accurate information, without regard to cherished theories or race pride;

Second. To make the inquiry practical and helpful, and not merely for scientific results; and,

Third. To induce the people to apply the remedies which they have in their own hands for the evils which are found to exist and which retard their progress.

The results to be gained depended entirely upon the intelligence and fitness of the investigators, who were selected with great care from the ranks of well-known colored educators, ministers, physicians, lawyers, and business men living among the people covered by the investigation. All the data were gathered by this body of trained colored leaders, and they are believed to be perhaps more than usually accurate, because of the investigators' knowledge of the character, habits, and prejudices of the people, and because of the fact that they were not hindered by the suspicions which confront the white investigator, and which seriously affect the accuracy of the answers to his questions.

The work of the investigators was entirely voluntary and was done with a willingness and industry highly gratifying.

The cities embraced in the investigation, with a single exception, are located in regions of heaviest negro population, and are fairly representative of other cities containing large numbers of negroes.

The data obtained were published in the May Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor, and cover so wide a range of useful information that only a few things can be pointed out here.

Referring to the tables of this Bulletin, we find one noticeable fact in Table 3, namely, that the size of colored families is much smaller than is commonly supposed, the average being 4.17 persons.

Tables 5 and 6, giving household conditions by families—the average persons per sleeping room and the number of rooms per family—show that the general belief that the tenements and houses occupied by colored people are greatly overcrowded is not founded on facts. These tables do not show that any great overcrowding exists, on the whole, although for certain individual families and groups the averages are somewhat larger. It also appears that the average number of living rooms is much larger than has been thought to be the case. An average of 2.22 persons to a sleeping room in Atlanta, 2.44 persons in Nashville, and 1.96 persons in Cambridge, and 2.05 persons in all the other cities covered by the investigation, is an unexpected and important showing, and reverses the idea that the number of families having but one room each for all purposes was very large and was the rule instead of the exception. Out of a total of 1,137 families investigated only 117, or 10.29 per cent, had but one room each for their use for all purposes.

Table 7, giving number of families and means of support, shows a large proportion of females who either support families unaided or who contribute to the support of families.

Of the male heads only 26.7 per cent were able to support their families without assistance from other members. Of the 1,137 families 650, or 57.17 per cent, were supported wholly or in part by female heads.

In comparison with white female heads of families and those contributing to family support there is quite a large excess on the part of colored women.

This table calls attention to the enforced absence of mothers from their homes and the daily abandonment, by these mothers who are compelled to aid in earning the family support, of their young children to the evil associations, the temptations, and vicious liberty of the alleys, courts, and slums.

To attempt to prove from the showing of this table that negro men are unwilling to support their families and that they are lazy and shiftless would be unfair. Careful inquiry by a number of the investigators indicates very strongly that the comparatively small support given by these men to their families is not due to unwillingness, but to their inability to get work as readily and constantly as the women. At the South white men refuse to work at the bench, in the mill, and at other employments with colored men, who for this reason are denied work, and therefore unable to earn means with which to support their families.

This fact was found to exist in the city of Cambridge, where a large per cent of the men in the hundred families investigated, in reply to an inquiry, said that they had been refused work because they were colored, and a number of them said that they were unable to follow their trades, but had to "job around" with unsteady employment for the same reason.

¹ By Mr. Butler R. Wilson (1881), Boston, Mass.

The women in these families find steady employment as domestic servants and landresses, and at the South find but little competition from white women.

The investigation gives a great many data on this industrial side of the question, which want of space will not now allow us to consider.

Tables 8 and 9, giving the number and per cent of persons sick during the year and the number and per cent of deaths during the past five years by causes, show that the diseases most fatal to the colored people are consumption and pneumonia. While the average length of time of sickness from it is short, malarial fever is shown to be one of the most prevalent diseases. Rheumatism is also shown to be quite prevalent. Both of these diseases, as well as typhoid fever and pneumonia, may to a great extent be kept in abeyance by the observance of hygienic rules and a proper care of the health.

In the 100 Cambridge families it was found that many of the men work in the water department, and after the day's work eat the evening meal without changing their damp clothing, often going to sleep in their chairs for an hour or more and then going to a lodge or "society meeting," remaining not infrequently until 11 and 12 o'clock.

These tables also show that the difference between the death rate of the white and colored people from diarrhea, diphtheria, scarlet fever, malarial fever, and typhoid fever, all diseases chiefly affected by environment, is very slight.

Table 10, giving sickness by sanitary condition of houses, shows that while sanitary conditions have a very important bearing, they are not important enough to account for the difference of per cent in the death rate between the white and colored people.

Great caution must be observed in making deductions from this table. While it is intended to show the bearing of sanitary conditions on the health of the community, the results obtained are not conclusive. It would be erroneous, for instance, to attribute to bad sanitary conditions the increased amount of sickness in families, and leave out of consideration such factors as irregular habits, indifference to healthy living quarters, and the intimate relation between poverty and ill health.

By reference to the table it will be seen that the number of persons sick in Atlanta was 163 out of a total of 577, or 28.25 per cent, where the light and air were good; and that out of 367 persons living where the light and air were bad, 120, or 32.70 per cent, were sick, a difference of only 15 per cent between houses with good and bad conditions as to light and air.

One hundred and twenty-eight persons living in houses with good light and air lost 5,819 days by sickness, or an average of 45.46 days each; while 102, or 26 persons less, lost, under bad conditions of light and air, only 4,361 days, or an average of 42.75 days each, a difference of 6 per cent, the average days of sickness being more in houses with good light and air than in those where the light and air were bad.

This table further shows that out of 537 persons living in Atlanta in houses with good ventilation 153, or 28.49 per cent, were sick during the year, losing, for the 124 reporting, 5,927 days, or an average of 47.80 days each; while out of 427 persons living in houses with bad ventilation 154, or 36 per cent, were sick during the year, 133 of whom lost 6,050 days, or an average of 45.49 days each, a difference of only 26 per cent between the per cent of persons sick where ventilation was good and where it was bad, the average number of days again being greater for those under good conditions than for those under bad.

Table 15, giving general description of houses, shows that a large proportion of the houses occupied by the 1,137 families were wooden structures, detached and located in neighborhoods of fair character. Of the 1,031 houses but 43 had bathrooms, and 183 had water-closets, 95 of which were in the Cambridge houses. In Atlanta and Cambridge the houses with bad outside sanitary conditions predominated. In all the other cities the houses with good outside sanitary conditions predominated, the latter being greatly in excess for the entire territory covered.

This paper may be summarized as follows:

First. All the data in the investigation have been gathered by intelligent colored men and women living in the communities covered. These investigators were not hindered by obstacles which make it difficult for a white man to get accurate information of the family life, habits, and character of the colored people. These colored investigators can not be charged with prejudice and designs against the interests of the colored people. For these reasons their work is thought to be more than usually accurate and reliable.

Second. Overcrowding in tenements and houses occupied by colored people does not exist to any great extent, and is less than was supposed.

Third. In comparison with white women, an excess of colored women support their families entirely, or contribute to the family support, by occupations which take them much of their time from home, to the neglect of their children.

Fourth. Environment and the sanitary condition of houses are not chiefly responsible for the excessive mortality among colored people.

Fifth. Ignorance and disregard of the laws of health are responsible for a large proportion of this excessive mortality.

SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL PROGRESS.¹

The study of vital statistics is one of the most important subjects that can engage the attention. The death rate, taken in connection with the birth rate, determines the natural increase or decrease of population, the growth or decline of a people, and the strength of nations. Dr. William Farr, late registrar-general of births, deaths, and marriages in England, states the whole matter in the following language: "There is a relation betwixt death, health, and energy of body and mind. There is a relation betwixt death, birth, and marriage. There is a relation betwixt death and national primacy; numbers turn the tide in the struggle of population, and the most mortal die out. There is a relation betwixt the forms of death and moral excellence or infamy."

It has been known for a number of years to health officers and students of vital statistics that the death rate of the colored people was larger than that of the white people; that the colored people were dying in larger numbers in proportion to the colored population than the white people were in proportion to the white population. Of late years these facts have become known to most intelligent persons, and great interest attaches to the degree of the excess of the colored death rate and to the causes of it.

This paper will deal with the vital statistics of the cities of Atlanta, Ga.; Baltimore, Md.; Charleston, S. C.; Memphis, Tenn., and Richmond, Va. Each of these cities contains a large colored population, surrounded by social, economic, and moral conditions such as exist in other cities where colored people are congregated in considerable numbers, if Philadelphia is excepted. The cities selected are therefore thoroughly representative for the purpose in hand, and the conditions found to prevail in them may be fairly presumed to prevail in the other cities having a large population of colored people.

The average annual death rate per 1,000 of the living population in these five cities for the fifteen years from 1881 to 1895 was 20.74 for the whites and 36.13 for the colored, showing a percentage of excess for the colored of 73.8.

The average annual death rate per 1,000 by race for each of the five cities under consideration for the past fourteen or fifteen years is as follows:

City.	White.	Colored.	Per cent excess of colored.
Atlanta (1882-1895)	18.50	34.71	87.6
Baltimore (1880-1894)	20.69	32.71	58.1
Charleston (1881-1894)	23.19	44.08	90.
Memphis (1882-1895)	20.58	31.15	51.3
Richmond (1881-1895)	20.73	38.02	83.4

An inspection of the table just given shows that the highest death rate among the colored is in Charleston (which is also true as to the whites) and that the lowest death rate among the colored is in Memphis, the lowest among the whites being in Atlanta. Comparing the white and colored death rates, it is to be seen that the greatest excess of colored over white is in Charleston, where it reaches 90 per cent, the excess in Atlanta being 87.6 per cent and that in Richmond 83.4 per cent. The least excess is found in Memphis, which is 51.3 per cent, Baltimore having 58.1 per cent. These figures seem to justify the conclusion that the worst physical conditions among the colored people are to be found in Charleston, Atlanta, and Richmond and the best in Memphis and Baltimore.

Having found the average death rates of the two races in these five cities for the past fourteen or fifteen years, and having compared them with each other and drawn a conclusion as to the relative physical conditions of the colored populations in the cities under consideration, it will conduce to a better understanding and a fuller knowledge of these conditions to divide the fourteen or fifteen years which this investigation covers into three periods as nearly equal as possible. By pursuing this method we shall be able, in a measure, to decide whether the physical condition of the colored people is better or worse in 1894 or 1895 than in 1880 or 1881.

¹By Mr. L. M. Hershaw (1886), Washington, D. C.

City.	First period.			Second period.			Third period.		
	White.	Colored.	Per cent excess of colored.	White.	Colored.	Per cent excess of colored.	White.	Colored.	Per cent excess of colored.
Atlanta	18.22	37.96	108.4	19.25	33.41	73.5	18.03	32.76	81.6
Baltimore	22.60	36.15	59.9	19.46	30.52	56.8	20.01	31.47	57.2
Charleston	25.40	44.08	73.5	22.30	46.74	109.6	21.88	41.43	89.3
Memphis	26.08	43.01	64.9	21.49	29.35	36.5	14.17	21.11	48.9
Richmond	22.42	40.34	79.9	21.37	38.83	81.7	18.42	34.91	89.5

The tabular statement contains, in addition to the average annual death rate, the percentage of the excess of the colored death rate. Lest the percentages of excess mislead somebody, it is necessary to explain that, in comparing the three periods they merely show whether or not the colored death rate has decreased as rapidly as the white death rate, and not the actual increase or decrease of the colored death rate. To illustrate: Comparing the second and third periods in Richmond, it is to be seen that the percentage of excess for the second period is 81.7 per cent and for the third period 89.5 per cent. Without looking at the matter carefully the conclusion is likely to be drawn that the colored death rate is greater for the third period than for the second, when, as a matter of fact, it is less, the rates being 38.83¹ for the second and 34.91 for the third.

An inspection of the above table shows that there has been a constant decrease in the colored death rate from period to period in Atlanta, Memphis, and Richmond.

In Atlanta the colored death rate for the first period is 37.96, for the second 33.41, and for the third 32.76; in Memphis 43.01 for the first period, 29.35 for the second, and 21.11 for the third and in Richmond 40.34 for the first period, 38.83 for the second, and 34.91 for the third. While Baltimore and Charleston do not show the constant decrease from period to period noted in the other cities, they do show a lower death rate for the third period than for the first, the death rates in Baltimore being 36.15 for the first period, 30.52 for the second, and 31.47 for the third, and those in Charleston 44.08 for the first period, 46.74 for the second, and 41.43 for the third. Memphis shows the greatest improvement, the average death rate at the end of the third period being 50.9 per cent lower than at the end of the first, and Charleston shows the least improvement—6 per cent. In Atlanta the improvement is 13.9 per cent, in Richmond 13.4 per cent, and in Baltimore 12.9 per cent.

Of the five cities with which this paper deals but two have a registration of births—Baltimore and Charleston. Richmond had such a registration, but it was discontinued some years ago. The registrations of Baltimore and Charleston are admittedly incomplete. No view of the vital statistics of a community is complete without a knowledge of its birth rate. The birth rate is closely related to the death rate. The natural increase of population depends upon the excess of the birth rate over the death rate. It would be highly interesting to know what the birth rate of the colored population in the five cities under consideration is. Is it as great as the death rate? Is it greater than the death rate? These questions can not be answered satisfactorily because the health reports do not supply the information. The United States census of 1890 gives the colored birth rate of the United States as 29.07 per 1,000, but owing to the incompleteness of the records of births by the municipal and State authorities, these figures are not reliable and are probably much too small. Four European countries have birth rates which exceed the colored death rate in the cities that we have under consideration. In view of the well-known fecundity of the negro race, it is fair to infer that his birth rate is certainly as high as that of the Italian, the German, the Austrian, or the Hungarian. If this is so, then the death rate in these cities has not reached the point where population begins to decrease. It is well-nigh useless to pursue this branch of the subject further, because of the lack of data.

Having established the fact that the average colored death rate for the past fourteen or fifteen years in the five cities is 73.8 per cent in excess of the white death rate in the same cities for the same period, and having shown, by dividing these years into three equal periods and comparing the rates of previous with succeeding periods, that the colored death rate shows an improvement over fifteen years ago, it remains to set forth the causes of this excessive mortality.

The principal causes of the excessive mortality of the colored people are the same in all the cities, therefore it will serve our purpose to know the average death rate of the three cities, Charleston, Memphis, and Richmond, combined, for a period of

¹ The death rate is generally expressed in terms of 1,000. The phrase "rate of 38.83" means that there were thirty-eight and eighty-three one-hundredths deaths per 1,000 of population. For brevity, the words "per thousand" are omitted.

fifteen years for certain classes of diseases, and to give in full the same facts concerning Atlanta. The table which follows shows for Charleston, Memphis, and Richmond, combined, the average death rate per 10,000 by specified causes for a period of fifteen years, from 1881 to 1895:

Disease.	White.	Colored.	Per cent excess of colored.
Consumption and pneumonia.....	32.76	75.48	130.4
Typhoid, malarial, and scarlet fevers, diarrhea and diphtheria.....	20.16	26.22	30.0
Cholera infantum, convulsions, and still-born.....	14.87	39.43	165.1
Scrofula and syphilis.....	0.81	4.72	482.7

a These death rates for specified causes are per 10,000.

It is to be seen from the table above that for all classes of diseases the colored death rate exceeds the white. The greatest excess is found under scrofula and syphilis, where it is 482.7 per cent in excess of the white death rate. The next greatest excess is due to infantile diseases—cholera infantum, convulsions, and still-born—the excess being 165.1 per cent. The third greatest excess is due to pulmonary diseases, and is seen to be 130.4 per cent. We see also that the least disparity between the white and the colored death rate is found under the group of diseases most affected by environment, including typhoid and malarial fevers and diphtheria, where the excess is only 30 per cent. As to syphilis and scrofula, it is to be observed that the number of deaths is small. The white death rate during fifteen years in Charleston, Memphis, and Richmond has been less than 1 per 10,000 of the population, while the colored was somewhat less than 5. The per cent of the excess of the colored over the white is, however, startling, and furnishes much food for reflection as to the morals of the colored people.

The two principal causes of the excessive mortality of the colored people are pulmonary diseases—consumption and pneumonia—and infant mortality. The excessive prevalence of consumption and pneumonia among colored people is brought out very plainly in the foregoing table, where the excess in these cities is shown to be 130.4 per cent.

The following table, containing the total average annual number of deaths and the average annual number of deaths of children under 5 years of age, with distinction of race, will serve to show the extent of the infant mortality among colored people:

ATLANTA, GA.

Period.	Average annual number of deaths.		Average annual number of deaths under 5 years of age.			
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	Per cent of white.	Per cent of colored.
1882-1885.....	470	751	172	313	38.7	41.6
1886-1890.....	644	845	224	348	34.7	41.1
1891-1895.....	804	1,086	257	386	31.9	35.5

CHARLESTON, S. C.

1885-1889.....	525	1,304	148	558	28.0	40.0
1890-1894.....	529	1,316	141	518	26.4	39.3

MEMPHIS, TENN.

1886-1890.....	678	742	180	263	26.5	35.4
1891-1895.....	619	741	145	232	23.4	31.1

There is an enormous waste of child life among both races, not only in the cities under consideration, but in all cities. But from the data at hand the conclusion is justified that the mortality among colored children is not alarmingly in excess of the mortality among white children, unless it be for children under 2 years of age. The figures which we have presented on this subject show that the mortality among children of both races has decreased constantly since 1881 in Atlanta, Charleston, and Memphis.

Of the diseases which are excessively prevalent among colored people the most important, and the one which should be the occasion of the greatest alarm, is consumption. We have seen already that consumption and pneumonia are among the causes of excessive mortality of the colored people, the excess per cent of Charleston, Memphis, and Richmond being 130.4.

The table following shows the rate per 10,000 of deaths from consumption in all the cities investigated:

ATLANTA, GA.

Period.	White.	Colored.	Per cent excess of colored.
1882-1885	18.40	50.20	172.83
1886-1890	18.83	45.88	143.65
1891-1895	16.82	43.48	158.50

BALTIMORE, MD.

1886	25.65	58.65	128.65
1887	22.23	55.42	149.30
1891	20.00	46.32	131.60
1892	20.10	49.41	145.82

CHARLESTON, S. C.

1881-1884	27.52	72.20	162.35
1885-1889	20.05	68.03	239.55
1890-1894	17.71	57.06	225.58

MEMPHIS, TENN.

1882-1885	34.25	65.35	90.80
1886-1890	24.29	50.30	107.08
1891-1895	15.90	37.78	137.61

RICHMOND, VA.

1881-1885	25.57	54.93	114.82
1886-1890	21.27	41.63	95.72
1891-1895	18.54	34.74	87.38

It is to be seen that in all of the cities the death rate for consumption is high among the colored people, the lowest rate being 34.74 per 10,000, in Richmond, and the highest 72.20, in Charleston. The greatest disparity between the white and the colored death rate for this cause is also in Charleston, where the excess per cent of the colored is as high as 239.5. The important fact must not be lost sight of that the death rate from this cause has constantly decreased in all the cities except Charleston, and in Charleston the death rate for the period 1890-1894 is lower than for the period 1881-1884. There is reason, however, for great concern and anxiety as to the excessive prevalence of this disease among the colored people. Unless checked and reduced to a normal state, it may in the course of years be a deciding factor in the ultimate fate of the race. The prevalence of tubercular and scrofulous diseases—consumption, scrofula, syphilis, and leprosy—has caused the weaker races of the earth to succumb before the rising tide of the Christian civilization. The Carib of the West Indies, the noble red man of these shores, the natives of the Sandwich Islands, and the aborigines of Australia and New Zealand have all disappeared or been greatly reduced in numbers as the result of the ravages of these diseases. It should be an object of first importance, then, to get control of these diseases before they reach the point where control is impossible.

It will be of interest to know somewhat in detail the physical condition of the population in Atlanta for the fourteen years from 1882 to 1895, and the tables which follow set forth quite fully this fact.

Death rate per 1,000, Atlanta, Ga.

Period.	White.	Colored.	Per cent excess of colored.
1882-1885	18.21	37.96	108.4
1886-1890	19.25	33.41	73.5
1891-1895	18.03	32.76	81.6

It is seen that the death rate of the colored population, though greatly in excess of that of the white, has constantly decreased, the average death rate per 1,000 for the first period being 37.96, for the second 33.41, and for the third 32.76. Relatively, as compared with the whites, the death rate of the colored shows much improvement. Though the percentage of excess of colored for the third period is greater than that for the second, the percentage for both of these periods shows a marked decrease from that of the first period.

The following tables show for three periods, 1882 to 1885, 1886 to 1890, and 1891 to 1895, the average annual death rate per 10,000, Atlanta, Ga., by specified causes:

CONSUMPTION AND PNEUMONIA.

Period.	White.	Colored.	Per cent excess of colored.
1882-1885	27.43	76.89	180.3
1886-1890	30.13	72.14	139.4
1891-1895	28.48	75.75	165.9

CHOLERA INFANTUM AND STILLBIRTHS.

1886-1890	26.78	56.09	109.4
1891-1895	24.99	53.86	115.5

TYPHOID, SCARLET, AND MALARIAL FEVERS, AND DIPHTHERIA.

1882-1885	11.58	19.31	66.7
1886-1890	14.58	17.17	17.7
1891-1895	10.72	12.48	16.4

OTHER CAUSES.

1882-1885	a 143.15	a 233.44	a 98.0
1886-1890	121.05	188.67	55.8
1891-1895	116.15	185.50	59.7

a Including deaths from cholera infantum and stillbirths.

It is observed that in all these groups of causes the colored death rate has decreased from period to period, except for consumption and pneumonia, where the death rate for the period 1891-1895 is greater than for the period 1886-1890, though slightly less than for the period 1882-1885.

The statistics presented in the various tables which this paper contains, viewed candidly and dispassionately, show results favorable to the physical improvement of the colored race. If the mortality rate had remained stationary for a period of fifteen years, it would have been a lasting evidence of the physical strength and endurance of the race. But we have shown that the rate has decreased in that period, and that, too, as is well known, in the face of hard, exacting, and oppressive social and economic conditions. When all of the facts in the colored man's case are taken into consideration, the wonder is, not that the death rate is as high as it is, but that it is not even higher. The history of weak and inferior races shows that they begin to decrease in number after one generation's contact with Anglo-Saxon civilization. The native population of the Sandwich Islands a hundred years ago was estimated to be 100,000. The latest census taken on the islands shows the native population to be 35,000. We do not witness this decay and decrease in numbers in the colored race anywhere in the Western Hemisphere.

In studying any phase of negro life in the United States, the fact must be kept

constantly in view that the negro has been subjected to degrading and blasting slavery for more than two centuries. While slavery did its victims a great wrong in depriving them of the fruits of their toil, it did them a greater wrong in denying them opportunities for moral and mental improvement. Those who sit in judgment upon the negro and study his frailties and shortcomings must not forget these previous conditions.

To recapitulate, it has been shown—

First. That the colored death rate exceeds the white, the excess averaging for five cities, during a period of fifteen years, 73.8 per cent.

Second. That the death rate of the colored population in five cities is lower for the period 1890-1895 than for the period 1881-1885.

Third. That the principal causes of the excessive mortality among the colored people of five cities are pulmonary diseases and infant mortality.

Fourth. That the least disparity between the white and colored death rates is for those diseases due to unwholesome sanitary conditions— typhoid, malarial and scarlet fevers, diphtheria, and diarrhea.

This last fact, that the excessive death rate of the colored people does not arise from diseases due to environment, is of vast importance. If poor houses, unhealthy localities, bad sewerage, and defective plumbing were responsible for their high death rate, there would be no hope of reducing the death rate until either the colored people became wealthy, or philanthropic persons erected sanitary houses, or municipalities made appropriations to remove these conditions. But since the excessive death rate is not due to these causes, there is reason for the belief that it may be reduced without regard to the present economic conditions of the colored people.

THE PHYSICAL CONDITION OF THE RACE.¹

* * * If the colored people in our larger towns are bent upon living near the center of the city, they can not rent or buy property, except in the less desirable or abandoned parts. But it is not necessary, it is only convenience that leads them to live over stables, in dark, damp cellars, and on back alleys in the midst of stench and putrefaction. They can, if they would, go to the suburbs, where they can get better accommodations for less money. I have been in families in Nashville ranging from seven to ten living on a back alley with a rivulet of filth running before the door of the one room in which they bathed and ate and slept and died. Two miles farther out all of these families might have secured for the same money shanties of two and three rooms, with purer air and water, and had a garden spot besides. Among the colored people convenience to the heart of the city often overrides considerations of health, and that the white people offer them hotbeds of disease for homes is no excuse for their taking them. It is better to live in the suburbs than to die in the city. The negro is induced, but not forced, to accept the bad accommodations of down-town life. Apart from this apparent exception in the matter of rented houses, no race discrimination affects in the least the negro's physical condition; and it is for this very reason that I am hopeful of a change for the better in the vital statistics of our people. If the large death rate, the small birth rate, the susceptibility to disease, and the low vitality of the race were due to causes outside of our control, I could see nothing before us but the "blackness of darkness forever;" but because the colored people themselves are responsible for this sad state of affairs, it is to be expected that time and education will correct it.

The conclusions which I shall draw in this paper are based largely upon my study of the problem in Nashville.

In the first place, then, the excess of colored deaths over white is due almost entirely to constitutional diseases and infant mortality. According to health statistics, the constitutional diseases which are mainly responsible for our large death rate are pulmonary consumption, scrofula, and syphilis, all of which are alike in being tuberculous. A large number of the colored convicts in our State prison at Nashville are consumptives or syphilitics. Out of 92 deaths in a certain territory in Nashville, 19 deaths, or over 20 per cent, were due to consumption. The other 73 deaths were due to thirty-five different causes. In the recent Atlanta investigation, according to the mortality report of Cambridge, Mass., consumption was the cause of 15 per cent of the deaths.

Deaths from consumption in Nashville for the period 1893-1895.

Race.	1893.	1894.	1895.	Remarks.
White	124	91	82	A reduction of nearly 34 per cent.
Colored	177	159	218	An increase of over 23 per cent.

¹By Prof. Eugene Harris, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

Alarming as are the facts set forth in the preceding table, they are not the whole truth. They would be occasion for serious concern if the races were numerically equal, but when we remember that the colored people of Nashville are only three-fifths as numerous as the whites, it is all the more startling. For the year 1895, when 82 white deaths from consumption occurred in the city of Nashville, there ought to have been only 49 colored, whereas there really were 218, or nearly four and one-half times as many as there ought to have been. It is an occasion of serious alarm when 37 per cent of the whole people are responsible for 72 per cent of the deaths from consumption.

Deaths among colored people from pulmonary diseases seem to be on the increase throughout the South. During the period 1882-1885, the excess of colored deaths from consumption for the city of Memphis was 90.80 per cent. For the period 1891-1895, the excess had arisen to over 137 per cent. For the period of 1886-1890, the excess of colored deaths from consumption and pneumonia for the city of Atlanta was 139 per cent. For the period 1891-1895, it had arisen to nearly 166 per cent.

From these facts it would appear that pulmonary consumption is the "destroying angel" among us, and yet I am told that before the war this dread disease was virtually unknown among the slaves. Fortunately, Charleston, S. C., kept even before the war the mortality statistics of the colored people, and, consequently, we are able to ascertain with some accuracy how their death rate from consumption before the war compares with their death rate afterwards. What are the facts in the case? From 1822 to 1848 the colored death rate from consumption was a trifle less than the white. Since 1865 it has been considerably greater, and is still increasing. According to F. L. Hoffman, the white mortality from that cause has decreased since the war 134 per 100,000. The colored mortality has increased over 234 per 100,000.¹

The question arises, How do we account for this change? Is it because the negro is inherently more susceptible to pulmonary diseases, or is it because of his changed environment—his different social conditions? If his tendency to consumption is due to his inherent susceptibility, what was it that held it in check until after the war? It seems that this fact alone is sufficient to fix the responsibility upon the conditions which have arisen since emancipation. Mr. F. L. Hoffman claims that the negro's lungs weigh 4 ounces less than a white man's, and that though his normal chest measure is greater, his lung capacity is less; and that here we have a cause for the negro's tendency to consumption which no environment, however favorable, can affect. Even if this be a fact, it is hard to see how it began to operate as a cause of consumption only since the war.

Let us turn for the present to another cause of the excessive mortality among us, namely, the increased prevalence of scrofula and venereal diseases. For the period 1882-1885 the colored death rate in Memphis from scrofula and syphilis was 205.8 per cent in excess of that among the whites, but from 1891 down to the present time the excess has been 298 per cent. For the period 1893-1895 there were in the city of Nashville 8 white deaths from scrofula and syphilis and 35 colored. In proportion to the population, there ought to have been only 5. Of course allowance must be made for the fact that, on account of the scandal and disgrace, white physicians are reluctant to report white deaths from these causes, whereas such motives rarely, if ever, influence them in reporting colored deaths.

According to the May bulletin of the Department of Labor, out of 1,090 colored people canvassed this year in the city of Nashville, 18 were suffering from scrofula and syphilis. One whose attention has not been called to the matter has no conception of the prevalence of these diseases among the negroes of Nashville. I have looked for it in both races as I have walked the streets of my city, and to come across the loathsome disease in the colored passers-by is not an uncommon occurrence. This state of affairs can be accounted for when I tell you that there is probably no city in this country where prostitution among colored people is more rampant and brazen, and where abandoned colored women are more numerous or more public in their shameful traffic.

In the families canvassed by me this year, among 50 sufferers from rheumatism, 8 were so badly crippled as to be bedridden invalids. When we consider the fact that some forms of rheumatism are syphilitic in their origin, and that in these same families there were 18 suffering from scrofula and syphilis, it would appear that venereal poisoning was responsible for a considerable share of the rheumatism.

There is one obstacle to the race's reproducing itself that has some connection with venereal diseases, and hence I speak of it now. I refer to the enormous amount of stillbirths and infant mortality prevalent everywhere among colored people. For the period of 1893-1895, the still and the premature births in the city of Nashville were 272 for the white and 385 for the colored; or, in proportion to the population, two and one-third times as many as there ought to have been. This relative state of affairs obtains in Memphis and Atlanta, and in all the large cities of the South.

¹ See Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro, by F. L. Hoffman.—Ed.

From the health reports of all our large Southern cities we learn that a considerable amount of our infant mortality is due to inanition, infantile debility, and infantile marasmus. Now, what is the case in regard to these diseases? The fact is that they are not diseases at all, but merely the names of symptoms due to enfeebled constitutions and congenital diseases, inherited from parents suffering from the effects of sexual immorality and debauchery. Translated into common speech, they are nothing more than infant starvation, infant weakness, and infant wasting away, the cause of which is that the infants' parents before them have not given them a fighting chance for life. According to Hoffman, over 50 per cent of the negro children born in Richmond, Va., die before they are 1 year old.

The number of still and premature births among us is a matter of great alarm, not only because it seriously interferes with the numerical increase of the race, but because it involves the fecundity, the health, and even the moral character of large numbers of our women. The support of the family often falls very heavily upon our poor washerwomen; and since they find it hard to get the husks to feed and the rags to clothe their already large number of little folks, living in one room like stock, rather than to add to their burden they resort to crime. An official on the Nashville board of health, who is also proprietor of a drug store, tells me that he is astonished at the number of colored women who apply at his store for drugs with a criminal purpose in view.

The sixteen Atlanta groups in the recent investigation showed that the female heads of families are considerably in excess of the male, and out of 324 families 31 were wholly supported by the mother, and 205 were supported by the mother altogether or in part. In such social conditions as these, where the burden of bread winning is borne largely, and often altogether, by the mother of the household, it is not surprising that poor laboring women, who are ignorant of its ruinous effects upon both health and character, should resort to prenatal infanticide.

The average family for the eighteen cities covered by our recent investigation numbers only 4.1, which means that in these eighteen cities the race is doing barely more than reproducing itself. The large colored families of a few decades ago are becoming more and more scarce. I know a grandmother who was the proud mother of over a dozen children; the daughter could boast of nine; and not one of several granddaughters, though married for a number of years, is the mother of more than one child. This family is but an illustration of many others just like it. Such facts go to show that the negro is no longer the "prolific animal" that he once was termed. The race, like the women of whom Paul once wrote to Timothy, must be "saved through childbearing."

I take it that the excess of infant mortality from cholera infantum and convulsions means nothing more than that the negro mothers do not know so well how to feed and care for their offspring. They need instruction in infant dietetics and baby culture.

I have now covered the ground to which our excessive death rate is mainly due, namely, pulmonary diseases, especially consumption and pneumonia, scrofula, venereal diseases, and infant mortality. If we eliminate these diseases, our excessive death rate will be a thing of the past.

Let us now inquire, What is there in the negro's social condition that is responsible for the prevalence of these diseases, and the consequent mortality? In the first place, then, be it known by all men that we to-day in this conference assembled are not the enemies of our people because we tell them the truth. We shall know the truth, and the truth shall make us free, not only from the bondage of sin, but from vicious social conditions and consequent physical death. Sanitary regulations and the social reconstruction of Israel formed a large part of Moses' religious duty, and why may it not of ours?

While I do not depreciate sanitary regulations and a knowledge of hygienic laws, I am convinced that the sine qua non of a change for the better in the negro's physical condition is a higher social morality. I do not believe that his poverty or his relation to the white people presents any real impediment to his health and physical development. Without going into the reasons for it, it is well known that the poor laboring classes often enjoy better health, are freer from disease, have larger families, and live longer lives than the rich.

I am convinced that for the causes of the black man's low vitality, his susceptibility to disease, and his enormous death rate we must look to those social conditions which he creates for himself. What are they? I have already referred to the social causes of our excessive infant mortality, namely, the frequency with which the partial or the entire maintenance of the household devolves upon the mother; and especially the impaired chance for life which a debauched and immoral parentage bequeaths to childhood. The infants in their graves will rise up in judgment against this evil and adulterous generation and condemn it.

The constitutional diseases which are responsible for our unusual mortality are often traceable to enfeebled constitutions broken down by sexual immoralities.

This is frequently the source of even pulmonary consumption, which disease is to-day the black man's scourge.

According to Hoffman, over 25 per cent of the negro children born in Washington City are admittedly illegitimate. According to a writer quoted in *Black America*, "in one county of Mississippi there were during twelve months 300 marriage licenses taken out in the county clerk's office for white people. According to the proportion of population there should have been in the same time 1,200 or more for negroes. There were actually taken out by colored people just 3." James Anthony Froude asserts that 70 per cent of the negroes in the West Indies are born in illegitimacy. Mr. Smeeton claims that "in spite of the increase of education there has been no decrease of this social cancer." My attention has been called to a resort in Nashville, within less than two blocks of the public square, where a large number of abandoned women and profligate men often congregate in the underground basement, which is lighted and ventilated only through the pavement grating; and there in debauchery and carousal they make the night hideous until almost morning. What are they sowing but disease, and what can they reap but death?

It is true that much of the moral laxity which exists among us to-day arose out of slavery. It is due to a system which whipped women, which dispensed with the institution of marriage, which separated wives from their husbands and assigned them to other men, which ruthlessly destroyed female virtue, and which made helpless women the abject tools of their masters. This is the correct explanation of our social status to-day, but to explain it is not to excuse it. It is no longer our misfortune, as it was before the war; it is our sin, the wages of which is our excessive number of deaths. Always and everywhere, moral leprosy means physical death. Wherever the colored people are guilty of the immoralities of which James Anthony Froude and W. L. Clowes of the *London Times* accuse them, if they continue in them they will be destroyed by them, root and branch. Rome was destroyed because the Empire had no mothers, and Babylon was blotted out because she was the "mother of harlots."

A few years ago I said, in a sermon at Fisk University, that wherever the Anglo-Saxon comes into contact with an inferior race the inferior race invariably goes to the wall. I called attention to the fact that, in spite of humanitarian and philanthropic efforts, the printing press, the steam engine, and the electric motor in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon were exterminating the inferior races more rapidly and more surely than shot and shell and bayonet. I mentioned a number of races that have perished, not because of destructive wars and pestilence, but because they were unable to live in the environment of a nineteenth century civilization; races whose destruction was not due to a persecution that came to them from without, but to a lack of moral stamina within; races that perished in spite of the humanitarian and philanthropic efforts that were put forth to save them.

To that utterance let me now add this thought: That where shot and shell and bayonet and the printing press and the steam engine and the electric motor have slain their thousands, licentious men, unchaste women, and impure homes have slain their tens of thousands; and I speak the words of soberness and truth when I say that if the charges of sexual immoralities brought against us are true, unless there be wrought a social revolution among us the handwriting of our destruction even now may be seen on the wall. The history of nations teaches us that neither war nor famine nor pestilence exterminates them so completely and rapidly as do sexual vices.

If the cause of our excessive death rate be, in its ultimate analysis, moral rather than sanitary, then this fact ought to appear not only in our vital, but in our criminal statistics as well. Professor Starr, of Chicago University, claims that in the State of Pennsylvania, where there is little opportunity to assert that the courts are prejudiced against colored criminals, though the negroes form only 2 per cent of the population, yet they furnish 16 per cent of the male prisoners and 34 per cent of the female. The race has such great privileges in Chicago and it is dealt with so fairly and justly that the colored people themselves have denominated it the "Negroes' Heaven;" and yet, according to Professor Starr, while the negroes form only 1½ per cent of the population of Chicago they furnish 10 per cent of the arrests. I am convinced that the immorality which accounts for these criminal conditions is also responsible for the race's physical status; and if we are to strike at the root of the matter, it will not be at sanitary regulations, but at social reconstruction and moral regeneration.

TABLE 9.—Schools for the education of the colored

Location.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					Pupils enrolled.				
			White.		Colored.		Total.	Total.		Elementary grades.		
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
ALABAMA.												
1	Calhoun	Calhoun Colored School	Nonsect ..	0	10	2	2	14	162	205	138	184
2	Huntsville	Central Alabama Academy*	.....	0	0	4	2	6	44	102	37	75
3	Kowaliga	Kowaliga Institute	Nonsect ..	6	0	2	2	4	110	109	75	80
4	Marion	Lincoln Normal School	Cong	0	0	0	7	7	80	126	30	50
5	Montgomery	State Normal School for Colored Students.*	.....	.....	.....	9	11	20	415	463	178	158
6	Normal	Agricultural and Mechanical College.	Nonsect ..	0	0	19	15	34	199	201	90	106
7	Selma	Burrell Academy	Cong	1	6	1	1	9	137	168	88	126
8	do	Alabama Baptist University	Bapt.	0	2	5	2	9	142	201	46	94
9	Talladega	Talladega College	Cong	6	14	0	1	21	292	391	240	361
10	Troy	Troy Industrial Academy ..	Nonsect ..	0	0	4	1	5	65	100	63	92
11	Tuscaloosa	Oak City Academy	Bapt.	0	0	1	2	3	30	45	24	26
12	do	Stillman Institute	Presb.	2	0	0	0	2	10	0	.....	.....
13	Tuskegee	Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.	Nonsect ..	0	0	48	33	81	706	336	122	75
ARKANSAS.												
14	Arkadelphia	Arkadelphia Baptist Academy.	Bapt.	0	0	1	2	3	27	43	22	40
15	do	Shorter University*	A. M. E ..	0	0	1	2	3	30	41	30	41
16	Little Rock	Arkansas Baptist College ..	Bapt.	0	0	2	3	5	100	78	65	53
17	do	Philander Smith College ..	Meth.	2	5	2	3	12	161	107	110	87
18	do	Union High School*	Nonsect ..	0	0	2	7	9	300	462	273	405
19	Magnolia	Columbia High School	Bapt.	0	0	1	0	1	38	37	23	10
20	Pine Bluff	Branch Normal College	Nonsect ..	3	0	3	1	7	128	65	0	0
21	Southland	Southland College and Normal Institute.	Friends ..	3	4	0	2	9	85	80	70	60
DELAWARE.												
22	Dover	State College for Colored Students.	Nonsect ..	0	0	3	0	3	34	8	.....	.....
DIST. OF COLUMBIA.												
23	Washington	High School	Nonsect ..	0	0	16	10	26	215	513	.....	.....
24	do	Howard University	Nonsect ..	42	1	21	7	71	445	96	.....	.....
25	do	Normal School	Nonsect ..	0	0	2	6	8	132	154	124	132
26	do	Wayland Seminary	Bapt.	2	5	2	2	11	102	57	20	16
FLORIDA.												
27	Fernandina	Graded School No. 1	Nonsect ..	0	0	2	4	6	177	164	161	130
28	Jacksonville	Cookman Institute a .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
29	do	Edward Walters College a ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
30	Live Oak	Florida Institute*	Bapt. ....	.....	.....	2	3	5	44	64	20	32
31	Ocala	Emerson Home	M. E.	0	2	0	0	2	0	39	0	39
32	Orange Park	Normal and Manual Training School.	Cong	2	4	0	0	6	38	24	23	25
33	Tallahassee	State Normal and Industrial College.	Nonsect ..	1	0	5	6	12	58	124	46	103
GEORGIA.												
34	Athens	Jernal Academy	Bapt.	0	0	2	3	5	79	113	51	86
35	do	Knox Institute	Cong	0	0	2	4	6	117	185	110	176
36	do	West Broad Street School ..	Nonsect ..	0	0	2	4	6	184	233	161	172
37	Atlanta	Atlanta Baptist Seminary ..	Bapt.	3	3	4	0	10	140	0	90	0
38	do	Atlanta University	Nonsect ..	8	13	1	1	23	117	183	21	39
39	do	Morris Brown College	A. M. E ..	0	0	5	6	11	167	255	30	63
40	do	Spelman Seminary	Bapt.	0	36	2	2	40	0	574	0	465
41	do	Storrs School*	Cong	0	7	0	0	7	70	150	70	150
42	Augusta	Haines Normal and Industrial School.	Presb.	0	0	3	12	15	160	233	135	188
43	do	The Paine Institute	M. E. S.	2	1	2	2	7	104	98	12	25
44	do	Walker Baptist Institute ..	Bapt.	0	0	2	4	4	43	66	22	23
45	College	Georgia State Industrial College.	Nonsect ..	0	0	12	0	12	160	43	50	43

* Statistics of 1895-96.

a No report.

TABLE 9.—Schools for the education of the colored

Location.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					Pupils enrolled.				
			White.		Colored.		Total.	Total.		Elementary grades.		
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
GEORGIA—cont'd.												
46	La Grange.....	Southern Female College....	Bapt.....	6	14	0	0	20	0	150	.....	.....
47	McIntosh.....	Dorchester Academy.....	Cong.....	1	9	1	0	11	170	273	156	258
48	Macon.....	Ballard Normal School.....	Cong.....	1	10	0	2	13	95	300	80	250
49	Roswell.....	Roswell Public School.....	Nonsect..	1	2	1	0	4	130	136	89	94
50	Savannah.....	Beach Institute.....	Cong.....	0	7	0	0	7	112	176	104	141
51	South Atlanta.....	Clark Institute.....	M. E.....	3	3	2	3	11	184	201	141	166
52	do.....	Gammon School of Theology.....	M. E.....	4	0	1	0	5	86	0	.....	.....
53	Thomasville.....	Allen Normal and Industrial School.	Cong.....	0	7	0	0	7	39	112	32	77
54	Waynesboro.....	Haven Normal Academy a.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
ILLINOIS.												
55	Cairo.....	Summer High School.....	.....	0	0	1	1	2	16	24	.....	.....
INDIANA.												
56	Evansville.....	Governor School.....	Nonsect..	0	0	7	9	16	25	38	.....	.....
57	New Albany.....	Scribner High School.....	Nonsect..	0	0	1	1	2	36	39	26	27
KENTUCKY.												
58	Berea.....	Berea College.....	.....	15	12	0	0	27	323	250	.....	.....
59	Frankfort.....	State Normal School for Colored Persons.	Nonsect..	0	0	5	2	7	67	85	19	35
60	Lebanon.....	St. Augustine's Academy.....	R. C.....	0	6	0	1	7	60	85	60	30
61	Lexington.....	Chandler Normal School.....	Cong.....	0	6	0	2	8	60	130	30	70
62	Louisville.....	Christian Bible School.....	Christian.	1	0	1	0	2	27	0	.....	.....
63	do.....	Central High School.....	Nonsect..	0	0	10	8	18	300	700	224	499
64	Paris.....	Paris High School.....	Nonsect..	0	0	2	3	5	180	200	120	150
LOUISIANA.												
65	Alexandria.....	Alexandria Academy.....	M. E.....	0	0	2	2	4	91	95	24	49
66	Baldwin.....	Gilbert Academy and Industrial College.	M. E.....	1	0	7	6	14	121	133	104	110
67	New Iberia.....	Mount Carmel Convent a.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
68	New Orleans.....	Leland University.....	Nonsect..	3	4	8	5	20	181	294	138	272
69	do.....	New Orleans University.....	M. E.....	5	4	11	5	25	212	301	182	270
70	do.....	Southern University.....	Nonsect..	5	2	1	5	13	138	230	114	192
71	do.....	Straight University.....	Cong.....	4	17	1	0	22	333	342	279	300
MARYLAND.												
72	Baltimore.....	Baltimore City Colored High School.	Nonsect..	1	6	0	0	7	30	107	.....	.....
73	do.....	Morgan College.....	M. E.....	2	2	2	1	7	76	25	41	13
74	do.....	St. Frances' Academy.....	R. C.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0	35	0	23
75	Hebbsville.....	Baltimore Normal School for Training of Colored Teachers.	Nonsect..	1	0	0	1	2	9	25	0	0
76	Melvale.....	The Industrial Home for Colored Teachers.	Nonsect..	0	5	0	1	6	0	134	0	134
77	Princess Anne.....	Princess Anne Academy.....	M. E.....	0	0	2	4	6	48	43	19	13
MISSISSIPPI.												
78	Clinton.....	Mount Hermon Female Seminary.	Nonsect..	0	5	0	2	7	11	69	1	4
79	Edwards.....	Southern Christian Institute.	Christian.	4	4	1	0	9	57	63	52	54
80	Holly Springs.....	Mississippi State Colored Normal School.	Nonsect..	1	0	4	1	6	97	93	37	40
81	do.....	Rust University.....	Meth.....	2	4	5	2	13	85	110	23	27
82	Jackson.....	Jackson College.....	Bapt.....	2	4	1	2	9	86	108	36	80
83	Meridian.....	Lincoln School.....	Cong.....	0	6	0	1	7	100	167	60	107
84	do.....	Meridian Academy.....	Meth.....	0	0	2	3	5	120	168	84	96

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TABLE 9.—Schools for the education of the colored

Location.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					Pupils enrolled.				
			White.		Colored.		Total.	Total.		Elementary grades.		
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
MISSISSIPPI—cont'd.												
85	Natchez	Natchez College <i>a</i>										
86	Tougaloo	Tougaloo University	Cong	5	17	0	1	23	140	179	122	153
87	Westside	Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College.	Nonsect ..	0	0	15	0	15	344	10		
MISSOURI.												
88	Boonville	Sumner High School	Nonsect ..	0	0	1	4	5	129	133	128	129
89	Hannibal	Douglass High School	Nonsect ..	0	0	1	1	2	30	36		
90	Jefferson City	Lincoln Institute		2	0	7	2	11	129	111	56	54
91	Kansas City	Lincoln High School	Nonsect ..	0	0	3	2	5	54	99	0	0
92	Sedalia	George R. Smith College	M. E.	2	5	1	2	10	70	86	52	64
NEW JERSEY.												
93	Bordentown	Mannal Training and Industrial School.	Nonsect ..	1	0	2	5	8	28	23	11	7
NORTH CAROLINA.												
94	Beaufort	Washburn Seminary	Nonsect ..	1	4	0	0	5	49	52	36	48
95	Charlotte	Biddle University	Presb.	0	0	11	0	11	232	0		
96	Clinton	Clinton Colored Graded School.	Nonsect ..	0	0	1	1	2	45	85	40	70
97	Concord	Scotia Seminary	Presb.	1	9	0	7	17	0	267	0	254
98	Elizabeth City	State Colored Normal School	Nonsect ..	0	0	2	2	4	50	112		
99	Fayetteville	State Colored Normal School	Nonsect ..	0	0	2	2	4	50	75	20	35
100	Franklinton	Albion Academy, Normal and Industrial School.	Presb.	0	0	5	5	10	109	149	60	88
101	.....do	Franklinton Christian College.	Christian .	1	3	1	0	5	85	85	55	60
102	.....do	State Colored Normal School <i>a</i>										
103	Goldsboro	State Colored Normal School.*	Nonsect ..	0	1	2	0	3	45	127	13	45
104	Greensboro	Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race.	Nonsect ..	2	0	5	1	8	59	19	0	0
105	.....do	Bennett College <i>a</i>										
106	High Point	High Point Normal and Industrial School.*	Friends ..	1	1	0	2	4	94	117	94	117
107	Kings Mountain	Lincoln Academy	Cong	0	7	0	0	7	89	138	78	124
108	Lumberton	Whitin Normal School	Nonsect ..	0	0	1	1	2	25	43	11	23
109	Pec Dee	Barrett Collegiate and Industrial Institute.	Nonsect ..	0	0	2	2	4	46	38		
110	Plymouth	Plymouth Normal School ..	Nonsect ..	0	0	3	1	4	58	115	19	38
111	Raleigh	St. Augustine's School	P. E.	1	3	5	6	15	143	168	117	152
112	.....do	Shaw University	Bapt.	13	7	4	1	25	185	179	72	24
113	Reidsville	Graded School	Nonsect ..	0	0	2	4	6	177	256	160	220
114	Salisbury	Livingstone College	Meth.	0	0	11	5	16	80	78	26	42
115	.....do	State Colored Normal School.*	Nonsect ..	0	0	3	1	4	43	70	39	52
116	Wilmington	Gregory Normal Institute ..	Nonsect ..	1	9	0	1	11	85	200	69	145
117	Windsor	Rankin-Richards Institute ..	Nonsect ..	0	0	1	2	3	40	80	34	68
118	Winton	Waters Normal Institute	Bapt.	0	0	2	2	4	86	128	43	56
OHIO.												
119	Wilberforce	Wilberforce University	A. M. E. ..	0	3	13	4	20	176	158	71	79
120	Xenia	Colored High School	Nonsect ..	0	1	1	1	3	24	33		
PENNSYLVANIA.												
121	Carlisle	Colored High School	Nonsect ..	1	0	2	1	4	75	94	60	82
122	Lincoln University.	Lincoln University	Presb.	10		1		11	185	6		
123	Philadelphia	Institute for Colored Youth.	Friends ..	0	1	3	6	10	135	199	51	74

* Statistics of 1895-96.

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race—teachers, students, and courses of study—Continued.

Pupils enrolled.				Students.												Graduates.					
Secondary grades.		Collegiate classes.		Classical courses.		Scientific courses.		English courses.		Normal courses.		Business courses.		High school courses.		Normal courses.		Collegiate courses.			
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32		
18	26									18	26					4	9			85	
308	10	36	0																	86	
																				87	
1	4	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	83	
30	36			12	5	10	12	18	20					2	3					89	
68	57	5	0	12	0					61	57					6	5	2	0	90	
54	99	0	0		54	99								2	3					91	
18	22			4	2									2	6					92	
17	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	93	
13	4	0	0	0	0			13	4	13	4			0	0	0	0	0	0	94	
159	0	63	0	144	0			61	0	41	0	41	0	32	0			8	0	95	
5	15							40	15	40	15									96	
0	13					0	2			0	11					0	5			97	
50	112	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	112	5	12	0	0	0	0	4	5	0	0	98	
39	46									30	40					3	6			99	
29	46	20	15							29	46	20	15			6	4			100	
11	12	19	13			2	4	15	12	9	12					0	0	1	2	101	
32	82															2	2	0	0	102	
17	9	42	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	103	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	94	117	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	105	
																				106	
2	14													0	2					107	
14	20	0	0					10	24	14	20			0	0	0	0	0	0	108	
46	38																			109	
39	77	0	0	0	0	8	1	29	64	12	23					8	1	0	0	110	
26	16			9	6															111	
64	137	49	18																	112	
17	35			2	4	15	32							2	2					113	
46	32	8	4	20	4	4	0	70	80	5	12	8	10	7	8	7	8	2	0	114	
7	18					4	16	39	54	1	5									115	
16	55	0	0	6	0	0	0			8	10					3	3	0	0	116	
6	12							35	85											117	
43	72							77	129	14	22			3	2					118	
58	64	47	15	14	3	15	9	56	40	29	54	15	2	2	12	2	12	7	3	119	
24	33													5	8					120	
15	12																			121	
137	0	48	0	130	0			7	0									30	0	122	
84	125			35	29	35	29	49	29	54	29	5	6			5	6			123	

TABLE 9.—Schools for the education of the colored

Location.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					Pupils enrolled.				
			White.		Colored.			Total.		Elementary grades.		
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
			4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
SOUTH CAROLINA.												
124	Aiken	Schofield Normal and Industrial School.	Nonsect ..	7	7	5	2	21	190	160	120	105
125	Beaufort.....	Beaufort Public School	Nonsect ..	0	0	1	5	6	156	157	146	137
126	do	Harbison Institute	Presb	0	0	2	2	4	79	110	29	39
127	Camden	Browning School	M. E.	0	4	0	1	5	86	107	82	105
128	Charleston	Avery Normal Institute.....	Cong	1	4	1	2	8	122	252	86	122
129	do	Wallingford Academy.....	Presb	0	0	1	4	5	83	121	74	106
130	Chester	Brainerd Institute	Presb	1	5	1	1	8	80	88	76	81
131	Columbia	Allen University *	A. M. E.	0	0	4	2	6	131	122	122	119
132	do	Benedict College.....	Bapt.....	4	5	3	2	14	141	141	0	0
133	Frogmore.....	Penn Industrial and Normal School.	Nonsect ..	0	2	3	6	11	157	140	137	122
134	Greenwood	Brewer Normal School.....	Cong	1	7	0	0	8	120	156	112	152
135	Orangeburg	Clafin University	Meth	5	5	8	9	27	281	243	218	182
TENNESSEE.												
136	Chattanooga.....	Howard High School	Nonsect ..	0	0	1	2	3	357	458	349	437
137	Columbia.....	Maury County Turner Normal and Industrial School.*	Nonsect ..	0	0	0	3	3	18	60	18	58
138	Dickson	Wayman Academy	Nonsect ..	0	0	2	1	3	165	175	159	171
139	Jonesboro	Warner Institute*	Cong	0	3	0	1	4	45	59	41	50
140	Knoxville	Austin High School	Nonsect ..	0	0	6	4	10	232	266	222	250
141	do	Knoxville College	U. Presb.	7	14	0	1	22	148	165	91	108
142	Maryville	Freemen's Normal Institute.*	Friends...	2	1	1	1	5	121	122	84	85
143	Memphis	Le Moyné Normal Institute.	Cong	2	10	1	4	17	312	453	234	355
144	Morristown.....	Morristown Normal Academy.	M. E.	1	11	1	1	14	131	157	102	109
145	Murfreesboro.....	Bradley Academy	Bapt. & M	0	0	2	4	6	112	163	101	142
146	Nashville.....	Central Tennessee College.	M. E.	3	4	3	1	11	365	204	110	134
147	do	Fisk University	Cong	7	21	1	0	29	180	278	44	59
148	do	Meigs High School	Nonsect ..	0	0	4	8	12	222	374	155	234
149	do	Roger Williams University.	Bapt.....	3	5	2	1	11	127	118	62	80
TEXAS.												
150	Austin	Tillotson College	Cong	3	9	0	1	13	92	127	65	106
151	Brenham	East End High School	Nonsect ..	0	0	1	4	5	135	333	131	316
152	Crockett	Mary Allen Seminary	Presb	1	13	0	1	15	0	229	0	170
153	Galveston	Central High School	Nonsect ..	0	0	4	2	6	112	147	85	119
154	Hearne	Hearne Academy, Normal and Industrial School.*	Bapt.....	0	0	2	2	4	24	18	16	13
155	Marshall	Bishop College	Bapt.....	3	9	6	2	20	146	146	36	31
156	do	Wiley University	M. E.	0	2	9	4	15	190	152	153	132
157	Palestine	Colored High School.....	Nonsect ..	0	0	1	3	4	125	185	30	70
158	Prairie View	Prairie View State Normal School.*	Nonsect ..	0	0	7	4	11	77	74	.....	.....
159	Waco	Paul Quinn College.....	A. M. E.	0	0	3	3	6	100	66	52	49
VIRGINIA.												
160	Burkeville.....	Ingleside Seminary	Presb	1	8	0	2	11	0	115	.....	.....
161	Cappahosic	Gloucester Agricultural and Industrial School.	Nonsect ..	0	0	4	3	7	34	55	33	53
162	Danville	Colored Graded School.....	Nonsect ..	0	0	1	7	8	209	261	196	248
163	Hampton	Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.	Nonsect ..	15	36	9	6	66	447	359	350	316
164	Lawrenceville	St. Paul Normal and Industrial School.	P. E.	0	0	13	10	23	145	172	33	40
165	Manassas	Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth.	Nonsect ..	0	0	3	3	6	40	53	40	53
166	Manchester.....	Public High School.....	Nonsect ..	0	0	4	4	8	212	315	180	250
167	Norfolk	Norfolk Mission College.....	U. Presb.	4	6	0	3	13	281	398	262	364
168	Petersburg	Bishop Payne Divinity and Industrial School.	Episcopal	1	0	2	0	3	9	0	.....	.....

* Statistics of 1895-96.

race—teachers, students, and courses of study—Continued.

Pupils enrolled.				Students.										Graduates.						
Secondary grades.		Collegiate classes.		Classical courses.		Scientific courses.		English courses.		Normal courses.		Business courses.		High school courses.		Normal courses.		Collegiate courses.		
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
70	55	0	0					190	160	7	7					7	7		124	
10	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	156	157	10	20	10	20	10	16			0	0	125
50	71	0	0	3	0	3	3			2	5	0	0	0	0	2	5			126
4	2	0	0											4	2					127
36	130	0	0	3	5	6	14	14	26	13	85			4	2	0	16	0	0	128
9	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	47	9	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	129
4	7			4	0			4	7	4	7			1	0	1	0			130
3	3	6	0	1	0	3	0			10	13									131
141	141	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	7	0	0	0	0	132
20	18	0	0	20	18			20	18	20	18	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	0	133
8	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	134
55	58	8	3	36	8			281	243	27	53			12	11	0	11	0	0	135
8	21													3	1					136
0	2							13	47					0	16					137
6	4													0	0	0	0	0	0	138
4	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	41	50	4	9			1	2	0	0	0	0	139
10	16					10	16													140
46	47	11	10	4	7	7	3			46	47					6	9	1		141
31	33	6	4	6	3			0	1	54	50			0	0	4	4	0	0	142
78	98									78	98					8	5			143
29	48					12	15	101	126	29	48					1	4			144
11	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	112	163	0	0	0	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	145
213	50	42	20	16	5	26	16	95	115	6	9	0	0	0	0	3	7	2	0	146
21	77	115	142	106	18			64	191	3	69	0	0	8	2	0	18	8		147
67	140			67	140									40	59	0	0	0	0	148
46	35	19	3	19	3			60	82	46	35					9	13	5	0	149
27	21	0	0	2	1	4	5							4	3					150
4	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	17	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	151
0	59									0	13					0	5			152
27	28					27	28							8	17					153
8	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	154
69	97	41	18	30	4			9	13	26	16			9	8	0	1	0	0	155
29	19	8	1	8	1			113	158	3	15			0	0	13	16	4	0	156
95	115					2	3							2	2					157
77	74									77	74									158
13	5	35	12	0	1	24	8	60	49	7	2					1	2	1	1	159
0	115															0	51			160
1	2													1	2					161
13	13	0	0											2	6					162
97	43	0	0	0	0	0	0			97	43	0	0			23	9			163
112	132			2	0			4	10					4	10					164
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	165
32	65					7	17	205	308					2	6					166
19	34			19	34			266	356	11	22					6	6			167
		9	0													0	0			168

TABLE 9.—Schools for the education of the colored

Location.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					Pupils enrolled.				
			White.		Colored.		Total.	Total.		Elementary grades.		
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
VIRGINIA—cont'd.												
169	Petersburg	Peabody High School	Nonsect ..	0	0	1	11	12	307	368	300	328
170	.....do	Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.	Nonsect ..	0	0	7	5	12	145	165	64	82
171	Richmond	Hartshorn Memorial College	Bapt.....	1	6	0	2	9	2	77	0	11
172	.....do	High and Normal School ...	Nonsect ..	0	0	0	11	11	92	350	0	0
173	.....do	Richmond Theological Seminary.	Bapt.....	2	0	2	0	4	53	0	0	0
WEST VIRGINIA.												
174	Farm	West Virginia Colored Institute.	Nonsect ..	0	0	4	2	6	44	56	.....	.....
175	Harpers Ferry....	Storer College	Free Bapt	2	4	2	1	9	58	76	22	45
176	Parkersburg.....	High School	Nonsect ..	2	0	1	3	6	76	84	72	66

TABLE 10.—Schools for the education of the colored race—

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.												
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
ALABAMA.																			
1 Calhoun Colored School				89	60	149	89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	54	6	0
2 Central Alabama Academy*																			
3 Kowaliga Institute				20	16	36	25	1									1		9
4 Lincoln Normal School				0	80	80											80		
5 State Normal School for Colored Students.*																			
6 Agricultural and Mechanical College.	11	25	36	99	148	247	19	34	1	1	3		21		25	41	106	38	57
7 Burrell Academy				49	59	108	4	45										59	4
8 Alabama Baptist University																			
9 Talladega College	16	0	16	109	229	338	30	85									5	187	13
10 Troy Industrial Academy	0	0	0	45	60	105	65	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	25	15
11 Oak City Academy					60	105													
12 Stillman Institute	10	0	10																
13 Tuskegee Normal and Industrial School.	70	0	70	706	336	1042	62	30	16	16	14	8	24	12	13	22	31	49	615
ARKANSAS.																			
14 Arkadelphia Baptist Academy.				15	36	51	15											20	16
15 Shorter University*																			
16 Arkansas Baptist College																			
17 Philander Smith College	0	0	0	15	88	103											15	64	24
18 Union High School*																			
19 Columbia High School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20 Branch Normal College				57	23	80		21	0	0	0	0	14	9	0	0	0	8	13
21 Southland College and Normal Institute.				45	35	80	25	8							3	8	35	35	
DELAWARE.																			
22 State College for Colored Students.				34	6	40	14	20			1			2		3			
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.																			
23 High School				38	0	38		25						13					
24 Howard University	256	0	256	113	44	157		63				10					41	43	
25 Normal School																			
26 Wayland Seminary	89	0	89	0	30	30											30		
FLORIDA.																			
27 Graded School No. 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28 Cookman Institute a																			
29 Edward Walters College a																			
30 Florida Institute*				8	0	8											8		
31 Emerson Home				0	39	39												39	14
32 Normal and Manual Training School.				24	24	48		24										24	
33 State Normal and Industrial College.				44	55	99	44	44			44				1	2	49	49	
GEORGIA.																			
34 Jernal Academy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35 Knox Institute	0	0	0	29	127	156	0	28									18	127	
36 West Broad Street School	0	0	0	2	5	7		2											5
37 Atlanta Baptist Seminary	11	0	11	10	0	10		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0
38 Atlanta University	0	0	0	72	127	199	0	40	0	0	0	0	0	11	11	0	12	118	34

* Statistics of 1895-96.

a No report.

professional and industrial training—equipment and income.

Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1896-97.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1896-97.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
Tuition and contributions	\$15,579	343	\$22,204		\$864		\$1,019	\$1,883	1
State and tuition		56	2,700	\$180	255			435	2
Amer. Miss. Assn.	65		10,000						3
State and tuition				7,500	3,000		3,300	13,800	4
State and United States	223	2,500	41,143	4,000	136		9,317	13,453	5
Amer. Miss. Assn.		550							6
.....		500	30,000	0	872		3,933	4,805	7
Amer. Miss. Assn. and donations.	6,200	133,000	0	1,576	\$5,000		10,424	17,000	8
Private contributions	150	1,700	0	168	40		1,659	1,867	9
Tuition	10				400			400	10
Presbyterian Church	1,000	1,500							11
State, United States, Slater and Peabody funds.	19,500	4,826	290,000	3,050	0	2,726	7,126	12,902	12
Benevolence		200	12,000		200	100	700	1,000	13
.....			10,000				1,227	1,227	14
Amer. Bapt. H. M. S.		100	10,000		500			500	15
Freedmen's Aid and S. Ed. So.	0	600	30,000	0	1,211	0	2,200	3,411	16
.....	0	0	20,000	4,500	0	0	0	4,500	17
.....	0	60	1,200	0	100	0	0	100	18
State and United States	3,500	60,000	3,700	400			18	4,118	19
Tuition and benevolence	1,020	1,200	27,000		3,396	2,000		5,396	20
State and United States	200		17,800	4,000			4,200	8,200	21
United States	0	1,200	125,000		0	0	0		22
do.		13,000	700,000	32,600	6,914	8,000	7,000	54,514	23
do.	0	619							24
Amer. Bapt. H. M. S.		2,500	140,000	0	1,000	1,000	4,000	6,000	25
.....	0	0	1,500	0	0	0	0	0	26
.....									27
Home Society New York and Bethlehem Association.	1,200	7,000							28
W. H. M. S. M. E. Ch.	15	100	7,000	0	82	0	145	227	29
Amer. Miss. Assn.	0	380	25,000	0	210			210	30
State and United States		696	30,000	11,500				11,500	31
A. B. H. M. S., Jerual Assn.	777	208	6,500	0	446	0	1,078	1,524	32
Amer. Miss. Assn., tuition		100	7,000						33
City			3,000						34
A. B. H. M. S. and Friends	815	3,000	56,650	0	562	1,500	6,175	8,237	35
Tuition and benevolence		9,400	252,000	0	2,000	600	22,500	25,100	36

TABLE 10.—Schools for the education of the colored race—

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.													
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
GEORGIA—continued.																				
39	Morris Brown College	16	0	16	24	36	60	4	6	4	4	2					6	30	6	
40	Spelman Seminary	0	39	39	0	350	350	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	290	20	34
41	Storrs School*				0	128	128	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	128	0	0
42	Haines Normal and Industrial School.																			
43	The Paine Institute	41	0	41																
44	Walker Baptist Institute																			
45	Georgia State Industrial College.				37	0	37	19	37	5	5	5								
46	Southern Female College																			
47	Dorchester Academy				52	173	225		52									173	6	6
48	Ballard Normal School				25	260	285											30	8	222
49	Roswell Public School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
50	Beach Institute	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
51	Clark Institute	0	0	0																
52	Gammon School of Theology	86	0	86																
53	Allen Normal and Industrial School.				0	66	66											60	6	
54	Haven Normal Academy a																			
ILLINOIS.																				
55	Sunmer High School																			
INDIANA.																				
56	Governor School																			
57	Scribner High School																			
KENTUCKY.																				
58	Berea College																			
59	State Normal School for Colored Persons.				18	81	99	18	7									81	81	
60	St. Augustine's Academy																			
61	Chandler Normal School				0	120	120	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	120
62	Christian Bible School	13	0	13																
63	Central High School																			
64	Paris High School	0	0	0	2	0	2										2			
LOUISIANA.																				
65	Alexandria Academy*	0	0	0	91	95	186		10	10	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	40	44	80
66	Gilbert Academy and Industrial College.	0	0	0	82	83	165	15	11				10				15	38	26	50
67	Mount Carmel Convent a	0	0	0																
68	Leland University	0	0	0	25	14	39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39
69	New Orleans University	38	5	43																
70	Southern University	0	0	0	106	91	197	58	48	0	0	20	60	0	48	0	0	91	0	40
71	Straight University				90	150	240	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	150	9	0
MARYLAND.																				
72	Baltimore City Colored High School.																			
73	Morgan College	2	0	2																
74	St. Frances Academy				0	30	30											30	13	
75	Baltimore Normal School for Training of Colored Teachers.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

* Statistics of 1895-96.

a No report.

TABLE 10.—Schools for the education of the colored race—

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.													
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
MARYLAND—continued.																				
76	The Industrial Home for Colored Teachers.	0	0	0	0	134	134	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	134	134	0	
77	Princess Anne Academy				48	43	91		8						4	4			75	
MISSISSIPPI.																				
78	Mount Hermon Female Seminary.	0	0	0	0	45	45											45	45	
79	Southern Christian Institute	2	0	2	18	5	23	5	4								7		3	4
80	Mississippi State Colored Normal School.	0	0	0	0	60	60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	60	0	0
81	Rust University	0	24	24	0	24	24											24	24	
82	Jackson College				80	100	180											100	0	80
83	Lincoln School	0	20	20	10	90	100											90	8	20
84	Meridian Academy																			
85	Natchez College <i>a</i>																			
86	Tougaloo University	3	8	11	95	108	203	25	90		5							97	80	
87	Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College.				157	0	157	60							47	50				
MISSOURI.																				
88	Sumner High School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
89	Douglass High School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
90	Lincoln Institute				65	65	130		31				22	12				65		
91	Lincoln High School																			
92	George R. Smith College	4	0	4	0	75	75											75		
NEW JERSEY.																				
93	Manual Training and Industrial School.	0	0	0	28	23	51	15	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	23	15
NORTH CAROLINA.																				
94	Washburn Seminary	0	0	0	35	52	87	0	35	0	0	0	0	35	0	0	0	52	0	
95	Biddle University	20	0	20	153	0	153	15	36	10	8	3			19	40			15	
96	Clinton Colored Graded School.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
97	Scotia Seminary	0	0	0	0	266	266											266	266	
98	State Colored Normal School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
99	State Colored Normal School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
100	Albion Academy, Normal and Industrial School.																			
101	Franklin Christian College.	5	0	5	0	58	58	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	58		
102	State Colored Normal School <i>a</i>																			
103	State Colored Normal School <i>a</i>				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
104	Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race.				57	19	76	5	50	0	0	5		45	5	0	0	19	5	
105	Bennett College <i>a</i>																			
106	High Point Normal and Industrial School <i>a</i>				0	117	117	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	117	0	
107	Lincoln Academy				31	138	169	4	2									121	75	
108	Whitin Normal School																			
109	Barrett Collegiate and Industrial Institute.				35	23	58		4	6	2	5			8	15	8	50		
110	Plymouth Normal School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
111	St. Augustine's School	0	6	6	25	50	75	25	10	10	10		2					50	50	

* Statistics of 1895-96

a No report.

TABLE 10.—Schools for the education of the colored race—

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.												
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
NORTH CAROLINA—cont'd.																			
112	Shaw University	91	0	91	81	140	221												221
113	Graded School																		
114	Livingstone College	0	0	0	25	38	63	17	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	10	35	40
115	State Colored Normal School.*																		
116	Gregory Normal Institute...	0	0	0	0	190	190											190	
117	Rankin-Richards Institute...				0	25	25											25	
118	Waters Normal Institute...																		
OHIO.																			
110	Wilberforce University	15	0	15	83	133	216	0	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	46	67	65	0
120	Colored High School																		
PENNSYLVANIA.																			
121	Colored High School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
122	Lincoln University	48	0	48															
123	Institute for Colored Youth...				28	88	116	0	28	18					18	16		88	96
SOUTH CAROLINA.																			
124	Schofield Normal and Industrial school.				130	120	250	30	26	0	0	0	0	0	8	8	120	80	38
125	Beanfort Public School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
126	Harbison Institute																		
127	Browning School				0	107	107											107	36
128	Avery Normal Institute																		
129	Wallingford Academy	0	18	18	0	121	121	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	121	18	0
130	Brainerd Institute				43	80	123		20		2								
131	Allen University*	6	0	6											5	6	47	33	10
132	Benedict College	44	0	44	106	101	207	23	7	4	4	6	0	1	5	14	87	10	45
133	Penn Industrial and Normal School.	0	18	18	107	70	177	0	107	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	70	0	0
134	Brewer Normal School	0	0	0	0	200	200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	200	0	0
135	Clafin University				281	243	524		22	75	75	18		22	75		424	19	
TENNESSEE.																			
136	Howard High School																		
137	Maury County Turner Normal and Industrial School*	1	0	1	8	55	63		8								55	9	
138	Wayman Academy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
139	Warner Institute*	0	6	0	20	21	41										41	10	
140	Austin High School																		
141	Knoxville College	9	0	9	25	54	79	5	7								18	49	
142	Freemen's Normal Institute*																		
143	Le Moyne Normal Institute.				25	62	87		18								27	40	22
144	Morristown Normal Academy.				29	157	186										29	157	45
145	Bradley Academy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
146	Central Tennessee College.	204	0	204	23	2	25		4			4				10			6
147	Fisk University	7	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
148	Meigs High School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
149	Roger Williams University.	0	0	0	12	65	77		4							8	65	30	
TEXAS.																			
150	Tillotson College	0	0	6	85	90	175		85		3							90	
151	East End High School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
152	Mary Allen Seminary				0	229	229										229	50	
153	Central High School																		

* Statistics of 1895-96.

professional and industrial training—equipment and income—Continued.

Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1896-97.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1896-97.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
A. B. H. M. S. Slater Fund.....		500	\$90,000		\$3,045	\$175	\$20,099	\$23,319	112
City.....	0	50	1,500	\$1,150	0		50	1,200	113
Church.....	\$5,125	2,500	125,000	0	789	200	3,780	4,769	114
State.....				1,650			210	1,860	115
Am. Miss. Assn., tuition.....	650	200	15,000	0	1,350	0	3,300	4,650	116
State and benevolence.....	850	600	3,500	109			710	819	117
A. B. H. M. Society.....	1,934	250	10,869	200	50		1,934	2,184	118
State, tuition, endowment.....	0	6,600	108,000	16,400	1,822	1,323	8,771	28,316	119
State.....									120
Endowment and benevolence.....		14,000	214,000						121
State.....									122
Endowment, contributions.....		2,000	35,000	150	250	1,000	5,000	6,400	123
United States and State.....	0	200	3,500	950	0	0	350	1,300	125
Presb. Board.....		200	6,000	2,000	355		400	2,755	126
M. E. Church.....		200							127
A. M. Assn. and tuition.....	0	600	25,000	0	2,750	0	2,250	5,000	128
Presbyterian Church, tuition.....		0	8,000	0	360	0	10	370	129
Presbyterian Church.....		250	10,000	0			2,209	2,209	130
A. M. E. Church.....		200	30,000		1,000		4,000	5,000	131
Am. Bap. H. M. Society.....	745	2,525		0	1,270	0	8,914	10,184	132
Contributions.....	1,000	100	3,000	0	300	0	1,000	1,300	133
A. M. Asso., church.....		200	12,000	0	700			700	134
F. A., S. Ed. So. Slater and Peabody Funds.....		2,000	80,000		1,500		13,500	15,000	135
City.....		75	30,000						136
Tuition.....	0	500		0	225	0	0	225	137
Do.....	0	20	1,100	0	600	0	0	600	138
Am. Miss. Assn.....	23	150	11,000	300	70		347	717	139
City.....		522	10,200						140
Church and Miss. So.....	0		100,000	2,800	460		11,000	14,260	141
New Eng. Y. M.....					428		686	1,114	142
A. M. Assn., tuition.....	4,000	2,000	45,000	0	4,600		4,000	8,600	143
F. A., S. Ed. Society.....	8,000	500	75,000		1,150		6,850	8,000	144
State and County.....	0	0	2,100						145
F. A., S. Ed. Society.....	150	4,000	105,000	0	10,500	350	7,750	18,600	146
A. M. Assn., contributions.....	35,365	6,387	375,000		5,425	2,450		7,875	147
State.....		12							148
A. B. H. M. S., tuitions.....		4,000	150,000		1,500		8,000	9,500	149
Am. Miss. Assn., tuition.....	150	1,800	35,000	0	775	0	1,750	2,525	150
State and City.....	0		2,000	4,000	15	0	10	4,025	151
Donations.....		400	40,000	0			5,500	5,500	152
State.....		75	17,000						153

TABLE 10.—Schools for the education of the colored race—

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.													
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
TEXAS—continued.																				
154	Hearne Academy, Normal and Industrial School.*	0	0	0	15	16	31	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	1	2
155	Bishop College	3	0	3	129	106	235	13									11	70		
156	Wiley University	0	0	0	15	162	177							0	0	5	18	117	27	0
157	Colored High School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
158	Prairie View State Normal School.*				77	74	151	35	39									66		
159	Paul Quinn College	1	3	4	100	16	116	100	1		1						9	14	66	
VIRGINIA.																				
160	Ingleside Seminary				0	115	115											115	115	115
161	Gloucester Agricultural and Industrial School.				34	55	89	27								2			15	45
162	Colored Graded School																			
163	Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.				302	184	486	47	28	5	5	8	1	14	16	8	8	107	45	254
164	St. Paul Normal and Industrial School.	3	2	5	46	30	76	10	8	2	5	2		5		8	6	12	18	
165	Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth.	0	0	0	40	53	93	40	40									47	44	
166	Public High School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
167	Norfolk Mission College				29	268	297										28	269		
168	Bishop Payne Divinity and Industrial School.	9	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
169	Peabody School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
170	Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.	0	0	0	0	133	133											133	20	
171	Hartshorn Memorial College				1	77	78	1	1									77	61	
172	High and Normal School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
173	Richmond Theological Seminary.	53	0	53																
WEST VIRGINIA.																				
174	West Virginia Colored Institute.	0	0	0	44	56	100		40		8			4	40	0		56	4	
175	Storer College				15	76	91		12								4	70	65	
176	High School																			

*Statistics of 1895-96.

from circ. inf. 1, 1898

(E. W. Fay.)

Chapter VI.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF FREEDMEN.

Besides what has been done by the State in the Southern University, already described, the following are the more important agencies that serve this end:

LELAND UNIVERSITY.*

Leland University owes its existence to the consecrated beneficence of Holbrook Chamberlain, of Brooklyn, N. Y., who went to New Orleans in 1870, purchased the site, consisting of 4 squares of ground fronting on St. Charles avenue, containing about 9 acres, and effected an organization of a board of trustees, whose first act of incorporation is dated March 26, 1870. The first trustees were Holbrook Chamberlain, E. E. L. Taylor, Seymour Straight, Charles Satchell, James B. Simmons, Thomas W. Conway, Esau Carter, Jay S. Backus, Hiram Hutchins, Richard De Baptist, Nathan Brown, William Howe, and Leonard Grimes. Deacon Chamberlain accepted the position of treasurer and occupied it until his death, which occurred in 1883, giving personal attention to the financial interest of the university and contributing liberally to its support. In this he was assisted by the United States Government, through the Freedman's Bureau, which appropriated \$17,500 toward the first building, and by the American Baptist Home Mission Society, which appropriated \$12,500 toward the purchase of the ground. In addition to this the society donated to the trustees, for school purposes, during the years 1874 to 1886, various sums, averaging over \$3,000 annually. During two of these years (1884, 1885) the society, by special arrangement, assumed the entire support of the teachers, paying over \$4,000 each year—in 1884, \$7,544, less \$3,468 received from tuition, donations, etc., and in 1885, \$7,871, less \$3,371 received.

In 1873 a large 3-story brick building, with Mansard roof, 100 feet long and 80 feet wide, was erected upon St. Charles avenue. In 1881 the new dormitory for girls was commenced. This also was of brick,

*This sketch has been furnished the writer by the president, Rev. E. C. Mitchell, D. D., for fifteen years professor of biblical interpretation in Baptist theological schools at Alton and Chicago, Ill., and, more recently, president of a theological school in Paris, France.

3 stories high, 100 by 50 feet, with a large basement devoted to laundry and boarding purposes. This building was completed in the fall of 1884 at a cost of about \$25,000.

The university was named by the founder in honor of his wife, who was a direct descendant of Elder John Leland, of Cheshire, Mass. Mrs. Chamberlain died before her husband. When he had finished his earthly work, it was found that in his will the bulk of his property, amounting to about \$100,000, had been left as an endowment fund for the support of the institution to whose interests he had devoted much of the later years of his honorable and useful life. A memorandum in the jubilee volume (1882) of the American Baptist Home Mission Society (p. 36) estimates the aggregate of his gifts to the institution during his lifetime at \$65,000, and adds:

With rare devotion and self-forgetfulness, he has for years lived for this object, putting time, talents, and possessions into the Christ-like service of lifting the lowly up into a higher life.

Although the institution was founded with a broad view to higher education, and therefore provided with a university charter similar in general features to that of American universities, yet, being at the same time, by its charter, open to all without distinction of sex or color, its first work in that locality was necessarily confined chiefly to the education of descendants of the colored race. The beginning of its internal work, therefore, was humble and primitive. The school, at first a primary grade, gradually advanced to grammar and to high-school instruction, and for some years chiefly provided for the preparation of teachers to supply the needs of public and private schools then springing up in all the Southern States. The first principal was the Rev. William Rollinson, of New Jersey, who taught until October, 1872, and who was succeeded by Rev. S. B. Gregory, who died in 1873. Rev. S. B. Barker, his associate in instruction, took charge until 1876, when he was succeeded by Rev. Marsena Stone, D. D. In 1878, Rev. S. J. Axtell was appointed president. His successor was Rev. J. S. Morton, who entered upon duty October 1, 1881, ex-President Axtell being appointed to the department of biblical instruction. In 1882, Rev. H. R. Traver, of Saratoga, N. Y., took charge of the institution, remaining in office until 1886. After an interim of one year the present faculty were appointed.

Since that period important changes have taken place, not only in the course of instruction, but in the organization of the institution. It having become evident that the time had arrived for the university to perform its proper work of higher education, the standard of admission to the classes was raised, so as to eliminate the lower grades and relegate the work of primary instruction to preparatory schools. Full normal and college work is now being performed in all departments. For the further enlargement of the scope of the university a new charter was obtained in 1891, more than doubling the number of trustees,

removing the limitations of its vested funds, and securing greater strength in the personality and power of its members, North and South. A system of affiliated schools was inaugurated by which the faculty of the university could exercise control over the preparatory course of study in secondary institutions established at important centers outside of New Orleans. The conditions under which these schools are admitted to the auxiliary relation are as follows:

1. That a property fairly valued at \$2,000 shall be provided by the trustees and kept in repair by them, with taxes, insurance, and incidental expenses paid.
2. That the tuition, to the amount of at least \$1 per month for each pupil, be reported and paid to the university before the 15th of each school month.
3. That the course of study prepared by the Leland faculty for use in preparatory schools (or "Leland academies") be adopted by the school with such textbooks as are from time to time prescribed.
4. The teachers of the school are to be appointed by us in consultation with the trustees of the school; and their names will appear as members of our faculty. Their salaries are to be paid by the university on terms which may be agreed upon, to be adjusted with reference to the apparent needs and probable income of the school.
5. Graduates of the school will be received into the regular normal classes of the university without examination. The best scholar in each graduating class will receive from the university a prize of \$1 per month deducted from his first term bill, and the second best scholar will receive a prize of 50 cents per month in the same way.

The courses of study are as follows:

NORMAL.

Junior year.—First term, algebra, rhetoric, physiology; second term, algebra, physical geography, physics.

Middle year.—First term, algebra, Latin, physics; second term, algebra, Latin, chemistry.

Senior year.—First term, geometry, Latin, civil government; second term, geometry, Latin, laws and practice of teaching.

COLLEGIATE.

Junior and middle years identical with normal.

Senior year.—Geometry, Latin, Greek.

COLLEGE COURSE.

Freshman year.—Latin, Greek, geometry, trigonometry.

Sophomore year.—Latin, Greek, analytical geometry, physics.

Junior year.—Rhetoric, logic, English literature, Greek, physics, physiology, astronomy.

Senior year.—Psychology, moral science, Christian evidences, history of civilization, political economy, chemistry, geology.

THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

Junior year.—Biblical introduction and history, evidences of Christianity and Biblical interpretation.

Middle year.—Biblical geography and archaeology, Biblical interpretation, theology, church history, sermonizing.

Senior year.—Biblical interpretation, pastoral theology, sacred rhetoric, church polity.

STRAIGHT UNIVERSITY.*

It became evident very early that New Orleans was an important point at which to establish an educational institution for the colored people.

Prominent among those interesting themselves in the matter was Hon. Seymour Straight, then engaged in the produce business in this city, now of Hudson, Ohio. Hon. Edward Heath, Mr. Charles Heath, and others were its warm advocates.

The United States Government was appealed to, and a building was erected on the corner of Esplanade and Burgundy streets, the ground being the property of the American Missionary Association, and the school was to be under their control.

As Mr. Straight was by far the largest contributor, it was in his honor named "Straight University." He has always been the firm friend and constant benefactor of the institution. The institution received her charter from the State legislature, granting her all the rights of establishing technical departments, granting degrees, etc., in 1869, and the new building was dedicated in February, 1870.

The notion that education would somehow lift them into a higher and better life seemed to take at once a strong hold on the minds of these people, and they flocked to this and other schools, literally by thousands. Few of them had any fair conception of what a school was, and many only remained a few days, others coming in to fill their places, and with this irregularity little, comparatively, in the way of thorough instruction could be given.

But things constantly improved, and soon a more perfect organization was effected. Great good was accomplished notwithstanding all the drawbacks, and thousands who to-day are occupying prominent positions as preachers, teachers, merchants, and farmers look back with grateful remembrance to the time they spent at "The Straights" or "The Universe," as many of them still call it.

In 1877 the building on Esplanade street was destroyed by fire, and with it much that would aid in compiling its history, as well as a valuable library, the gift of Northern friends. School was held for some months in Central Church, on Liberty street, but without delay a piece of ground was selected on Canal street, its present site, and the university building erected and dedicated October 1, 1878.

In 1881 Mrs. Valina G. Stone, of Malden, Mass., gave \$25,000, with which an additional half square of land was purchased, and Stone Hall, a beautiful and convenient building three stories high, 100 feet front on Canal street, and with wing 190 feet on Rocheblave, was erected. This is now occupied as the teachers' home and girls' dormitory.

* Account furnished by Rev. R. C. Hitchcock, A. M., president.

In October, 1883, the boys' dormitory, *Whitin Hall*, was erected, so named in honor of Hon. William C. *Whitin*. Ten thousand dollars was received from the estate of Mr. *Whitin* and \$5,000 from the generous hand of Mr. *Straight* for the erection of this building.

In 1886 the building occupied as Vermont headquarters at the exposition was obtained and is now occupied as a library.

In 1886 an industrial department was added, largely by the aid of money from the *Slater* fund, a shop erected, and now several departments of mechanical work are in successful operation.

The grounds, which are pleasantly situated on Canal street, in the most beautiful part of the city, are handsomely laid out and planted with trees, vines, ornamental shrubs, and flowers, the work all being done by students. This year a new and larger shop is to be built, and a greenhouse for the education of students in floriculture is in contemplation.

Standing as we do, a central point for the whole Gulf coast, facing Mexico and the islands, no school has better promise of a grand future than *Straight*.

Among our students are representatives from Cuba, Honduras, Mexico, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, and nearly every parish of our own State.

LAW DEPARTMENT.

Our law department graduated its first class in 1876. Since then it has graduated 81, all of whom have been admitted to the bar of this or other States. Among these are many, both white and colored, who take high rank in their profession, and who have filled prominent positions. I name: Judge Alfred E. Billings and Hon. L. A. Martinet, New Orleans; Hon. Charles A. Baquie, Hahnville, La.; Hon. Lucien Adams, New Orleans, La.; Thomas De Saliere Tucker, esq., Pensacola, Fla.; William H. Hodgkins, esq., Nashville, Tenn.; David B. Temple, esq., Vicksburg, Miss.; Hon. John F. Patty, St. Marys, La.; Hon. C. A. Roxborough, Iberville, La.; Hon. P. B. S. Pinchback, New Orleans, La.; Jason L. Jones, esq., Plaquemine, La.

Among its undergraduates are several who have held important positions: Lieutenant-Governor C. C. Aubeine, Shreveport, La.; Hon. Henry C. C. Astwood, United States consul at Santo Domingo; Hon. S. A. McElwen, Tennessee; J. M. Vance, esq., New Orleans, and others.

THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

From this department have gone forth hundreds who are intelligently preaching God's word in this and neighboring States. Among these I name Rev. A. E. P. Albert, D. D., formerly presiding elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church, now the popular editor of the *Southwestern*.

CLASSICAL AND NORMAL.

From these departments have gone hundreds of teachers, many occupying prominent places as superintendents of schools in cities and towns of Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, and other States. Mr. W. H. Reynolds, A. B., is superintendent of colored schools in Vicksburg, Miss., a post he has held several years with much honor. Mr. E. C. Freeman has won his way to a high place in the public schools of Manhattan, Kans. Six are teachers in the public schools of New Orleans.

Our rooms are crowded every year, and had we more room our numbers could and would be doubled.

During the year 1889 our attendance was 569.

In 1888 University Church was organized, with Rev. M. L. Berger, D. D., as pastor, with about fifty members. We have one of the largest Sunday schools in the city.

Our library numbers about 2,000 volumes.

The institution was founded in 1869, opened in 1870, burned in 1877, and rebuilt in 1878.

PROPERTY.

University building, 100 by 60 feet, two stories.....	\$15,000
Stone Hall, 100 by 190 feet, three stories.....	25,000
Whitin Hall, 100 by 50 feet, three stories.....	15,000
Library.....	1,000
Shop and equipments.....	800
Printing office.....	800
Storehouse.....	300
Cisterns and outbuildings.....	1,000
Land.....	20,000

We occupy a whole square of ground, bounded by Canal, Rocheblave, Tonti, and Cleveland streets. Our grounds are high, the roadways and sidewalks never flooded; the situation is the most healthful in the city.

College course, four years.

	Language.	Mathematics.	Science.
Freshman	Anabasis, three terms. Virgil's Æneid, two terms. Livy, one term, with composition.		Physics, two terms. Chemistry, one term.
Sophomore	Homer's Iliad, three terms. Livy, one term, with composition. Horace, two terms.	Higher algebra, two terms. Geometry, two terms.	Science of education.
Junior	Homer's Odyssey, two terms. Herodotus, with Greek composition, one term. Tacitus, two terms. French, two terms.	Trigonometry, one term.	Geology, one term.
Senior	English literature, one term. Logic, one term.	Review of all common branches.	Mental science, two terms. Civil government, one term. Political economy, one term. Evidences of Christianity, one term. Astronomy, one term.

NEW ORLEANS UNIVERSITY.*

The Union Normal School of New Orleans was organized July 9, 1869, with the following board of managers: Rev. R. K. Diossy, president; Rev. L. C. Matlack, Hon. J. P. Sullivan, Gen. Cyrus Bussey, Henry C. Dibble, esq., F. J. Emley, esq., Louis Banks, esq., and Rev. Robert H. Steptoe.

As the principal object proposed was the preparation of teachers for the education of the colored children of the State, application for assistance was made to Bvt. Maj. Gen. Edward Hatch, then in charge of the Freedman's Bureau in Louisiana.

A property well suited to the purposes of the institution, situated on the corner of Camp and Race streets, was purchased by General Hatch for \$12,000 and donated to the school. In the fall of 1869 the first session was opened, and after three years of prosperity the work was enlarged by merging the Normal School into the New Orleans University.

By an act of the general assembly, approved March 22, 1873, by William P. Kellogg, governor of the State of Louisiana, the institution was regularly chartered, and J. C. Hartzell, I. S. Leavitt, Cyrus Bussey, Emperor Williams, H. C. Dibble, John Baldwin, George Dardis, W. M. Daily, M. C. Cole, James H. Ingraham, C. W. Boothby, J. M. Vance, Pierre Landry, W. G. Brown, and J. Barth were constituted the first board of trustees.

The following-named gentlemen have served as presidents: Rev. I. S. Leavitt, A. M.; Rev. W. D. Godman, D. D.; Rev. James Bean, A. M.; Prof. I. N. Faler, A. M.; Rev. James Dean, D. D.; Rev. L. G. Adkinson, A. M., D. D.

During three years the institution was under the direction of Rev. A. F. Hoyt, Ph. D., and Rev. I. L. Lowe, A. M., Ph. D., as acting presidents.

In 1884 the property on Camp and Race streets was sold and a block on the corner of St. Charles and Valmont was purchased, where the school is now located. A large brick building, 156 feet front by 120 feet deep in the L, five stories high, has just been completed. It contains six school rooms, chapel, offices, cloakrooms, bathrooms, with dormitory rooms and dining-room accommodations for 180 students. The entire property is valued at \$75,000. The enrollment, including boarding and day students, in January, 1889, was 232. The faculty then consisted of Rev. L. G. Adkinson, A. M., D. D., president; Rev. Thomas M. Dart, A. M., professor ancient languages; Harvey J. Clements, B. S., professor natural science; Miss Maria C. Kilgrove, principal grammar school; Albert R. Adkinson, principal model school; Miss Belle Adkinson, principal music department; B. M. Hubbard and A. P. Camphor, tutors; William Porter, principal night school; W. E. Chamberlain, superintendent mechanical department; Mrs. M. A. Adkinson, principal sewing department.

*Account furnished by President L. G. Adkinson, A. M., D. D. Since this account was written a medical department has been added to the institution.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE FUTURE OF THE COLORED RACE.

I.

THE OPPORTUNITY AND OBLIGATION OF THE EDUCATED CLASS OF THE COLORED RACE IN THE SOUTHERN STATES. AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE FOR NEGROES, AT NORMAL, ALA., MAY 29, 1899, BY REV. A. D. MAYO, A. M., LL. D.

I do not appear before the faculty and students of the Agricultural and Mechanical College to discuss what the newspapers and politicians call "the race question" in the Southern United States. What is here called the "race problem," under another form, is equally pressing in the Northern States of the Union. It is only one section of the radical problem raised by that new departure in human affairs, the original Declaration of American Independence, fought out through eight terrible years of the war of the Revolution, and finally embodied in the Constitution of a republican government for the United States of America, declared, substantially, by Mr. Gladstone to be the most remarkable achievement of original statesmanship ever struck out by any body of men in the history of mankind.

The motive power of that new government and order of society, now a century old—the great political dynamo that generates the force which moves and illumines the national life—is the radical idea, then for the first time deliberately adopted by any government, that it is possible to construct a nationality in which "all orders and conditions of people" can live together, each man, woman, and child a vital part of the whole, every member protected in all the fundamental rights of human nature, including the sovereign right to strive for his own highest possibility of manhood or womanhood, and all working together for the common good.

That lofty idea of our new American nationality is only the translation into public affairs of the idea of human nature and possibility announced by Jesus Christ in the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, the Beatitudes, the Golden Rule, and the Law of Love. After an eighteen-century struggle upward out of the darkness of a paganism which held to the fundamental heresy of antiquity that every superior man was a brevet deity and all the rest of the world human trash, "in the fullness of time" this great American new departure sent greeting back to Palestine and began the mighty experiment of educating all orders and conditions of people upward toward that American sovereign citizenship, which truly achieved is the loftiest position in the world, made possible to every son and daughter of God.

Of course, it was not to be expected that ideals so lofty could at once be wrought into the actual life of any people. The entire history of this Republic during its first century is only a record of the intermittent progress toward this exalted declaration. It was only after the most terrible civil war of modern times, involving the slaughter of half a million of the flower of American youth, and the disappearance of the earnings of an entire generation of the people in the form of powder and shot, with the complete overthrow of the entire organization of human society through half the national area and its reorganization through the entire extent that we were able to include the whole American people in the world's great roll of honor, Amer-

ican citizenship, and with that the perilous attempt to confer on every man the last and most eminent right of free suffrage. Even this was only another attempt to legislate an ideal into the common life of the nation—an attempt whose realization remains for our children.

But this has been gained. "The past is secure." We begin the twentieth century of our Lord and the second century of the nation with the all-around agreement that hereafter this sovereign obligation to educate all orders and conditions of people toward the high ideal of American society shall proceed by the agencies of peace. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

From this time onward all the forces of the higher civilization of the twentieth century are to be concentrated and worked to their uttermost to solve the original American problem: How can all these peoples who, since the dawn of history, have lived in a chronic state of active warfare, only broken by more or less brief periods of truce, here, in the world's greatest Republic, be educated up to living together in a government and order of society consecrated to the highest welfare of all? And for the solution of this mighty problem the American people presents to the world the most original of all its many "new inventions," the people's common school. This, the most central and powerful of all our present agencies of American civilization, is practically a little republic, planted in 250,000 schoolhouses, in every State, Territory, county, city, township, and hamlet of this broad land. It is, when truly understood, fitly organized, and well conducted, the most complete and influential representative of the practical religion announced and lived by the great Teacher, Statesman and Savior of mankind.

The American ideal of manhood and womanhood is the same as that announced and lived by Him, so fitly named by the poet, "the first true gentleman that ever lived." The motto of "the first society" in this Republic is simply the old scripture: "Let him who is greatest among you be your servant." The American ideal of personal superiority that overrides every theory of race, class, culture, power, manhood, or womanhood of the past, is that all superiority of the individual is only another opportunity to serve the whole. We shall never reach the impracticable dream of the optimistic philanthropist—a millennium where all people will be equal in all respects. The law of human superiority through its myriad of forms will forever assert itself; it is to-day as relentless and masterful here as in any of the older nationalities or in any period of history. All discussion of this most puerile of fancies is idle breath. The only question left us to discuss, by the Providence that sets limits and bounds to every soul, is what are the opportunities and obligations of every man, every class, every race, in its relations to the mass of mankind? And here we face the everlasting ordinance: The Son of man and Son of God comes into this world "not to be ministered unto, but to minister." The end of all activity in the family, the church, the school, the state, through all the higher agencies of civilization, in every Christian land, is to educate the whole people into the complete possession and use of their own superiorities toward the idea of the law of service. This is all there is in the "race question" of the South, and the larger question of the welfare of all the races and classes now represented in the 75,000,000 American people.

It is doubtless an interesting question, What are the opportunities and obligations of the 65,000,000 American people, made up from the ingathering here of all the European nationalities, toward the 10,000,000 new-made colored citizens in the United States, and the 10,000,000 strangers in the islands of the sea that may be thrown upon us by the providence of the past year of successful war? But I do not discuss this question to-day, although never declining to discuss it, when presented upon proper conditions, as an American and not a local or sectional question, at a fit time and place. To-day I propose to talk, not at long, but at short, range. I propose to inquire, What are the opportunities and obligations of the 100,000 more or less youth of the colored race who, in contrast with the remaining 9,900,000, may be

called educated in respect to this vast multitude, more than twice as numerous as the entire population of the United States under the first Presidency of Washington? For this body of the 100,000 colored people this inquiry transcends all others, just now, in importance. For, according to the way in which this opportunity and obligation are understood, accepted and lived out by this 100,000, will depend, not only the present welfare of the 10,000,000 colored race at home, but in large measure the future policy of the nation in dealing with the coming multitudes that the providence of God may bring, through years to come, within the expanding influence of the national life.

Let us, at first, try to understand the actual condition of affairs among the 10,000,000 of the colored race in the Southern States, as far as relates to their higher development. The air is darkened, and the sunlight of common sense, not to say common humanity, is now obscured by a flock of theories. But we may as well remember that this great problem is finally to be solved by those who best understand the facts of the case, and have the broadest and most profound apprehension of the eternal principles of justice and love, to which all our human affairs must sooner or later adjust themselves.

What is the actual condition of the 10,000,000 of the colored race in these sixteen United States, which creates the opportunity and obligation of the 100,000, more or less, who to-day, by the favor of Providence and largely through the benevolence of friendly people in both sections of the country, are recognized as the educated class?

After twenty years of careful observation in every Southern State, each of which I know geographically and educationally as well as I know my native State (Massachusetts), I see a few evident facts.

1. I see that no people in human history has made such progress out of the underworld of paganism and barbarism, from which we all emerged, in three hundred years, as the colored people of the United States. I certainly do not undertake to defend the institution of negro slavery. But that man must be blind who does not see that the 6,000,000 people who in 1865 stepped over the threshold of the nation's temple of liberty, were in every essential respect another people than their ancestors in the dark continent—perhaps the majority of whom were there not a hundred and fifty years before. In all save the education that comes through schools and books, the colored race, in 1865, at the close of the civil war, had laid the foundations of all education in the three great acquirements that underlie our Christian civilization. They had learned the art of continuous and profitable work. They had learned the English language, the language of the people that leads in the idea of constitutional republican government. They had accepted the Christian religion, according to the creeds and ideals of conduct prevailing among the vast majority of the American people. With all its defects, the American people, at that period, had made the most headway in the organization of Christian ideals of life in their form of society and government, of any people. The whole people was responsible for the condition of these 6,000,000, of whom it could be said that, on the whole, their transition from African barbarism and paganism to American citizenship had been accomplished with less suffering and general demoralization than the similar elevation of any European people during the past thousand years.

How this came about no theologian, sociologist, or statesman has yet been fully able to explain. But practical, everyday men, who are doing the work of this world, have come to the conclusion, after eighteen centuries of a half-paganized and half-Christianized civilization, that God Almighty is the great moral economist of the universe. Whatever may be the status of man as he comes into this world, no man is permitted to get out of this world until, by his own will, or over his will, he has contributed something to the common cause of the uplift of the human race. If there indeed be an eternal hell, no eternal sinner can get there without, at some point in his doleful journey, he pays toll at some gate of heaven. The rela-

tion of the American people to the present 10,000,000 colored American citizens will finally be judged by history, from the fact of the progress of the colored race during its two hundred and fifty years' residence in the country, as revealed by its condition in the year of final emancipation, in 1865.

Indeed, so evident was this fact that the people then representing the Union, in due time after the close of the civil war, was moved to confer upon these 6,000,000 of freedmen the highest earthly distinction—full American citizenship.

This act now certainly appears the most hazardous experiment of the kind in history. But it was only an extension of the established practice of the whole country which, in 1860, had already admitted to full citizenship great multitudes of the lower orders of European immigrants; hundreds of thousands of whom were, in several essential ways, less prepared to use worthily this supreme gift than many corresponding thousands of the more intelligent of the colored folk. In fact, this act was a compliment to the training of the colored people in the South. And no statesman to-day is wise enough to decide with confidence, whether things in the United States would have been, on the whole, better at the beginning of the second century of the national life had not this happened.

But the most grievous result of this experiment has not been to the white, but to the colored man himself. Every European people has been compelled to reach its present condition of political and social emancipation through a thousand years of war, pestilence, and famine. Every step in the rough road has been gained only after a generation, sometimes a century, of conflict that has made Europe the cemetery of the human race. But the American colored man received more than any European people has yet gained, with no conspicuous effort of his own. Still, the everlasting law abides, that nothing worth having in this world is won and held save through the extreme of toil, suffering and sacrifice. Our 10,000,000 colored people in the United States are now passing through their own wilderness on their way to the promised land, which, to-day, to all save a superior class, is like a far-away mountain range on a distant horizon, sighted now and then through clouds and storms and mists by the dwellers in the valley below.

Doubtless there are still some great advantages in the situation. It is such an advantage as no people in history has yet enjoyed, that the final destiny of this people can be wrought out through the agencies of peace. We are certainly approaching that new and blessed era when "Sword, Pestilence, and Famine," the three terrible teachers of the past, are being remanded to ancient history. In their place the colored man is now invited to take his place in the great university of the new American life, whose faculty consists of Professor Free Labor, Professor Free Church, and Professor Free School, with the good will of every wise and benevolent man and woman in Christendom, and such a prize on the gleaming mountain top has never yet allured the hopes and strung the nerves of any race of men. Surely no people on earth, at any time in a similar condition of the colored race in these States, has had so much to encourage it, so many friends, such powerful forces working in its behalf, as these 10,000,000, represented by this institution of learning and civilization in which we are gathered to-day.

2. But another thing I see, just as plainly as what has now been stated. I can not help seeing that more than half the 10,000,000 of these colored people are still weighted with the bottom disability to the use and enjoyment of full American citizenship, an illiteracy that still holds practically in bondage 60 per cent of the entire number. In the six States where what is called the "Race problem" is now the most stringent—Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, and North Carolina—this illiteracy, during the present decade, has ranged from 60 per cent of all persons over 10 years of age in North Carolina and Mississippi, to 64 per cent in South Carolina, 67 per cent in Georgia, 69 per cent in Alabama, and even to 72 per cent in Louisiana. In the District of Columbia, where the national Government, in connection with the

District, supports the best common school system in the country for the colored race, 35 per cent of these people over 10 years of age are illiterate, largely from the constant drifting in of the poorer classes from the neighboring States.

It is certainly a great tribute to the American people of all sections that during the past thirty-five years this illiteracy of the colored race has been reduced 40 per cent. Especially is it honorable to the Southern people, that \$100,000,000 have been expended, chiefly by the white race, under conditions that we all know, during the past thirty years, for the education of the freedmen in common schools. It is also honorable that the North and the nation, from the beginning of the civil war to the present day, have probably contributed an equal sum. The Christian people of the Northern States are now spending more than \$1,000,000 a year, largely for the superior education of Southern colored youth. But this does not change the stubborn fact that 60 of every 100 colored people in our own 16 Southern States, men, women, and children, above the age of 10, are living to-day in the most unfortunate of all conditions—illiteracy.

We are all the time discussing this question of illiteracy at cross purposes. It is regarded simply as an ignorance of letters; and we are reminded that the use of letters, five hundred years ago, was the luxury of the few, and that within the memory of living men the majority of people in Christendom was in this condition. We are called anew to admire the model virtues of people unable to read and write. An entire literature has sprung up concerning the colored race, in which the moral and social excellencies of the old-time slave population are duly magnified, sometimes to the extent that we suspect the author never heard of a respectable colored man who could read and write. But all conditions of this sort are perilous or harmless, according to their social and civil environment. Illiteracy in these United States to-day is no longer an amiable or, except under conditions rapidly passing away, an excusable weakness. Illiteracy in Alabama to-day means ignorance, superstition, shiftlessness, vulgarity, and vice, rolled together in the person of one illiterate man or woman, and concentrated as the bottom slum and slough of every American community. It is indeed a great black ocean, pestilent, hideous, malarious, under every State, community and family, steaming up death and destruction through all the lowlands of our American semicivilization and drifting in its poisonous moral and social atmosphere through the open door and window of every palace in the land.

The only condition under which ignorance is apparently a harmless element in society is in a social order, organized according to the old-time patriarchal and paternal method, guided by an aristocracy of intelligence and character that protects the masses from their foes without and their own folly and unrighteousness. Doubtless in some of its localities, and everywhere in some of its aspects, the institution of American slavery could be mentioned in this connection. Indeed, even the desire for, not to say the possession of, letters, would not only have been a constant peril to the institution itself, but under ordinary conditions intelligence could scarcely be regarded a blessing to the enslaved. But all this is ancient history.

To-day every ignorant man, woman, or child in this Republic is in a state of siege from the Grand Army that marches under its four generals in chief—Superstition, Shiftlessness, Vulgarity, and Vice. His ignorance is not only his great misfortune, but his deadliest temptation to all varieties of folly, weakness, and transgression, which land their victim in a state more hopeless than any form of "natural depravity."

And even more than this, the illiteracy of any considerable American class is the greatest peril to every grade of people above it. No American community, Anglo-Saxon or otherwise, however exalted by wealth and culture and social refinement and civic power, even by the Christian religion as it is now understood, preached, and practiced, is proof against the terrible temptation from a race in the present condition of 60 per cent of the colored people of these sixteen States. I make no

charge, and have none to make, concerning the moral superiority or inferiority of the Southern people in all that concerns good American manhood and womanhood. They, doubtless, like all portions of the American people, have peculiar superstitions, shadowed by the defects that are the peculiar temptation of every superior or dominant race. But no people in history has been able to resist the perpetual influence of having among it another people, mixed up with everything in its daily life, always accessible, dependent, and always in the way in the hour of temptation, sixty of every hundred in the condition that every illiterate colored man or woman must be; each of them, meanwhile, endowed with all the powers of full American citizenship. As well might a colony expect to avoid the blight of malaria in the great Dismal Swamp, or expect to live in health and comfort with the basement story of its houses under water in a Mississippi River overflow, a turbid ocean 100 miles wide, choked with drift, swarming with all the fearful, loathsome, and malignant creatures driven from their own haunts by the frightful invasion. It is not in the South alone that this terrible scourge of illiteracy is manifest. It is a national breeding place of all manner of moral sickness and mental perversion, touching the most remote outpost of the republic, turning the national mind and conscience upside down, with now and then an explosion, as from the bottomless pit, of wrath, fear, and hatred, that often reveals the best man and the most saintly woman to themselves as a possible rebel against every human sanctity and every ordinance of justice, order, and common humanity, established by the experience of the human race.

Now I am not here to-day to lecture the white people of these States, as I have been talking and writing to and about them for the past twenty years, with the encouragement and general assent and approval of their foremost people in every State, city, and hamlet visited, concerning their duty in this emergency. I am not here to declare that the North should repent of its great failure in Congress ten years ago to put forth the mighty hand of the nation to enable the South to increase the quantity and improve the quality of the schooling it had already established for both races of its people. I am here to-day to call attention to the opportunity and the obligation of the 100,000, more or less, of colored youth below the age of 35, all born under the American flag, all American citizens, concerning the deliverance of one-half the race out of the submerged district, the lowest slough and slum of the nation, which we still choose to cover up by the fine dictionary word—illiteracy.

3. For, at the opposite end of the social plateau of these 10,000,000 we find a body which, in contrast with the illiterates, may be named an educated class. It is only by a sharp contrast that this distinction can be awarded to possibly more than 100,000 young persons of both sexes, who, during the past thirty-five years, have been enrolled for a longer or shorter period in the group of institutions originally established by the churches and benevolent associations of the North, but latterly supplemented by all the States of the South, for the secondary, higher, and industrial training of selected colored youth. Within the past fifteen years every Southern State has established one, or more than one, free school of the secondary, normal, and industrial grade after the type of the famous Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute founded by Gen. S. C. Armstrong, at Hampton, Va., soon after the close of the civil war. In the year 1896-97 there were 169 schools for the secondary and higher education of colored youth in operation in these sixteen States, with 1,795 professors and teachers, 1,008 of whom were women, 45,402 students, 25,159 girls and 20,243 boys; 2,108 of the (1,526 males and 582 females) being in college grades. In the secondary, the high, and academical grades there were 15,203 students, a majority of 2,000 girls. In the elementary, or what is known as the primary and grammar grades, there were 28,091 pupils—11,773 boys and 16,318 girls.

Apart from the State normal and industrial seminaries, which, as a rule, do not include the classics, and the pupils in attendance on an increasing number of free

high schools in cities, there would seem to be at present some 2,410 students in classical, 974 in scientific, and 11,340 in higher English studies; 14,724 in all above the elementary grades. In the normal classes, but few of which can be regarded as professional other than in name, there were 5,081 students, about equally divided by sex. There were only 295 students in "business courses," of whom 179 were males. There were 1,311 professional students named, the large majority in theology and medicine. Of the 13,581 included in industrial training, 8,611 were girls and 4,970 boys, of whom 1,027 were studying farming, 1,496 carpentry, and a smaller number other mechanical occupations.

These schools report 224,794 volumes in libraries. The entire value of their buildings, grounds, etc., is \$7,714,958. Their annual income is \$1,045,278. All this, save \$141,262 from tuition money, \$271,839 from State or municipal aid, and \$92,080 from permanent funds, comes in the way of a benefaction from the North, whence this entire plant of \$7,700,000 has been derived. Probably \$3,000,000 has been given in permanent funds. Many of these higher schools have been in existence for twenty or more years. More than a dozen of them, established by the Northern churches, have assumed the title "college" or "university," and are organized according to the academical and collegiate methods of the leading denominational seminaries in both sections of the country fifty years ago, with such additions especially in their industrial and normal departments and improved methods of teaching as may have been found expedient.

It is impossible to determine the number of colored youth who, since the year 1870, have been at different times enrolled in these 169 seminaries of the secondary and higher education, and who to a greater or less extent have received a permanent influence from such attendance.

The majority have doubtless profited more in their improved manners and morals than in their scholarship by this experience. Still, it would seem impossible that any save a perverse or utterly careless youth could spend over a year in one of these schools, in contact with these often cultivated and always faithful teachers, really surrounded by a new world, without becoming in some way a member of the educational in contrast with the illiterate class.

It is probably not an overestimate and it may be an underestimate to say that of the 10,000,000 colored people in the United States 100,000, under the age of 30 years, are regarded by the masses of their own people as educated. Certainly more than 500,000, possibly 1,000,000 children and youth of this race during the thirty-five years since emancipation have entered manhood and womanhood with more schooling than George Washington, John Marshall, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, Henry Wilson, Horace Greeley, George Peabody, and multitudes of men and women in all sections of the country, who are named in history or cherished in the memory of important communities as leaders in the higher region of American life during the first century of the Republic. This is a great testimonial to the capacity of the race, the last to step over the threshold of civilized life in these modern days. And it should assure the most despondent friend of the negro that the destiny of these 10,000,000 is safe in charge of the American people. It is only necessary that it be itself awakened to the one supreme obligation of every class in the Republic, the duty to learn the great American art of self-help and follow its own noblest and wisest leaders toward the "prize of the high calling," a complete American citizenship—the grandest prize that now tempts the worthy ambition of mankind.

Of this body of the educated 100,000, 27,000 are now reported as teachers of the 1,500,000 children enrolled in the public schools, 900,000 of whom are in "average daily attendance."

The attendance of colored children and youth in public schools is on the whole an encouraging tribute to the demand of this people for education. There were 1,460,084

enrolled in all the public schools for the race in 1896-97. There are 2,816,340 colored children and youth between 5 and 18 years of age in the 16 Southern States, 32.65 per cent of the entire school population of the South. Of this number 51.84 per cent were enrolled in public schools, against 67.79 per cent of the white children of similar grade. The average daily attendance of those enrolled in colored schools was 61.95 per cent, in comparison with 67.58 per cent of the white. In 1897-98 there was one colored teacher to every 33 colored pupils in average attendance at the Southern common schools. The annual cost of the public schooling of these 900,000 children in 1897-98 was \$6,656,000, with probably \$2,000,000 additional for the secondary and higher education. Of the public school expenditure almost the entire sum is obtained by taxation of the white people of the South. But this is simply in accordance with the American common school idea, which is that the property of the State shall educate the children of the State. As the colored laboring class of the South, like the corresponding white class in the North, is in large measure the creator of the wealth of the country, it is no special hardship that the white property owners of the South should largely support the common school for all.

But the historian of education will record to the enduring praise of the Southern people that during the past thirty years, despite the overwhelming destruction of property and demoralization of society by the greatest civil war of modern times, it has invested \$546,600,000 in public schools alone, and several other millions for the secondary and higher education; \$104,000,000 having been invested in the education of children and grandchildren of a people who, in 1860, were held in chattel slavery and declared by the Supreme Court of the United States not citizens of the Republic. And it is a cause of rejoicing to the country that to-day there are more than 1,000,000 colored children in the public schools of the South, everyone of whom was born a freeman, under the American flag, a citizen of the United States.

4. Always and everywhere the most favored class is compelled to deal with the less favored portion of mankind, for its uplifting, through the agency of the great intermediate multitude who walk in the middle of the road, "the plain people," who are the "bone and sinew" of every civilization. It is of this class of which the Good Book says, "the common people heard Jesus gladly." It is to this body, the 40 per cent, of the colored race, above 10 years of age, who have risen out of the almost absolute illiteracy of forty years ago, and the smaller class who, still deprived of letters, are educated (educated by life) above their fellows, that the 1,000,000 of the colored educated youth must turn for the "rank and file" of the grand army of invasion of the dismal realm of ignorance, superstition, shiftlessness, vulgarity and vice that still holds out against all efforts of a republican civilization working for its regeneration since the emancipation of the race. For here, among the better sort of those who have enlisted in the army of intelligence and progress, will be found the most reliable advisers, the fairest counselors, the most faithful allies of the enthusiastic and devoted educated young men and young women, going forth to serve the Master by "preaching the Gospel to every creature." And here, also, will be found the well-to-do in worldly goods, who must be instructed in the Christian idea of using money, saving on the lower to spend on the upper side of life. And, above all, here is a solid, conservative class, which will restrain the pernicious antics of the professional agitator, visionary enthusiast, the chronic impracticable, and the cranks and humbugs of every description, shaping the direction of a sound policy concerning public affairs and discerning the most effective manner of meeting and repelling every assault upon the rights of the masses.

Happily for the opportunity of the 100,000 of the new generation now called to the leadership of the race, they find in the better sort, the 40 per cent of their people who have seen the light of knowledge, a most efficient ally in their great enterprise, and not only from the most worthy of this class, but from an increasing number

who have not enjoyed the opportunity of schools and letters, will come forth, year by year, new levies of people who have no longer "any use" for the "blind leaders of the blind," in the pulpit, on the platform, in office, or as advisers in any department of common or public life. And, of all the following to be desired by a wise and progressive leader, the most desirable is a people, just in the condition in which several millions of the colored race are now found. Nowhere do you find such a genuine respect and even reverence for true and tried superiority; such a confiding regard in whoever proves himself a reliable, sound, and steadfast friend of the people's cause, as here.

Indeed, one of the most inspiring and pathetic spectacles in American life to-day is the attitude of hundreds of thousands of the better sort of the colored folk before any man or woman, from either race or section, approved as a leader able to lead a friend who is neither a flatterer nor a fool; as ready to declare the defects as to recognize the virtues of his followers; as severe to restrain as courageous to lead the advance. Here is such an opportunity for the highest achievement of good for great numbers of people as has never before, and may never again, be offered to a superior class, called by God to go forth and lead the wandering tribes out of the desert, across Jordan and into the promised land.

For the present is a transitional period. A generation hence, with the larger extension of education, the increase of comfort and a more general prosperity, it will be far more difficult than now for any favored 100,000 to go before and marshal the army of the Lord for a new exodus out of any Egypt. To-day is the golden opportunity for a supreme effort of the class that can honestly call on a generation to set its face toward the future. Every young man or woman now going forth from one of these great schools is accepted by his friends and has a following, as a representative of good education and all the indescribable blessings connected therewith. To every one of these it can be said, as the Master in the Mount said to his new and untried disciples: "Ye are the light of the world. A city set on a hill can not be hid." You will be received with a great expectation and a hearty welcome. And of you it can be said that this attitude of the mind and heart of your constituency is of itself one of the greatest opportunities given to man to do his uttermost for the uplifting of a race.

And it is a part of this great opportunity that even the illiterate, of whom the majority are only in part involved in all the perils of their condition, confide in you for the instruction of their children with a mighty faith that you will send them out from the churches and the schools far better and wiser than themselves, and that they will often become, through their children, your most docile and devoted followers. The greatest following of the noblest reformers of the world has often been from the class that has been east away as the offscouring of the race by those who sit up in the high places of culture and power. Jesus said to the proud Pharisee, the contemptuous Sadducee and the mocking scribe: "These publicans and harlots will go into the Kingdom of God before you." It was among the slaves, the obscure and afflicted and oppressed lower orders of the Roman Empire that Paul and Peter and the other ten found the materials to build the primitive Christian Church. Even the "upper ten" of old revolutionary Boston "sailed away at break of day" to Halifax when General George Washington marched into town. The true reformer should never despise his audience or turn his back upon any sincere following, for the Word of God often comes to the poor and lowly, and the child who was born in a stable and cradled in a manger became the leader of the centuries and the Savior of mankind.

Permit me, then, to ask the more thoughtful members of this young army of the Lord, "one hundred thousand strong:" "Do you, who by the blessing of God and the favor of your friends, have been able to come up out of the darkness into the twilight of knowledge, where you now abide, realize the grandeur of your

opportunity?" It is to be acknowledged leaders toward the upper region of American life of a people twice as numerous as the entire population of the Republic under the Presidency of Washington.

There is one region of American life, and that the highest—the opportunity of all others, worked and prayed for by the noblest of mankind—that is yours without rivalry or resistance. Nowhere in this world to-day is a body of 100,000 young men and women called to such a ministry of service and sacrifice for the uplift of 10,000,000 of the human race as you. Any 100,000 young people of any other race who should go to work with such a mission as your own would be smothered in the great multitude who are already engaged in similar work, and only now and then one, a "survivor of the fittest," would obtain a position where he could show himself for what he was. But you stand on this high plateau of opportunity, the observed of all observers, with no jealous or hostile body outside your own race to hinder, and all Christian people, at home or abroad, applauding every success, giving generously to you of all sorts of good gifts, bearing up your work on the wings of prayer, that signifies as much to-day as in any of the days of old. You have not made this great occasion for yourself, and it comes not as any reward of merit, but as an invitation to prove yourself fit "soldiers of the cross." This glorious and unique opportunity was created for you by the providence of God. This standing place where you now are marshaled was gained for you by the sacrifice of half a million patriotic lives and the indescribable suffering of an entire section of our common country. The continued benevolence of the friends of the people for a whole generation has made it possible that you should be lifted up to this high mount of opportunity and obligation. The "gracious favor of Almighty God," invoked by Abraham Lincoln in his proclamation of freedom, has called you, not because you are especially worthy, but that you might be made worthy to answer this summons from on high.

5. Remember this, every young man and woman that hears me: The wisest and best people of every section and community in the United States are always on the watch for the appearance of one more young man and woman worthy of their aid and encouragement. Your end of the social scale is to do the best that lies in you with all your might. If so, each of you will be the friend and beloved disciple of Him who was fitly called by the poet "the first true gentleman that ever lived," with the love of God, "whose favor is life, and whose loving kindness is better than life." You can manage to "worry along" with this sort of social consideration while you are intrusted by Providence with laying the foundation of the new social order for a whole people who, if your life is prolonged to my own age, may number 20,000,000, everyone of whom will speak of you, if you deserve it, as the schoolboys and girls of my youth spoke of the fathers of the Revolution; as they do now of the heroes and statesmen of the war for the Union; and as you speak of your own soldiers, who now, under the blazing sun, in the jungles of the tropical islands, are clearing the way for a new opportunity for your children, perhaps even greater than your own. If you are doing and living up to what God now calls you to be and do, you can well afford to wait upon the coming of all the good things for which you long to-day.

In fact, your present opportunity furnishes the only way by which you can obtain all that belongs to any good American citizen. "There is only one way under heaven known among men" whereby your great hope can be realized for your people, and that is just the way where you now enjoy an opportunity such as is given to no similar class in Christendom—this great labor of love for the uplifting of your people, which you can do with "none to molest or make you afraid."

But someone may reply: "All this is doubtless very fine, but it is somewhat vague and vaporous, and does not seem to fit my own case." Let me, then, "descend to particulars," and call your attention to several ways in which you are able to serve in the great work of training up your people in their present condition of childhood,

“in the way they should go,” so that, when they rise to their complete status of manhood and womanhood, “they shall not depart from it.”

In 1896-97 there were, in the sixteen Southern States, 6,000 students in schools, classed as normal, theological, and medical, representing the three great liberal professions that touch most closely on the common life of the masses of any people. The statesman, the lawyer, the author, the artist, and the journalist—all move the superior class at second-hand, and the illiterate class directly scarcely at all. But the Christian minister, the teacher, and the physician stand “next of kin” to our own flesh and blood. Often, if the men and women in these professions are worthy, they influence us in a way more personal and radical than is possible for the majority of people in family relations to minister to each other.

There are now probably not less than 50,000 young colored men and women more or less educated and competent, acting in all these sacred relations among the 10,000,000 of the colored people. And there are still only half the colored children and youth of school age in the South at school at all. Perhaps half the colored people are not living in regular church relations; possibly not attending church. And only a small portion of the colored families are living under healthy sanitary conditions, or ever see a doctor or a health inspector until in some “tight places” with a dangerous disease, or warned by a visiting policeman. Now, with the exception of the medical profession, the white professional man or woman is almost banished from this, the most important field of professional service. Your people are no longer gathered, like their fathers and grandfathers, in the gallery of the old church, to hear the preaching of the most distinguished divine, but flock around their own favorite preachers and religious leaders. The teaching in the public schools, outside of a few cities, is all in the hands of 27,000 colored schoolmasters and schoolmistresses.

What an opportunity is here—the bodily and mental training, and the religious ministry to a whole people, covering their entire higher life! Read the testimony of the experts who have recently examined the sanitary conditions of great numbers of colored people now living in the larger Southern cities, and more every year employed in the rapidly increasing manufacturing institutions of the South. What a dismal picture of sickness, death, sorrow, and the demoralization of families is this! Almost twice the ratio of deaths to the white race, with the imminent danger of the entire colored race being involved in the most deadly class of diseases, consumption and its attendant complaints, which the best medical skill in the world has only recently checked among the more careful and protected communities of all the nations. Is not this an opportunity given to the faculties of your schools of medicine, such as to no other body of physicians, the task of dealing with the physical life of a whole people, and in so doing lifting up thousands from destructive habits that are the curse of the race? And when we read that this terrible mortality and disease is not due so much to the physical environment of your people as to their ignorance of the most common laws of health and the reckless indulgence in the animalism that, in every people in similar conditions, is the great, black, underlying slough and slum of every community, is not the opportunity of the colored physician and nurse lifted to a great moral ministry? If the medical profession of this race in one generation could reduce the death rate from an average of 34 to 1,000 in five of the larger cities of the South to some approach to the 20 per thousand of the white race, would it not be an achievement worthy the highest aspiration of the most devoted body of young men and women, doctors and nurses, as especially in doing this so many of these poor children could be saved from the bottomless pit of the animal vices, where all manhood and womanhood sink down into an almost hopeless annihilation?

Think of the 27,000, possibly of all sorts 30,000, teachers of the 1,000,000 children and youth now in school, 33 to each teacher in average daily attendance. What an

opportunity is this, to have in charge all the children, practically all the time during the months allotted to their school life! What a change to multitudes of these children, who come from such homes as we know they have, to such a place as you can easily make your schoolhouse—make it by the cheerful work of your own pupils, at once transforming a bare and thoroughly unsightly school building to a pleasant summer or winter home! Even in doing this you are training every child in the fine art of home making, without which there is no better future than to-day for several millions of your people. And if, besides this, you can yourself be a Christian man or woman in the teacher's chair, as every young man or woman should be in his every-day "walk and conversation," an object lesson of that character, without which your boasted American citizenship is only "a prelude to a tragedy or a comedy, and probably both," you may become a follower of the world's supreme Teacher, who said: "Of all that the Father has given me, I shall lose nothing, and raise them up again at the last day." And if you can only pry open the darkened window of the soul of one of these little ones, so that, as through a little crack, a shaft of golden light may cleave the gloom and remind this child of the infinite firmament that holds the earth in its embrace, you may have made it possible that this prisoner in the abode of ignorance may be aroused to break out of the sleep of mental dullness and range at will through all the glorious spaces of the wisdom, beauty, and love that are the heritage of every soul that comes into the world.

And what can be said that has not been said of the minister of religion? Only this: That a low, sensual, selfish, superstitious, and, in any essential way, incompetent man in this position is a curse more blasting than a pestilence to any youth that comes within the moral malaria of his personality. But if he is in truth a good man of even common ability, really devoted to his sacred calling, trying with "all his heart and soul and strength" to serve the people, to protect the young, to warn the careless, to rebuke the obstinate, to stand like a rock across the way of any man or woman determined to go to the evil one, he is such a blessing as only can be known to them who are privileged to be of his flock. And let it be remembered that even the superior upper class of the colored flock are more accessible to the influence of a worthy Christian ministry than any other sort of our native American people.

The colored clergyman has a range of opportunity far beyond the ordinary minister of religion elsewhere, and an unusual proportion of the larger ability of the race has been attracted to the pulpit. There, too, is the place where woman can do a work possible nowhere else. Remembering all this, we may well realize the height, length, breadth, and depth of this great professional opportunity.

Then remember, you doctor, minister, teacher, that you are by your very position compelled to be a missionary. At best you now have access to only a small portion of your people. Indeed, the majority of these 10,000,000 of your folk are still to a great degree outside your beat. What a call to the good physician to go forth into the dark regions of the country and the submerged district of the city life and give battle to the enemies of the bodies and souls of the people! What a chance for every young man and woman teacher, provided he is not smitten with the personal ambition of opening a little private arrangement which will divert the small means of the few more favored in their worldly goods to his exclusive use and leave the majority to go on in deeper discouragement than before! What an opportunity to go down to the hardpan of the bottom strata of the country, break up the crust of ignorance and indifference, and persuade the whole people to come up towards a new life! In a few years of such work he may change a dull and hopeless to an active, hopeful, and progressive neighborhood. If you can, at any sacrifice, plant yourself in any little countryside, however neglected and deserted, you may show how a good and wise man or woman anywhere by faith and hard work may reclaim even a mental and moral desert and make it "blossom like the rose."

Then, beyond this, remember that it is for you to lift each of these great professions

above the condition in which they have only been known to your people during the first generation of their freedom. It was inevitable that the colored minister, the doctor, and the teacher of thirty years ago should have been a great contrast to those whom the freedmen had known in the old days on the plantation. He was too often not good enough or intelligent enough to be intrusted with any responsibility in connection with the families that he often preyed upon more than he prayed for. We need not be too severe now upon the feeble beginnings of the professional life among your people; but we must remember that, while "the days of their ignorance God winked at, He now calls on all men to repent." It is given to you to lift these, the most sacred and important of all the professional callings, to their real dignity. It is for you to prove that the new minister, doctor, teacher, man or woman, should be "the guide, philosopher, and friend" of every man and woman and child. Just such an elevation of these three professions as you can achieve during the thirty coming years will be in itself a service whose value can only be estimated when it is seen in the improving life of the entire people.

And remember again that your brothers, off in the islands of the sea, are clearing the way for your young men and women to go forth on a mission of peace, bearing the gifts of knowledge, righteousness, and health to other millions even more in need than your own countrymen. I will not enlarge on the great possibilities opening to your people in the inauguration of the new colonial policy of the nation; but I believe I can see in a not distant future such opportunities for the more enterprising of your young people in the way of an honorable success in life, and especially in the great opening for Christian service in the years to come, as in themselves would repay all the blood and treasure expended in the past year, or all the toil and trouble of the future administration of our new possessions.

Then I note with great satisfaction, in the last Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, that 13,581 pupils in the 169 superior schools for your race in 1896-97 were receiving instruction in the different industries, the boys in the various departments of manual training and the girls chiefly in the improved house-keeping, cooking, and the important art of sewing. I am glad to note that nearly twice the number of girls than boys are thus engaged—8,611 girls to 4,970 boys—for the fundamental industry of any people is the art of making a good home, where, on the ordinary income of a few hundred dollars a year, a family can be maintained in health, morality, intelligence, and all the refinement possible to the humblest abode that shelters a truly mated husband and wife and a group of children, like a cluster of roses crowning the altar of a Christian household. Your own good president, Council, and your faithful teachers are all the time telling your people that, until they rise up and leave the one-room cabin, there is no hope for them this side the abode of the blest, even if there is any reasonable chance of getting there at all by this, the purgatory line.

The Queen of England and Empress of India had a habit of giving each of her own girls, at an early age, a little house, with strict instructions to each to become a first-class housekeeper, if nothing else. And when the little woman had learned to cook a good meal, set the table and preside at its head, the Queen accepted an invitation to her daughter's first dinner party. So it came about that everyone of Victoria's girls, besides receiving the scholarly accomplishments of a cultivated lady, became an especially good housekeeper.

An old keeper of a first-class railroad restaurant in Ohio used to reply to the compliments of his customers after a particularly good lunch: "Sir, it requires eternal vigilance to keep a good eating house." The mental and spiritual and physiological responsibility within the next twenty-five years to place the majority of the colored people in a good home is itself a "degree" more significant than any college honor, and the young graduate of any school, who can achieve that in the house given her not by the Queen of England, but by her "king of men," may well be more proud

of her neat morning rig in her own kitchen than of the senior uniform in which the "girl graduates" disguise their good looks on commencement day.

If Victoria of England is not ashamed to look after the housekeeping of her girls, I wonder where the colored American girl anywhere can be found who will set her face against the most womanly of occupations, as if it were a "let down" from her dignity? "I don't want to be a servant," you say. Well, that is just where you differ from the Lord Jesus Christ, who said: "I came not to be ministered unto [i. e., to be served, waited on], but to minister [i. e., to be the servant of all men]; and to give my life a ransom for many." Oh, my dear girls, I entreat you, put out of your heads and hearts this supreme vulgarity and sin of contempt for any necessary labor of the hands, for service and sacrifice are the central law of our human life. The higher education, according to the last American interpretation, is just this: The art of placing an educated mind, a consecrated heart, and a trained will, the whole of a refined manhood and womanhood, right at the ends of the ten fingers of both your hands, so that "whether you eat or drink, or whatsoever you do," you may "do all to the glory of God."

I say I am especially glad that the girls are just now giving more attention to industrial training than the boys. For there is no great danger that every American boy, unless an idiot or a criminal, will not sooner or later be brought down to the grindstone of hard work of some sort, for hard work of body, mind, and soul is the one qualification of the new American gentleman.

Every man, of whatever rank or importance, must do his own part of the drudgery of common life. The American idea of a gentleman is a man who carries master and servant under the same skin. If a gentleman and his servant are two men, under two skins, there is always a chance for periodical friction, not to say of permanent disagreement—a strike, a rebellion, anything. But if a gentleman carries his servant under his own skin "he has him just where he wants him." He has all the service he needs at his hands, and if there is any tussle about it, it concerns nobody but himself.

Industrial education, as understood by the genuine educators of the country, is the art of abolishing drudgery and menial labor through the invention of labor-saving machinery. A labor-saving machine enables every workman to call in the help of God Almighty through his obedient servants, air, water, steam, electricity—all the wondrous powers of nature, which are the habits of the great Creator and the grand dynamo of the universe—to do the work of this world and verify the old prophecy concerning man: "Thou hast made him little lower than the angels and crowned him with glory and honor. Thou hast put all things under his feet." Don't believe any man who tells you that this great movement of industrial education is only a clever device of your enemies to crowd down the colored man to the condition of a European peasantry, only another name for the old-time chattel slavery. So far from this, it is the science of sciences, the supreme art of all the fine arts, the science and art of putting the trained mind and the consecrated manhood and womanhood into the body, so that all labor may be exalted to a mental and moral discipline and the mighty saying of the great apostle be verified: "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?"

I am told, but I hope it is not true, for the fact that 40 per cent of all the colored students of the secondary and higher schools of the South is under industrial training contradicts it, that there is a growing disinclination among the educated young men of this race to take up this department of education. If so, a dark day has come to the colored race and to the Southern section of this Republic, for here the opportunity of the 100,000 educated youth of your race is such as has never been offered before to any special class of young men in the United States.

Within the coming thirty years this entire Southland is to be reclaimed to what God made it to be—one of the most productive and attractive portions of the earth.

for the occupation and enjoyment of man. As I have gone up and down this marvelous country during the past twenty years, becoming as well acquainted with every one of its sixteen Commonwealths as with my own New England, I have not been surprised that even the prosaic land agent and the hard-headed railroad president should break forth into eloquence in the attempt to prophesy the wonders of its future.

The cause of this is not hard to find. Within the past half century the whole civilized, even the oriental world, has been awakened as by the voice of "a great angel out of heaven" to the fact that the intelligent labor of the masses of mankind, under the leadership of the expert captains of industry, is the new gospel for making this world a fit place for the abode of civilized and Christianized man. The day of the old, slow, stupid drudgery of the toiling millions to keep soul and body together is passing by, and the era of that enlightened industry, which makes every laborer a "coworker with God" and "an active partner" in business with all the great, silent, majestic forces of the universe, is now upon us.

The South finds itself to-day with a heritage of natural resources of which no man has yet compassed the grandeur and possibility, but with a great laboring class, ten millions strong, half of whom are still in the bonds of illiteracy and the other half just waking up to the understanding of what a creature man can become when joined in copartnership with omnipotence in dressing and keeping this Southern garden of God.

You are now directly concerned with the opportunity and obligation connected with the 10,000,000 of your own people, who, for good or ill, are here "to stay." Who, then, is to superintend the mobilization of this grand colored army of industry, that shall march forward, conquering and to conquer, over this wide field, where such honors and prizes are to be gathered as make all the titles, badges and glories of war only as tinsel and sounding brass in the presence of fine gold? If you, young men and women, whom the educational public of the whole nation has put to school for this organizing and leading your people, shirk the studies and the exercises that will train you to go before your own and lead them in this inspiring campaign toward a prosperity such as never before came to the Southern people, who will take your places?

For a little while, if you so will it, you may be able to disport yourselves as superior to your fellows, disdainful to put your own hand to the plow of reform, scorning the great leadership now offered to you. But after that, what? In one generation the entire lower side of Europe will then be let loose upon you. The labor union will inclose you like the iron prison house in the old story, which every day contracted itself upon its victim till he was crushed in its awful embrace. I tell you, young men and women, unless you do get up early in the morning while "for you it is called day," "the hour is coming and now is" when you and your people will be elbowed off into the holes and corners of the industrial world, like the young men whom I very often see with college diplomas in their pockets, waiting on table, watching a hotel bell, doing anything to keep the wolf from the door. And these young women—God help the young colored women, educated or ignorant, thirty years hence who has not learned how to keep the house in which she is permitted to live!

If there be a depth of degradation below the old-time slavery—which was not a degradation, but only the inevitable schooling of bondage through which every race has been compelled to make its way upward to civilization—it is found in that class of young men looking around for a chance to stand up to the crib and be fed, like human live stock, by their mothers, "sisters, and cousins, and aunts;" and worst of all, by their wives, the mothers of their children. A bright young colored girl in Texas said to me: "I don't want to marry. These young men are all such comical creatures that their wives have to support them." Such a life—the life of any young man who expects to live without solid and continuous work—is like the mask of the

old Greek actor, a double face, half tragedy and half comedy. If half a century hence your people are found where their enemies declare they belong, the "hewers of wood and drawers of water" of a superior race, you, the known educated, will figure in the pages of history as another of the failures of the ages—a people that were called and would not come.

Your race will not finally go down with you. For, as in the parable, when those that were called to the feast "begged to be excused," the highways and the hedges were ransacked and the wedding was furnished with guests.

The operative industry of the South should in time be largely in the hands of your people, for your race has an aptitude for it not inferior to that of any other sort or condition. The great mechanical industry of the South, which, during the coming generation, is to reach gigantic proportions, is to-day in every department open to you. What is to prevent you from having your part in the new era of skilled agriculture, fruit raising, the care of animals (dogs left out), in a country where there is land enough and to spare, and where every young colored man and woman should resolve to own at least one square mile of "sacred Southern soil?" There is no reason why the higher departments of textile engineering and architectural industry shall not be open to you.

And do not talk the foolishness that there is no place for you in this new industrial revival of the South. Any man or woman of you who can do as good or a better job of work than others, will be called to do it. The new South is now bent on having the best of everything. If you can give it the best in any department of productive industry, you will find your own place. I am not insensible to the force of prejudice and custom; and above all the power of pretentious inferiority over modest and deserving worth. But this American people of ours believe in fair play; and, in the long run, every man, class, race, will be estimated for just what it is worth in the field, the workshop—in every occupation and art that makes for the building up of the nation. Thomas Carlyle says: "No book was ever written down except by itself." No set of people in the United States of America can permanently be kept below its actual worth to the country. You and yours are left to decide what that position shall finally be.

Yes, if you are indeed able to face this mighty opportunity. Here comes in the obligation which, like a gloomy shadow, so often tempts the best of us to pray to God to be delivered from the greatest opportunities of life, lest in our weakness and wickedness they may become our final condemnation. This fundamental obligation of all to the one hundred thousand educated youth of your race, all born under the flag of the reconstructed Union, comes down to us through eighteen centuries in the stirring words of the great apostle: "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things." The most serious peril to this entire body of the educated young manhood and womanhood of the colored race is an inveterate juvenility that views this marvelous opportunity as a child takes all the gifts showered upon it as something belonging of right to itself, until it can not be satisfied by anything, but "claims the earth," and cries for the moon and stars.

There has not been a generation of youth in American history that has been so demoralized or is now in such peril of being demoralized by the greatness of opportunity thrown upon it, the magnitude of the favors it has received, and the intoxication of a mighty sympathy from the best people in the world, as just this one hundred thousand of whom I speak. From out the wilderness of bondage trodden by their fathers it has suddenly been transferred, as by magic, to the mountain heights of human opportunity, a privilege and position only conquered by any other race of men through centuries of conflict, the education which is the greatest gift to any generation. And a mighty opportunity like this is like the great hall of a spacious mansion, full of open doors, broad stairways and swift elevators, that admit to

every chamber of magic in life, even to the lofty roof, from which our American citizenship lies outspread, beneath, around, and above.

It must be from this obstinate and protracted childhood that so much of the apparent inability to recognize even the commonplace obligation to appreciate this opportunity comes. Otherwise I can not understand why so many of those who have been its recipients now seem to be more concerned by the impossibility of getting something else that just now can not be given by anybody than in considering "what manner of men they should be to whom this word of God has come." Why are so many of these young men and women apparently so careless in the use of these, the choicest gifts of Providence to any youthful generation? Why are they so greatly concerned to use these summits of opportunity to which they have been invited, to magnify themselves in the eyes of their less fortunate brothers and sisters, rather than to "remember those yet in bonds as bound with them?" Why are they often so eager to shoot the track of sane and practical duty at the call to any little personal gratification? And above all, why are so many of this class apparently fixed in the idea that they are the especial "wards of the nation," that the friendly people who bought their personal freedom "with a great price," and have continued for a generation to dispense the supreme bounty of education, are hereafter bound to help those who have already been educated to their present opportunity, still to assist in any little personal enterprise that may be chosen, even if a bypath away from the hot and dusty highway up which their people must toil in its long journey for success?

I warn these young men and women that the childish habit of dependence on the communities and people that have already done so much for them is their greatest peril. These friends, who have caused to be spent the \$100,000,000 especially for the superior education during the first generation after emancipation, have not done it because they propose to keep these beneficiaries in perpetual childhood, or even as an attractive and unique spectacle of a precocious development of the race. They have done and are still doing this with the expectation that these persons will in due time come of age, and, with a grateful acknowledgment for past favors, will only ask the future privilege of being the true leaders of their own people to their own place in the Republic.

For if this 100,000 can not attempt this work, who can do it for them? If they fail to come forward as a body, each in his or her best way enlisting for life in the "good fight," on whom are we to rely? Of course the people of the South understand this peculiar weakness. They know all about the defects of the negro character, this self-indulgent and dependent habit that holds itself away from the rough contact with the hard and repulsive features of the situation and work "on the lines of least resistance." Many of the Southern people honestly believe, and are telling us with great emphasis, that this is a fatal lack of native capacity, a chronic "race habit" that will keep this people forever in the rear, not only of the all-dominating Anglo-Saxon, but of all these immigrating European peoples, and that even the educated portion of the race may as well be content to retire into their own little corner of national life and keep quiet.

Here is this great opportunity for industrial training, which is welcomed by the foremost educators of the Union as one of the peculiar contributions of the age to the new life of the Republic. Why do so many of the one hundred thousand educated hold back from the most important work for their people, going down to the common level of the common school and toiling in the low and dark places of the land for the practical schooling of the race? Why can not more of these students wake up out of the childish habit of school life, the habit of becoming the bodyguard of every offender of school order and law, as if the chief honor or dignity of the young man or woman at college was to be a shield for every idle, mischievous, sensual, or selfish boy or girl, who has come in collision with the government of the institution? I would not judge too hardly of this, the bottom weakness

of the class of educated youth, which I summon to-day to such a magnificent opportunity. I do them all honor by holding them up to their loftiest obligation. But after twenty years spent among the schools of the South, I long to discover the signs of a more manly and womanly habit of life among this class I now address. I long to see these young people coming together to make of themselves the new American phalanx that, like the embattled 10,000 of old, shall be placed at the center of the great wavering multitude of the 10,000,000 to assure it of victory during the century that is before us.

Indeed, my young friends, this seems to me about all there is in the great problem that this year again looms up, black and threatening, above the social and political horizon. Can the 100,000 more or less educated colored youth, who, during the first generation of their freedom, have been schooled and sent forth to "spy out the land" and survey the road along which their people may walk up to their own place in our many-sided American life, lift themselves, each for himself or herself, out of the little environment of personal interest in which they are sunk out of sight of their great opportunity, and really open their eyes upon it, stretching like a splendid landscape, rising from the lowlands to the foothills, scaling the different plateaus even to the azure encirclement of the mysterious mountain ranges that block the horizon? Will they take account of stock in their own spiritual condition, and, responding to the call from heaven, "show thyself a man," and like the woman who "hath chosen the better part," build themselves up "after the manner of the perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fullness in Christ?" In proportion as you can do this, the revelation of your opportunity will be the revelation of your sense of obligation. Children use the gifts of life as playthings. Men and women, after the pattern of the Master, use opportunities as a summons to new obligations and ever new effort to achieve the best given to them to do.

As I have gone over, in the light of my past experience in the Southern States, what I should say to the young men and women who here represent the 100,000 youth of the colored race, my mind has constantly turned to the great original order from headquarters, given by the "Captain of our salvation" to his first twelve obscure and untried disciples, sent forth to preach the gospel of love to God and man to an unbelieving and unrighteous world.

Wonderful as that tenth chapter of Matthew's record is in its profound insight into human nature and perfect comprehension of the conditions of all radical missionary effort, it is no less remarkable for its complete adaptation to the opportunities and obligations of the body of people for whom I have meditated this discourse. How can I find a more fitting climax to all I have said to-day than in reading over again this great order No. 1 from headquarters, delivered eighteen centuries ago?

First—Take courage, all of you, from the fact that such an order should have been given to these twelve obscure young men, absolutely untried in the great work to which they were appointed. Even in the Sermon on the Mount when the disciples were only a little group of people attracted by a new preacher, Jesus had said to them: "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill can not be hid. Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven." And to the twelve apostles, two of whom were to fall away and all were to "forsake him and flee" in the hour of supreme trial, and later to the eleven who were to be involved in contentions and misunderstandings among themselves and the chief of apostles, Paul, he gave such power and authority to preach, heal and even "cast out unclean spirits" as would indicate a body of men tried and proved as by the fire. He gave them no inspiration that was proof against their own folly, conceit or sin, but simply issued his sublime order, demanding the most exalted courage, persistence and character, even a consecration unto death.

This is just what the Lord Christ now says to each of you. It is not given because

of any special merit in yourself. It is given as an inspiration to the grandest and most unselfish service for God and man of which you are capable. This ministry for God and humanity to which you are invited is in itself the highest "higher education" for every man and woman, strong and sweet and brave, enduring enough to receive it. If you can not live up to it, it will appear, as in many an enthusiastic follower of the Master, who, in the hour of danger, "forsook him and fled." If you are made of the right stuff, the call, with all its overwhelming splendor of opportunity and weight of obligation, will only introduce you to your better self, and as you go on, bring forth qualities in you never suspected by you or by your nearest and dearest friends.

Like the twelve apostles, you are sent, not to deal with the people, friendly or otherwise, among whom your lot is cast. They have their opportunity and their obligation in their connection with you, and a responsibility in no respect less important to them than yours to yourself. But you are sent to "the lost sheep" of your own "house of Israel." First, to the lower strata of your own race, in your own commonwealth, 60 per cent of whom are still in the bonds of an illiteracy that means everything that should be hateful and abhorrent to every friend of mankind. Your order is: "As ye go, preach, saying the kingdom of Heaven is at hand." Now is the time for this people, "sitting in darkness," to be "wakened out of sleep" as by the shining forth of a great light. The kingdom of Heaven to them and all like them is a new birth into the Christian manhood and womanhood that this great Republic, no less than the Master, now demands from every man and woman on whom it has bestowed the eminent degree of American citizenship. The sick, the poor, especially the dead-alive, will all be brought to you. And if you can cast out the legion of devils and the "unclean spirits" that now torment the lower order of these, your unhappy brothers and sisters, great will be your reward long before you go to any other heaven than the one you are called to build up right here in this commonwealth, in this beautiful and bountiful Southland.

Do not waste time prospecting for a favorable situation, or give too much thought to your supply of gold and silver, or to your own rank in the army of the Lord. Shoulder your Bible and go in wherever there is an open door. In any city "those who are worthy" of your ministry will find you out, and "your peace will come upon them." Otherwise "let your peace return to you." Always "keep the peace," for somebody will finally accept it. At the worst "shake the dust from your feet" where there is no place for you, and go your way, leaving God, through his all-directing providence, to deal with the situation. "If they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another," for you will not have gone through even all the cities of Alabama before the kingdom of God will have come. Somewhere will be found somebody who will welcome your coming and "hear the Word with gladness." And the kingdom of God always comes in this world when one soul throws open all doors and windows and bids the everlasting truth, love and beauty come in and there abide.

Do not imagine that your ministry, even if it is confined to living up to the "mark of the high calling" in the most common station in life, is to be a promenade, a reception, a festival, or even a Sunday-school picnic. Read over again the awful words of the Master, prophetic of every sincere endeavor made since He went to the Cross to preach and live a new departure in righteousness, intelligence, social or political uplifting anywhere. Perhaps the most obstinate of all who resist you will be your own people, offended with your call to repentance and newness of life; for "a man's foes shall be they of his own household." There is no hatred, contempt, or malignity like that of a people "half savage and half child" when shown the true picture of themselves. But if you can be "wise as serpents and harmless as doves," falling back on God in the hour of emergency to know "what ye shall speak" and

do, and especially if you can "endure unto the end," you will be saved and your success will be the earthly and spiritual salvation of many of those to whom you come.

Even if you are broken down with only the burden of living up to the best you know, be not disheartened, for what you meditate in darkness will be spoken into the light, and what you hear with the ear and fitly speak and worthily do will be repeated and done over and over again, till it is shouted from every housetop and proclaimed from all the mountain summits around the world. If "the Master of the house was called Beelzebub," who are you "of his household," even if you are "hated of all men for his name's sake?" Your bodily life is only lent you from God to be spent in the service of God for the uplifting of man. Even if taken from you, you will not die. Your "soul will be marching on." Abraham Lincoln in the White House was a man on a mountain top, bracing himself against the tempests and thunders of a nation in the throes of a mighty revolution. Abraham Lincoln, the martyr President, is now the father of the new Republic, honored and everywhere beloved throughout the world.

And finally, never forget that God is the supreme economist in the affairs of this world. "Not a sparrow falls to the ground without the Father," and the very hairs of the head grown gray or bald in the Master's service are all "numbered." Not a word, or act; or thought, or look, if worthy of your high calling, will be lost. And "whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in nowise lose his reward." God grant that, whether the "time of departure" of any of us is far off or "now at hand," each one may be able to say with the apostle, "I have fought a good fight. I have finished my course. I have kept the faith."

II.

HOW TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF THE NEGRO.¹

We must admit the stern fact that at present the negro, through no choice of his own, is living among another race which is far ahead of him in education, property, experience, and favorable condition; further, that the negro's present condition makes him dependent upon the white people for most of the things necessary to sustain life, as well as for his common-school education. In all history those who have possessed the property and intelligence have exercised the greatest control in government, regardless of color, race, or geographical location. This being the case, how can the black man in the South improve his present condition? And does the Southern white man want him to improve it?

The negro of the South has it within his power, if he properly utilizes the forces at hand, to make of himself such a valuable factor in the life of the South that he will not have to seek privileges; they will be freely conferred upon him. To bring this about, the negro must begin at the bottom and lay a foundation, and not be lured by any temptation into trying to rise on a false foundation. While the negro is laying this foundation he will need help, sympathy, and simple justice. Progress by any other method will be but temporary and superficial, and the latter end of it will be worse than the beginning. American slavery was a great curse to both races, and I would be the last to apologize for it; but, in the presence of God, I believe that slavery laid the foundation for the solution of the problem that is now before us in the South. During slavery the negro was taught every trade, every industry, that constitutes the foundation for making a living. Now, if on this foundation—

¹ From "The future of the American negro," by Booker T. Washington.

laid in a rather crude way, it is true, but a foundation, nevertheless—we can gradually build and improve, the future for us is bright. Let me be more specific. Agriculture is, or has been, the basic industry of nearly every race or nation that has succeeded. The negro got a knowledge of this during slavery. Hence, in a large measure, he is in possession of this industry in the South to-day. The negro can buy land in the South, as a rule, wherever the white man can buy it, and at very low prices. Now, since the bulk of our people already have a foundation in agriculture, they are at their best when living in the country, engaged in agricultural pursuits. Plainly, then, the best thing, the logical thing, is to turn the larger part of our strength in a direction that will make the negro among the most skilled agricultural people in the world. The man who has learned to do something better than anyone else, has learned to do a common thing in an uncommon manner, is the man who has a power and influence that no adverse circumstances can take from him. The negro who can make himself so conspicuous as a successful farmer, a large taxpayer, a wise helper of his fellow-men, as to be placed in a position of trust and honor, whether the position be political or otherwise, by natural selection, is a hundredfold more secure in that position than one placed there by mere outside force or pressure. * * *

What I have said of the opening that awaits the negro in the direction of agriculture is almost equally true of mechanics, manufacturing, and all the domestic arts. The field is before him and right about him. Will he occupy it? Will he “cast down his bucket where he is?” Will his friends North and South encourage him and prepare him to occupy it? Every city in the South, for example, would give support to a first-class architect or housebuilder or contractor of our race. The architect and contractor would not only receive support, but, through his example, numbers of young colored men would learn such trades as carpentry, brickmasonry, plastering, painting, etc., and the race would be put into a position to hold on to many of the industries which it is now in danger of losing, because in too many cases brains, skill, and dignity are not imparted to the common occupations of life that are about his very door. Any individual or race that does not fit itself to occupy in the best manner the field or service that is right about it will sooner or later be asked to move on, and let some one else occupy it.

But, it is asked, would you confine the negro to agriculture, mechanics, and domestic arts, etc.? Not at all; but along the lines that I have mentioned is where the stress should be laid just now and for many years to come. We will need and must have many teachers and ministers, some doctors and lawyers and statesmen; but these professional men will have a constituency or a foundation from which to draw support just in proportion as the race prospers along the economic lines that I have mentioned. During the first fifty or one hundred years of the life of any people are not the economic occupations always given the greater attention? This is not only the historic, but, I think, the common-sense view. If this generation will lay the material foundation, it will be the quickest and surest way for the succeeding generation to succeed in the cultivation of the fine arts, and to surround itself even with some of the luxuries of life, if desired. What the race now most needs, in my opinion, is a whole army of men and women well trained to lead and at the same time infuse themselves into agriculture, mechanics, domestic employment, and business. As to the mental training that these educated leaders should be equipped with, I should say, give them all the mental training and culture that the circumstances of individuals will allow—the more, the better. No race can permanently succeed until its mind is awakened and strengthened by the ripest thought. But I would constantly have it kept in the thoughts of those who are educated in books that a large proportion of those who are educated should be so trained in hand that they can bring this mental strength and knowledge to bear upon the physical conditions in the South which I have tried to emphasize.

Frederick Douglass, of sainted memory, once, in addressing his race, used these words: "We are to prove that we can better our own condition. One way to do this is to accumulate property. This may sound to you like a new gospel. You have been accustomed to hear that money is the root of all evil, etc. On the other hand, property—money, if you please—will purchase for us the only condition by which any people can rise to the dignity of genuine manhood; for without property there can be no leisure, without leisure there can be no thought, without thought there can be no invention, without invention there can be no progress."

The negro should be taught that material development is not an end, but simply a means to an end. As Prof. W. E. B. Du Bois puts it, "The idea should not be simply to make men carpenters, but to make carpenters men." The negro has a highly religious temperament; but what he needs more and more is to be convinced of the importance of weaving his religion and morality into the practical affairs of daily life. Equally as much does he need to be taught to put so much intelligence into his labor that he will see dignity and beauty in the occupation, and love it for its own sake. The negro needs to be taught that more of the religion that manifests itself in his happiness in the prayer-meeting should be made practical in the performance of his daily task. The man who owns a home and is in the possession of the elements by which he is sure of making a daily living has a great aid to a moral and religious life.

CHAPTER XIII.

EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH.

ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, HELD AT RICHMOND, VA., DECEMBER 27-29, 1900.

CONTENTS.—Industrial education and the New South, by George T. Winston.—Education and production, by Charles W. Dabney.—Negro education in the South, by Paul B. Barringer.—Reply, by Julius Dreher.—Discussion, by H. B. Frissell.—Reply, by Paul B. Barringer.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION AND THE NEW SOUTH.

By GEORGE T. WINSTON,

President of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

The two great forces of modern life are education and machinery. The one elevates man, the other subdues nature. Together they develop civilization and determine the destiny of nations and races. How far removed is the American Indian in bark canoe from the modern engineer in iron steamship! Stretch canoe and Indian in endless chain around the globe, each within call of the next, multiply them by 100,000, and the sum of their power will not equal that of a single trans-Atlantic steamer. * * * The little Commonwealth of Massachusetts, with its machinery for education and its education for machinery, is more potent in the life of the world than the whole continent of South America. The cotton crop produced this year by the Southern States could not have been grown, housed, picked, spun, and woven a century ago by the entire population of the globe.

The greatest industrial changes ever wrought within a lifetime have been witnessed by the generation now living in the South. For more than a hundred years we maintained an industrial system in opposition to the industrial forces of the world. The long and bitter struggle between North and South, although waged apparently in courts of justice and halls of Congress, in pulpits and drawing-rooms, on deck of ship and field of battle, was not political, nor legal, nor social, nor military, but educational and industrial. It was a struggle between the educated Yankee mechanic, astride the steam engine, and the educated Southern planter, carrying on his shoulders the negro slave. The heroism of that struggle, the courage, the fortitude, the skill, the energy, and the power with which the South maintained it in peace and in war, are emphasized, beautified, and almost glorified into martyrdom by the absolute certainty, the preordained necessity of its total failure. There was no need of Gettysburg or Appomattox. The contest had already been settled by the mills and factories, the railways and steamships, the power looms and spinning jennies, the reapers, binders, threshers, and other machinery of a people leading the world in mechanical invention, in use of machinery, in industrial progress, and in public education. Had the South possessed resources of skilled and educated labor, of shops and factories, of mills and furnaces, of ships and locomotives, of accumulated wealth such as the North possessed, had the victory been possible by endurance and fortitude, by courage and heroism alone, the boys in gray, under Lee and Jackson, would have been invincible, not only by the North but by the world.

The building up of the South since her overthrow in war, the revival of old industries and the establishment of new, the accumulation of wealth, and the multiplication of schools, colleges, and universities are the admiration and the wonder of the world. But there is nothing wonderful about it. The people who were great with slavery and unskilled labor have become greater with freedom and education. The apparent emancipation of the negro slave was the real emancipation of the Southern white. By Lincoln's proclamation the South was freed from slavery, and the road was cleared to educated labor and industrial development. We realize at last that slavery was not our riches, but our greatest poverty. We dare not picture the condition of the South to-day, with slavery dominant, controlling her industries, and repressing her development.

The South is now in touch with the world. She is educating her own children and the children of her recent slaves. Through the aid of machinery she is converting into wealth her large and varied resources. The roll call of her slaves will never be heard from Bunker Hill monument, but the whirr of her spindles and the click of her looms is already heard in Lowell and Manchester. She is shipping iron to Birmingham, coal to Newcastle, calico to Calcutta, and tobacco to Turkey. Cotton is still king, but his throne is no longer in the field. He rules in the mill and hears the music of machinery instead of the song of slaves.

But the development of the South is only begun. We are traveling in the right direction, but we have not traveled far. We must quicken our pace or we shall fall behind in the world's industrial race. As yet our products are chiefly raw material, or coarse and cheap fabrics. We are winning our way by cheap products, cheap labor, and long hours of work; but the day may come when cheaper labor and cheaper products and longer hours elsewhere will drive us from the field. Cheap labor is abundant in South America, and in Asia is practically unlimited in supply. The safety of the South is in better labor and better products.

The labor unit of the South is still the negro, emancipated, but ignorant, unambitious, and less trained than when a slave. In his present condition he renders difficult, if not impossible, the changes requisite to intensive and diversified agriculture and retards the development of all industries in which he is employed. As a race he is less skilled than during slavery. The industrial development of the South demands that the negro be either improved or gotten rid of.

The problem is not political, but purely industrial. With the South it is one of development; with the negro, of existence. It must be solved, and solved aright. The mistakes of reconstruction must be corrected. The North and the South, government and philanthropy, education and religion, all forces, domestic, social, and industrial, must combine to make the negro a better workman. The real race struggle is for existence, and the negro is ill prepared to win it. Dragged from barbarism to civilization, educated through slavery into freedom, cut off suddenly by emancipation and enfranchisement from the influences that had given him all the power he possessed, he wandered about like a child in the night of reconstruction after the false lights of political and social promise, away from the paths that led to industrial progress and economic independence. It was in his power for twenty years after emancipation to control the industries of the South. Had the energies of the race and the ambition of its leaders been directed to obtaining homes and acquiring wealth instead of political and civil power its condition to-day would be far better, not only from industrial and physical standpoints, but mentally, morally, and even politically. The present ideals and ambitions of the race belong to the distant future. For this generation and many yet to come there is need of radical change in negro education. His colleges of law, of medicine, of theology, and of literature, science, and art should be turned into schools for industrial training. Hampton Institute and Tuskegee should be duplicated in every Southern State—if possible in each Congressional district. The visionary ideals of Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass should give place to the practical work

of General Armstrong and Booker Washington. The wasteful expenditure of money for negro literary education in the public schools of the South should be changed into profitable and useful training in industrial schools, shops, and farms, maintained at public expense and under public direction, for negro education in each county or township of the South. The entire system of public education for the negro race, from top to bottom, should be industrial. As yet all the industries of the South are open to his employment. The door of his opportunity is not yet closed; but unless he speedily enter, armed with skill, training, and industrial power, it will close, and close forever. The skill and training which the race possessed in slavery must be regained. The new generation, now less capable than the old, must be taught to work. After handicraft will be time for headcraft. The race is not yet out of tutelage. Its industrial apprenticeship, begun in slavery, must continue in freedom. We must recognize the fact that the negro is still unable to stand alone. But the help he needs is not so much of books and "schoolmarms" as of tools and master workmen. He needs the aid, the sympathy, the daily instruction of his Southern employer. Every Southern household, farm, shop, factory, and mill might be a school for the training of the negro. It was so in slavery. But to-day the chasm between the races is deep and wide, forbidding interest and sympathy and authority on the part of the whites; docility, obedience, and zeal on the part of the blacks. Nothing will bring the races together again but the industrial skill and power of the negro. His education should look to this end. The race is entitled to live. Justice and humanity demand that it be given a chance. The duty and the problem are national. The burden is too large for the South. The National Government should aid in the industrial education of the negro until he is able to earn a decent living. Then may come independence and self-reliance, to be followed finally by culture, learning, and refinement. Give the negro a chance, a natural and reasonable chance, for progress, and either, like other races, he will aid the development and share the prosperity of great America, or, if slowly dying through race inferiority and incompetency, he linger ages longer, a curse and a hindrance to the nation that made him slave. Let it be said that the white race through every agency of training and education patiently and bravely endeavored to save the negro from extinction and equip him for free existence.

The necessity of industrial education is almost as great for Southern whites as for the negro. The industrial life of the New South must be based upon education. The education of the New South must lead to industrial life. The Southern schoolboy dream of statesmanship must yield to desire for workmanship. Our children must be taught to express their thoughts in work as well as in words.

The healthful happiness, the lasting utility, and the real nobility of genuine, downright labor, of labor wrought into things of beauty and value, must supplant the nervous excitement of mere intellectual gymnastics and the tiresome weariness of the mental treadmill.

Our present system of education is not in touch with life. The highest expression of the world's power to-day is not literary but industrial. The world's work is growing daily in character, value, and intensity, and is demanding for its performance not only labor but genius—genius of the highest order and thoroughly trained. Ours is an age of action and performance. The world's demand is not for skilled talkers but skilled workers. Mountains must be tunneled, rivers bridged, oceans led captive over continents, deserts irrigated, cities built into air and guarded from fire and filth, enemies to life detected and destroyed in plant and animal, goods exchanged between the ends of the earth, nature's forces harnessed to human service, and her crude material, infinite in variety and extent, fashioned into forms of beauty and utility to gratify the ever increasing desires and necessities of life.

This is the age of the engineer, the chemist, and the biologist.

The educational system of the South needs to be greatly changed, if not recon-

structed. For one hundred years our schools have manufactured orators, statesmen, and universal geniuses. The supply now exceeds the demand, and a change of industrial machinery is necessary. For declamation and dialectics we must substitute the microscope and the laboratory, the drawing board and the machine shop. The South needs workers, trained and skilled workers, in every department of industry. Rude labor will not suffice, even in agriculture. Our cotton crop has been trebled in thirty years. Improvements in cultivation, in machinery, in fertilizers, and in utilization of waste products have produced this wonderful result. The methods of slavery would mean bankruptcy to-day. Thirty years hence the crop will be trebled again and the methods of to-day will mean bankruptcy then. The same is true of all our industries. To remain stationary is really to fall behind. As ginning has supplanted hand picking, carding machines hand cards, and power looms hand looms, so the plaids and sheetings of to-day must yield to lawns and laces and muslins to-morrow.

The weavers of Asia are still using hand power. When they rise to steam and power looms the South must move up further or else be ruined. Industrial education is our only hope. Other people are employing it and revolutionizing their industries. Germany is dotted with industrial schools; of agriculture and forestry, of metal and woodworking, of weaving, bleaching, and dyeing. German goods are filling the markets of the world in spite of tariffs and hostile legislation. Great Britain is no less active; Japan, after her sleep of centuries, has awoke to life through industrial education. Even Russia is preparing for the struggle.

In the United States, outside of the South, the chief industrial centers have organized technical colleges and schools for manual training. In New England the public schools from top to bottom are looking to industrial training. Drawing and designing, wood and metal working, the plastic arts, the microscope and the laboratory, unused a century ago, are commoner to-day in the schools of the North than books of declamation and treatises on the human understanding. But not so in the South. We are stumbling along in the same old paths. Our public schools are not arousing public enthusiasm or inspiring public confidence. As a rule they do not deserve it. They are not following, much less leading, the industrial revolution of the South. Our system must be changed. Necessity will require it. We have reached the limit of skill and production without the help of industrial education.

Our public schools—kindergarten, primary school, grammar school, and high school—all should be strengthened with manual training. Every child should be taught to do something, to make something, and to make it well. Drawing, plaiting, weaving, coloring, designing, carving, and molding would be more useful preparation for life than learning the ancestry of Tiglathpilezer or the boundaries of the world as imagined by Ptolemy. Special industrial schools adapted to the prevailing industry of each district should be established in all industrial centers. The principles underlying each industry—chemical, mathematical, mechanical, or biological—should be thoroughly comprehended. Actual manipulation and experience in at least the leading lines of work should be required. Such schools would supply skilled workmen for every industry—wood workers, metal workers, leather workers, workers in field and forest, in mine and mill and factory, skilled workers, exchanging in the markets of the world finished goods for raw material, skill and knowledge for rude labor.

The system should be crowned in each State with well-equipped colleges of technology, offering complete instruction in the applied sciences and furnishing the State with an adequate supply of highly trained professional experts; with civil engineers for the construction of railways and bridges; with hydraulic engineers for the construction of dams and waterways and the transmission of water power; with electrical engineers for the creation, transmission, and application of elec-

tric power; with mechanical, mining, chemical, sanitary, and textile engineers; with architects, designers, inventors, industrial promoters, and managers.

The South must follow the spirit of the age. She will do so from necessity, if not from preference. Industrial competition will force her to it. Her resources are practically undeveloped and unlimited. She is amply endowed with all three requisites for the production of wealth; with natural resources, capital, and labor. Her natural wealth is the greatest on the continent. In variety and fertility of soil, in diversity and healthfulness of climate, in abundance and variety of minerals, in forests and fisheries, in water power and fuel, she is rich beyond power to calculate. She is accessible to world markets, both for raw material and for finished products. Her capital is abundant and easily increased by foreign importation; her white labor is native, of English, Scotch, and German stock, reliable, intelligent, abundant, and cheap. All conditions are favorable to the production of enormous wealth, and with it the promotion to a high degree of popular happiness and prosperity. The one thing lacking is industrial training and skill. Supply these and the South will be the paradise of the world, the realization of perfect democracy, where labor is so productive and wealth so abundant that there is leisure and opportunity for universal culture and universal progress.

EDUCATION AND PRODUCTION.

By CHARLES W. DABNEY,

President of the University of Tennessee.

Every lover of his country must rejoice in the great interest in technical education manifested recently in the South. It shows that we have at last come to recognize the deficiencies of our system of education and the one-sidedness of our present schools. The recent agitation for technical education grows directly out of the desire of the people to work up their own resources, their cotton, wood, and iron, and produce more wealth. Are we not in danger of taking too narrow a view of this subject? If increased production is our aim, we must begin by educating all of our people in the public schools, and not merely a few of them in technical schools. As patriotic men and women we want to see all of the people earn more, so that they may live better and happier. The difficulty with our system of education in the South thus far is that we do not pay enough attention to the common schools. We have given most of our thought in the past to the higher education and too little to the broader education. A complete educational system is like a pyramid; its base must be broader and stronger than any other part of it. Our present educational system, as far as we have any at all, is a column with a beautifully carved capital upon its top, which is altogether too large for the base and the shaft. The reason our institutions of higher education are not attended as largely as those of other States is because they have too few public schools to support them.

Technical education is important, but I beg my fellow-countrymen of the South not to forget that universal public education is more important. Let us begin at least by putting manual training and scientific branches in the high schools where all the children can have an opportunity for the broad training. If greater productivity is our aim we must first have better common schools. If we content ourselves with a few technical schools here and there, we will be greatly disappointed.

My first proposition, then, is that if we desire to produce more wealth in the South we must begin by building better public schools.

The chief characteristic of the nineteenth century has been the extension of the

benefits of education to the masses of the people. Its chief lesson is that education increases the wealth-producing power of a people in direct proportion to its distribution and thoroughness. In fact, the relations between education and productivity are so well understood now that you can measure the wealth-producing power of a people by the school privileges which they have enjoyed. Statistics show, for example, that the power of the people of the different States to earn money is in direct proportion to the length of the period the average citizen has attended school. To illustrate¹, the average school period in 1898-99 of each inhabitant of the United States was 4.4 years; of Massachusetts, which has the best schools, it was seven years; of Tennessee it was a little less than three years. The total annual production of the United States in the year 1800 was less than \$30 a year, or 10 cents a day, counting 306 working days in the year, for each man, woman, and child; by 1850 the production had increased to nearly \$92 a year, or 30 cents a day, and in 1899 it was about \$170 a year, or 55 cents a day.

MASS.	EDUCATION	14
	PRODUCTION	13
U. S.	EDUCATION	8.8
	PRODUCTION	8.5
TENN.	EDUCATION	6
	PRODUCT'N	5.8

The production of Massachusetts in 1899 was \$260 for each man, woman, and child, or 85 cents a day. The most favorable figures make the total annual production of the people of Tennessee in 1899 less than \$116 a year, or 38 cents a day, for each inhabitant. Another way to express it is to say that the average family of 5 in Tennessee must live on \$580 a year, counting everything produced on the farm and in the home, as well as sales and money wages, while the same family in Massachusetts has \$1,300 a year to spend, and the average family of the United States has \$850. Put these facts together and we at once see their tremendous significance. The proportion between the school period in Massachusetts, the school period in the whole United States, and the school period in Tennessee is expressed by the figures 7, 4.4, and 3; or, multiplying each by 2, by the figures 14, 8.8, and 6. The proportion between the productive capacity of each person in Massachusetts, in the whole United States, and in Tennessee is expressed by the figures 260, 170, and 116; or, dividing by 20 to bring to terms similar to the others, we have 13, 8.5, and 5.8. Think of this!

Education is as 14 in Massachusetts to 8.8 in United States to 6 in Tennessee.

Production is as 13 in Massachusetts to 8.5 in United States to 5.8 in Tennessee.

This is not a mere coincidence in the case of Massachusetts, the United States, and Tennessee. It is the law the world over. The productivity of a people is everywhere proportional to their education; that is, their intellectual, physical, and moral training. It is not the natural resources, the climate, the soils, and the minerals; it is not even the race, much as these things count in production, but it is education which above everything else determines the wealth-earning power of a people.

The Southern people have made great sacrifices for public education, and especially for the education of the negro, but they must prepare to do even more if

¹ The data used in this paper were derived from the Reports of the Commissioner of Education of the United States and of the State board of education of Massachusetts, from Butler's Education in the United States, from articles by Dr. William T. Harris, Commissioner of Education of the United States, and from the Tennessee State reports.

they are to keep up with the other States in production. The States represented in this association are still far behind the Eastern and Western States in the manner in which they support their public schools. Let me take for comparison the best school State in the Union—Massachusetts—and my own State of Tennessee, which represents, I find, the average conditions in the South.

The population of Massachusetts is 2,805,346; of Tennessee, 2,020,616. They have the same number of children to educate. The enrollment and the average daily attendance at their public schools in 1898-99 were as follows:

	Enrollment.	Average daily attendance.
Massachusetts	471,977	360,317
Tennessee	499,845	352,734

Massachusetts taught school 188 days in the year, and her enrolled pupils attended an average of 143.5 days. Tennessee taught school only 89 days, and her enrolled pupils attended only 62.8 days. The average Tennessee child is absent 26.2 days in the 89 days of the school session.

Massachusetts expended for all purposes of her public schools in 1898-99 \$13,889,838, which was \$38.55 per pupil in average daily attendance and \$5.07 per capita of her population. Tennessee expended for her public schools in the same year \$1,628,313, which is \$4.62 per pupil in average daily attendance and only 83 cents per capita of population. The average expenditure for all the States of the Union is \$19 per pupil in average daily attendance and \$2.67 per capita of the population of the entire country.

The power of education in production may be presented again in this concrete way: From the statistics above it is seen that Massachusetts spent in 1898-99 \$12,261,525 more upon her public schools than Tennessee; but see what a return she gets. Each one of the 2,805,346 citizens of Massachusetts—men, women, and infants—has, as we have said, a productive capacity of \$260 a year against \$170 a year for the average inhabitant of the whole United States and \$116 a year for the average inhabitant of Tennessee. The inhabitant of Massachusetts has thus an excess of \$90 a year over the average inhabitant of the United States and \$144 a year over the average inhabitant of Tennessee. This means that the people of Massachusetts earned last year \$252,487,140 more than the same number of average people of the United States and \$403,969,824 more than the same number of people in Tennessee. Twelve million dollars invested in superior education yield \$400,000,000 a year.

If the people of the South would compete in production with the people of the other States and of the world—and they must do so whether they will or not—they must educate all their children, not only their white children, but their black; and they must educate them all not poorly for a few months in the year and a few years in their lives, but thoroughly through a long series of years. If history teaches us anything it is the solidarity of all mankind, that “no man liveth unto himself,” and “no man dieth unto himself,” but that we are each our “brother’s keeper.”

Our great resources—climate, soils, and minerals—are useless in the hands of an untrained people. Moreover, if we do not educate our own people to use these resources intelligently the trained men of other States will come in and do so and make our native people “the hewers of wood and the drawers of water” in their industries.

Some persons seem to think that the marvelous energy and common sense of our people are a sufficient guarantee of their success in the battle of life; but common sense and even unmeasured energy do not win in these days without education.

We must give our people knowledge and training or they will surely fail in the hot competition of the twentieth century. Will we not realize that our best resources are our own children and that our highest duty is to educate them for the greatest usefulness in life?

Having made provision for the elementary education of the people on this broad plan, we may wisely turn our attention to the technical education. A complete system of technical schools comprehends the following:

1. A system of trade schools in which pupils are trained for the leading arts.
2. Polytechnic schools in which instruction in the applied sciences and technical or professional training are offered more advanced students.
3. Institutes of technology or departments of science in universities in which the highest professional instruction in the applied sciences is provided.

There is no difficulty in accounting for our early indifference in the South to science and technology. It was in accordance with the history of science the world over and with the laws of its development in all countries. Up to fifty years ago we had all the science, or more than we could use. We were engaged in getting out raw material, in "skinning" our soils, in cutting down our forests, and in working a few surface mines. Germany and France supplied us at first with our science and England or New England with our technical experts.

A young people always view their raw material as their chief source of wealth, and they are often too ready to barter it for a mere mess of pottage. When they become older, they discover that it is not upon natural wealth alone, but upon the culture of the scientific intellect that permanent prosperity depends. England was not a manufacturing nation until the Elizabethan age. Though coal, iron, and wood were found in abundance in the reign of the Plantagenets, they produced little prosperity. Their home-grown wool was sent to Flanders to be manufactured and turned into cloth. Spain, which had fallen heir to Arabian science, was the greatest manufacturing country of those days. When the Moors were banished and the political crimes of Spain led to its destruction as a nation, England took its position as the leading industrial nation of the world. The invasion of the low countries by Philip II drove the Flemish manufacturers, as the French persecution drove the Huguenots, to England, and they introduced the industries of cotton, wool, and silk in that country. In none of these countries was science a subject of study at this time. The acquisition of wealth must precede the cultivation of science. Technical skill is needed to utilize the raw material to the best advantage. The time comes, however, in the history of every nation when it must educate its people in science and train them in manufactures and industries or it will go down. This higher scientific education is the forerunner of higher prosperity, and the nation which fails to develop the intellectual faculty for production must degenerate, for it can not stand still.

In society, as in biology, there are three states. In the first, the state of primal equilibrium, things grow neither better nor worse; the second is the state of evolution or development, during which animals and plants adapt themselves to their environments and take on new characteristics; the third is that of degeneration, when they first stand still, then decay, and so go back to the earth from which they sprang. The same is true of nations. A nation may remain in equilibrium for a brief time in the early stage of its history, but it is impossible to hold its forces in balance when its environment is constantly changing. To stand still then, is to die. The life of a people industrially is science. We must feed its fountains and keep them pure or growth will cease, industry will fall, and the nation will die. Our southland stands at the beginning of the second state. We have lived as long as we can upon the bounties of nature, and have reached that point at which we must study science, learn the arts, use our material resources and accumulate wealth, or else fall behind and go down.

The study of science and the application of science always have gone and always

must go hand in hand. As a matter of fact, discoverers and appliers of science are often combined in the same person. The interests of pure science and of technology are largely identical; and science can not take a step forward without opening new fields for industry. New truth in science always leads to new developments in industry. Hence, we must have the inventor as well as the investigator. So, on the other hand, every advance of industry facilitates the experimental investigation upon which the growth of pure science depends. See how the glass industry has promoted the progress of chemistry, and how the electrical industry has in our own time aided physics and mechanical engineering. Pure science and technology can not be separated. Civilization began with man as a tool-making animal; it has grown with man as a machine-making being. It is not the classics or philosophy that alone makes a people strong; else India might have been the ruling nation of the world and England its province. Historically, technical progress did not follow the growth of science, but preceded it. Mining developed geology. Fisheries led to biology.

It is not generally known that General Lee was a great believer in scientific and technical education. Says Professor Joynes, his colleague: "General Lee's plans for the development of Washington College were distinct and definite. He aimed to make this college represent at once the wants and the genius of the country. Under his influence the classical and literary schools of the college were fully sustained; yet he recognized the fact that material well-being is, for a people, a condition of all high civilization, and, therefore, though utterly out of sympathy with the modern advocates of materialistic education, he sought to provide all the means for the development of science and for its practical applications." The Southern people have still to realize the ideals of Lee in education.

NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH.

By PAUL B. BARRINGER,

University of Virginia.

Those of us of the South who have elected to abide by the South must, for that reason if no other, take a proper and natural interest in any specific class of its people which numbers nearly 40 per cent of its population. It matters not how insignificant this people may be when measured by economic standards, nor how humble they may be socially, nor how impotent politically; so long as they constitute 40 per cent of the population they are a factor which must be taken into serious account whenever we think of the South and its future. If this 40 per cent—the negro race—improve, the South to that extent will improve; if it go backward, it will either carry the South with it, or, failing in this, it will demand as the price of progress an expenditure of energy on the part of the whites which no people can endure.

All general questions of humanitarian interest aside, what is the present outlook for the negro, and therefore for the South? I say general questions of humanitarian interest aside, because he who approaches this great problem in the spirit of the doctrinaire has no place in the councils of the South, be he for the negro or for the white. This is not a matter of sentiment, but of interest—acute, present interest. The question is one land for two peoples, and these the most divergent. This one land—who can best rule and administer it with benefit to the greatest number, the white man or the black? This is the Southern problem, the race problem, the negro problem; but the education of the negro is its most important factor. We of the South are to educate him. Shall we prepare him to be a political antagonist? Shall we make of him an economic antagonist; or can we prevent him from becoming either, and yet have the South, as a whole, improve? That is the question.

I am sorry that I have to mention political antagonism, but the case can not be fairly presented without it. The political antagonism between the Southern white and black is manifested by the fact that since his enfranchisement the negro has, as a race, voted solidly against the measures, local or general, advocated by the white people of the South. This is a peculiar fact, because nine times out of ten there is a personal friendship between every black and the whites he knows. This antagonism, therefore, is not personal, but racial.

This was not always so, for there are hundreds here who remember the old slave days, the manifest affection of the negro for and his pride in the old master, the mistress, the young master, and all. * * * After the war, we all remember how short was the first racial flight of freedom; how, like birds, startled but not affrighted, they circled but to return. It was not then. No, the antagonism between the Southern whites and blacks has come since the war, and it is now reciprocal. It is now race against race. What has caused it? This question, daily asked, is hard to answer, because no one cause is responsible. There are two great causes—the one political, the other economic.

As to the political cause. For over a century preceding the war between the States slaveholders dominated this Union. They gave it its flag and thirty-four out of forty-four stars on its field. They gave this Republic every general that carried this South-made flag to victory against America's foes—Washington, Jackson, and Scott. They gave to America every creed and policy which we even now invoke as fundamental. Liberty and freedom—Jefferson; the Constitution and its father—Madison; no foreign entanglements—Washington; America for the Americans—the Monroe doctrine—Monroe; Southerners all. They gave her everything of which she can well be proud and nothing of which she need be ashamed.

But the war brought a change. With army gone, people, land, and credit exhausted, the South stood as "on her sheepskin," expectant. What did her people expect? They expected to see a new symbol added to the flag of their fathers; a steel-blue bar across stars, field, and stripes, and riveted at every joint. This would have been truly fitting. They expected, moreover, to see a new amendment added to the Constitution which would declare the dogma of State sovereignty forever dead. They saw neither. The flag still waves as before, the unchanged blazon of their fathers' deeds; and, as far as statute is concerned, the Union is still on the basis of the tenth amendment or the "secession of 1787." What they did see were the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution.

The purposes of these were quite distinct. The first (thirteenth) gave to the negro freedom, while the last two (fourteenth and fifteenth) gave citizenship and its attributes. The first, intended by the donors as a recompense to the negro for years of servitude, has become a threatening source of racial decay through an economic revolution now just becoming evident. The second * * * has failed. Its immediate result was the production of race hatred, and is now becoming a source of peril to our public policy. The attempted degradation of a proud people was simply a sectional crime; but a brake on the wheel of national expansion is, if possible, a greater evil still, and this the fifteenth amendment has put. Two more Southern stars—Arizona and New Mexico—and then we stop.

We dare not give statehood to even the islands already under the flag, with their Spanish-American, Chinese, Malayan, and Polynesian population. A government of the people, by the people, and for the people can not exist with the franchise for such as these. We must, as a nation, now confess that only intelligence can rule, for we know the political stability of the Spanish-American and his "republics," we know China and the Philippines, and Wilcox is with us! No; the bill for the reduction of Southern representation will never pass, and negro disfranchisement is to stand. America now sees the handwriting on the wall, for she faces a golden opportunity with hands tied.

The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments have been failures. Let us look at the thirteenth, which opened the economic problem.

It has always been a mystery to the people of the North why the nonslaveholding class at the South fought so ardently during the war. No explanation seems to solve the mystery for them. Let me first note, by way of explanation, that in the mountains of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia (now West Virginia), where the negro was unknown, the poor whites did not fight, or else fought on the Federal side. Let me also recall that the enormous emigration that took place from the South was chiefly a labor emigration, and even the wealthy, when threatened with poverty, fled from the South. These things were because every workingman who knew the negro looked with a holy fear upon the day of his emancipation. With the well-fed chattel, the expensive slave, he could compete; but with the starving negro of freedom he had not a ghost of a chance. In the fated language of Professor Ross, late of Stanford University, speaking of the Chinaman, the white man can "outdo" the barbarian, but the latter can "underlive" him, and there's the rub.

The laboring man, who alone knows what it means to have to underlive his fellow, will always hate the negro on contact. There are to-day thousands of negroes in the South living on a ration that costs 6.5 cents a day, or less than \$2 per month, while, if pressed, they can live on the half of it. Imagine the fate of the white man who has to compete with such labor.

Lured by higher wages, many negroes are now making pilgrimages to the North—to New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. As a rule they are the best-trained workers of their race in the South, and hence the highest livers, but they underlive all competition so easily and cut wages with such profit to themselves that the hatred of the negro, always felt by the white workers of the South, is beginning to be felt at the North; and this is the true and only reason of the late race riots there. Wherever the negro goes disenchantment follows. The old slave owner, his natural friend, is now, as we have seen, against him as a political foe, and the poor whites of the South still hate him as an economic enemy, while the laboring men everywhere now recognize that the "deification of the darkey" was for them a mistake.

There is one other class in the South, fortunately a small one. I refer to the men of wealth or education whom the war and its consequent social chaos brought down to poverty and personal manual competition with negro labor. Thirty years of unrequited toil has broken and soured them, till any "ism," from populism to nihilism, finds fertile soil. They have not risen; they have done well even to "mark time" in the ranks; but through the public schools their children are rising, and they are the hope of the South and nation. A distinct generation is coming with an hereditary intelligence sharpened by adversity; but with their very mother's milk they have drawn in a hatred of the negro race that is a hate infernal.

I have here briefly presented the facts leading up to present conditions. Some of these will change and some will not, and the last to go will be the bitter economic antagonism of the white Southern laborer. When you leave this out, you are leaving the Southern problem. If the political question is not reopened, the antagonism of the dominant class will be at once withdrawn. This class has never been and will never be influenced by negro competition, and if the fifteenth amendment is nullified as at present, or, better still, repealed, they will have nothing more to ask. Their antagonism will die with politics; the laboring antagonism dies only with the man. We might as well be frank. These conditions exist and they seriously complicate the case as presented by the negro himself, which is about as follows:

Having received from the South, American residence, the English tongue, the opportunities of the Christian religion, a sound body, and thorough training in

agriculture and all the domestic arts, he, after two centuries, received from the North, freedom, citizenship, and the ballot. In the next generation he received from the two sections two hundred millions in education, and he still stands a beggar at the door of the South, now a criminal beggar. What are we to do with him?

As he has grown in criminality and physical depravity since receiving what he has of education, that kind of education is surely a failure. Moreover, he has used this education, given in compassion as an arm of defense, as a weapon of political offense against those who gave it. Under the circumstances there is a natural and growing sentiment in the South demanding that we give him only the pittance that he himself produces as a taxpayer, and then let him shift for himself. The object of this paper is to protest against the adoption of this policy as economically unwise and as unworthy of the South. We should as soon think of withdrawing our subscription to the church because its Sunday school class had missed its lesson. It would be better to double your subscription and get better teachers. No! We should not and we will not withdraw from the negro the one and only hope of his race—the white man's support. Noblesse oblige.

So far we have been consistent. Of all the sections the South now alone presents in her history that rare virtue. In all the years of her domination, from Roanoke Island to Appomattox, she claimed just what she claims now, namely, that American citizenship was a privilege of the highest kind, reserved for the highest type, and that degraded and barbarous races, specifically marked by nature as inferior, were unfit for its functions. She set the white man up as the guardian and the example for the savage. The North claimed that the Union was an asylum for all, and that citizenship was for all, regardless of race, color, or previous condition. Her sincerity has ever been open to doubt; shall we let ours be so likewise? It will be if, claiming that the Southern slave owner was the only sincere friend of the negro, we let him revert to savagery under our very eyes. We can not lay down the white man's burden yet.

It is now suggested that the hope of the negro is industrial education. It is hailed as a discovery, and it is shrewdly claimed that this education will check political antagonism. This is a mistake. Any education will be used by the negro politically; for politics, once successful, is now an instinctive form of warfare. The question, then, plainly put, is simply this: Shall we, having by great effort gotten rid of the negro as a political menace, deliberately proceed to equip the negro of the future as an economic menace? Shall we, knowing his primitive racial needs, arm him and pit him against the poor white of the South? Shall the educated class of the South to whom the lower classes, both white and black, look for guidance, indorse a policy which will certainly promote racial warfare?

It is all very well to ignore racial hatred in New York and Chicago, with a policeman at every corner and politics behind every policeman, but do it long enough even there and a time will come when there will not be policemen enough. Today if the hand of official "protection" were withdrawn, the negroes of these cities would have short shrift. Labor fears and hence hates the man who can underlive a church mouse, be he Chinaman, negro, or Malay. Shall we see a negro and Malay exclusion act? In the South, policemen do not patrol the fields, and race hatred must be kept down if only for the sake of the black. Read any account of a Southern race riot and see who usually furnishes the funerals. Almost always the black.

There was never before on the face of the earth a people more law abiding, patient, or long suffering in the face of great temptation than our white yeomanry of the South. Living beside an alien race which they know to have been the cause of their poverty, which they recognize as having corrupted their manners, their morals, and their speech, and which, above any other race, degrades labor, they spare him. If you have race riots on tap at the North from a beginning labor competition, what would happen were that mongrel city brood exposed to the

temptations daily long present at the South? Our people have been brought down, but they still have the Saxon virtue of the courage that dares refrain. Do not press them.

To see how best to educate our two races at the South, let us look into the recent progress of this section and see what it shows. In 1895 there were about two and a half million spindles in the South, at the close of 1899 5,000,000 spindles, to-day over 6,000,000. What part has the negro labor played in this extension and what part the white? In furnishing the raw material, the cotton, he plays the old slave-day part, but in the function of the new South, in manufacture, he has no part. It may be asked has he had the chance? Yes, in Charlotte, N. C., and in Charleston, S. C., he has been tried in the clothing factory and in the cotton mill, and he has failed in each case. The reason of his failure was the absolute lack of moral responsibility. While perhaps capable enough, an excursion, a circus, or a revival always had claims upon him in excess of his obligations as an employee. You may make him a perfect physical imitation of the workman, but morally he is the negro still.

We have just seen the first great labor strike in the South. For months 4,000 white mill hands stood out against their employers. These mills could have been filled at any time with cheaper negro labor, but it was not done. When the cold, practical logic of economy turns down an opportunity like this there is a reason. The reason was the absolute mercantile distrust of the moral stamina of the present black.

While the negro came out of slavery illiterate, he was not ignorant of the trades and the mechanic arts. He was the smith, the carpenter, the shoemaker, the tanner of the plantations of the South. Trained to labor as few white men were, and with labor ever in demand, he is still the laborer and the common mechanic; rarely the skilled artisan. He has not kept pace with his opportunities. All this is suggestive, and leads to the conviction that it would be folly for any State to enter upon the industrial training of its deficient race while the laboring class of its higher race is equal to any training and any effort. We can not equip both, and to equip the negro to the neglect of the poor white would be a grave political error and an economic absurdity.

The average negro is so light-hearted, so gay, and so free from care that he gives a pleasant impression, but in all his actions he shows the mimic. He provokes an involuntary smile, and we ignore the lack of the genuine article. These characteristics are generic, and in varying degrees they make up our idea of the negro to the extent that we habitually discount his faults, vices, and defects. In fact, we set for this race a different standard from our own. The result is that any old suit makes the negro a "dude," reasonably fluent speech makes him seem the "orator," while a fair address and intelligence so dumfounded us that such a negro "shines as a one-eyed man amongst the totally blind." He is never what he seems. What we may call a "good" manservant may be, and sometimes is, an absolute liar, something of a thief, and quite a rascal. A "good" nurse or cook may be anything, provided she can nurse and cook. We pay no more attention, as a rule, to the moral atmosphere of the kitchen than to the stars of heaven, and the kitchen and our children suffer. We pour out our blood and treasure on the literary heathen of China, and shut our eyes to the greater need of missionaries at home. What the negro needs as a race is moral training, some "thou shalt not," something to form character. When we have given him a morality which will save him from degeneracy and the hand training which will make him an even respectable servant or laborer, then, and not till then, may we think of the technique of the higher industries.

The public-school training of this people should be primarily a Sunday-school training; a moral training, given by those to whom morals mean more than words. This training the whites must give financially and, in large measure,

personally; for there are not enough properly qualified teachers of the negro race to do this work. In the midst of peace and opportunity we now see daily from this race spontaneous evidences of reversion to savagery which make us utterly distrust the influence and the capacity of those thus far responsible for their training. It seems as if every paper adds something new to the catalogue of negro crime.

Their moral training should be supplemented by the three R's and such simple training in agriculture and the domestic arts as all will need. The negro race is essentially a race of peasant farmers and laborers, and their education should first be directed to improving them as such.

It is claimed that since education has raised up for this people its own leaders, the problem is solved. Far from it. An education that makes leaders at the expense of the led is a failure. Every negro doctor, negro lawyer, negro teacher, or other "leader" in excess of the immediate needs of his own people is an anti-social product, a social menace. Neither in the North, the South, the East, nor the West can such a professional man make a living at his calling through white patronage; and to give him the ambition and the capacity, and then to blast his opportunity through caste prejudice and racial instinct, is to commit a crime against nature. Nature made the white man and the black; it made the natural and unalterable prejudice between the two races; and hence the crime lies at the door of him who knowingly attempts the impossible. In equal measure what is true of the professional man is true of every trade and calling in which the negro's natural qualifications are not first considered. As a source of cheap labor for a warm climate he is beyond competition; everywhere else he is a foreordained failure; and as he knows this, he despises his own color. When a race is in such a condition that every paper issued by its educated class carries advertisements of nostrums openly claiming to produce such changes in hair and skin as will make the black man less a black, what are we to think? When its reading, and hence its higher, class give such patronage as to maintain these advertisements in their papers year after year, what would you give for the influence on them of any "leader" whose skin and hair bore, in however slight a degree, the same racial stain? The very solution of the negro problem is a part of the white man's burden.

But it is asked, How are we to continue to educate the negro at all and avoid future political trouble? In answer I say: Base his franchise upon a property qualification, and give him for once a legitimate stimulus to work. He has never been offered an attainable ideal before. To-day the partly educated black, jail-bird or preacher, looks with contempt upon the negro whose only forte is honest work and accumulation. Let us change this and make the taxpayer and not the politician the racial ideal. The temptation to spend is inherent in the human race; to learn to save is to cultivate man's highest power, the power of inhibition. When a man can hear and obey any "thou shalt not," monetary or moral, he is improved as a citizen. The Jew has had this mandate longer than any other race, and he is the greatest of all accumulators and the least criminal of races. The negro is the most criminal, and he needs the mandate.

One truth about the trouble with our negro ballot in the past is instructive.

The poor white, in competition with negro labor, has had to work his children to live. The negro, easily underliving him, was able to use this same white man's taxes in the public school, and hence has given his children the rudimentary knowledge now necessary to vote. This is fast making a reading, voting, pauper class of blacks and an illiterate, working, taxpaying class of whites. Which of these classes has most interest in the State and most right to be heard? This political paradox must be changed, so changed that it will still allow us to work for the salvation of the negro. With an educational suffrage, the first step toward improvement—education—is the first act in a political feud. Let us be done with it and be free to help him and make him help us.

As for ourselves, let us go back to the old rule of the South and be done forever with the frauds of an educational suffrage. Let us break up the game that produces political professionalism. Let us return to the political status we had when we furnished the men of America. In national politics also let us strive for truth and consistency. We can not be high and mighty in the Philippines and high and holy in Cuba and maintain the respect of the world. It is now more than a generation since the war, and our fanatical altruists have posed long enough. Let us see that the hypocrisy that now ties our hands in Cuba is the last act of the comedy. We of the South are by heredity the expansionists of America; and as we must expand, let us strive to be honest expansionists. Let us boldly say dollars in lieu of duty and land in lieu of liberty.

NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH—A REPLY TO DR. BARRINGER'S PAPER.

By JULIUS D. DREHER,

President of Roanoke College.

The education of the negro in the South, taken in its broadest sense, is the most difficult problem before the American people to-day. It is not a simple, but a complex problem. If it were simply to provide good schools for the colored people, the task would tax the wisdom and resources of the South, but we have to deal with the more difficult question of so educating the negroes that their relations to the white people may be finally so adjusted that both races may live together peaceably on a just economic and political basis. In any serious discussion of this problem we may as well take it for granted—

- (1) That the negroes will remain in the South;
- (2) That the fifteenth amendment will remain a part of the Constitution; and, consequently,
- (3) That the negro will remain a voter.

We are confronted, therefore, with a great humanitarian problem, which is also economic and political, and which, while being national, is also in a peculiar sense a Southern problem. How shall we so educate the negro as best to develop his manhood, make him a valuable economic factor, and fit him for intelligent citizenship?

After more than thirty years of effort in trying to solve our problem we all agree that it was a grave mistake to suppose that with a ballot in his hand and a book under his arm the negro could make substantial progress simply by acquiring a certain amount of knowledge in ordinary schools. We believe that it was also a mistake to establish at first so many institutions of higher education, a large proportion of these being called universities. But the negro has had thirty-five years of freedom, during which he has made considerable progress in acquiring education and property, so that it would be a greater mistake to assert to-day that he does not need higher education at all. If we think for a moment how many ignorant teachers and preachers are trying to instruct the negroes, we shall be quick to recognize their need of many more educated men and women than are now to be found among them. In order to advance in civilization every race needs educated leaders—concrete examples of what the best of the race may aspire to be; but what the negro certainly does not need is a class of educated idlers who wish to live simply by their wits.

It seems to me that for many years to come the education of the negro should be of a very practical character, such as is given, for instance, at Hampton and Tuskegee. The prevalence and increase of crime throughout our country may well

cause us to suspect that our system of education for the white people might also be improved by introducing more of the practical and industrial into our public schools. As almost every line of industry and business is open, at least in the South, to the competent of both races, there seems to be no need for a radical difference in the education of the masses of the two races. It might be well to give more attention to moral and religious (not sectarian) instruction in all our schools. As to the "Sunday-school training" advocated by Dr. Barringer, that should be left mainly to the negro churches; but I believe it would be a distinct advantage to the negroes at present if they had more white teachers in their Sunday schools and also in their other schools.

As the white people own nearly all the property, and as the negroes are mainly laborers on farms, the education of the latter should be to as large an extent as possible industrial and practical, in order that they may the more readily make a living and improve their mode of living. Little can be done to elevate any people until they begin to acquire property and independence, until they become self-supporting and self-respecting, as we have learned from our costly experience with our Indian tribes. We must teach the negro the value of steady habits, so that he may become a reliable workman; the necessity of economy, so that he may gradually acquire property; the importance of raising the standard of his social and domestic life, so that his character may be improved, and the need of education, in order that he may be fitted for intelligent and patriotic citizenship. The low standard of living among the negroes tends to depress the price of labor, and thus injuriously affects the white workman. Wherever there is a low standard of living and of morals among the colored people the white people suffer from it; and if in any part of our country there is marked improvement in the general condition of the weaker race, the stronger race will be favorably affected by such progress.

If in any line of industry the negroes bring sharp competition to bear on white workmen, it is not a matter to be wholly deplored on account of the latter, for this very competition will cause them to become more efficient in their trades, and efficient labor, as we all know, is a crying need of the South. If there is danger that the white mechanic may be displaced by the better-trained negro mechanic, let us not for that reason give the latter less industrial training, as suggested by Dr. Barringer, but rather let us provide the same sort of education for the white man, and then let there be an open field for fair competition on the basis of merit. It is to be hoped that our Southern people will not discredit their own profession of interest in the negro by shutting against him doors of opportunity for making a living as has been done at the North, where his position and inferior advantages and opportunities to better his condition are so discouraging as to account largely for race deterioration and crime. If odds are to be given in the race of life, industrial and political, surely the Anglo-Saxon with his centuries of education, achievement, and accumulated advantages will not be so lacking in chivalry, generosity, and Christian spirit as to ask odds at the expense of a weaker race, which is only now fairly setting out, with uncertain step but steady purpose, on the ample highway of a larger freedom and higher civilization.

In the solution of our problem the fortunes of both races in the South are involved. We must help to lift the negroes up or they will drag us down. As the Republic could not exist half free and half slave, so no Commonwealth can long prosper with one half of its citizens educated and the other half illiterate. We must convince our people that no investment pays better dividends than that in brains. In Massachusetts, for instance, where the best educational facilities are freely provided for all classes alike, the average price of a day's labor is more than double the average price in the Southern States; and, although that Commonwealth is the most densely peopled in the Union, the census just taken shows that its population increased more than 25 per cent in the last decade, while that of Virginia increased less than 12 per cent. In the South every effort should be made to

lengthen the school term for the children of both races, and we ought to hear nothing more of that unwise and unpatriotic suggestion to divide the school fund between the races in the proportion of taxes paid by each, a proposition against which I am happy to know that Dr. Barringer protests.

The more education and property the colored people acquire the better for the State, for they will thus become more valuable citizens. If the negroes of Virginia had as much property per caput, and as high an average in intelligence and education as the white people, does anyone doubt that the State would be immensely benefited? And if we could to-day lift up the entire colored population in the South 100 per cent in property, education, character, and general civilization, would we not be far on the way toward the solution of our problem? That problem, as well as all the other problems of humanity, must be solved, if solved at all, by the power of religion and the right sort of education.

After a somewhat careful study, I have come to the conclusion that the negroes are generally more eager to educate their children and improve their condition in life than are the middle and the poorer classes of white people. The self-denials and sacrifices of colored parents to educate their children would make a story at once pathetic and inspiring. The present able State superintendent of schools in Georgia told me nearly two years ago that he had frequently used with good effect the example of the negroes when he was urging white people to take more interest in the education of their own children.

We who have spent our lives in the South, and especially those of us whose experience and observation antedate the civil war, know well how much the contact of the white people did to civilize the negroes during slavery. Wherever this contact brought the races into relations of closest sympathy and interest, the best results were produced. As educators we know that unless a teacher has the confidence of his pupils, he can do little more than instruct them from the text-books, while the more important work of molding character is scarcely touched. So in adjusting the relations of the races in the South, mutual sympathy and confidence are as much needed as education from books and in trades. The negro is naturally influenced more by the acts and example of the white man than by his words. In working out our problem it is of the highest importance that the negro should trust the white man as a friend and well-wisher, and that the latter should set an example of absolute fairness and justice in all his dealings, as well as in making and executing laws. The blighting results of reconstruction left a wide political gulf between the races. To bridge that gulf should be the aim of the statesman, teacher, minister, editor—of every true patriot of both races in public or in private station.

It must be counted as unfortunate, therefore, that recent legislation in several States has seemed to justify the negro's belief that the white people are unwilling to do him justice; and it is also to be deplored that in so many cases of all sorts of crimes mobs of white men in all parts of our country have trampled law under foot by undertaking to do what should be left to the calm deliberation and decision of courts and juries, after the evidence on both sides has been duly presented and considered. Such examples of injustice in making laws and of lack of respect for laws on the statute book hinder the good work of establishing and maintaining harmonious relations between the races, and thus far render the solution of our problem still more difficult. Example is more powerful than precept. Lawlessness breeds lawlessness, hatred begets hatred, revenge incites to revenge. If we sow the seeds of wrong and injustice, of hatred and revenge, of cruelty and brutality, we can not expect to reap the fair fruits of Christian civilization.

If it be true, as Dr. Barringer asserts, that "a distinct generation is coming with an hereditary intelligence sharpened by adversity, but with their very mother's milk they have drawn in a hatred of the negro race that is a hate infernal," then

it is high time to do missionary work to save the civilization of the white people of the South. Such hatred is no part of our religion, and has no place in our civilization. And if white people are growing up with such diabolical hatred of the negro, what answer do you expect this "man with the hoe" to make to such a challenge in the next generation? But I do not believe that Southern mothers are teaching such bitter hatred to their children, and it is difficult for me to understand why Dr. Barringer makes such a bold assertion. It seems to me to have little, if any, foundation to support it; and if I did not know that his creed is that of the stern orthodoxy of the Presbyterian Church in the South, I would suspect that he had been reading Universalist books and had thus been persuaded to adopt a much milder idea of things infernal; or else we must charitably suppose that when Dr. Barringer speaks of "a hatred of the negro race that is a hate infernal," he is simply indulging in superfluous rhetoric.

As one deeply interested in all the facts bearing on our problem, I wish Dr. Barringer would produce some proof to substantiate also the statement that "we now see daily from this race spontaneous evidences of reversion to savagery." White men occasionally act like barbarians in America, as they have been recently acting also in China and elsewhere, but we do not believe for that reason that the race is reverting to savagery. Neither do I believe it about the negroes.

At the present time, when the negro is being eliminated as a political factor, it may seem inopportune to speak of educating him as a voter; but I am discussing this question in the firm belief that it can not be settled by temporary makeshifts of doubtful morals and still more doubtful expediency. Whether it takes one century, or two, or five, to solve this problem, we may be sure of one thing, and that is that it will never be settled by injustice. The truth may be so obscured now as to be only dimly apprehended by people in the South, but it remains true that it is the chief glory of our country that it is great enough to give equal rights before the law to all classes of its citizens of whatever race or condition. If it be taken for granted that the suffrage has been made too free throughout our country, it must, nevertheless, be admitted that at the present stage of the negro's advancement whatever restrictions are placed on the elective franchise, whether of education, or property, or both, should apply with equal justice and fairness to the voters of both races alike. And it should be borne in mind that it is a far wiser policy to fit men for intelligent citizenship than to disfranchise any considerable number on account of illiteracy or poverty. For as James Russell Lowell so pertinently says in his address on democracy: "It may be conjectured that it is cheaper in the long run to lift men up than to hold them down, and that the ballot in their hands is less dangerous to society than a sense of wrong in their heads."

Our Southern people, with their love of fair play, will not long tolerate laws which put a premium on the intelligence of the negro and on the ignorance of the white man—laws which incite the former to make the utmost efforts to qualify himself for the intelligent exercise of the elective franchise, and which encourage the latter to remain in a state of chronic apathy with regard to education. A law which in the letter discriminates against the negro and which has an "understanding clause" by which it is intended that he shall be further discriminated against at the ballot box according to the whims of the officers in charge is a discredit to any civilized State that pretends to legislate on a basis of equal justice to all its citizens. Such laws operate to the injury of both races. The negro is profoundly discouraged in his efforts to educate and improve himself; he resents the injustice done to him and still further distrusts the white man, while the latter loses respect for laws which permit such injustice. Already from Mississippi and Louisiana we are hearing reports of alarming apathy among the white voters, indicating that there is little political life in those States. As a matter of fact, the election returns of last fall show that there is one Congressional district in West Virginia

and others in various Northern and Western States in each of which more votes were cast than in all the Congressional districts together in either Mississippi or Louisiana.

We have happily passed the period when negro domination was possible anywhere in our country. Any State in the South could now pass laws of absolute fairness to restrict the suffrage without the least risk that the evils of the reconstruction period would ever be repeated. Hence it is our plain duty, as well as good political policy, to treat the negro with sympathy, justice, and absolute fairness, and to condemn in individuals or States anything like duplicity, chicanery, and injustice in dealing with them.

Let us not forget that the negroes are not to be blamed for their present situation. They did not come to America of their own accord; they were patient and submissive through generations of slavery; and they had little to do in gaining their freedom. Instead of taking part in the struggle which involved their freedom, the slaves, as guardians and protectors of the families on the plantations, exhibited a faithfulness to their trust which should entitle them to the lasting gratitude, kind consideration, and patient forbearance of the white people of the South. The suffrage was thrust upon the freed negro when he was wholly unprepared to appreciate and discharge such grave responsibilities; and, in spite of his mistakes and blunders, it should be said in justice to him that in his political life he has been rather sinned against than sinning. But he is learning. His political illusions, with others, have been dispelled by the stern logic of events. He now realizes that the road to manhood and character and independence is a long one, and the journey painfully tedious; that there are no short cuts, and that he must at last work out his own civilization as the Anglo-Saxon gained his, through centuries of effort and struggle and conflict. We can not, however, turn a deaf ear to this last child of the centuries in his appeal for all the help and encouragement we can give him.

The negro is now our trust, our charge, and our burden. We dare not be faithless to that trust. We should not forget that the white man's burden will become even heavier in the coming years if he withholds his sympathy and help from the black man in his efforts to lift up himself and his race. We dare not do him injustice by any policy of industrial or political repression or suppression, and we can not afford to degrade our Anglo-Saxon manhood by hating or wronging our weaker brother in black. By as much as we are superior to him in civilization, by just so much are we under the greater obligation to help the less-favored race in every worthy endeavor for moral, social, and material progress. Whatever may be the fate of the negro in the future, we should not shrink from the responsibility of doing our duty manfully in the present; and if we do the right as God gives us to see the right, we may with unfaltering faith leave the consequences to that gracious Providence which has blessed our nation through all the eventful years of its history.

For right is right, since God is God;
 And right the day must win;
 To doubt would be disloyalty,
 To falter would be sin.

DISCUSSION.

By H. B. FRISSELL,

Principal of Hampton Institute.

I approach the discussion of the subject before us with a certain reluctance, for I realize that there are men in this audience and on this platform who know much more about this problem than I do. For though I have lived in Virginia for many years, I am not to the manner born. I realize that this is a Southern man's prob-

lem; that if it is to be worked out at all he is to do it, and that we of the North can only help. If I have any fitness for the task it is because I have had such good teachers. For years I have sat at the feet of Dr. Curry, whose grand work in the cause of common-school education is known to you. I am glad of a chance to express publicly to-night my sense of obligation to him for the sympathy and help that he has rendered Hampton. I take no such dark view of the relation of the races as Dr. Barringer does. I have lived in Virginia for twenty years. During all that time I have worked alongside of Southern white men, most of them mechanics, and I do not believe that the average Southern white man hates the black or that there is any danger of a race war. Most of our shops at the Hampton school are in charge of Southern white men, and I have never found a more loyal, devoted body of men, or men more interested in the improvement and uplift of the negro youth. I should be glad if I had time to tell you stories showing the pride that these white men take in the progress of their black protégés.

I live in a community where the blacks largely outnumber the whites, and where both whites and blacks receive the highest wages that are paid in any part of this State. There is the least possible friction between the two races. It may be that I am not an unprejudiced witness in this matter of the relation of whites and blacks, for I have been connected with a negro school that has received continually the strongest evidences of sympathy and interest from the governor and superintendent of instruction down to the plainest citizen of the State. Year after year the Senators and Representatives of this State have pleaded in the Halls of Congress for an appropriation for Indians. Through Dr. Curry, that eloquent apostle of education for every man, white or black, the school has received generous appropriations from the Slater and Peabody funds, and from every part of the country have come assurances of kind feeling. It is not easy under such circumstances for me to believe in race hatred or race wars.

Some years ago there was a suggestion that the school's industries, which are quite extensive, were interfering with the industries of the town. It was proposed by the citizens, and cordially seconded by the school authorities, that a committee of the senate and house of delegates be sent down to investigate the matter. A hearing of three days was given in the county court-house. Witnesses were summoned from every walk of life—merchants, mechanics, and farmers—white and black. There was not a single case of a man who wished the school withdrawn. Not only was it shown that the school was bringing thousands and tens of thousands of dollars into the town, not only did merchants show that their trade was largely helped by this negro school, but one white contractor after another testified that he had gotten his first start in his business in helping to erect some one of the school's sixty buildings. The farmers testified as to the better stock and machines and the improved methods of farming which the school had brought into the community. From every class there came the most cordial witness to the fact that the school was not only not a hindrance but a great help, not only to the blacks but to the whites. They showed what I firmly believe to be always the case, that just as one finger can not be fattened without the others, so you can not lift up one portion of a community without lifting up all of it.

The report of the joint committee of the senate and house of delegates is one of the strongest campaign documents that the school has ever received. In it Judge Cardwell and his associates say: "The institute has been a great benefit to this county and to Hampton, giving employment to a large number of citizens, white and colored, bringing annually tens of thousands of dollars to the community. It has been one of the means of building up this part of the State; population has increased, every branch of business has been made more prosperous, and, indeed, it is a self-evident fact that the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute has spent a vast amount of money in the community, bringing great benefit to all classes of citizens."

This testimony as to the value to all classes of the proper education of the blacks, and the kindly relations resulting from it, comes from some of the wisest lawyers and business men of this State. But similar testimony to that given in regard to Hampton has been given in the case of the schools started by its graduates all over the South. Booker Washington was a graduate from Hampton, and started a school on the same plan in Tuskegee, Ala. We have sent 50 of our graduates to help him carry it on. In his autobiography, which is just appearing in the Outlook, he bears witness to the uniform kindness shown him and the school by every class in that community. He was called to make the chief address at the opening of the Atlanta Exposition and was cheered to the echo. I much doubt if there is any white man in the South more cordially loved and honored by the whole South and the whole country than this black son of Hampton and the Old Dominion.

What Mr. Washington has done at Tuskegee in a large way, hundreds of Hampton graduates have done all through the South in a small way. I went not long

since to the town of Lawrenceville, in Brunswick County, in this State, where a Hampton graduate has started an industrial school. I met the leading white physician of the place. He told me that he was the school physician, and commended the work. I found that the leading lawyer of the place was the school's treasurer. Every white man in the town whom I met had only pleasant words to say of this colored teacher who had started in the black belt of Virginia a smaller Hampton.

I could take you to certain counties in this State where not many years ago the blacks bore no part of the burden of taxation, but to-day are paying one-fifth of the property tax. I could take you to counties where crime is reduced to a minimum and the relations between the races are of the pleasantest. There has been an increase of the land holdings of the blacks in the country districts of Virginia of nearly one-third in the last six years. Hampton has sent out between five and six thousand young people since its founding. So far as we can find out there has been only one of them behind the bars, and there has been absolutely no complaint of unkind treatment by the whites.

What has been true of Hampton graduates has been true of the blacks that other schools have sent out. The leading citizens of Winston-Salem, N. C., have helped a young colored man to start a school, a model black colony, and a farm. They have themselves subscribed generously, and have done all in their power to improve the blacks. When I was last in their beautiful city they told me that in that black community of hundreds of souls there had never been an arrest made or a legal paper served. That shows what can be done when Southern white men really take this negro problem in hand. Prof. Jerome Dowd, a professor in Trinity College, North Carolina, in an excellent article in the *December Century*, on "Paths of Hope for the Negro," says: "The field is broad enough for both races to attain all that is possible for them. In spite of the periodic political conflicts and occasional local riots and acts of individual violence, the relation between the races in respect to nine-tenths of the population are very friendly."

I have watched with great interest for the last ten years the labor problem being worked out near my home, in one of the largest shipyards in the world, where whites and blacks labor side by side. There have been fewer strikes and less labor trouble in that great yard, with its thousands of workmen, than in almost any yard of its size in the world. Instead of the blacks pulling down the wages of the whites, the wages paid to both are the highest in the market. In an undeveloped country like the South, which needs all the labor that it can possibly obtain, with vast tracts of land waiting to be cultivated, with untold resources of iron and coal to be developed, the last thing to be feared, it seems to me, is a race labor war. I have traveled largely in the South; I have talked with all classes of men. The one thing that faces planters and manufacturers is scarcity of labor. The planters tell me that their men are drawn off to the mines and the railroads. The wage of the laboring man, both white and black, is rising, and that means prosperity for both races, but especially for the white man.

The Hon. John Temple Graves pleads eloquently for the removal of the blacks. But whenever there is a hint of the removal of any of them there comes the loudest protest from every class in the community. Not long since a movement was made in one of the agricultural counties of Georgia to take away the blacks. The planters begged that the exodus be stopped, declaring that if it went on they would be ruined. A friend of mine tried to move a colony of blacks from Alabama and Mississippi to Mexico. He declared to me that the greatest difficulty he had to encounter was the opposition of the Southern white man. The truth is, people all over the world are turning their eyes continually toward the Southern negro laborer, realizing what many a Southern man has told me, that the blacks, when properly treated, are the best laborers in the world. Shrewd, long-headed Germany has asked Booker Washington to send some of his men to raise cotton in South Africa. In the December number of the *International Monthly*, Mr. Washington says that within the last two months he has received letters from the Sandwich Islands, Cuba, and South America asking that the American negro be induced to go to these places as laborers. In each case, as he says, there would seem to be an abundance of labor already in the places named. It is there, but it seems not to be of the quality and value of that of the negro in the United States.

In the testimony given recently before the United States Industrial Commission, again and again Southern white men have stated in the most emphatic language that the negro is the best laborer that the South has ever had, and is the best the South is likely to get in the future.

We have been hearing much of late to the effect that the negro is dying out, that he is thoroughly criminal, that education ruins him, and that he is altogether valueless as a laborer. The census seems to show that he has increased from four to nearly ten millions since the war, that he has accumulated nearly a billion

dollars' worth of property of his own, and that as a free laborer he raised four times as much cotton in 1899 as he did as a slave in 1850.

Is it quite just to say of this people that it "stands at the door of the South a criminal beggar?" It is not strange that in the demoralization following emancipation crime should have increased, that the negro should have often confused freedom with license and thought that it meant freedom from labor, that the negro father and mother should have had little idea of family life or of the proper way to train their children, but the suggestion that education is the cause of crime, or that an increase of intelligence in any part of the community is harmful is certainly not to be entertained in this home of Thomas Jefferson.

Mr. Washington has received from 300 prominent Southern white men answers to these questions:

1. Has education made the negro a more useful citizen?
2. Has it made him more economical and more inclined to acquire wealth?
3. Has it made him a more valuable workman, especially where thought and skill are required?

Nine-tenths answered all three questions emphatically in the affirmative. A few expressed doubt; only one answered no.

REPLY

By PAUL B. BARRINGER.

[By previous arrangement Dr. Dreher and Dr. Frissell replied to Dr. Barringer's paper, and in reply to Dr. Frissell's criticism of the words "criminal beggar," Dr. Barringer presented the following statements.]

A few years ago a balance sheet for the blacks and whites of Virginia stood as follows:

For negro criminal expenses	\$304, 018
For negro education	324, 364
For negro lunatics	80, 000
Total negro expenzes	608, 382
Total negro taxes	103, 565
Annual loss to Virginia on account of negro	504, 817

The above report was made by the State auditor, and was quoted in Hoffman's *Race Traits and Tendencies*, page 301. It will be seen from it that the annual net loss on the negro population of this State (Virginia) is over a half a million of dollars, and that the total negro taxes paid is even less by \$100,000 than the sum annually expended by the whites to repress negro crime.

Secondly, Dr. Barringer called attention to the report of the Virginia Penitentiary for 1899, where there were among the State convicts only 404 whites as against 1,694 blacks, giving on the basis of population negro criminality as 7.4 times greater than the white. The latest reports of the State penitentiaries from Maryland to Texas show about the same results, rising to 9.4 and 8 in Georgia, where progressive municipal administration draws the negro to town, and falling as low as 5.4 in Mississippi, where the negroes live in the country, and where white domination and negro disfranchisement are most complete.

These facts, Dr. Barringer stated, warranted him in making this clear statement of the situation.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

By KELLY MILLER,

Professor of Mathematics, Howard University.

TOPICAL OUTLINE.

PART I.—THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF NEGRO EDUCATION.

I. THE EDUCATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GROWTH AND TENDENCY OF THE NEGRO POPULATION.

The growth and spread of the negro population in the United States. The bulk remains in the South. Localization of national problem calls for national aid. Slight tendency toward North and West. Mixed schools in North and West. Dwindling of race in border States. Social isolation the cause. Difficulty of maintaining adequate separate school system for sparse negro element in border States. Decline of negro population in Kentucky. Black belts of the South. Area in which negroes are more than twice as numerous as whites. Area and relative density of region in which negroes are in the majority. Causes tending to perpetuate black belts. The social and educational problems of black belts.

II. EARLY STRUGGLE FOR EDUCATION, PERSONAL RISK, AND ECONOMIC SACRIFICE.

The negro's desire to taste of the forbidden tree of knowledge. How Frederick Douglass learned to read and write. The experience of John M. Langston. Regulations in the several Southern States against the instruction of the negro. Negro schools in the large cities. The colored schools of Washington, D. C. Kind-hearted slave owners who taught their slaves to read. Negroes attending school in slave States, 1850 and 1860. The establishment of negro schools by Freedmen's Bureau and other agencies. The negro ever eager and anxious to learn.

III. SEPARATE SCHOOL PROVISIONS.

Establishment of public schools by reconstruction governments. Laws and regulations of the several States establishing separate schools for the two races. Density of population of white and colored elements. The effect of division of school fund where population is sparse. Equal provision for both races. Total and per capita cost of education of the two races. Sources of public-school funds. The extent to which negroes pay for their own schooling. General educational statistics showing school population, enrollment, number of teachers, average salary, and length of school term for the two races.

IV. NEGRO OWNERS AND TENANTS OF FARMS AND HOMES.

Negroes who own and hire their own homes and farms, and negro property owners in Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia. Unsupported assertions as to support of negro schools. The Democratic purpose of public schools. White and negro population in slave States. Number of negroes who own and hire their homes and farms. Renters are bona fide taxpayers. Negro property holders in Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia. Ownership of corporate enterprises.

V. OCCUPATIONS OF NEGROES.

The negro as a contributing factor to the industrial life of the South. Persons engaged in gainful pursuits. Occupations of white and negro women. Negro agricultural laborers, farmers, planters, and overseers. Negro laborers acquiring self-direction. Negro employed mainly in agriculture and domestic service. Few employed in the trades or in the arts. Domestic service the chief employment in the border States. Education should be directed to industrial conditions. Persons employed during portion of the year. The negro the most important industrial factor in the South. His labor the basis of production and accumulated property.

VI. SPECIAL STUDIES OF THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE NEGRO.

The importance of the studies undertaken by the Labor Bureau. The negroes of Sandy Springs, Md. The negroes of Farmville, Va. Negroes in the black belt (six groups). The city negro. Economic lesson derived from these special studies. Negro spends and is spent for the good of the several communities in which he resides. He is everywhere a contributing factor.

VII. THE EDUCATION OF THE CITY NEGRO.

The relative status of the urban and rustic negro. City and country school provisions in the South. Negro city schools fairly well equipped. The practical aim of education not fulfilled. The adaptation of school program to the needs of the negro race. Special features of negro schools. The importance of kindergarten training. The large function of negro education. Negro teachers must awaken moral enthusiasm. The necessity for training in concrete things. The need of practical judgment. Baleful effect of smattering. Industrial training. The city negro a servant and bodily laborer. The predominance of the female element influences city schools. The negro should be taught concerning himself and the condition of his race. The city schools are centers of light for the entire race.

PART II.—THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

I. THE INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY OF THE NEGRO.

The negro regarded as an inferior order of creation. Higher susceptibilities denied, since they were not needed. Ill usage and proscription based upon innate inferiority. Intellectual manifestation the highest measure of the man and the race. The negro able to master European courses of study. Relative capacity of the races. Arguments and testimony to uphold negro's claim. Why the negro has not produced great names in the intellectual arena. Charge of Thomas Nelson Page. Plea of Thomas Jefferson. Intellectual glory depends upon social and political status. Distribution of ability in America. The intellectual position of women analogous to that of the negro. The negro has shown surprising intellectual exuberance.

II. THE NEED OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION.

Knowledge is its own reward. The negro must connect with civilization in its best form and at its highest point. Education must assist evolution. Choice youth must assimilate culture and hand it down to the masses below. Contact with superior race can not produce civilization. Education will foster self-reliant activity and teach the impersonal quality of knowledge and virtue. The negro has to compete with white youth and needs the same helpful influence to prepare him for his work. The higher education necessary to produce leadership. The evil of poorly equipped leaders. Historical example of race development. Backward races perish for want of competent leadership. The culture influence of the ancient languages. Higher education discriminates between the real and the apparent. It gives a larger tolerance for existing conditions. It fosters and stimulates industrial activities.

III OBJECTIONS TO THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO ANSWERED.

The money spent on higher education has been wasted. Education has not eradicated the negro's evil and criminal disposition. Higher education lifts the negro above the needs of his people. The negro is leaving the farm and shop for the college and the university. Education has not solved the race question.

IV. THE RELATIVE CLAIMS OF INDUSTRIAL AND HIGHER EDUCATION.

The two phases of education not antagonistic, but supplementary. The white people believe that the negro's place is to work. Philanthropist's interest in helping the most needy. The negro's view of the question. It would be useless to equip large numbers of colored men with trades in the cities. The white laborer will neither compete nor combine on equal terms. The value of industrial schools. The educational impulse proceeds from above. Life is more than meat. Agricultural and domestic education. The need of knowledge to direct.

V. THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF COLORED WOMEN.

The weaker element of the weaker race. The attitude toward the higher culture of women in general. Analogy between the cause of women and that of the negro. The lowly status of colored women. The power of education to reach and to uplift her. Home life the base of the real advancement of the race. The education of the colored women should be mainly industrial and domestic. Room for the ambitious few. Number of colored women who have graduated from Northern and Southern colleges. Examples of successful college-bred colored women. Their work in the future.

VI. THE ORIGIN OF THE NEGRO COLLEGE.

The educational status of the negro before the war. Toleration in Northern colleges. Oberlin College invites negro students. Intellectual darkness at the close of the war. The Northern missionaries came as angels of mercy. The educational work of Freedmen's Bureau. Rise of denominational educational movements. The reconstruction government. The State college. Date of founding of negro colleges.

VII. WORK, WAYS, AND FUTURE OF NEGRO COLLEGES.

The old and the new function of the negro college. Rivalry between public and private schools. Negro universities largely secondary and primary schools. A college should measure up to standard. Requirements of admission and curricula of negro colleges. Relative influence of white and colored teachers. State schools under control of colored men. Small productive resources. Colleges are too numerous. Extravagant abuse of literary degrees. Occupations of graduates of negro colleges. Their religious and philanthropic activity. Leaders in the learned professions. Captains of industry. The future of the negro college. What they have done and what they are calculated to do. Sensible modification and adaptations needed.

VIII. THE NEGRO IN NORTHERN COLLEGES.

The benefits and disadvantages of mixed schools. What makes an institution great. The existence of negro colleges does not estop colored students from attending Northern institutions. The negro college gives the negro racial enthusiasm. It develops negro scholarship by giving negroes a chance to develop beyond graduation. It does not put a damper upon his self-respect. Northern colleges do not contemplate the needs of the negro race. Northern institutions can not be relied on to take a considerable number of colored students. Negro colleges do not perpetuate prejudice. Negro graduates of Northern colleges.

IX. COLORED MEN IN THE PROFESSIONS.

The element of society from which professional men usually come. The rise of the colored clergy. The negro teacher. The negro lawyer and physician. Early negro practitioners. Statistics of professional occupations.

X. NEGROES WHO HAVE ACHIEVED DISTINCTION ALONG LINES CALLING FOR DEFINITE INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY.

The individual the proof of the race. The African in contact with the European has produced distinguished names. Sources of information. Phillis Wheatley, Benjamin Banneker, H. O. Tanner, Paul L. Dunbar, and others.

PART I.—THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF NEGRO EDUCATION.

I. THE EDUCATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GROWTH AND TENDENCY OF THE NEGRO POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Population lies at the basis of all human problems. All progress, development, and civilization are merely emergencies from man in the mass. A persistent group of people, however lowly its present state may be, contains all the potential possibilities of the human race. The development and expansion of population, therefore, afford the surest measure of advancement.

The one striking feature about the American negro is his physical persistence and expansion. The half million Africans who were imported into this country from their native land have so multiplied and ramified as to complicate every factor in the equation of American life. The negro element in the United States to-day exceeds the entire population of ninety years ago. The negro is found in every State and Territory, in almost every town and hamlet, ranging in relative density from fifteen to one in the black counties of the South to less than one in a hundred in the higher latitudes. This widespread distribution among the white population gives an African flavor to local and national problems. No question can be considered on its merits apart from its bearing upon the black man and brother. Religious, political, industrial, and educational problems all take on racial color and tinge.

Of all uplifting agencies one would say that education is the common lever, applies alike to all without regard to ethnic considerations. And yet the education of the negro constitutes as urgent a special problem as any that confronts the American people for solution. A study, then, of the distribution of the negro element among the general mass of the population is essential to a clear understanding of the educational needs of the situation. It is only by this knowledge that we can locate the area where the need is greatest and where the call for agencies of enlightenment is loudest. A localized knowledge of the negro peoples will also enable the educator to adapt plans and methods to the requirements of a variant situation. No greater mistake can possibly be made than to suppose that the entire negro race requires one fixed and inflexible programme of treatment, with no variation to meet local and special conditions. A race of 9,000,000 souls, scattered over so wide a geographical area and endowed with divergent aptitudes and capacities, encompasses the entire circle of human needs.

There are four phases of the negro population which entail important educational consequences.

(1) The movement toward the Northern and Western States, where there are no separate schools, places a portion of the race on the same educational footing with children of European descent. A broad distinction, therefore, must be made between the States which divide the schools on racial lines and those which do not. Owing to the relative density of the negro population in the two sections, the scholastic separation of the races follows quite closely the line of cleavage between the slave and free States. The half million negroes in the Northern States constitute no special educational problem.

(2) The tendency of population to drift into cities presents important educational suggestions. This tendency is no doubt due, in part, to the better school facilities which the cities afford. The million negroes in the large centers have fairly adequate and ample educational facilities. The South is too poor to provide adequate schools for the population sparsely scattered over the rural area, and especially so under the policy of separate instruction for the two races. But in the cities, where the population is dense and where the wealth is amassed, the conditions are much more favorable. Nor does the duplication of schools work such an economic hardship; for where there are sufficient numbers of both races to maintain the schools with a full complement of pupils there is little waste in the dual system. The education of the city negro will be treated in a separate chapter.

(3) The thinning out of the African element in the border States, where separate schools exist for the two races, must eventually raise the question of the feasibility of maintaining an independent system of schools for so sparse a population. In the State of Missouri 150,000 negroes scattered throughout the State would demand in equity almost as many schools as 16 times as many whites, and on a corresponding scale of cost. Oftentimes there are not enough negroes in a whole county to supply children for a single school, and yet these few children may be scattered over four or five hundred square miles. This is merely suggestive of the special educational problem of the border States.

(4) The segregative tendency of the negro population to lodge itself in certain sections of the Southern States localizes what might otherwise be a national problem. If this black mass were equably diffused throughout the country, the problem, in its educational aspect at least, would lose in intensity what was gained in extension. But the stubborn tendency of this mass to settle into knots and ganglia where the institution of slavery planted it most thickly emphasizes the pressing need of special remedial agencies. The condition of the negro in these congested localities and the utter inadequacy of local provision call more loudly than anything else for national aid to popular education.

A detailed study of the negro population will bring these problems more clearly to light:

Negro population of the United States.

Year.	Colored population.	Decennial increase.	Increase, per cent.	Per cent of total population.
1790	752,208			19.27
1800	1,002,037	244,829	32.33	18.88
1810	1,377,808	375,771	37.50	19.03
1820	1,771,656	393,848	28.50	18.39
1830	2,328,642	556,986	31.44	18.10
1840	2,873,648	545,006	23.44	16.84
1850	3,638,808	765,169	26.65	15.69
1860	4,441,830	803,022	22.07	14.13
1870 ¹	5,391,000	949,170	21.37	13.84
1880	6,580,793	1,189,793	22.07	13.12
1890	7,470,040	889,247	13.51	11.93
1900	8,840,789	1,570,749	18.35	11.57

¹ Estimated by Gen. Francis A. Walker.

If we begin with 1810, the first census year after the constitutional abolition of the slave trade, we see that the growth of the negro element followed the ordinary laws of population, viz. a gradual decline in the rate of increase. In 1810 there were 1,377,808 negroes in the United States. In eighty years this number had swollen to 7,470,040. It more than quintupled itself in eight decades. The relative decline of the African element as a factor of the general population is due to the influx of foreign white immigration. Seven hundred thousand negro females in eighty years produced a progeny of 7,000,000. The African is without question the most prolific element in America. The race will not only persist as a physical factor of the American people, but its natural increase will be sufficient to perpetuate the race problem in unabated force. This fact suggests the wisdom of immediate action, in so far as the problem will yield to ascertained methods of treatment. To delay is not only dangerous, but is expensive as well. While it is conceded on all hands that the negro has made wonderful strides in education, yet there are probably more illiterate negroes in the United States to-day than there were in 1860. The additive difficulties keep fully abreast of the agencies of relief. If national aid to education had been extended ten years ago there is no doubt that some of the phases of the race problem would have been much nearer solution than they are to-day. Procrastination to-day will only add new complications for to-morrow.¹

Negro population of the United States, by slave and free States.

State.	1890.	1880.	1870.	1860.	1850.
Alabama	678,489	600,103	475,510	437,770	345,100
Arkansas	309,117	210,666	122,169	111,259	47,708
Delaware	28,386	26,442	22,794	21,627	20,363
District of Columbia	75,572	59,596	43,404	14,316	13,746
Florida	166,180	126,600	91,689	62,677	49,242
Georgia	858,815	725,133	545,142	465,698	384,613
Kentucky	268,071	271,451	232,210	236,167	220,992
Louisiana	559,193	483,655	364,210	350,373	262,271
Maryland	215,657	210,230	175,391	171,131	165,091
Missouri	150,184	145,350	118,071	118,503	90,040
Mississippi	742,559	656,291	444,201	437,404	310,808
North Carolina	561,018	531,277	391,650	361,522	316,011

¹ Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro, by Frederick L. Hoffman, which was published in 1896, predicted the rapid decline of the American negro through the operation of inherent degenerative agencies. This work at the time attracted wide attention. The Twelfth Census has progressed far enough to show the utter erroneousness of Mr. Hoffman's conclusions. For answer to Mr. Hoffman's argument see Occasional Papers No. 1, American Negro Academy.

Negro population of the United States, by slave and free States—Continued.

State.	1890.	1880.	1870.	1860.	1850.
South Carolina	688,934	604,332	415,814	412,320	393,944
Tennessee	430,678	403,151	322,331	283,019	245,881
Texas	488,171	393,384	253,475	182,921	58,558
Virginia	635,438	631,616	512,841	548,907	526,861
West Virginia	32,690	25,886	17,980	.....	.....
Slave States	6,889,152	6,104,253	4,538,882	4,215,614	3,432,238
Maine	1,190	1,451	1,606	1,327	1,356
New Hampshire	614	685	580	494	520
Vermont	937	1,657	924	709	718
Massachusetts	22,144	18,697	13,947	9,602	9,664
Rhode Island	7,393	6,488	4,980	3,952	3,670
Connecticut	12,302	11,547	9,668	8,627	7,693
New York	70,092	65,104	52,081	49,605	49,069
New Jersey	47,638	38,553	30,658	25,336	24,046
Pennsylvania	107,596	85,535	65,294	56,949	53,626
North Atlantic division	269,906	229,417	179,738	156,001	149,762
Ohio	87,113	79,960	63,213	36,673	25,279
Indiana	45,215	39,228	24,560	11,428	11,262
Illinois	57,628	46,368	28,762	7,628	5,436
Michigan	15,223	15,100	11,849	6,799	2,583
Wisconsin	2,444	2,702	2,113	1,171	635
Minnesota	3,683	1,564	759	259	59
Iowa	10,685	9,516	5,762	1,069	353
Missouri ¹	150,184	145,350	118,071	118,503	90,040
North Dakota	373	401	94	.....	.....
South Dakota	541	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska	8,913	2,385	789	82	.....
Kansas	49,710	43,107	17,108	627	.....
North Central Division	280,928	240,271	155,009	65,736	45,567
Montana	1,490	346	183	.....	.....
Wyoming	922	298	183	.....	.....
Colorado	6,215	2,435	456	46	.....
New Mexico	1,956	1,015	172	85	22
Arizona	1,357	155	26	.....	.....
Utah	588	232	118	59	50
Nevada	242	488	357	45	.....
Idaho	201	53	60	.....	.....
Washington	1,602	325	207	30	.....
Oregon	1,186	487	346	128	207
California	11,322	6,018	4,272	4,086	.....
Western division	27,081	11,852	6,380	4,479	1,240
Total free States	580,888	476,540	341,127	226,216	196,570
Slave States	6,889,152	6,104,253	4,538,882	4,215,614	3,432,238
United States	7,470,040	6,580,793	4,880,009	4,441,830	3,628,808

¹ Included in slave States.

This table shows that the tendency of the race is to settle in the Southern States. Notwithstanding considerable waves of immigration toward the North, 92 per cent of the race is still found in the South. Nor is there the slightest intimation that the mass center of the race will be disturbed by the northward movement. The dust may fly, but the solid earth will remain. Notwithstanding the influx of negroes toward the liberal States since emancipation, the increment in the free States from 1860 to 1890 had scarcely more than kept pace with the growth of the general negro population. All rivers run into the sea, and yet the sea is not full. This suggests the inability of the colored race to maintain itself in a higher latitude. But whether this inability is due to the rigidity of the climate or the frigidity of the social atmosphere is not apparent. The essential fact, however, remains. The Northern States are not likely to receive the negroes in such numbers as to relieve the South of its congested condition. It is often suggested as remarkable that the negro does not rush to the freer conditions of the North as a gas from a denser to a rarer medium. There civil and political rights are guaran-

teed, and educational privileges are ample and free alike to all. Why a people should prefer to remain in a region of repression, where their children must perforce be brought up without ample educational equipment, when they might remove many of these disabilities by crossing an imaginary line, might seem to be a great sociological mystery. But there are other deterrent causes that hinder. The negro is essentially a conservative race. It would rather bear the ills it has than fly to those it knows not of. The industrial proscription of the North is scarcely less depressing than the political suppression in the South. In the New England States, where the sentiment toward the negro is freest, there is evinced the least tendency to immigration. In all New England there are fewer negroes than can be found in the city of New Orleans. The increase of the negro element in the North Atlantic States from 1860 to 1890 was 73 per cent, or only 3 per cent above the general growth. The movement toward the West has been more general, but even this has not been marked enough to indicate a shifting of the base of population. A glance at the table showing the growth of the negro population by geographical divisions is sufficient to enforce the truth of this statement.

Negro population of the United States by geographical divisions.

	1890.	1880.	1870.	1860.	Increase from 1860 to 1890.
United States.....	7,470,040	6,580,793	4,880,009	4,441,830	3,028,210
Slave States.....	6,889,152	6,104,253	4,538,882	4,215,614	2,673,538
North Atlantic States.....	269,906	229,417	179,738	156,001	113,905
North Central Division ¹	280,928	240,270	155,069	65,736	215,192
Western Division.....	30,054	11,852	6,380	4,479	25,575
Total in free States.....	580,888	476,540	341,127	226,216	354,672

¹ Missouri is taken out of the column of the North Central States and placed with the slave States.

The above table shows that the increment in all the free States for the three decades from 1860 to 1890 was only 354,672, against 2,673,538 in the slave States. The entire negro population in the free States has remained constantly less than the colored element in the State of Alabama.

	1890.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Negroes in—				
Alabama.....	678,489	600,103	475,510	437,770
Free States.....	580,888	476,540	341,127	226,216

There is no mistaking the tendency of the bulk of the negro population to remain in the Southern States. The fascinating attractions of the North allure them not. The educational as well as the general sociological problems growing out of the presence of the negro must be worked out in the South, where the black man is destined to abide. As the localization of a national problem places too great burden on the afflicted States, the General Government should lend a hand toward wiping out the national reproach.

Negro population in border States.

States.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	Increase from 1860 to 1890.
Delaware	21,627	22,794	26,442	28,386	6,759
Kentucky	236,167	222,210	271,451	268,071	31,904
Maryland	171,131	175,391	210,230	215,657	44,526
Missouri	118,505	118,071	145,350	150,184	31,681
Tennessee	283,019	322,331	403,151	430,678	147,659
Virginia	548,907	514,841	631,616	635,438	86,531
West Virginia		17,980	25,886	32,690	14,710
Total	1,379,354	1,391,618	1,714,126	1,761,104	363,770

The table shows that throughout all this region the race increase in thirty years was only 363,770, or 26 per cent, while the negro population at large increased during the same period 70 per cent. This slight apparent increment is due almost wholly to the growth of the city element. The rural negro in this section is growing scarcer and scarcer. If we could separate portions of West Tennessee, southeast Virginia, and southern Maryland, where the negro population is relatively dense and where its increase is normal, from the rest of the section under discussion, the tendency would be greatly accentuated.

Per cent of negro population in border States from 1860 to 1890, showing its relative decline.

States.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Kentucky	20.43	16.82	16.47	14.42
Maryland	25.36	22.46	22.49	21.07
Missouri	10.03	6.86	7.16	5.61
Tennessee	27.07	25.62	26.14	24.37
Virginia	34	49	41	38
West Virginia	4	4	4.1	4.2

We see that there has been a rapid relative decline throughout this section. In Kentucky the negro element declined in thirty years from 20 to 14 per cent and in Missouri from 10 to less than 6 per cent of the total population of the State.

Absolute decline of negro population outside of cities in the border States from 1880 to 1890.

States.	Outside of—	Decrease.
Delaware	1 city	258
Kentucky	2 cities	12,186
Maryland	1 city	7,961
Missouri	2 cities	5,332
Tennessee	3 cities	6,910
Virginia	2 cities	6,807
West Virginia .....	.....	16,804

¹ Increase.

If we except a few cities, we see that there has been an absolute decline throughout the border region, except in West Virginia, which has had a great influx of negroes, owing to special industrial conditions which prevail. The reason for this tendency is not hard to seek or far to find. Where the negro is sparsely scattered among the white population, he is made painfully conscious of his isolation. He pines for consort with those of his color and kind. There are no schools for his children, or churches to meet his religious aspirations, or organizations to satisfy

his social desires. He is shut up to the dull routine of toil and can get only such social relaxations as the cold tolerance of his white neighbors may accord him. He is really in social captivity and pines for those communities where a more congenial environment prevails. The result is he either rushes to the cities or leaves the section for those communities where society is more congenial. The same tendency is noticeable in the Northern negro, or, rather, in the Southern negro who goes to the North. Although he comes from the farm, with whose life and methods he is tolerably well acquainted, he rarely seeks agricultural work in his new home, but goes to the cities, where he may affiliate with others of his race. The growth of negro churches in the North is significant of the same tendency. Wherever two or three dozen negroes meet together in a Northern community, there a colored church springs up among them to meet, in a large measure, their social needs and aspirations. This tendency is not to be marveled at, for the consciousness of kind is a strong incentive in all races. The Anglo-Saxon, with the spirit of enterprise, goes to the utmost ends of the earth to dwell among all kinds and conditions of men, but he never loses touch with the higher life of his race and is determined to live above the social level of the people among whom he dwells. He is also inspired by the hope of gaining a competency, so as to return to the congenial environment from whence he came or of making his new environment congenial by bringing it under control of his own race and its higher institutional life. If, however, he had to live like the negro, below the level of his social environment, with no conceivable outlook, he would doubtless pine as does the negro, and at the first opportunity fly to more congenial companionship with his own race and color.

Whatever may be the cause and its justification the effect remains the same.

In order to bring more prominently to light the serious educational problem that this movement in the population entails, let us notice a few typical counties in a single border State.

Negro population of certain counties of Kentucky from 1860 to 1890.

County.	Area. <i>Sq. miles.</i>	Negro population.				Number of negroes to square mile.				Number of negroes to 100 whites in 1890.
		1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	
Adair.....	400	1,662	1,836	2,171	1,828	4.1	4.5	5.4	4.5	15
Bath.....	270	2,641	2,702	2,017	1,578	9.8	10	7.5	5.8	14
Boyle.....	180	3,714	3,679	4,737	4,809	20.6	20.4	26.3	26.7	59
Butler.....	452	795	643	820	773	1.5	1.4	1.8	1.7	59
Carroll.....	165	1,087	540	771	757	6.6	3.3	4.7	4.6	9
Clay.....	589	611	495	706	413	1.1	.8	1.2	.7	3
Edmonson.....	348	284	226	555	458	.8	.7	1.6	1.3	6
Floyd.....	410	220	171	199	151	.5	.4	.5	.4	1
Grant.....	280	726	509	733	483	2.6	1.8	2.6	1.7	4
Hancock.....	200	831	729	803	758	4.2	3.6	4	3.3	9
Henderson.....	472	5,844	5,990	7,572	8,223	12.5	12.6	16	17.4	70
Jefferson.....	375	12,311	19,146	25,995	33,617	32.8	50.1	79.3	86.9	20
Knox.....	350	673	557	662	778	1.9	1.6	1.9	2.2	.6
Leslie.....	420	.....	.....	28	82	.....	.....	.06	.08	.8
Logan.....	544	6,726	5,723	7,381	6,569	12.3	10.5	15	12	30
Magoffin.....	300	147	179	150	160	.5	.6	.5	.5	1.7
Meade.....	332	1,954	1,294	1,274	769	6	3.9	3.8	2.3	8
Montgomery.....	200	2,892	2,699	3,566	3,643	14.4	13.5	17.8	18.2	41
Ohio.....	610	1,321	1,393	1,464	1,346	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.2	6
Perry.....	448	87	96	139	160	.2	.2	.3	.3	2
Rockcastle.....	280	397	369	437	155	1.4	1.3	1.5	.6	1.5
Simpson.....	320	2,403	2,167	2,797	2,374	7.5	6.8	8.7	7.4	23
Trimble.....	155	386	456	577	321	5.3	2.9	3.7	2	4
Webster.....	340	1,116	1,355	1,666	1,912	3.3	3.9	4.7	5.6	12

The foregoing table shows the evolution, or rather the retroaction, of the negro population in several counties in the State of Kentucky. In order that the coun-

ties selected might be impartially chosen, every fifth county was taken in alphabetical arrangement. It appears that in 19 out of 24 counties there were less than 10 negroes to the square mile, and in 6 counties the race did not average 1 to the square mile. It is also seen that there has been an absolute decline from 1860 to 1890 in 12 of the counties, and in 15 from 1880 to 1890. Throughout the counties under discussion it will be noticed that the negro element is very thin as compared with the white. If we suppose that this relation holds good for the entire State, as indeed we have every reason to believe, it will be seen that in two-thirds of the counties in Kentucky the negro averages less than 10 persons to the square mile, and in one-third of the State the average is less than 1 negro to the square mile. Not only is this true of Kentucky, but equally, or rather to a greater degree, will it hold for Missouri, and to a lesser extent, perhaps, for the other border States.

These States are pledged to the maintenance of separate schools with equal facilities for both races. How this can be done for the less numerous element of the population at a reasonable cost is the special educational problem which the border States present.

The growth and expansion of the so-called black belts in the South possess great sociological significance. Although our modern statesmanship has not consciously set apart a land of Goshen for the abiding place of the sable sojourners, nevertheless, this land is establishing itself by the sheer force of racial gravitation. The tendency of the negro population to cluster about black centers notwithstanding the operation of potent dispersive influences has been widely noted and remarked upon. A careful study of this population shows that it is solidifying along the river courses and in the fertile plains of the South, where it was most thickly planted by the institution of slavery. In order to bring this tendency clearly into evidence the following tables have been prepared on the basis of the Federal censuses.

Table I shows the number of counties in each State in which the negroes are more than twice as numerous as the whites, the aggregate areas of such counties, and their progressive changes during the three census decades, 1860-1890. The growth of this Africanized area has been remarkable. It increased from 71 counties with an aggregate area of 35,732 square miles in 1860 to 103 counties and 66,084 miles in 1890. While these "black belts" would have covered a territory as large as South Carolina at the beginning of the civil war, thirty years later they had grown to an area greater than that of all the New England States.

TABLE I.—Counties in which negroes exceed the whites more than two to one.

State.	1860.		1870.		1880.		1890.	
	Number of counties.	Area.	Number of counties.	Area.	Number of counties.	Area.	Number of counties.	Area.
		<i>Sq. miles.</i>		<i>Sq. miles.</i>		<i>Sq. miles.</i>		<i>Sq. miles.</i>
Alabama	7	5,862	11	8,676	11	8,676	11	8,676
Arkansas	1	760	3	2,024	6	4,103	6	4,103
Florida	1	910	3	2,792	2	1,510	2	1,510
Georgia	13	6,598	14	7,062	18	7,888	23	10,100
Louisiana	13	7,182	14	8,376	17	9,597	16	9,007
Mississippi	17	10,994	15	9,292	22	13,037	23	13,757
North Carolina	1	454	2	1,134	3	1,654	2	1,134
South Carolina	8	8,186	8	5,456	12	9,343	12	11,699
Tennessee	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	630	1	630
Texas	2	2,230	3	3,200	3	3,200	3	3,200
Virginia	8	2,236	6	1,756	7	2,059	4	1,218
Total	71	35,732	79	48,568	92	62,707	103	66,084

TABLE II.—“Black belts” in which negroes exceed whites more than two to one.

States in which the “black belt” is located.	1860.			1870.		
	Negro population.	White population.	Negroes to 100 whites.	Negro population.	White population.	Negroes to 100 whites.
Alabama	147,336	52,292	281	226,950	73,085	315
Arkansas	7,512	1,722	436	18,469	7,940	232
Florida	9,149	3,194	284	34,631	11,331	305
Georgia	85,298	34,331	245	102,682	37,809	271
Louisiana	129,568	33,948	352	101,754	40,730	248
Mississippi	210,968	61,382	342	179,237	60,004	298
North Carolina	10,803	4,923	219	26,482	11,694	226
South Carolina	145,839	48,885	298	164,771	64,294	256
Tennessee						
Texas	9,242	4,047	228	20,167	7,705	264
Virginia	48,554	20,669	240	35,978	15,989	225
Total	804,329	265,393	303	911,121	330,581	276

States in which the “black belt” is located.	1880.			1890.		
	Negro population.	White population.	Negroes to 100 whites.	Negro population.	White population.	Negroes to 100 whites.
Alabama	274,420	76,910	368	285,513	75,040	380
Arkansas	64,495	20,827	309	93,398	26,898	311
Florida	29,508	6,219	476	26,850	6,679	402
Georgia	193,823	76,121	254	210,075	79,806	261
Louisiana	191,050	55,890	341	200,620	55,925	358
Mississippi	350,897	101,001	347	401,639	110,436	362
North Carolina	66,608	22,481	296	33,774	15,494	211
South Carolina	303,192	118,904	255	318,113	114,806	277
Tennessee	22,238	9,633	231	20,492	8,386	244
Texas	32,228	12,097	266	35,695	13,116	272
Virginia	49,785	21,259	234	26,309	11,985	219
Total	1,583,244	521,342	304	1,652,458	517,571	319

TABLE III.—Counties in which there are from 100 to 200 negroes to 100 whites.

State.	Number of counties.				Population in 1890.		Number of negroes to 100 whites.
	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	Negro.	White.	
Alabama	13	11	13	8	106,387	81,738	130
Arkansas	5	5	7	9	67,375	52,818	127
Florida	5	4	7	8	80,824	57,631	140
Georgia	30	41	42	39	380,425	278,863	136
Louisiana	19	19	19	17	176,695	120,425	147
Maryland	5	3	2	2	13,201	11,850	119
Mississippi	15	17	16	16	191,420	147,016	130
North Carolina	19	15	19	14	142,496	105,115	135
South Carolina	12	13	13	14	274,330	184,954	147
Tennessee	3	2	2	2	77,209	59,089	130
Texas	5	4	5	6	36,895	28,595	128
Virginia	35	36	33	30	251,367	183,905	137
United States	106	170	178	165	1,772,614	1,312,069	135

Table II shows the relative density of the negro population within the area described by Table I. There are, on the average, more than three negroes to each white person. The negro population is increasing far more rapidly than the white, having increased from 3.03 times the white in 1860 to 3.19 times in 1890; and, what is, perhaps, more surprising, is the rapid increase of this ratio during the census decade 1880-1890, which showed such a marked decline in the general increment of the negro population; 1,652,458 negroes, or nearly one-fourth of the entire race, were found in these “black belts” in 1890, against 804,329, or about one-fifth of the race, in 1860.

Tables I and II, taken together, show an unmistakable tendency of these "black belts" to increase, both in extent and intensity. The probability is that they will not only maintain themselves, but will expand with the coming decade. Much criticism has been heaped upon the successive censuses on account of alleged errors, both of an excessive and defective character; but the discrepant enumerations do not affect the tendency herein noted. This growth is steady and unmistakable. We can predict with fullest assurance that the twelfth census will confirm this general law of growth.

Table III shows the number of counties in each State in which the negroes are in the majority but less than twice as numerous as the whites, together with the aggregate population of such counties in 1890, and the number of negroes to every 100 whites. This area is much larger than that considered in Table I, and has remained almost stationary during the decades under consideration. There are 165 counties and about 100,000 square miles in this region. There are, on the average, 135 negroes to every 100 whites. Tables I and III show that the entire region in which negroes are in the numerical majority embraces 268 counties and covers an area as large as the North Atlantic division of States. There are 3,400,000 negroes, against 1,800,000 whites. Nearly one-half of the entire race is found within this Goshenized territory. We often speak of the "black belts" as being congested, but this must refer to the constantly thickening darkness and not to the absolute density of the population; for, as noted above, these belts form an area about the size of the North Atlantic States. The total population is about 5,000,000, while the North Atlantic States have a population of 17,000,000. The average density of the population is less than one-third that of the States in the higher latitude. The indications are that the negro will be able to maintain the ground already gained, but will not be able to make further headway against the "white man's country."

The opposite tendency in the Southern population is also noticeable. Just as the black spots are growing blacker the white spots are growing whiter. The line of cleavage seems to take place where the two races are about evenly balanced, and the relative densities increase in both directions. In those counties where the negroes constitute only a small fraction of the total population their relative decline is notable.

If we turn to the cities, we find the same tendency toward a geographical separation of the races. There are 25 cities with a total negro population of more than half a million. A careful study of their distribution will show that they are segregated in districts and wards as definitely marked as the "black belts" of the South. The politician is as familiar with the black and the white wards of our large cities as is a seaman with the depths and shallows of the sea.

There are several causes which conspire to perpetuate the segregative tendencies of the negro population:

1. Under the social conditions now prevailing the negro is compelled to flock with his kind. He is thrown back upon himself by the expulsive power of prejudice. The negro possesses the social instinct in a high degree, and can not endure isolation. The thinly veneered tolerance which he receives when scattered promiscuously among the whites by no means satisfies his longings. He longs for his own church and society and forms of social life.

2. The white population shuns open rivalry or contact with the negro on terms of equality. Wherever white men and women have to work for a living, they avoid those sections where they have to compete with the negroes; and if indigenous to such localities, they often migrate to where the black rival is less numerous. For this reason immigration avoids the "black belts." Whenever a community of Northern agriculturists settle in the South, they usually select a white neighborhood, and, in some instances at least, they have been known to "freeze out" the negroes by methods of their own devising.

3. As manufacturing industry moves southward, the poor country whites will be drawn to the cities as operatives and workmen along lines of higher mechanical skill, leaving the negro in vast numerical preponderance in the agricultural districts.

These factors operating separately and cooperating conjointly will perpetuate the "black belts" of the South and make permanent this modern land of Goshen.

The political, social, and industrial future of these localities is a matter of serious importance. These belts are so distributed among the States that they can not maintain political integrity. They do not follow the Atlantic coast line, but are only tangential to it at several points, and therefore their commercial importance is materially lessened. The negro constitutes a majority in only two States; but even in these the white man's superior political sagacity will enable him to maintain governmental control for any calculable period of time.

The educational, social, and industrial life must be elevated by the negro himself under the stimulus of local and national assistance. It is here that must be worked out the future of the race on this continent. The great masses will be gathered in these belts or in the corresponding black wards of our large cities, from which the volatile particles will fly off in all directions to be dissipated and lost.

It is no reproach to these people to say that if left to themselves they would lapse into barbarism. No people, unaided, can lift themselves from a lower to a higher level of civilization. It is a social, as it is a physical, impossibility to lift one's self by pulling against the straps of one's own boots. But this land of Goshen is not to be left alone; there will always be a number of whites affiliating with the negroes for purposes of philanthropy or gain. Hampton and Tuskegee and Fisk are types of philanthropic helpfulness. There is need of autochthonous enterprise. Young men of ambition and education will be forced to such communities as a field to exploit their powers. The secret and method of New England may thus be transplanted to the South by the hands and brains of sons of Ethiopia. It is here that the great educational and developmental problems must be worked out.¹

II.—THE STRUGGLE FOR EDUCATION—PERSONAL AND ECONOMIC SACRIFICE.

A full knowledge of the education of the negro can not be had without making some reference to the earlier educational efforts. It is well known that slavery discouraged the dissemination of literary knowledge among persons of African descent, and, in most cases, this discouragement amounted to a positive prohibition. But despite the rigid regulations of the slave régime there were many kind-hearted slaveholders who taught their slaves to read and write. Many others picked up such knowledge in ways which it is mysterious to comprehend. The fact that book information was withheld from the negro made him all the more anxious to acquire it. Stolen waters are sweet, and the fact that they are forbidden leads those from whom the privilege is withheld to suspect that they possess mysterious efficacy. Such hungering and thirsting after knowledge amid dark and dismal discouragements is surely a compliment to the intellectual taste of the African. The antebellum struggles of the free colored people and the more ambitious slaves to acquire the use of printed characters is almost incomprehensible, in view of the liberal educational provisions of these latter days. The experience of Frederick Douglass was not without many parallels and counterparts. In his autobiography he tells us:

The most interesting feature of my stay here [in Baltimore] was my learning to read and write under somewhat marked disadvantages. In obtaining this knowl-

¹ This chapter was written before the figures of the Twelfth Census were available. This census, however, in so far as it has been completed, confirms the conclusions of this chapter in every essential particular. See Forum, February, 1902, "Expansion of the Negro Population."

edge I was compelled to resort to indirections by no means congenial to my nature and which were really humiliating to my sense of candor and uprightness. My mistress, checked in her benevolent designs toward me, not only ceased instructing me herself, but set her face as a flint against my learning to read by any means.¹

She would rush at me with the utmost fury, and snatch the book or paper from my hand with something of the wrath and consternation which a traitor might be supposed to feel on being discovered in a plot by some dangerous spy. The conviction once thoroughly established in her mind that education and slavery were incompatible with each other, I was most narrowly watched in all my movements. If I remained in a separate room from the family for any considerable length of time, I was sure to be suspected of having a book, and was at once called to give an account of myself. Teaching me the alphabet had been the "inch" given; I was now waiting only for the opportunity to take the "ell." Filled with determination to read at any cost, I hit upon many expedients to attain my desired end. The plan which I mainly adopted, and the one which was most successful, was that of using my white playmates, with whom I met in the streets, as teachers. I used to carry almost constantly a copy of Webster's Spelling Book in my pocket, and when sent on errands, or when playtime was allowed me, I would step aside with my young friends and take a lesson in spelling.²

Meanwhile, I resolved to add to my educational attainments the art of writing. After this manner I began to learn to write. I was much in the shipyard, and observed that the carpenters, after hewing and getting ready a piece of timber to use, wrote on the initials of the name of that part of the ship for which it was intended. When, for instance, a piece of timber was ready for the starboard side, it was marked with a capital "S"; a piece for the larboard side was marked "L"; larboard aft marked "L. A."; starboard aft "S. A."; starboard forward "S. F." I soon learned these letters, and for what they were placed on the timbers. My work now was to keep fire under the steambox, and to watch the shipyard while the carpenters had gone to dinner. This interval gave me a fine opportunity to copy the letters named. I soon astonished myself with the ease in which I made the letters, and the thought was soon present, if I can make four letters, I can make more. With playmates for my teachers, fences and pavement for my copy books, and chalk for my pen and ink, I learned to write.³

This was the university training of the most illustrious American negro, which could be duplicated by thousands of his fellow-slaves who remained "mute and inglorious."

A different and less strenuous phase of early educational opportunities may be found in the experience of another distinguished colored American, the late Prof. John Mercer Langston. Mr. Langston thus recounts the early schooling of his brother:

His father (a Virginia white man), manifesting the deepest interest in him, sought by his own efforts and influence to give him such thorough English education, with general information, and mental and moral improvement, as to make him a useful man. He [at 7 years] was required to appear for his recitations in his father's special apartments the year around at 5 o'clock in the morning.⁴

A second brother was put through the same régime, and John M., though too young for definite training when his father died, had ample provision made for his education.⁵

These citations represent two phases of negro education before the civil war. The one gives a picture of the dauntless, self-impelling determination to gain knowledge at any cost; the other, the kind and genial disposition of a father-master, in spite of the rigorous requirements of the law. These instances may be regarded as typical, and might be multiplied by hundreds and thousands. There were also organized efforts for the education of the colored race. Schools were established for the free colored people within the limits of the slave territory. These were mainly in the large cities. A careful and detailed study of such early educational efforts for the several States and cities affords a rich field for interesting and valuable monographic writing. This chapter attempts little more than to

¹Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, p. 72.

²Ibid, p. 74.

³Ibid, pp. 85-86.

⁴From Virginia Plantation to the National Capitol, by John M. Langston, pp. 19-20.

⁵Ibid, p. 20.

present some of the hindrances, embarrassments, personal and economic sacrifices under which the negro in the slave territory labored during the dark days of slavery, in order to secure what he considered the talismanic power of knowledge.

The Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1868 contains an interesting and exhaustive study upon "The legal status of the colored population in respect to schools and education in the different States." As this work is now out of print, a recount of some of the antebellum school laws and regulations may not be without interest. The sources of information for the following citations are the Report just referred to, Williams's History of the Negro Race, Chapter XII on Negro School Laws, and R. R. Wright's Historical Sketch of Negro Education in Georgia.

In Alabama the law of 1832 provided that "any person or persons that shall attempt to teach any free person of color, or slave, to spell, read, or write, shall, upon conviction thereof by indictment, be fined in a sum not less than \$250, nor more than \$500."

In 1833 the mayor and aldermen of the city of Mobile were authorized by law to grant licenses to such persons as they might deem suitable to instruct for limited periods the free colored creole children within the city and in the counties of Mobile and Baldwin, who were the descendants of colored creoles residing in said city and counties in April, 1803, provided, that said children first receive permission to be taught from the mayor and aldermen and have their names recorded in a book kept for the purpose. This was done, as set forth in the preamble of the law, because there were many colored creoles there whose ancestors, under the treaty between France and the United States in 1803, had the rights and privileges of citizens of the United States secured to them.

Arkansas seems to have had no law on the statute book prohibiting the teaching of persons of African descent, although the law of 1838 forbade any white persons or free negro from being found in the company of slaves or in any unlawful meeting, under severe penalty for each offense. In 1843 all migrations of free negroes and mulattoes into the State was forbidden.

There was no law expressly forbidding the instruction of slaves or free colored people in the State of Delaware until 1863, when a positive enactment against all assemblages for the instruction of colored people, and forbidding all meetings except for religious purposes and for the burial of the dead, was made.

While the free colored people were taxed to a certain extent for school purposes, they could not enjoy the privileges of public instruction thus provided, and were left for many years to rely principally upon individual efforts among themselves and friends for the support of a few occasional schools. In 1840 the Friends formed the African School Association in the city of Wilmington, and by its aid two very good schools, male and female, were established in that place.

In 1828 the State of Florida passed an act to provide for the establishment of common schools, but white children only of a specified school age were entitled to school privileges.

In Georgia the following law was enacted in 1829:

If any slave, negro, or free person of color, or any white person, shall teach any other slave, negro, or free person of color to read or write, either written or printed characters, the said free person of color or slave shall be punished by fine and whipping, or fine or whipping, at the discretion of the court; and if a white person so offend he, she, or they shall be punished with a fine not exceeding \$500 and imprisonment in the common jail, at the discretion of the court.

In 1833 a penalty not exceeding \$500 was provided for the employment of any slave or free person of color in setting up type or other labor about a printing office requiring a knowledge of reading or writing. The code remained in force until swept away by events of the civil war.

In 1833 the city of Savannah adopted an ordinance that if any person should teach or cause to be taught any slave or free person of color to read or write within

the city, or who shall keep a school for that purpose, he or she shall be fined in a sum not exceeding \$100 for each and every such offense; and if the offender be a slave or free person of color, he or she may also be whipped not exceeding 39 lashes.

Notwithstanding this severe enactment, there were, nevertheless, several schools for colored children clandestinely kept in Augusta and Savannah. The poor whites would often teach negro children clandestinely. If an officer of the law came round the children were hastily dispatched to the fictitious duty of "picking up chips." The most noted negro school was opened in 1818 or 1819 by a colored man from Santo Domingo. Up to 1839 this school was taught openly. The law of that year made concealment and secrecy a necessity.¹

In Kentucky the school system was established in 1830. In this provision the property of colored people was included in the basis of taxation, but they were excluded from school privileges.

Louisiana, in 1830, provided that whoever should write, publish, or describe anything having a tendency to produce discontent among the free population or insubordination among the slaves, should upon conviction be imprisoned at hard labor for life or suffer death, at the discretion of the court. It was also provided that all persons who should teach or permit or cause to be taught any slave to read or write should be imprisoned not less than one month or more than twelve.

In 1847 a system of public schools was established for the education of white youth, and one mill on the dollar upon the ad valorem amount of the general list of taxable property might be levied for its support. Prior to the civil war the only schools for colored youth in Louisiana were a few private ones in the city of New Orleans among the creoles.

St. Francis Academy for colored girls was founded in connection with the Oblate Sisters, in Baltimore, Md., and received the sanction of the Holy See October 2, 1831. There were many colored Catholic refugees who came to Baltimore from Santo Domingo. The colored women who formed the original society which founded the convent and seminary were from Santo Domingo. The Sisters of Providence is the name of a religious society of colored women who renounced the world to consecrate themselves to the Christian education of colored girls. This school is still in successful operation. A colored man by the name of Nelson Wells left by will to trustees \$7,000, the income of which was to be applied to the education of free colored children. The Nelson Wells school continued from 1835 to the close of the civil war.

Dr. Bokkelen, State superintendent of education, recommended in 1864 the establishment of colored schools on the same basis as those of the whites, and states in his recommendation—

I am informed that the amount of school tax paid annually by these (colored) people to educate the white children in the city of Baltimore for many years has been more than \$500. The rule of fair play would require that this be refunded unless the State at once provided schools under this title.

By an act of January, 1833, the legislature of Mississippi provided that the meeting of slaves and mulattoes above the number of five at any place or public resort or meetinghouse in the night or at any schoolhouse for teaching reading or writing in the day or night was to be considered an unlawful assembly. In 1846 an act was passed establishing a system of public schools from all escheats and all fines, forfeitures, and amercement from licenses to hawkers and all income from school lands. These schools were for the education of white youths.

The legislature of Missouri in 1847 provided that no person should teach any schools for negroes or mulattoes.

In North Carolina until 1835 public opinion permitted the colored residents to maintain schools for the education of their children. These were taught sometimes by white persons, but frequently by colored teachers. After this period colored children could only be educated by confining their teaching within the

¹ Negro Education in Georgia, by R. R. Wright, p. 20.

circle of their own family or by going out of the limits of their own State, in which event they were prohibited by law from returning home. The public system of North Carolina declared that no descendant of negro ancestors to the fourth generation, inclusive, should enjoy the benefits thereof.

In 1740, while yet a British colony, South Carolina took the lead in directly legislating against the education of the colored race—

Whereas the having of slaves taught to write, or suffering them to be employed in writing, may be attended with inconvenience, be it enacted, That all and any person or persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter teach or cause any slave or slaves to be taught, or shall use or employ any slave as scribe in any manner of writing whatever, hereafter taught to write, every such person or persons shall for every such offense forfeit the sum of £100 current money.

In 1800 free colored people were included in this provision. In 1834 it was provided—

If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or shall aid or assist in teaching any slave to read or write, or cause or procure any slave to be taught to read or write, such person, if a free white person, upon conviction thereof shall, for each and every offense against this act, be fined not exceeding \$100 and [suffer] imprisonment not more than six months; or if a free person of color, shall be whipped not exceeding 50 lashes. * * * And if any free person of color or slave shall keep any school or other place of instruction for teaching any slave or free person of color to read or write, such free person of color or slave shall be liable to the same fine, imprisonment, and corporeal punishment.

And yet there were colored schools in Charleston from 1744 to the close of the civil war.

In 1838 Tennessee provided a system of public schools for the education of white children between the ages of 6 and 16, but the colored children never enjoyed any of its benefits, although the free colored people contributed their due share of the public fund.

Texas never expressly forbade the instruction of negroes, although the harsh and severe restrictions placed upon the race made such a provision scarcely necessary.

In 1831 the general assembly of Virginia enacted, among others, the following provisions:

That all meetings of free negroes or mulattoes at any schoolhouse, church, meetinghouse, or other place for teaching them reading or writing, either in the day or night, under whatsoever pretext, shall be deemed an unlawful assembly. * * * If any white person or persons assemble with free negroes or mulattoes at any schoolhouse, church, meetinghouse, or other place for the purpose of instructing such free negroes or mulattoes to read or write, such person or persons shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in a sum not exceeding \$50, and, moreover, may be imprisoned, at the discretion of a jury, not exceeding two months.

It is known, however, that schools for colored children were established and maintained in such cities as Petersburg, Norfolk, and Richmond.

The early educational efforts of the colored people of the District of Columbia have been studied with more fullness than those of any other Southern community. He who presents the movement in Baltimore, Richmond, Louisiana, Charleston, and other Southern centers with as much detail and accuracy will render no inconsiderable service to the history of education.

There does not seem to have been any express law forbidding the education of colored people in this District. In 1807 the first schoolhouse for the use of colored pupils was erected by three colored men—George Bell, Nicholas Franklin, and Moses Liverpool—not one of whom knew a letter of the alphabet. They had been former slaves in Virginia, and, like others of their condition, had an exalted notion of literary knowledge. A white teacher was secured. From this time to the opening of the new régime, brought on by the civil war, there was a tolerably adequate number of schools, supported mainly by the colored people themselves, but not

without assistance from Northern philanthropy. But that these schools did not always have plain and smooth sailing may be gathered from the fact that in 1835, on account of an alleged indiscreet utterance of a colored resident, colored schools were attacked by a mob, some of them burned, and property destroyed, while the most conspicuous negro teacher, Mr. John F. Cook, was compelled to flee for his life. This outbreak is known as the snow riot.

Many of the best-known names in the District were both products of and factors in these early schools, the most noted of whom, perhaps, is Mr. John F. Cook, who subsequently became tax collector of the District of Columbia. For substance, dignity, and influence he stands as one of the conspicuous names of the national capital, regardless of race distinction. His brother, George F. T. Cook, who was both a pupil and a teacher in the antebellum schools, subsequently became superintendent of the colored public schools of Washington and Georgetown, which position he held for thirty years.

This survey has been limited to the Southern or slave States. In the free States of the North the negro had a more picturesque and exciting educational experience. The Northern States did not expressly forbid the education of colored persons, but the hostility to such movements is attested by many a local outbreak.

It was amid such dangers and difficulties that the negro began his educational career. It must not be for a moment supposed, however, that the laws above referred to were rigidly enforced. It is known that pious and generous slaveholders quite generally taught their favorite slaves to read, regardless of the inexorable provisions of law. Quite a goodly number also learned the art of letters somewhat after the furtive method of Frederick Douglass, and in the cities schools for negroes were conducted in avoidance, connivance, or defiance of ordinances and enactments.

In 1865 there was to be found in every Southern community a goodly sprinkling of colored men and women who had previously learned how to read and write.

The censuses of 1850 and 1860 give the number of free colored people attending school in the several States. These figures, for obvious reasons, represent only a small fraction of the negroes, free and slave, who were openly or furtively gaining the elements of literary knowledge. The decline in avowed school attendance between 1850 and 1860 is due to the growing intensity of feeling which culminated during that decade.

Free negroes attending school.

State.	1850.	1860.	State.	1850.	1860.
Delaware	187	250	Texas	20	11
Maryland	1,616	1,355	Arkansas	11	5
District of Columbia	467	678	Tennessee	70	52
Virginia	64	41	Kentucky	288	209
North Carolina	217	133	Missouri	40	155
South Carolina	80	365	Slave States	4,414	3,661
Georgia	1	7	Free States	28,213	22,800
Florida	66	9			
Alabama	68	114			
Mississippi		2			
Louisiana	1,219	275	Total	32,627	26,461

It will be noticed that most of the enactments against the education of the negro were made subsequently to 1830. The Nat Turner insurrection and the opening up of the antislavery campaign in the North had a decidedly reactionary effect in the slave territory.

A people who have made such sacrifice and run such risks for the sake of knowledge, who of their own scanty means were ever willing to support schools for the education of their children, although their property had been taxed for

the support of an educational system from which they were excluded, surely deserves a larger and fuller draught of that knowledge of which the régime of slavery permitted them to gain only a foretaste. The civil war wiped out all of these restrictions, and at its close the Freedmen's Bureau, religious and benevolent associations, and the reconstructed governments of the former slave States threw wide open the gate of knowledge.

The avidity and zeal with which the erstwhile suppressed population seized upon the new opportunity furnishes the most interesting chapter in the history of American education. Educational opportunities were thus thrown open to a people who desired and needed them above all, and who had shown by long and persistent endeavor that they were fully worthy and deserving of them.

III. SEPARATE SCHOOL PROVISIONS.

Although the reconstruction governments have been charged with every known public sin, yet they have one conspicuous countervailing claim to the everlasting gratitude of the South. They established the public school system upon a broad and enduring foundation, making provision for the education of all children regardless of race or color. The South will search its records in vain for another act of statesmanship fraught with so much wisdom and beneficent consequences. No one has yet had the temerity to question the wisdom of this one redeeming memorial to the hated reconstruction régime. Be it said to the credit of the white people of the South, that when they regained political ascendancy they undertook to strengthen, rather than to upset the educational propaganda originated by their political foes.

The avowed policy of the Southern people is that equal, but separate, educational facilities shall be provided for the two races. This is with them a fundamental principle, concerning the wisdom of which it would be a mere waste of time to contend. It is the most vital clause in their social creed, and has become embedded in the fundamental and organic laws of the several States, being as fixed and invariable as the laws of the Medes and Persians. The following citations will show the unanimity of the several Southern States as to scholastic separation of the races:

Alabama.—The general assembly shall establish, organize, and maintain a system of public schools throughout the State for the equal benefit of the children thereof between the ages of 7 and 21 years; but separate schools shall be provided for children of African descent. (School Laws, p. 3.)

Arkansas.—Intelligence and virtue being the safeguards of liberty, and the bulwark of free and good government, the State shall ever maintain a general, suitable, and sufficient system of free schools, whereby all persons in the State, between the ages of 6 and 21 years, may receive gratuitous instruction. (School Laws, 1897, p. 9.)

The said board shall make provisions for establishing separate schools for white and colored children and youths. (Ibid., p. 48.)

District of Columbia.—Separate schools for white children and for colored children shall be provided. (Rules of Board of Education, 1901, p. 1.)

Florida.—White and colored children shall not be taught in the same school, but impartial provisions shall be made for both. (School Laws, 1897, p. 12.)

It shall be a penal offense for any individual, body of individuals, corporation or association, to conduct within this State any school of any grade, public, private, or parochial, wherein white persons and negroes shall be instructed or boarded within the same building, or taught in the same class, or at the same time by the same teacher. (Ibid., chaps. 43-45, sec. 1.)

Any person or persons violating the provisions of section 1 of this act, by patronizing or teaching in such school shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined in a sum not less than \$150 nor more than \$500, or imprisoned in the county jail for not less than three months nor more than six months for every such offense. (Ibid., sec. 2.)

Georgia.—It shall be the duty of said board of education to make arrangements for the instruction of the children of the white and colored races in separate

schools. They shall, as far as practicable, provide the same facilities for both races in respect to attainments and abilities of teachers and length of term time; but the children of the white and colored races shall not be taught together in any common or public school of this State. (School Laws, 1897, p. 15.)

Kentucky.—There shall be maintained throughout the State of Kentucky a uniform system of common schools. * * * It shall not be lawful, under any of the provisions of this chapter, for any white child to attend any common school provided for colored children, or for any colored child to attend any common school provided for white children. (School Laws, 1897, chap. 154.)

Maryland.—It shall be the duty of the board of county school commissioners to establish one or more public schools in each election district for all colored youth between 6 and 20 years of age, to which admission shall be free, and which shall be kept open as long as the other public schools of the county: *Provided*, The average attendance be not less than 10 scholars for two consecutive terms. (School Laws, 1898, sec. 96.)

Each colored school shall be under a separate board of school trustees, to be appointed by the board of county school commissioners, and shall be under the same laws for its government and furnish instruction in the same branches as schools for white children. (*Ibid.*, sec. 7.)

Mississippi.—There shall be maintained a uniform system of free public schools for all children between the ages of 5 and 21 years. (School Laws, 1894, sec. 3162.)

Separate schools shall be maintained for children of the white and colored races. (*Ibid.*, sec. 207.)

Missouri.—Separate free schools shall be established for the education of children of African descent; and it shall hereafter be unlawful in public schools of this State for any colored child to attend any white school or for any white child to attend any colored school. (School Laws, 1893, p. 17.)

North Carolina.—The school commissioners shall establish and locate in the districts, schools for the white race and schools for the colored race. (School Laws, 1897, sec. 2550.)

South Carolina.—The general assembly shall provide for a liberal system of free public schools for all children between the ages of 6 and 21 years.—(Constitution, 1895.)

Separate schools shall be provided for children of the white and colored races, and no child of either race shall ever be permitted to attend a school provided for children of the other race. (*Ibid.*)

Tennessee.—There shall be established and maintained in this State a uniform system of public schools. (School Laws, 1895, sec. 1.)

Nothing in this act shall be so construed as to allow or permit mixed schools of the white and colored population, but such schools shall be taught separately, as now provided by law. (*Ibid.*, p. 23.)

Texas.—The children of the white and colored races shall be taught in separate schools, and in no case shall any school consisting partly of white and partly of colored children receive any aid from the public school fund. (School Laws, 1899, sec. 16.)

All the available public school funds of this State shall be appropriated in each county for the education alike of white and colored children, and impartial provisions shall be made for both races. (*Ibid.*, sec. 13.)

Virginia.—White and colored persons shall not be taught in the same school, but in separate schools, under the same general regulations as to management, usefulness, and efficiency. (School Laws, 1892, sec. 77.)

West Virginia.—White and colored persons shall not be taught in the same school. (School Laws, 1897, p. 17.)

This separation of races raises important economic questions. It is well known that a dual scheme of schools covering a sparsely settled territory practically duplicates the expense of a unified system. Although race prejudice proves to be very expensive, yet the white South is pledged to its maintenance at any cost. The wisdom of this policy is not a profitable subject of discussion. The policy emphasizes the necessity of outside aid for the education of both classes of children.

Number of persons to the square mile, 1890.

State.	Total.	White.	Colored.
Maine.....	22.11		
New Hampshire.....	41.81		
Vermont.....	36.39		
Massachusetts.....	271.48		
Rhode Island.....	317.44		
Connecticut.....	154.03		
New York.....	125.95		
New Jersey.....	193.82		
Pennsylvania.....	116.88		
North Atlantic Division.....	101.37		
Delaware.....	85.97	60.49	14.48
Maryland.....	105.72	83.85	21.87
District of Columbia.....	3,839.87	2,590.40	1,249.47
Virginia.....	41.27	25.44	15.83
West Virginia.....	30.95	29.65	1.30
North Carolina.....	33.30	21.85	11.45
South Carolina.....	36.18	15.42	20.74
Georgia.....	31.15	16.60	14.55
Florida.....	7.22	4.17	3.05
South Atlantic Division.....	32.98		
North Central States.....	29.68		
South Central Division.....	18.94		
Western Division.....	2.53		
Missouri.....	38.98	36.79	2.19
Kentucky.....	46.47	39.76	6.71
United States.....	21.31		

The accompanying table shows the relative density of the population for the several geographical divisions of the United States. It is noticeable that the slave States as a group are more sparsely settled than any other section of the country, excepting, of course, the far West, with its vast stretches of uninhabited and uninhabitable spaces. The difficulty of maintaining a duplicate system of schools for such a population is clearly apparent. The inevitable result is inferior scholastic accommodations and greater hardship on the part of the pupils in securing them. Pennsylvania has an average density of 116 persons to the square mile, while Georgia has only 31, or, to count the two independent component elements, 16½ white, and 14½ colored. The State must be covered with a dual system of schools for the accommodation of the two component classes. If the two States were equal in proportional financial ability, and if both had a unified system, Pennsylvania could maintain far more efficient schools, because of the relative density of the pupils to be taught; but when we take into account the relative fiscal status and the solidified system in the one, and the bifurcation of funds and facilities in the other, the educational possibilities of the two become startlingly disproportional. Georgia and Iowa have approximately the same area and population. The school expenditure for Georgia in 1899-1900 was \$1,807,815; for Iowa, \$8,583,417. The population in both States is mainly rural. And yet Georgia, with only one-fourth of the school funds, must do twice the work of its northern counterpart. The result is inevitable. A dollar will go no further in Georgia than in Iowa, and a dollar applied to the education of the negro will accomplish no more than one applied to the education of a white child.

These instances are but typical of the relative educational conditions which prevail in the Northern and Southern States. National aid alone can bring the latter up to the requisite educational status.

In the second place these States, by clear declaration or imperative inference, are pledged to equal school facilities for both races. The general school fund should therefore be apportioned between the races on the basis of relative numerical strength. The colored element being shorn of political power, is wholly at the

mercy of the whites for the carrying out of this provision. It will be seen also that the schools for the less numerous race, provided equal facilities are afforded, must be proportionately more expensive than for the race numerically dominant. In all the Southern States, therefore, except South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana,¹ the cost of education of the negro would relatively exceed that of the whites. Several of the States—notably Maryland, Kentucky, and Delaware—apportion only that portion of local school taxes paid by colored property holders to colored schools. The Maryland law requires that “the total amount of taxes paid for school purposes by the colored people of any county, or in the city of Baltimore, together with any donation that may be made for this purpose, shall be devoted to the maintenance of schools for colored children.”²

This does not of necessity limit the provision for colored schools to the taxes paid by colored people. It is not imperative, but permissive; and in some of the counties at least the practice prevails.

The school laws of Kentucky are more emphatic: “But no tax shall be levied upon the property or poll or any services required of any white person for the benefit of a school for colored children; and no tax shall be levied upon the property or poll or any services required of any colored person for the benefit of a school for white children.”³

In the school report for the county of Sussex, Del., 1892, we find the following components of the educational fund for the colored race:

Amount from State	\$2,783.33
Unexpended balance for books	114.93
Amount of colored taxes	569.89
Unexpended balance for salaries	45.78
Total	3,513.93
Reserved for books	464.04
Balance applied to salaries	3,049.89

The State fund is of course distributed equally according to population, the application of taxes from negro property holders to negro education applying only to county or local provisions.

In these States we have an indication of the general policy which has sometimes been advocated of assigning to colored education only the proportional taxes paid by that race. As a matter of fact the educational fund in the South is not equably apportioned between the two races except in a few States. The accompanying table clearly indicates the inequality of distribution:

*Per capita expense of white and colored schools, 1897-98.*⁴

State.	Expenditure.		Estimated number of children 5 to 18.		Per capita cost of education.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
District of Columbia	5 \$692,547	5 \$273,382	46,720	25,700	\$14.82	\$10.64
Florida	565,465	171,486	95,460	75,640	5.92	2.27
Kentucky	6 2,586,032	6 322,322	570,000	97,500	4.59	3.34
Maryland	2,388,721	320,383	272,700	78,700	8.76	4.07
North Carolina	7 454,976	7 240,446	387,600	232,400	1.17	1.03

¹ The Twelfth Census gives a clear white majority in Louisiana.

² School Laws, 1898, section 94.

³ School Laws, 1897.

⁴ Report of Commissioner of Education, 1898-99, vol. 1, p. lxxxix et seq.

⁵ Does not include permanent improvements.

⁶ 1896-97.

⁷ Excluding certain sums not classified by race, and a few counties not reported.

School expenditure of the sixteen former slave States and the District of Columbia approximately classified by race.¹

Year.	Estimated expenditure for each race.		Estimated school population for each race.		Expenditure per capita of school population.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
1870-71	\$9,605,158	\$780,306	3,236,630	1,578,170	\$2.97	\$0.49
1874-75	11,297,560	1,723,954	3,547,430	1,794,870	3.18	.96
1878-79	10,123,542	2,059,599	3,900,250	2,042,150	2.60	1.00
1882-83	12,730,938	3,632,533	4,306,000	2,221,930	2.96	1.63
1886-87	16,392,646	4,429,323	4,759,100	2,382,570	3.44	1.86
1890-91	21,245,685	5,444,625	5,230,115	2,551,511	4.03	2.13
1894-95	24,432,222	5,011,362	5,679,755	2,761,205	4.30	1.81
1897-98	24,765,544	6,451,935	5,828,980	2,844,570	4.25	2.27
Total ²	444,769,585	101,860,661				

¹ Report of Commissioner of Education, 1898-99, vol. I.

² Specimen items are here presented at intervals of five years in order to show the progressive character of these provisions. The total is taken from the full table as prepared by the Bureau of Education.

These tables show that the per capita expense of the education of the negro child is, in the Southern States, at present about one-half of that of the white child. In North Carolina the two are nearly even, being \$1.17 for the white and \$1.03 for the colored, while in Florida the proportion is \$5.92 to \$2.27. The encouraging suggestion of these figures is that the cost of the education of the colored race has been steadily increasing both absolutely and relatively since 1870. In that year the per capita cost of the education of the white child was \$2.97 and of the colored child \$0.49, whereas in 1897 the figures were \$4.25 to \$2.27, respectively. It is but fair to state that part of the disproportion is due to the fact that the schools of the white race represent a higher grade of scholastic attainments and, as is well known, advanced courses are more expensive than the elementary branches.

The State, in so far as it controls education, must, by the very nature and theory of its function, furnish equal accommodations for all of its citizens. The funds are the common property of all the people, and therefore should not be apportioned according to class or race distinction. It is interesting to study the sources of these funds as furnishing light as to their just apportionment between the races.

Sources of public-school funds.

ALABAMA (1898).

Balance	\$42,727.50
Apportionate	407,579.25
White poll tax	107,480.86
Colored poll tax	37,344.77
Total	595,132.38

ARKANSAS (1900).

Amount on hand	\$570,595.20
Common-school fund	446,557.55
District tax	805,412.54
Other sources	19,111.91
Total income	1,841,677.20

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Congressional appropriation, one-half being chargeable to the District.

FLORIDA (1900).

Cash on hand	\$74,608.00
Interest on State fund	35,557.00
One-mill apportionment	88,892.00
County levies	371,539.00
Back taxes	68,418.00
Poll taxes	36,432.00
Back poll taxes	11,396.00
Examination fees	1,967.00
Nonresident pupils	402.00
School district taxes	40,234.00
All other sources	24,627.00
Total income	754,072.00

GEORGIA (1899).

Poll tax	\$238,515.00
Direct tax	800,000.00
Rent W. and S. R. R	210,006.00
Liquor tax	142,452.00
Inspection of fertilizers	6,173.00
Convict lease	24,255.00
Dividend from stock	2,046.00
Show tax	4,692.00
Oil fees	12,503.00
Total	1,440,642.00

KENTUCKY (1896).

Balance	\$44,060.76
Sheriffs' revenue	1,161,055.36
Interest on old school bonds	79,620.00
Interest on new school bonds	36,399.01
Tax on banks	275,000.00
Tax on railroads	120,000.00
Tax on distilled spirits	20,000.00
Tax on miscellaneous corporations	25,000.00
Licenses, fines, etc	245,000.00
Dividends in banks of Kentucky	5,880.00
Miscellaneous	30,000.00
Total	2,042,015.13

MISSISSIPPI (1898-99).

Balance	\$142,091.89
State distribution	617,780.62
Polls	246,365.67
Institute fund	8,279.91
Sixteenth section	77,712.12
Chickasaw fund	47,492.54
Special tax for old warrants	164.20
County levy	33,937.59
Interest on 3 per cent funds	18,352.74
Separate school districts	342,539.47
Two and 2 per cent fund	3,699.90
Total income	1,538,466.95

NORTH CAROLINA (1899).

Balance	\$189,681.17
State and county poll tax	303,313.21*
General property special tax	433,826.44
Special property local tax	15,781.35
Fines, penalties, etc	14,413.15
Liquor licenses	71,122.36
Auctioneers	1,435.00
State treasury	8,975.36
Other sources	56,275.36
Total	1,059,213.13

SOUTH CAROLINA (1899).

Balance	\$99,131.30
Poll	121,383.72
Three-mill tax	437,310.09
Dispensary	76,672.65
Special levy	93,088.49
Total	827,586.25

TENNESSEE (1899).

Balance	\$633,233.06
From State	157,245.98
From counties	1,407,082.10
From other sources	170,366.21
Total	2,367,927.35

TEXAS (1896-97).

Balance	\$323,879.18
State appropriation, 1895-96	152,904.20
State appropriation, 1898-97	2,977,429.60
Apportionment to towns and cities	307,660.96
Local, county, city, and town taxes	807,600.19
Transfer of pupils	24,897.27
Tuition	41,170.30
Other sources	82,094.66
Total	4,717,636.36

VIRGINIA (1899).

State fund	\$764,282.01
Direct appropriation by legislature	200,000.00
Interest on literary fund	47,532.96
County fund	259,654.44
City fund	392,352.14
Other local funds	55,462.78
District fund	291,339.20
Total	2,010,623.53

These figures of nearly all of the Southern States are sufficient to show the general amounts and sources of school funds.

It has recently been urged that the negro pays only a small percentage of the cost of his own education, while the great burden falls upon the shoulders of the white taxpayer. A study of the sources of the public school funds will throw much light upon the theory sought to be upheld in this assertion. The figures for the State of Georgia are perhaps more easily analyzed than those of any other State. This question was studied by the recent Atlanta conference, with the conclusion that the negro, to a much greater degree than is generally supposed, pays for his own education.

"It was estimated that the negroes of Georgia paid during 1899 \$26,347.43 in

direct tax and \$39,003 in polls, making a total of \$115,530.43 paid directly by the race for educational purposes. The nature of the indirect taxation of Georgia is such that the negro is, without any shadow of question, entitled to his due proportion.

Western and Atlantic Railroad	\$210,000
Liquor tax	142,000
Convict lease	24,255
Dividend from stocks	2,046
Show tax	4,692
Oil tax	12,503

"The negro's pro rata share of the school fund raised by indirect taxation was \$176,898.24, making a grand total of \$292,248.67. The expenditure for negro schools, including proportional cost of superintendence, was \$288,128. This would seem to show that the whites of Georgia, at least, do not contribute one cent to negro education.

"On the same basis of calculation, though with confessed lack of definite data, the conference shows a like condition of things for the entire South. The negro is shown to have contributed in thirty years \$104,539,591 toward public education. This sum, of course, includes his pro rata share of general funds, such as land funds and indirect taxation. The total cost of negro education for the period was \$101,860,601.

"Although these figures are given out as tentative, yet there can be no question as to the substantial correctness of the conclusion that the negro's education imposes no special burden upon the white taxpayers of the South. The wide currency and general acceptance of the assertion is but another illustration of the ease with which frequently reiterated though unsupported statements concerning the negro gain currency and credence."¹

General educational statistics.

State.	School population.		Enrollment.		Number of teachers.		Average salary.		Length of school term.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	351,328	282,733	196,209	122,915	4,773	2,301	\$25.05	\$17.66	168	162
Arkansas	341,492	131,016	230,345	84,317	5,518	1,441	-----	-----	-----	-----
Kentucky	622,554	113,555	391,080	64,246	8,564	1,396	-----	-----	-----	-----
Florida	93,351	68,077	67,077	41,797	2,084	645	36.81	27.67	195	187
Mississippi	-----	-----	163,460	196,829	4,419	3,023	30.49	19.59	-----	-----
North Carolina	406,787	196,600	263,217	127,399	-----	-----	26.32	22.23	214.06	112.82
South Carolina	-----	-----	123,398	146,477	3,000	2,003	-----	-----	36.81	33.63
Tennessee	566,434	193,728	-----	-----	7,347	1,867	-----	-----	-----	-----
Texas	-----	-----	-----	-----	10,468	2,855	48.45	46.86	35.29	34.85
Virginia	397,162	268,703	241,696	117,129	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

¹ Days.

² Weeks.

³ Months.

This table, while not complete, and the figures not being for the same date for all of the States, nevertheless gives a fair general impression of the prevailing educational treatment which the two races receive. In general, the white schools run longer than the colored, there are more white teachers in proportion to the population, and they receive higher average of salary. These discrepant arrangements range from the most glaring disproportions in some States to an almost exact equivalence in others. In South Carolina there are 3,000 white teachers for 123,398 pupils and 2,003 colored teachers for 146,477 negro pupils. The length of school term for the whites is 6.81 months and for the blacks only 3.65 months.

¹ Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Independent, July 18, 1901.

Although the blacks constitute three-fifths of the population, their educational allowance absorbs scarce more than one-fourth the total school fund. In Florida the whites have 2,084 teachers for 68,077 pupils, while the blacks are allowed only 645 teachers for 41,797 pupils. The relative compensation for teachers is \$36.81 and \$27.67 per month, and the relative lengths of school terms ninety-five and eighty-seven days. On the other hand, in North Carolina, if we make the necessary allowance for the inevitable differences in the scholastic requirements of the two races, the provisions both as to length of term and compensation of teachers seem to be equitable enough. In Texas, whose school laws require equal facilities for the two races, the provisions are entirely beyond complaint, whether we consider the relative number of teachers employed, their compensation, or the length of school term. While the whites are a fraction ahead, yet this difference can be accounted for on other grounds than race discrimination. The white teachers average \$48.45 per month, while the colored teachers average \$46.86. This difference is doubtless due to the higher-grade certificates held by white teachers. The average term for white schools is 5.39 months; for colored, 4.85. This slight discrepancy may be effected by the relative distribution and density of the two elements of the population.

On the whole, it appears that while the negro constitutes one-third of the population of the original slave States, the cost of his education is not more than one-fifth the total allowance—that is, the educational provision of a colored child costs just half as much as that for a white child.

IV. NEGRO OWNERS AND TENANTS OF FARMS AND HOMES.

The census of 1890 contains a vast deal of valuable information concerning the negro race, a careful study of which throws much light upon current educational discussion. The negro problem is ever discussed, but seldom studied. In no other field of serious inquiry do we find such an extravagance of assertion coupled with such paucity of proof. We are expected to accept, without investigation, statements and solutions born of impatience and haste, although they clearly violate easily accessible and accurate data.

The assertion that the whites gratuitously impose a tax upon themselves to defray the cost of negro education has gained such wide currency and credence as to become almost a universally accepted belief. Indeed, it is postulated as an axiom in current discussions. But the potency of fact must in the end overcome the fascination of assertion. It is, however, a slow and painful process to uproot popular prejudice by scientific demonstration. A full and fair presentation of the negro as a contributing factor to the industrial and economic life of the South will be sufficient proof that his educational privileges are not bestowed as a charity, but are a legitimate part of the fruits of his own endeavor.

Interesting as such inquiry might be, it is not the purpose of this investigation to discuss the theory and function of public education, except in so far as its bearing upon the present task makes it imperative.

The public-school system is the most democratic feature of our democratic institutions. The obvious object is to produce a higher average of intelligence and good citizenship. It is undertaken and controlled by the State for the general welfare. The rich and the poor meet together on terms of perfect equality, and the State administers facilities impartially, alike to all. The taxpaying ability of the recipient is no more a legitimate factor in popular education than it is in the enforcement of law or the administration of justice. The childless millionaire is taxed to educate the progeny of the prolific peasant with as much justice and equity as when a tax is imposed upon the exemplary citizen to restrain the vicious and the lawless.

The injection of the negro usually forms a perturbing element in the sociological equation. The social formulas which pass unchallenged among white men lose

much of their force and effect when made to include the negro. This race was injected without warning or preparation, into the general body politic, and has ever since formed a disturbing and irritating factor. At the close of the war the negro, as might well be imagined, figured scarcely at all in the roll of taxpayers. When, therefore, public schools were inaugurated in the South carrying like provisions for both races it might have appeared, on first view, that the whites were being taxed for the education of the blacks. How prone men are to be satisfied with appearances without stopping to investigate the underlying principles. It is a dictum of political economy that labor pays every tax in the world. The negro did not, indeed, enjoy the privilege of passing the tribute to the tax taker, for the accumulated fruits of his labor were in the possession of another race.

But does this justly preclude him from sharing in all the public privileges which the fruits of his labor make possible? Every laborer contributes his full share and more than his share toward bearing the public burden; and even if he did not, motives of self-preservation would induce the State to abate no whit in its effort toward popular enlightenment. The argument that the rich are taxed for the education of the poor is seldom heard of outside of communities complicated with the race question. Who would have the temerity to suggest such an argument in New York or Minnesota?

A knowledge of the extent to which the negro has acquired property, upon which he pays taxes directly, or hires it, in which case he certainly meets the taxation item indirectly, will do much to correct an erroneous impression.

White and colored population of the sixteen original slave States, 1890.¹

State.	White.	Colored.	Per cent.	
			White.	Colored.
Alabama	833,718	678,489	55.10	44.84
Arkansas	818,752	303,117	72.57	27.40
Delaware	140,066	28,386	83.13	6.85
District of Columbia	154,695	75,573	67.14	32.80
Florida	224,949	166,180	57.47	42.46
Georgia	978,357	858,815	53.25	46.74
Kentucky	1,590,462	268,071	85.57	14.42
Louisiana	558,395	559,193	49.82	49.99
Maryland	826,493	215,657	79.29	20.69
Mississippi	544,851	742,559	42.25	57.58
Missouri	2,528,458	150,184	94.37	5.06
North Carolina	1,055,382	561,018	65.25	34.67
South Carolina	462,008	688,934	40.13	59.85
Tennessee	1,336,637	430,678	75.62	24.37
Texas	1,745,985	488,171	78.10	21.84
Virginia	1,020,122	635,438	61.60	38.37
West Virginia	730,077	32,690	95.71	4.29
Total	15,549,357	6,888,152	69.31	30.69

This table shows the number of whites and blacks in the slave States in 1890 and their respective percentage as a factor of the total population. As this study is concerned primarily with the negro and with the whites mainly as a concomitant factor, only persons of African descent are tabulated wherever it is possible to separate them from the Indian and Mongolian races. In the report of the Eleventh Census, Indians, Chinese, and Japanese are classed with negroes as constituting the colored element; but since the aborigines and the orientals constitute no part of the negro's educational problem, they are therefore justly excluded from the present consideration. The comparatively slight numbers of such non-Aryans do not, in general, produce any appreciable effect upon the racial equation between Africans and Europeans; but in Louisiana, where the two elements are almost equal, they constituted in 1890 the balance of population. There were 558,395 whites, 559,193 blacks, 233 Chinese, 39 Japanese, and 627 Indians. Thus the 999

¹ Omitting Chinese, Japanese, and Indians.

Mongolians and Indians were sufficient to change a negro plurality into an absolute minority.

The negroes were in the majority in two of these States, and if we consider the competing races only there would be three States in which this race predominated numerically. The per cent of the negro element ranged from 59.85 in South Carolina to 4.29 in West Virginia. In the entire region there were 15,549,357 whites and 6,888,152 colored, the negro element averaging 30.69 per cent. If we omit Missouri and West Virginia, where the African element did not exceed 5 per cent, the negroes constituted 35 per cent of the remaining fourteen States. This territory, with its mixed population, constitutes America's most serious educational problem. It is interesting to study the extent to which the negro has gained material proprietorship since emancipation. Let us not forget that he began at the zero point of materiality. He was emancipated without so much as one day's provision. Being cast upon the cruel current of material rivalry, without experience or intelligent self-direction, he has had to drift blindly in the dark, without compass or pilot. His material accumulations, therefore, should not be judged in the light of their absolute value, without regard to the disadvantageous circumstances under which they were acquired. We may regard his present ownership as an earnest of future acquisitions.

Number of persons owning and hiring farms and homes in the sixteen slave States and the District of Columbia, 1890.

State.	Owners.		Tenants.		Aggregate.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	83,774	15,736	71,119	116,575	151,893	132,311
Arkansas	89,311	11,844	67,796	44,602	157,107	56,446
Delaware	11,869	1,264	17,491	3,929	29,360	5,193
District of Columbia	9,093	2,132	20,522	12,167	29,615	14,299
Florida	29,479	10,649	17,179	22,676	46,658	33,325
Georgia	90,629	20,005	96,295	145,032	186,924	165,137
Kentucky	163,318	12,877	141,804	36,441	305,122	49,318
Louisiana	48,660	14,602	57,802	92,768	106,462	107,370
Maryland	68,619	8,596	94,541	30,291	163,160	38,887
Mississippi	61,500	16,956	39,929	122,285	101,429	139,241
Missouri	264,674	8,894	233,815	20,677	498,489	29,571
North Carolina	118,211	20,010	85,474	82,875	208,685	102,885
South Carolina	42,982	21,101	44,314	114,450	87,296	135,541
Tennessee	135,712	14,663	120,216	63,532	255,930	78,195
Texas	168,982	20,880	156,084	64,961	325,066	85,841
Virginia	109,212	29,888	91,971	82,516	192,183	112,404
West Virginia	77,898	1,471	56,796	4,184	134,694	5,655
Total	1,565,923	231,568	1,413,150	1,059,991	3,763,073	1,291,919

Percentage of population owning and hiring farms and homes, by race, 1890.

State.	Owners.		Tenants.		Aggregate.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	10.05	2.32	8.53	17.18	18.58	19.50
Arkansas	10.91	3.83	8.28	14.43	19.19	18.26
Delaware	8.47	4.45	12.49	13.84	20.96	18.29
District of Columbia	5.88	2.82	13.27	16.10	19.15	18.92
Florida	13.10	6.41	7.64	13.65	20.74	20.66
Georgia	9.26	2.33	9.84	16.89	19.19	19.22
Kentucky	10.27	4.80	8.92	13.59	19.19	18.39
Louisiana	8.71	2.61	10.35	16.59	19.06	19.20
Maryland	8.50	3.99	11.44	14.05	19.74	18.04
Mississippi	11.29	2.28	7.33	16.47	18.62	18.75
Missouri	10.47	5.92	9.25	13.77	19.72	19.69
North Carolina	11.21	3.57	8.10	14.77	19.31	18.84
South Carolina	9.50	3.06	9.59	16.61	18.89	19.67
Tennessee	10.15	3.40	8.99	14.75	19.14	18.15
Texas	9.68	4.28	8.94	13.39	18.52	17.59
Virginia	9.82	4.70	9.02	12.99	18.81	17.69
West Virginia	10.67	4.50	7.73	12.80	18.45	17.30

The foregoing tables contain the number of persons owning and hiring their farms and homes, by race, compiled from the Eleventh Census, for the sixteen original slave States and the District of Columbia. There were 231,568 negroes who owned their farms and homes, against 1,565,923 whites. The contributing power of the whites to the ownership of farms and homes was 10.07 per cent of the white population, against 3.23 per cent for the negroes. If we estimate 5 persons to the family, it will be seen that 50 per cent of the white families owned their farms and homes, and 16 per cent of the colored families. It would probably be a revelation to most persons who decry the lack of energy, thrift, and foresight on the part of the negro race to be told that one-sixth of them own their own farms and homes. There were 29,888 negro owners in Virginia alone. This State contained, in round numbers, 100,000 white and 30,000 negro owners of farms and homes, representing 9.82 and 4.70 per cent of the respective populations; or, to put it in other terms, 23 out of every 100 negro families were their own proprietors, against 49 out of every 100 whites. The highest average contributing power to the ownership of farms and homes on the part of the negro is found in Florida, where 32 negro families out of every 100 are their own proprietors, and the lowest in Alabama, which contributes only 11 out of 100.

It will be seen that one-sixth of the colored people of the South are taxpayers upon their own property. We must not forget also that capitation tax prevails in most or all of the Southern States, so that every negro male over 21 years of age becomes a taxpayer. These two classes contribute directly to the public revenues.

The table under consideration also contains the number of persons who hire their farms and homes. The number of blacks is in relative excess of the whites. There were 1,413,150 whites and 1,059,991 colored tenants. These might be called indirect taxpayers; for it is well known that the owner of a farm or home estimates the taxation as an essential element of cost in fixing the rental. So that whether the tenant pays in money, service, or part of crop he is the real taxpayer upon the house which he occupies or the farm which he tills. The percentage of the colored race who are owners and tenants, and therefore taxpayers, directly or indirectly, is not so far below that of the whites; or, to be exact, 19 per cent of the one against 24 per cent of the other.

It is doubtless true that the absolute values of the colored holdings are rather small by comparison. This is inevitable. The negro out of his scanty earnings acquires a small piece of land or humble shanty which he can call his own. But this does not alter the fact that a large number of the race have become owners of the farms and homes which they occupy, and that their property is subject to all the requirements of public revenue. The essential fact to be borne in mind is that nearly a quarter-million negroes in thirty years have risen from the condition of chattels to that of proprietorship. The race which a generation ago was rated with farms and homes as a part of the common asset now represents 13 per cent of the ownership of all the homes and farms in the South.

Nor do the figures reveal the whole truth. It is quite easy to take for granted that all white and negro tenancy implies white proprietorship; but, as a matter of fact, many negroes, and white persons as well, are tenants of farms and homes that are owned by members of the colored race. The census of course does not take cognizance of such cases, which, if revealed, would doubtless bring the total negro holdings to a much higher figure.

Owners of farms and homes, separately, in the former slave States and District of Columbia. 1890.

State.	Owners of farms.					
	Free.		Incumbered.		Total.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	60,746	8,045	2,327	802	63,073	8,847
Arkansas	68,629	7,319	2,629	685	71,258	8,004
Delaware	3,151	199	1,306	89	4,457	288
District of Columbia	217	15	9	1	226	16
Georgia	63,408	7,706	2,065	425	65,473	18,131
Florida	18,423	4,746	503	200	18,926	4,940
Kentucky	114,209	3,870	4,751	240	118,960	4,310
Maryland	16,484	1,691	7,335	459	23,819	2,150
Mississippi	45,941	10,032	3,178	1,494	49,119	11,526
Missouri	108,130	1,812	62,077	933	170,207	2,745
North Carolina	91,393	9,670	4,377	824	95,770	10,494
South Carolina	29,531	12,048	2,590	1,027	32,121	13,075
Tennessee	97,394	5,951	3,002	427	100,396	6,378
Texas	107,569	11,505	6,213	1,008	113,782	12,513
Virginia	66,527	13,097	2,014	581	68,541	13,678
West Virginia	48,327	436	7,219	53	55,546	489
Louisiana	27,757	6,257	997	428	28,749	6,685
Total	967,836	104,393	112,587	9,677	1,080,423	114,269

State.	Owners of homes.					
	Free.		Incumbered.		Total.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	20,108	6,656	593	233	20,701	6,889
Arkansas	17,031	3,583	1,022	257	18,053	3,840
Delaware	4,548	595	2,864	381	7,412	976
District of Columbia	6,595	1,751	2,272	365	8,867	2,116
Georgia	24,501	11,518	655	376	25,156	11,874
Florida	10,021	5,489	532	220	10,553	5,709
Kentucky	41,272	8,237	3,076	530	44,358	8,867
Maryland	32,875	5,239	11,925	1,207	44,800	6,446
Mississippi	11,869	5,117	512	253	12,381	5,430
Missouri	67,775	4,747	26,692	1,402	91,467	6,149
North Carolina	21,338	9,052	1,102	464	22,441	9,516
South Carolina	10,084	7,589	777	437	10,861	8,026
Tennessee	33,538	7,675	1,178	610	35,316	8,285
Texas	55,836	8,018	2,364	349	55,200	8,367
Virginia	30,411	15,524	1,260	686	31,671	6,210
West Virginia	18,169	746	4,183	236	22,352	1,082
Louisiana	19,131	7,625	780	292	19,911	7,907
Total	425,102	109,161	72,788	8,297	484,500	117,689

This table shows that the negro owned 104,393 unincumbered farms and 9,677 incumbered ones. It is easy to assume that the property which is recorded in the negro's name is only nominally his, whereas the real owner is the white man who holds the mortgage. Of the 230,000 negro owners of homes and farms, less than 18,000 carry mortgages. It might appear that the comparatively small number of pieces of involved property held by the negro implies that he is not rapidly increasing his holdings. Those who are acquainted with his financial methods know that he is in the habit of secreting his savings until he has sufficient accumulations to make a purchase outright. An old, unobtrusive colored man often surprises his friends and neighbors by a sudden show of financial strength who had previously been regarded as impecunious.

NEGRO PROPERTY OWNERS IN GEORGIA, VIRGINIA, AND NORTH CAROLINA.

A most interesting bulletin has just been issued by the Bureau of Labor on Negro Landholders in Georgia.¹ Georgia contains a larger black contingent than any other State. The negro element amounts to more than 1,000,000, comprising 46

¹ Bulletin No. 35, July, 1901; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, investigator.

per cent of the entire population. Record of the ownership of property by negroes in this State has been kept since 1874.

The assessed value of total property owned by negroes in Georgia, 1874 to 1900.

Year.	Assessed value.	Year.	Assessed value.
1874	\$6,157,798	1888	\$9,631,271
1875	5,393,885	1889	10,415,330
1876	5,488,867	1890	12,322,003
1877	5,430,844	1891	14,196,735
1878	5,124,875	1892	14,869,575
1879	5,182,398	1893	14,960,675
1880	5,764,293	1894	14,387,730
1881	6,478,951	1895	12,941,230
1882	6,589,876	1896	13,292,816
1883	7,582,395	1897	13,619,690
1884	8,021,525	1898	13,719,200
1885	8,153,390	1899	13,447,423
1886	8,655,298	1900	14,118,720
1887	8,936,479		

This table shows a gradual, healthy, general increase, which is not free from the fluctuations caused by the ebb and flow of the tide of general business conditions throughout the country.

Number of acres and assessed valuation of land owned by negroes in Georgia, 1874 to 1900.

Year.	Number of acres.	Assessed valuation.	Year.	Number of acres.	Assessed valuation.
1874	338,769		1888	868,501	\$2,822,943
1875	396,658	\$1,263,902	1889	877,112	3,047,685
1876	457,695	1,234,104	1890	967,234	3,425,176
1877	458,999	1,262,723	1891	1,004,306	3,914,143
1878	501,890	1,294,383	1892	1,063,649	4,477,183
1879	541,199	1,348,758	1893	1,043,860	4,450,121
1880	586,664	1,522,173	1894	1,064,431	4,386,366
1881	660,358	1,754,800	1895	1,038,824	4,158,960
1882	692,355	1,877,861	1896	1,043,847	4,234,848
1883	666,583	2,065,938	1897	1,057,567	4,353,795
1884	756,703	2,262,185	1898	1,097,087	4,340,160
1885	788,376	2,362,889	1899	1,062,223	4,220,120
1886	802,939	2,508,198	1900	1,075,073	4,274,549
1887	813,725	2,598,650			

The average size of negro farms in 56 typical counties was 79 acres. These counties contained 8,065 negro farm owners, or a majority for the entire State. The average size of all farms in Georgia was 147 acres. The average value of negro farms for typical counties was \$312. The value of town and city real estate owned by Georgia negroes was \$3,642,586, or more than 29 per cent of all negro property in the State. Savannah showed \$870,707, Atlanta, \$793,910, and Augusta, \$479,495 as held by negroes in the respective municipalities.

Landholders in Virginia.

Year.	Number of acres.		Assessed valuation per acre.	
	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.
1891	25,285,981	698,074	\$4.88	\$4.21
1895	25,154,781	833,147	4.50	4.14

Assessed value of property held by negroes in Virginia, 1891 to 1895.

Year.	Real estate.	Personal property.	Total.
1891.....	\$8,995,514	\$3,094,451	\$12,089,965
1892.....	9,425,085	3,342,950	12,768,035
1893.....	9,829,583	3,465,370	13,294,953
1894.....	10,162,889	3,241,144	13,414,033
1895.....	10,759,548	3,174,450	13,933,998

In North Carolina the negroes in 1891 paid taxes on \$8,018,446 worth of property.

Valuation of taxable property owned by whites and negroes in Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia.

State.	Year.	White.	Colored.
Georgia.....	1890	\$265,044,781	\$12,322,003
North Carolina.....	1891	234,109,568	8,018,446
Virginia.....	1890	379,708,644	12,089,965
Total.....		978,862,993	32,430,414

Percentage of total property and per capita valuation for each race.

State.	Percentage.		Per capita valuation.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Georgia.....	96.5	3.5	\$322.3	\$14.3
North Carolina.....	96.7	3.3	223.1	14.1
Virginia.....	96.9	3.1	374.2	18.9
Total.....	96.8	3.2	323.3	15.7

These tables show the general economic condition of the two races in the three States mentioned. The relative values are so close together in these States that we may well take them as typical of the whole group. It would be misleading, however, to suppose that these figures reveal the whole truth. The negro's possessions are limited to real estate and personal property. The vast corporate interests, public and private, are set down wholly to the credit of the white race. As is well known, these comprise a large part of the aggregate wealth of the several States. The real ownership is not always, perhaps not generally, in the hands of local whites, but is the result of outside capital invested in the State. For purposes of taxation, therefore, they can not justly be credited to the white race, for as is well known the burden of taxation falls upon the patrons rather than upon the ownership of such enterprises.

V. OCCUPATIONS OF NEGROES.

Mr. Henry Gannett, of the United States Geological Survey, has prepared an interesting pamphlet on occupations of negroes, under the auspices of the trustees of the John F. Slater fund.¹ From this pamphlet we learn that out of a total population of 62,622,250 in the United States, 22,753,884 persons, or 34.6 per cent, were engaged in gainful occupations. Of negroes, numbering 7,470,040, there were 3,073,123, or 41.1 per cent, engaged in gainful occupations. Thus for the country at large, the negroes were more generally employed than the whites. The South

¹ Trustees of John F. Slater fund, Occasional Papers, No. 6.

boasts of her bygone days of chivalric civilization instinct with dignity, comity, and grace; and she does well. The New South, springing Phoenixlike from the ashes of the old, is fast bidding for industrial prestige and power. But underneath all her glory—past, present, or to come—lies the negro's brawny arm. It was he who cleared her forests, cultivated her fields, and covered her hills with the fleecy snow of cotton and her valleys with golden shocks of corn. The brunt of effort necessary to the new awakening will also devolve upon him the veritable "man with the hoe." In order to show to what extent the negro is a contributing factor to the industrial life of the South, the following tables have been computed on the basis of the Eleventh Census.

Persons engaged in gainful occupations, by race, 1890.

States.	White.	Colored.	Per cent.	
			White.	Colored.
Alabama	247,993	293,406	29.63	43.24
Arkansas	230,102	116,976	28.10	37.84
Delaware	51,897	12,350		
District of Columbia	61,015	40,007	39.44	52.94
Florida	71,269	65,371	31.68	39.34
Georgia	299,330	369,265	30.60	43.00
Kentucky	482,602	107,666	30.34	40.16
Louisiana	179,324	243,157	32.11	43.48
Maryland	297,227	95,811	35.96	44.43
Mississippi	157,955	308,837	28.99	40.92
Missouri	823,285	60,655	32.56	40.39
North Carolina	320,277	216,590	30.35	38.61
South Carolina	151,197	289,559	32.73	42.03
Tennessee	387,896	165,734	29.02	38.48
Texas	525,393	170,085	30.09	34.84
Virginia	310,487	241,095	30.44	37.94
West Virginia	209,669	14,101	28.99	43.14
Total	4,806,918	2,805,656	30.09	40.70

The first table shows the number of persons engaged in gainful occupations, by race, for the sixteen original slave States and the District of Columbia. According to the plan of the Eleventh Census, persons engaged in gainful occupations did not include housewives and school children, but only those persons above 10 years of age who received a definite stipend for their labor. There were 4,826,918 whites and 2,815,656 negroes engaged in gainful pursuits. While the negroes constituted 30 per cent of the population, they contributed 37 per cent of the workers. Every State shows a higher percentage of negroes than of whites engaged in gainful occupations. The per cent for negroes ranged from 52.94 in the District of Columbia to 34.84 in Texas, while that of the whites varied from 39.44 in the District of Columbia to 28.10 in Arkansas. If we omit the city-State of the District of Columbia, because of its peculiar industrial conditions, the highest per cent of employment of both races is found in the State of Maryland, viz, 35.96 for whites, and 44.42 for blacks. This is due to the city of Baltimore, which contains half the population of the State. The employment of the whites in the South was far below that of the whites in the country at large, while the Southern negro shows a percentage slightly below the average for his race.

Proportions engaged in gainful occupations.¹

Class.	Per cent.	Class.	Per cent.
Total population	34.6	Negroes	41.10
Whites	35.5	Southern whites	30.93
Native whites	31.6	Southern negroes	40.70
Foreign-born whites	55.2		

¹This table, except for Southern whites and Southern negroes, is taken from Occupations of Negroes, p. 6.

The high employment rate of the foreign whites is due, of course, to the large proportion of adults among them, who come to this country with an eye single to gainful work. Omitting this class, the negro has a higher rate than any other element, and the Southern whites have the lowest rate of all. In Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina there was an army of 1,500,000 black toilers, constituting, approximately, three-fifths of the labor force of these States. If we assume equality among the laboring units, the negro is seen to contribute 60 per cent of the industrial strength of the cluster of States in which the race is most numerous. Throughout the slave territory there were 414 negroes engaged out of every 1,000 of the negro population, against 309 whites to the 1,000, giving an excess of 105 in favor of the negroes.

Selected occupations, by race, for the sixteen former slave States, 1890.

State.	Agriculture, fisheries, and mining.		Domestic and personal service.		Manufacturing and mechanical industries.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	168,258	212,485	14,582	58,819	28,152	10,856
Arkansas	169,013	87,290	14,588	21,733	18,241	3,679
Delaware	14,510	4,192	9,677	6,509	17,236	868
District of Columbia	1,317	568	10,213	29,421	18,983	4,324
Florida	34,861	31,318	8,205	23,655	12,883	5,251
Georgia	191,525	226,570	16,455	104,330	40,465	18,523
Kentucky	286,610	39,464	46,658	51,577	75,321	7,351
Louisiana	79,192	161,244	26,912	62,911	30,418	11,223
Maryland	75,137	30,257	50,654	51,431	96,485	5,527
Mississippi	113,358	245,921	6,745	42,939	13,110	6,487
Missouri	388,572	16,079	112,390	34,517	148,979	3,920
North Carolina	233,648	140,287	19,225	51,986	36,168	14,465
South Carolina	104,483	223,496	6,956	44,775	18,931	12,188
Tennessee	252,023	84,824	29,321	55,960	46,605	11,516
Texas	325,563	106,587	51,853	48,202	51,806	6,249
Virginia	167,751	103,913	30,767	95,383	54,235	23,326
West Virginia	125,047	4,840	25,431	5,977	29,875	967
Total	2,730,868	1,719,335	480,732	790,125	737,894	146,740

State.	Trade and transportation.		Professional service.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	27,011	9,285	9,990	1,961
Arkansas	19,045	2,811	9,215	1,463
Delaware	8,393	652	2,081	129
District of Columbia	23,921	4,969	6,581	725
Florida	10,867	4,158	4,450	999
Georgia	37,997	16,764	12,888	3,078
Kentucky	53,696	7,448	20,313	1,826
Louisiana	34,385	6,173	8,417	1,606
Maryland	61,291	7,682	13,660	914
Mississippi	16,629	5,745	8,113	2,745
Missouri	135,119	4,905	38,225	1,234
North Carolina	21,130	7,668	10,106	2,184
South Carolina	14,684	7,043	6,143	2,048
Tennessee	42,828	11,076	17,119	2,328
Texas	70,548	6,452	25,523	2,595
Virginia	42,610	15,907	15,123	2,566
West Virginia	20,884	2,088	8,432	229
Total	641,978	128,828	46,379	28,630

The second table shows selected occupations, by race, for the 16 original slave States and the District of Columbia. The Eleventh Census divided occupations into 5 classes: (1) Agriculture, including mining and fisheries; (2) personal and domestic service; (3) manufacturing and mechanical industries; (4) trade and transportation; (5) professional service. The census order has not been adhered to, but the several occupations have been arranged in the order of the number of colored persons employed. It may be taken for granted that the vast bulk of

persons enumerated under the first head are engaged in vegetal agriculture, as mining and fishing are comparatively unimportant industries in the South.

The negroes were engaged mainly in agriculture and domestic service, the number in manufacturing and trade being quite small in comparison, while the number in the professions was quite insignificant. Of those listed in the professions, the majority are school-teachers and ministers, leaving comparatively few for law and medicine.

The following table shows the proportion of negro wage earners engaged in the several groups of occupations, together with those for the native and foreign-born whites for the United States:

Occupations.	Native whites.	Foreign-born whites.	Negroes.
	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Professions	5.50	2.2	1.1
Agriculture	41	25.5	57.2
Trade and transportation	17	14	4.7
Manufactures	22.90	31.3	5.6
Personal service	13.60	27	31.4
Total	100	100	100

It is disclosed that 57.2 per cent of negro wage earners, 41 per cent of native white, and 25.5 per cent of foreign-born white wage earners are engaged in agriculture. The negro is represented in the professions by 1.1 per cent of those engaged, or less than 1 professional representative for every 100 of the population, whereas the native whites have more than 1 in 50. In manufactures, trade, and transportation the negro shows only 10 per cent, against 40 per cent for the native whites and 45 per cent for foreign whites. It is also known that the negroes who are engaged in such pursuits are in many cases performing the drudgery of unskilled labor. This is not on account of inability or lack of desire for the higher lines of mechanical skill, but because they are excluded by intolerant regulations. Herein lies the great field for remunerative labor, and the negro, through no fault of his own, is excluded therefrom and relegated to the less desirable spheres of farm life and domestic service.

Principal occupations pursued by negroes, 1890.

State.	All occupations.	Agriculture, fisheries, and mining.	Domestic service.	Other occupations.
Alabama	293,406	212,485	53,819	22,102
Arkansas	116,976	87,290	21,733	7,953
Delaware	12,340	4,192	6,509	1,639
District of Columbia	40,007	568	29,421	10,018
Florida	65,371	31,318	23,655	10,398
Georgia	369,265	226,570	104,390	38,365
Kentucky	107,666	39,464	51,577	16,525
Louisiana	243,157	161,244	62,911	19,002
Maryland	95,811	30,257	51,431	14,123
Mississippi	303,837	245,921	42,939	14,977
Missouri	60,655	16,079	34,517	10,059
North Carolina	276,590	140,267	51,986	24,317
South Carolina	289,550	223,496	48,775	21,279
Tennessee	165,734	84,824	55,960	24,950
Texas	170,085	106,587	48,202	15,296
Virginia	241,095	103,913	95,383	41,799
West Virginia	14,101	4,840	5,977	3,284
Total	2,905,640	1,719,335	790,125	396,181

This table shows the principal occupations pursued by negroes in the South. It is seen, as before suggested, that they are chiefly employed in agriculture and in

domestic service, those engaged in all other callings not exceeding 14 per cent of the wage earners:

Persons engaged in agriculture, including mining and fisheries.

State.	Whites.	Negroes.
Alabama	168,258	212,485
Georgia	191,525	226,570
Louisiana	79,192	161,244
Mississippi	113,358	245,921
South Carolina	104,483	223,496
Total	656,816	1,069,716

In the five States where the negro population is most numerous there were 1,069,716 negroes engaged in agriculture to 656,816 whites. The negro represented five-eighths of the agricultural workers in these States. In Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina there were more than two negroes engaged in agriculture to one white person.

The small proportion of negroes engaged in agriculture in the border States forces itself upon attention.

Occupation of negroes in the border States.

State.	Agriculture.	Domestic service.	Other pursuits.
Delaware	4,192	6,509	1,644
Kentucky	39,464	51,577	16,525
Maryland	30,257	51,491	14,123
Missouri	16,079	34,517	10,059
West Virginia	4,840	5,977	3,284

Occupations of negroes in the far Southern States.

State.	Agriculture.	Domestic service.	Other pursuits.
Alabama	212,485	58,819	22,102
Georgia	226,570	104,330	38,365
Louisiana	161,244	62,911	19,002
Mississippi	245,421	42,939	14,977
South Carolina	223,496	44,775	21,279

In the border States more than half of the negroes are engaged in domestic service and about one-third in agriculture. In the far Southern States, on the other hand, five-sevenths of the population is engaged in agriculture and one-fifth in personal service.

This fact is not without sociological significance. It bears out the suggestion in section 1, that the border State negroes do not find a comfortable social status among their white neighbors, and they therefore leave the rural districts for the cities, where the social conditions are more to their liking. It is little less than striking that in an agricultural State like Missouri there should be only 16,000 negroes engaged in agriculture, against more than twice that number in personal service. The proximity of large cities has much to do with the distribution of the negroes among the several occupations, but they are not of themselves sufficient to account for the pronounced tendency of the border States.

These figures give rise to two pregnant suggestions:

(1) The education of the negro, in so far as its aims and intent are of a practical character, should take cognizance of the occupations which the bulk of the children must follow. If 85 per cent of this race are pursuing two main lines of

employment, it would be the utmost folly to ignore this fact in a scheme of education. Industrial education for the negroes should, in the main, be directed to those lines from which the recipient is most likely to derive a livelihood.

(2) The proportion of negroes in these callings is too large, and diversification of activities should be encouraged. It is doubtless true, however, that the segregation of the blacks in agricultural and domestic pursuits is the result of natural industrial forces. It is here that competition is least severe, and he is shielded from the fierce strife of Aryan rivalry. These are, indeed, the only fields that are open to him on anything like an adequate scale. The destiny of the race must be worked out in the rural districts of the South, and the bulwark and buttress of its strength is in the soil. It is here that remedial and educational agencies can be most wisely applied.

Occupations of whites, by sex, 1890.

State.	Agriculture, fish- eries, and mining.		Domestic and per- sonal service.		Manufacturing and mechanical industries.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Alabama	153,428	14,830	9,355	5,227	22,424	5,728
Arkansas	160,172	8,841	9,480	5,108	16,297	1,994
Delaware	14,238	272	6,646	3,031	14,578	2,658
District of Columbia	1,275	42	6,376	3,837	15,590	3,393
Florida	32,710	2,151	6,110	2,095	11,139	1,744
Georgia	175,073	16,452	10,037	6,418	30,223	10,242
Kentucky	275,745	10,865	29,287	17,369	60,170	15,151
Louisiana	73,191	6,001	19,368	7,544	23,662	6,756
Maryland	73,151	1,986	33,243	17,411	73,555	22,929
Mississippi	102,097	11,261	4,225	2,520	10,628	2,482
Missouri	376,474	12,098	71,726	40,664	124,719	24,260
North Carolina	211,842	21,806	8,471	10,754	25,106	11,062
South Carolina	89,627	14,856	3,751	3,205	12,663	6,268
Tennessee	240,718	11,305	17,807	11,514	39,085	7,520
Texas	312,157	13,406	39,609	12,344	45,352	6,855
Virginia	161,190	6,561	19,044	11,723	44,401	9,434
West Virginia	121,841	3,206	15,895	9,536	26,460	3,415
Total	2,574,929	155,739	309,430	170,300	671,254	141,891

State.	Trade and transportation.		Professional service.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Alabama	26,234	777	7,708	2,232
Arkansas	18,584	461	7,538	1,677
Delaware	7,697	696	1,405	676
District of Columbia	19,123	4,798	5,297	1,284
Florida	10,516	354	3,467	983
Georgia	36,648	1,319	9,782	3,106
Kentucky	50,556	3,140	14,724	5,595
Louisiana	32,418	1,967	5,944	2,473
Maryland	55,689	5,602	9,502	4,155
Mississippi	16,103	526	5,613	2,500
Missouri	127,199	7,920	27,061	11,164
North Carolina	20,606	524	7,346	2,760
South Carolina	14,156	528	4,426	1,717
Tennessee	41,169	1,659	13,244	3,875
Texas	68,790	1,768	20,191	5,332
Virginia	40,976	1,634	10,307	4,816
West Virginia	20,157	727	6,230	2,202
Total	606,622	33,420	159,885	56,600

Occupations of negroes, by sex, 1890.

State	Agriculture, fisheries, and mining.		Domestic and personal service.		Manufacturing and mechanical industries.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Alabama	146,361	66,124	25,428	33,391	9,926	930
Arkansas	68,219	19,071	11,227	10,506	3,466	273
Delaware	4,157	32	3,631	2,878	816	52
District of Columbia	553	15	12,682	16,739	2,838	1,486
Florida	23,692	7,626	13,231	10,424	4,496	745
Georgia	172,500	54,070	39,297	65,083	16,604	1,919
Kentucky	38,456	1,008	26,649	28,928	6,522	829
Louisiana	111,820	49,424	31,613	31,298	8,456	2,767
Maryland	29,516	741	21,022	30,409	4,456	1,071
Mississippi	167,997	77,924	17,210	25,729	5,694	793
Missouri	15,757	322	18,899	15,618	3,531	389
North Carolina	106,493	33,794	20,584	31,402	12,113	2,352
South Carolina	149,915	73,581	18,555	26,220	9,850	2,338
Tennessee	72,316	12,508	25,624	30,336	10,407	1,139
Texas	85,824	20,763	23,361	24,841	5,799	450
Virginia	93,746	10,167	39,434	55,949	18,852	4,474
West Virginia	4,790	50	3,516	2,461	927	40
Total	1,292,112	427,220	347,960	432,062	123,793	22,047

State.	Trade and transportation.		Professional service.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Alabama	9,151	134	1,471	490
Arkansas	2,787	24	1,225	238
Delaware	634	18	97	32
District of Columbia	4,776	183	390	335
Florida	4,106	52	776	223
Georgia	16,397	367	2,122	956
Kentucky	7,383	65	1,406	420
Louisiana	6,046	127	1,251	355
Maryland	7,538	144	640	274
Mississippi	5,671	74	1,970	775
Missouri	4,862	43	897	337
North Carolina	7,564	104	1,619	565
South Carolina	6,860	183	1,543	505
Tennessee	10,955	121	1,736	592
Texas	6,386	66	2,031	564
Virginia	15,664	243	1,654	912
West Virginia	2,081	7	166	63
Total	118,861	1,575	20,904	7,636

The two preceding tables give the occupations of whites and blacks by sex. It is chiefly valuable in showing to what extent negro women are employed in agricultural pursuits and in domestic service. In 1890 there were 427,220 negro females engaged in agriculture and 432,062 in domestic service. Nearly 1,000,000 of these women were in the list of wage-earners. It is this fact that gives the negro such a relative preponderance in the industrial world. The proportion of negro women and white women engaged in agriculture was about 3 to 1, and in domestic service about 4 to 3, the larger number in both cases being in favor of the negro women. On the other hand, the colored women scarcely figured at all in manufactures and trade and transportation, while the white woman was quite numerously represented.

Agricultural laborers, farmers, planters, and overseers, by race, 1890.

State.	Agricultural laborers.				Farmers, planters, and overseers.			
	Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	43,576	75,222	8,650	59,159	103,544	65,247	6,129	6,945
Arkansas	38,566	31,237	2,675	15,200	118,895	36,577	6,123	3,865
Delaware	4,745	3,206	37	16	8,819	809		
District of Colum- bia	274	293				238	224	9
Florida	6,743	10,049	719	6,080	23,398	11,843	1,407	1,548
Georgia	56,141	98,400	9,138	50,851	116,111	63,012	7,247	3,563
Kentucky	76,995	26,201	1,358	513	191,302	10,600	9,405	475
Louisiana	24,897	72,144	3,156	45,899	44,250	37,680	2,701	3,467
Maryland	23,649	20,921	492	549	36,516	4,560	1,324	164
Mississippi	25,924	81,444	5,805	67,347	74,864	85,947	5,399	10,675
Missouri	83,144	8,522	683	92	273,313	5,886	11,196	221
North Carolina	65,285	64,163	11,719	30,629	141,186	38,290	9,998	3,077
South Carolina	31,449	85,503	10,731	67,584	56,778	60,378	4,094	5,975
Tennessee	67,674	39,714	2,515	10,106	165,730	30,500	8,700	2,349
Texas	75,916	35,553	2,300	15,784	214,965	48,543	10,835	4,968
Virginia	51,710	56,298	1,311	8,373	102,027	29,403	5,174	1,694
West Virginia	32,773	1,814	462	17	79,542	892	2,690	28
Total	709,301	710,675	67,514	377,679	1,750,478	530,199	92,649	49,023

It is interesting to notice the extent to which negro agricultural workers are acquiring self-direction, and are becoming farmers, planters, and overseers, instead of mere farm laborers. The accompanying table brings out this feature of the inquiry. About 700,000 males of each race were rated as agricultural laborers. There were more than 500,000 negro farmers, planters, and overseers. These figures are quite suggestive of the progress of the negro as an industrial factor in the South. We saw in the section on ownership, that about 230,000 negroes owned their farms and homes. There were 114,269 negroes who owned their farms, so that more than 400,000 others must have risen above the grade of laborers who have not yet acquired their own lands. This is the first step toward acquisition. When a man rises above the lowest grade of agricultural service and gets a foretaste of independent activity in the management and direction either of a hired farm or as overseer for the owner, the next step is personal proprietorship; so that we may say that there are 500,000 negroes who have started on the road to ownership of land. It will be a surprise to those who have never looked into the subject to be informed that the negroes constitute 24 per cent of the farmer, planter, and overseer class. The number of colored women who belong to this grade is nearly 50,000, against 92,000 white women. There were 377,679 colored female farm laborers and only 67,514 whites. The employment of so large a number of females in the hard, bone-breaking work of the farm is indicative of an unsatisfactory social and industrial state. It nevertheless helps to show that all of the available energies of the colored race are expended in developing the industrial life of the South.

Mr. Booker T. Washington is fond of telling a story of an old colored man who objected to the bringing of white immigrants to the South on the ground that there were as many white people there already as the colored people could support. The serious side of this suggestion is more significant than its humorous aspect. The burden of industry in the South falls most heavily upon the negro race. Not even its women are spared the onerous task of tiresome toil. That this labor from beneath supports the general life of the community is as certain as that the mudsill supports the superstructure which rests upon it.

Negro agricultural laborers.

State.	Male.	Female.	State.	Male.	Female.
Alabama.....	75,222	59,159	Maryland.....	20,921	549
Georgia.....	98,400	59,351	Missouri.....	8,522	92
Louisiana.....	72,144	45,899	Kentucky.....	26,201	513
Mississippi.....	81,444	67,347	West Virginia.....	1,814	17
South Carolina.....	85,503	67,584			

While the number of negro male field hands is noticeably small in the border States as compared with the States farther South, the negro woman practically falls out of the equation as a field worker in the higher tier of States.

The number of negroes who have risen from the level of field laborer to the dignity of farmers, planters, and overseers is quite considerable, and is not far behind the number employed as agricultural laborers, so far as the males are concerned. In Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, and Texas the number of negro male farmers, planters, and overseers surpasses the number of field laborers. This is a fact of striking significance. It shows to what extent the negro is becoming an independent worker in the agricultural industries and how indissolubly he is interwoven in the warp and woof of the agricultural life of the South. As agriculture constitutes its chief productive resource, and as the negro is at the base of this life, he is therefore the real productive factor of that section.

Persons unemployed during a portion of the year only.¹

	Males.		Females.		Aggregate.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Agriculture, fisheries, and mining.....	898,419	214,193	15,822	93,060	914,241	307,253
Domestic and personal service.....	583,223	39,886	78,425	52,163	661,648	152,049
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	860,973	37,970	162,740	5,055	1,023,713	43,025
Trade and transportation.....	227,557	19,172	14,919	189	242,476	19,361
Professional service.....	51,146	3,447	84,828	3,079	135,974	6,256
All occupations.....	2,621,318	374,668	356,734	153,546	2,978,052	545,678
Per cent of population.....					5.42	7.10

¹ These tables apply to the entire United States.

Persons employed during the whole or a part of the year.

	Males.		Females.		Aggregate.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Part of year.....	2,621,318	374,668	356,734	153,346	2,978,052	528,214
The year round.....	13,981,829	1,726,711	2,582,307	821,651	16,564,136	2,544,950
Total.....	16,602,147	2,101,379	2,939,011	971,785	19,542,188	3,073,164

Per cent of population employed during a part or all of the year.

	Males.		Females.		Aggregate.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Part of year.....	9.33	10.15	1.39	4.05	5.42	7.07
The year round.....	49.57	63.46	6.95	22.02	30.15	34.07
Total.....						41.14

We see that 2,621,318 male whites, or 9.33 per cent of the male white population, were unemployed during part of the year, and 374,668 male negroes, or 10.15 per

cent of the male negro population; 30.15 per cent of the whites of both sexes were employed the year round, against 34.07 per cent of the negroes. It will be remembered that only 30.93 per cent of the white people of the South are employed at all; thus, if we take the negroes of the country at large, they were more generally employed the year round than the white people of the South, including both regular and irregular employment.

The assertion that we see so often reiterated that the negro is an idle and worthless incumbrance upon the life of the South is not borne out by the facts.

Summarizing the results of this chapter, we find that the negro is engaged mainly in agriculture and domestic service; that he is to a much greater degree employed in gainful pursuits than his white neighbor; that he is rapidly becoming a land-owner, and much more rapidly an independent farmer and planter; that he is making little or no headway in the mechanical and industrial arts; and that the marked tendency in the far Southern States is toward agricultural labor, while in the border States the drift is toward domestic service.

Taking all these things together it is fully apparent that the negro is the most valuable productive element in the industrial life of the South, and that most of its prosperity rests upon the basis of his toil; that he is therefore justly entitled to share in all the public benefits which his labor makes possible, and that it is the part of wisdom for the white South to encourage him in the development of intelligence, virtue, and industrial skill, so that he may become a more efficient factor in the development of the general welfare.

VI. SPECIAL STUDIES OF THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE NEGRO.

The most valuable special studies upon the economic conditions of the negro race are to be found in the bulletins of the Department of Labor. It is the purpose of this Department to make a series of investigations concerning the economic and social relations of this race. The method adopted is to present an exhaustive analytic study of well-defined typical groups of negroes in different sections of the country. Expert investigators are employed by the Department for this purpose. Several such investigations have already been made and still others are under contemplation. When the series shall have been completed the student will have accurate and reliable data from which to draw conclusions. The bulletins so far issued present special studies rather than broad generalizations and speculative dissertations. Of all problems pressing for solution, the American people seem to approach the negro question with the greatest degree of nervousness and impatience. The theorizer reaches his conclusion and leaves the investigator to furnish data for proof, and discards him if he does not. An accurate, analytic, scientific presentation of facts and rational deduction of conclusions therefrom is still an unfulfilled desideratum. The student of sociology, therefore, hails with delight the effort of the Department of Labor, which undertakes this work with adequate machinery and equipment for its successful prosecution. Such work can be done effectively only through some such central and commanding agency. The difficulty with individual and private attempts is that they lack unity of purpose and plan, and therefore the divergent methods and conclusions confuse as much as they elucidate.

Several of these bulletins have been prepared by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, that careful, accurate student of the race problem, who is doing more than any other worker in this field to supplant, by scientific method, guesswork and vagaries. Being himself of the race to the study of whose problems he has consecrated his splendid faculties, he not only approaches the subject with the best approved methods of sociological inquiry, but brings also the stimulus and zest of personal solicitude.

THE NEGROES OF SANDYSPRING, MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD.¹

The Sandyspring community lies in Montgomery County, Md., due north of Washington City. The nearness to the national capital is of great economic importance to the inhabitants of the neighborhood, the southern corner of which is about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles, in an air line, north of the northern angle of the District of Columbia. Here within a stone's throw, as it were, of the seat of Government, is a thriving agricultural community, among whom still live the descendants of negro families which have been free for a century and a quarter.

The community is of irregular shape, about 5 miles from east to west and about 5 miles from north to south. Sandyspring is in Montgomery County, some knowledge of whose social and economic condition can be gathered from the following statistics:

Population of Montgomery County, 1790 to 1890.

Year.	Whites.	Negroes.	Total.
1790.....	11,679	6,324	18,003
1800.....	8,508	6,550	15,058
1810.....	9,731	8,249	17,980
1820.....	9,082	7,318	16,400
1830.....	12,103	7,713	19,816
1840.....	8,766	6,690	15,456
1850.....	9,435	6,425	15,860
1860.....	11,549	6,973	18,522
1870.....	13,123	7,434	20,562
1880.....	15,608	9,150	a 24,759
1890.....	17,500	9,685	27,185

a Including 1 Indian.

It will be seen that the two races have made almost exactly proportional gains in 100 years.

The county contains 267,933 acres, of which 193,937 acres are improved. There are 1,959 farms, of the average size of 137 acres; only 177 farms contain less than 10 acres, and 4 over 1,000 acres; 1,641 farms, or 83.77 per cent, were cultivated by owners. The farm produce for 1890 was estimated at \$1,531,760, and the live stock and poultry at \$1,249,790. The basis for the tax levy of 1898-99 was \$12,443,795. The amount levied for the support of the public schools, 1899-1900, was \$30,200. There were 114 public schools, which were open for nine months. Of these, 81 were white schools with 100 teachers, and 33 were colored schools with 40 teachers. For these schools the county received from the State school tax \$16,181.03; from the free-school fund, \$2,154.35; for free text-books, \$6,784.55. The total, including county levy, was \$59,546.60. For the colored schools the receipt for 1898-99 was \$7,477.44 from the State, \$1,107.74 (the proportional amount of county tax paid by negroes) from the county school board, and \$3.33 from miscellaneous sources, making a total of \$8,588.51.

Much side light is thus thrown upon the educational provisions for the two races in this county, and incidentally in other counties of the State.

For a white population of 17,500 persons, there were 81 schools and 100 teachers, at a total cost of \$50,958.09. For a colored population of 9,685 persons, scattered over the same area, there were 33 schools and 40 teachers, at a total cost of \$8,588.51. The per capita cost of the education of each negro child was \$5.74, while that for the county at large was \$16.10. There was 1 white teacher for every 175 of the white population, and 1 colored teacher for every 242 of the negro population. One white school was provided for every 5.2 square miles, and 1 colored school for every 14 square miles. The pay of the colored teachers ranged from \$180 to \$225

¹ Compiled from Department of Labor Bulletin, No. 32, pp. 43-102 (January, 1901), by William Taylor Thom, Ph. D., investigator.

per annum. The average pay of all teachers, including both races, was \$328.90, so that that of the white teachers must have been in the neighborhood of \$400.

It is rather curious to be informed by the investigator that "there is no provision made in the office of the county commissioners or of the county clerk by which property can be identified as held by white or negro owners," when both by law and practice the colored schools receive only that proportion of county taxes paid by negroes.

The settlement of Sandyspring was founded by the Society of Friends. To this fact is attributable the large number of free colored people in the community, as well as its general prosperity and thrift.

The white population of Sandyspring is estimated at about 700 and the negro population at 1,000.

There were 3 schools and 5 teachers for the Sandyspring negroes, 1898-99. The school term was nine months. The salary of the teacher was \$25 a month, and the salaries of the assistants \$20. The total enrollment was 391, only 240, however, belonging to the Sandyspring district proper. Of these 1,000 persons 484 were able to read, 38 could read but not write, while 140 were returned as illiterate. Of the 683 people reported, 70.9 per cent could read and write, 5.5 per cent could read but not write, and 23.5 per cent could neither read nor write.

The negro males were distributed as follows among the several occupations:

Barber	1	Coachmen	3
Mail carrier	1	Domestic servants	3
Mail contractor	1	Engine drivers	3
Merchant	1	Shoemakers	3
Miller	1	At home	7
Shingle maker	1	Not reported	19
Teacher	1	At school	64
Waiter	1	Laborers	65
Bricklayers and stone masons	2	Farm laborers	105
Carpenters	2		
Clergymen	2	Total	313
Hucksters	2		

The females were employed as follows:

Day workers	27	Washerwomen and housewives	51
Day workers and housewives	25	Not reported	30
Domestic servants	72	At home	23
Housewives	49	At school	80
Monthly nurses	5		
Seamstresses and housewives	7	Total	370
Teachers	4	Grand total	683

If we subtract from this number 144 school children and 49 housewives, 49 not reported, and 30 reported as being at home, we have left 411 engaged in gainful occupations. This represents 41.1 per cent of the aggregate colored population. Curiously enough, we have here the identical per cent of negroes thus engaged throughout the United States.¹ There were 153 males and 91 females who had worked at the same place from two to five years. The great majority of females had resided in their present place of residence for more than three years. This indicates a fair degree of steadiness in residence and occupation. There were 205 negro families, with an average of 4.29 to each family. Of the 165 economic families, 63 families own their own homes, 54 were renters, 44 farm hands, and 4 tenure not reported. The average annual rent was \$26.50. One-third of the families had annual incomes ranging between \$250 and \$750. The estimated income and

¹ Occupations of the Negroes, by Henry Gannett, p. 5.

expenditure of a farm hand's family of five persons will be seen from the accompanying table:

Income.		Expenditures.	
Husband (farm hand), \$12 per month ..	\$144	Food	\$88.40
Wife (washing), \$1 per week	52	Fuel	26.20
Boy, 6 months' labor, \$3 per month	18	Clothing	50.00
		Rent	18.00
		Miscellaneous	10.00
		Medical treatment	10.00
		Surplus	11.40
Total	214	Total	214.00

It will be seen that a family may exert itself to the utmost stretch of endeavor, and would have to spend all its earnings in order to maintain the scanty necessities of living. Its earnings are spent with the merchant, the landlord, and the professional classes, each of whom abstracts a surplus percentage in order to meet the cost of public taxation.

Sixty-three females owned their own homes, 54 rented their houses, 44 were farmhands occupying their houses free of money rent, and 4 were not reported as to tenure. There were 92 owners of real estate; the size of the average holding was less than five acres; the assessed value was \$31,590. The county tax rate was \$1.02 per \$100, so that the landed interests alone of the Sandy Spring negroes produced \$258.90 for county revenue.

In the opinion of the investigator, "from an economic point of view, the conclusions drawn from the investigation of this group would appear to be favorable. The Sandy Spring negroes seem to be acquiring and holding property, and the agricultural element of labor among them gives a good account of itself."

THE NEGROES OF FARMVILLE, PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY, VA.¹

Farmville is the county seat of Prince Edward County, Va., and contains about 2,500 inhabitants.

The white and colored population from 1790 to 1890 will be seen from the following table:

Population of Prince Edward County, 1790 to 1890.

Census year.	Whites.	Negroes.	Total.
1790	4,082	4,018	8,100
1800	4,978	5,984	10,962
1810	5,264	7,145	12,409
1820	4,627	7,950	12,577
1830	5,039	9,068	14,107
1840	4,923	9,146	14,069
1850	4,177	7,680	11,857
1860	4,037	7,807	11,844
1870	4,106	7,893	12,004
1880	4,754	9,914	14,668
1890	4,707	9,924	14,631

The white population has remained nearly stationary for a hundred years, whereas the negroes have more than doubled in number. In 1890, the negroes outnumbered the whites more than two to one. There were 487 farms, 318 of which contained between 400 and 500 acres, with only six containing less than 10 acres, and two more than 1,000 acres. Fifty-seven per cent of the farms were cultivated by their owners.

¹ W. E. B. DuBois, Ph. D., investigator. Department of Labor Bulletin, No. 14, January, 1898, pp. 1-38.

The assessed valuation of real estate and personal property was \$2,397,007. On this was raised the sum of \$24,281 for taxation, \$4,714 of which went to the support of public schools. The negroes of the county, in 1895, owned 17,555 acres of land, assessed at \$132,189, against 202,962 acres, with an assessed value of \$164,180, owned by the whites. The number of acres and the assessed valuation of lands held by negroes will be seen from the following table:

Year.	Number of acres.	Assessed value.
1891.....	12,215	\$83,212.48
1892.....	13,207	89,787.75
1893.....	14,754	97,541.53
1894.....	16,467	105,024.48
1895.....	17,555	132,188.66

Farmville is the trading center of six surrounding counties, with a population of 961 whites and 1,305 negroes. The chief industry is the storage, manufacture, and shipping of tobacco, wood-working, coopering, milling, and wholesale and retail merchandising. The total valuation of the town in 1890 was \$661,230, on which a tax of \$9,855 was raised, \$661 of which went to the State school fund and \$1,322 to the town and county school fund. In 1895 negroes owned \$51,240 worth of real estate, or about 7 per cent of the aggregate.

There were 262 families of negroes in the town, about half of whom had moved there since 1880. The town has no school for colored children, but sends them to the district school, just outside of the corporation limits. The school term is six months. The teachers' salaries do not average over \$30 a month. There were 367 children between 5 and 15 years of age, of whom 205, or 55.9 per cent, were in school. Forty-two per cent of the negroes could read and write, 17½ per cent could read but not write, while 40 per cent were wholly illiterate. Four hundred and fifty-nine males were distributed among 41 different occupations. There were 128 teamsters, 58 laborers, 16 domestic servants among the men, and 144 day workers, 65 domestic servants, 23 teachers, and 23 employees in the canning factory among the women. Six hundred and fifty-one persons, or 48 per cent, were engaged in gainful pursuits, against 41 per cent of the negro population of the United States. The average size of the real family was 5.03, and of the economic family, 4.61. Of the 262 families, 114, or 43.5 per cent, own the homes they occupy, and 148, or 56.5 per cent, rent. The estimated amount of rent paid is \$4,872 annually. The income of families ranges from \$50 to \$750. There were five families whose income exceeded the latter limit.

Estimated annual income and expenditure of family of five persons.

Income.		Expenditure.	
Head of family:		Food	\$85.28
24 weeks' labor, at 75 cents per day	\$108.00	Fuel	32.40
16 weeks' labor on farm, at 40 cents per day	38.40	Clothing	50.00
Housewife: Fifty weeks' washing, at \$1.50 per week	75.00	Rent	36.00
		Miscellaneous	15.00
		Surplus	2.72
Total	221.40	Total	221.40

Estimated income and expenditure of family of five persons owning home and in moderate circumstances.

Income.		Expenditure.	
Head of family:		Food	\$117.00
32 weeks' work as carpenter, at 75 cents per day	\$144.00	Fuel	30.00
Odd jobs	30.00	Clothing	60.00
Housewife and boy: Twenty weeks' work at tobacco factory, at \$7 per week	140.00	Taxes	8.00
		Miscellaneous	30.00
		Surplus	39.00
Total	284.00	Total	284.00

Here we see, as in Sandy Spring, that the average negro family, making the best use of its opportunities, must spend practically all of its earnings in the community, part of which, under any just estimate, goes to the support of public taxation. In 1895 there were 119 negro taxpayers in the corporation on lots and buildings, ranging in value from \$25 to \$2,800. There were 232 white holders of real estate, the highest of whom was assessed at \$16,000. There was a considerable number of negro farmers owning valuable farm lands in the district surrounding the corporation.

The investigator says that "it seems fair to conclude, after an impartial study of Farmville conditions, that the industrious and property-accumulating class of the negro citizens best represents, on the whole, the general tendencies of the group."

THE NEGRO IN THE BLACK BELT.¹

Group 1.—Six small groups, containing 920 negroes, have been studied by the Atlanta University, under the direction of Professor DuBois. All but one of these groups are situated in Georgia. Eleven representative families in Doraville and vicinity were studied, with the result that the average family was found to consist of 11.9 persons. Four of the heads of families could read and write; 5 owned their homes. The farms varied from 1 to 11 acres in extent and were worth from \$100 to \$400. Six families rented their farms on shares and cleared from \$5 to \$10 in cash at the end of each year. Women and girls were employed as farm hands.

Group 2.—Lithonia is a small village of about 800 persons in Dekalb County, Ga., 25 miles east of Atlanta. Negro stonecutters are employed at from \$5 to \$5.50 per week. They rent, for the most part, small two-room frames at \$4 per month. The whites have a private and public school, giving them a term of from eight to nine months. The negro schools comprise a Methodist and a Baptist school, each of which has a term of three months. Sixteen negro families were specially studied. Six of these families owned their homes and had an average yearly income of \$369. The other 10 families paid on an average between \$4 and \$5 a month. Five of these families had an income of less than \$200.

Group 3.—Covington is a village 41 miles southeast of Atlanta, Ga., and contained, in 1898, 3,000 persons. There were between 250 and 300 negro families, 50 of which were chosen for study. The average size of these families was 3.76. There is a public school for negroes open nine months in the year. The principal receives \$50 a month; his two female assistants \$30 a month. The illiteracy among the 50 families does not exceed 10 per cent. There were 8 porters, 6 teachers, 4 barbers, 5 carpenters, 4 laborers, 3 gardeners, 3 office boys, 2 mail agents, 2 drivers, 2 draymen, 2 grocers, 2 ministers, 2 waiters, 1 bartender, 1 fireman, 1 quarryman, 1 contractor, 1 brick mason; of the females there were 11 teachers, 10 seamstresses, 6 cooks, 3 washerwomen, 1 boarding-house keeper, 1 housekeeper, making a total of

¹ Labor Bureau Bulletin, No. 22, May, 1899, pp. 401-417. W. E. B. DuBois, Ph. D., investigator

85 persons, or 45 per cent, engaged in the gainful occupations. The average income is between \$300 and \$500. The majority of the better class of negroes are buying property. The yearly income of the mass of negroes is between \$100 and \$300; of the better class, between \$300 and \$500. Of the 50 families studied, 41 own their homes and 9 are renters.

Group 4.—Marion is in the midst of the black belt of Alabama, where the negroes outnumber the whites 4 to 1. The town has 2,000 inhabitants, equally divided between the races. Thirty-three negro families were studied. The average family contained 5.3 persons. Twenty-eight owned their homes; five were renters. Among the mass of the negro population there are a number who own their homes. Sixty-one persons, or 41 per cent, were engaged in gainful occupations. The public school is poor, but is supplemented by three missionary schools.

Group 5.—Marietta is a town of 4,000 inhabitants, 23 miles northwest of Atlanta. It has a negro population of 1,500, of whom 40 families, comprising 163 persons, were studied. The public schools are fair. Twenty-four families own their homes. Negroes are employed in local industrial works, receiving from 50 to 75 cents per day. The average negro family lives on from \$2 to \$4 a week.

Group 6.—Athens is a city of 10,000 inhabitants, of whom one-third are negroes. Forty-five families were studied. Ten or fifteen were illiterate. Their public schools are well conducted. Thirty-nine of these families own their homes and six are renters. Thirteen families have an income of \$750 a year; sixteen, between \$500 and \$750.

It is probable that the families of the several groups were of the better class, and therefore show a higher average of living and industrial activity than would be true for the groups at large.

CONDITION OF THE CITY NEGRO.¹

The first of the special studies relating to the negro race issued by the Labor Bureau was upon the condition of negroes in cities. The work was accomplished under the general direction of the Atlanta University. Reports were made from 50 negro investigators. These were for the most part college graduates, teachers, doctors, and lawyers, each of whom was expected to study one or more small groups of negroes in his own vicinity. From 10 to 20 houses standing together in portions of the city thought to be representative were taken as constituting a group. The number and distribution of the groups thus studied may be seen from the accompanying table:

City.	Groups.	Fami- lies.	Individ- uals.
Atlanta, Ga.....	16	324	1,292
Nashville, Tenn.....	10	246	1,090
Savannah, Ga.....	5	96	380
Cambridge, Mass.....	1	98	355
Washington, D. C.....	4	63	293
Macon, Ga.....	4	30	90
Jacksonville, Fla.....	3	77	327
Columbia, S. C.....	3	15	81
Birmingham, Ala.....	2	17	63
Tuskegee, Ala.....	2	21	119
Orangeburg, S. C.....	2	22	109
Sandford, Fla.....	1	24	116
Athens, Ga.....	1	16	73
Cartersville, Ga.....	1	10	53
Louisville, Ky.....	1	15	70
Macon, Miss.....	1	17	64
Chattanooga, Tenn.....	1	21	89
Jackson, Tenn.....	1	22	67
Total.....	59	1,137	4,742

¹ Labor Bureau Bulletin No. 10, May, 1897, pp. 257 and 373. Atlanta University graduates et al., investigators.

The observations were sufficiently widespread to be typical of general city conditions. The average family contained 4.17 persons. This was considerably below the average size of a family for the cities under discussion, as shown by the Eleventh Census. Of 324 families in Atlanta, Ga., 73, or 22.53 per cent, owned the houses in which they lived, while 249, or 76.85 per cent, paid an average rent of \$4.25 per month. Of the 246 families in Nashville, Tenn., 116, or 47.15 per cent, owned their houses, while 123, or 50 per cent, paid an average rent of \$1.68 per month. In the 32 groups located in other cities, of 469 families embraced therein, 157, or 33.48 per cent, owned the houses in which they lived, and 284, or 60.55 per cent, paid an average rental of \$5.51 per month. Some families were paying for their houses on the installment plan.

The occupations and earnings, by families, may be seen from the accompanying typical tables:

GROUP 10.—*Atlanta, Ga.*

Family No.	Head of family.			Children.
	Occupation.	Weeks employed.	Average weekly earnings.	
1	Fireman, stationary.....	50	\$7.00	\$132
2	Washerwoman.....	49	3.50	48
3	Cabinetmaker.....	36	7.00	100
4	Drayman.....	52	5.10	.....
5	do.....	52	4.00	690
6	Laborer.....	52	4.00	156
7	Blacksmith.....	52	7.50	.....
8	Coachman.....	52	4.00	130
9	Well-digger.....	52	5 00	90
10	Washerwoman.....	42	2.50	.....
11	Junk dealer.....	52	12.00	234
12	Cook, hotel.....	43	3.50	.....
13	Employee of railroad.....	52	4.00	.....
14	Restaurant proprietor.....	52	6.00	.....
15	Washerwoman.....	52	3.00	922
16	Bandmaster.....	49	10.00	511
17	Stone mason.....	45	6.00	225
18	Mattress maker.....	48	7.00	91
19	Hack driver (proprietor).....	52	12.00	.....
20	Cook, family.....	49	1.50	.....
21	Washerwoman.....	52	1.50	.....

GROUP 5.—*Other cities.*

1	Carpenter.....	(1)	\$13.00	.....
2	do.....	52	12.00	.....
3	Barber, proprietor.....	52	25.00	.....
4	Letter carrier.....	52	14.00	\$220
5	Carpenter, lodging-house keeper, and capitalist.....	52	75.00	212
6	Merchant, boots and shoes.....	52	15.00	.....
7	Merchant, lumber.....	52	15.00	.....
8	Cigar maker.....	52	12.00	.....
9	Not reported.....	.....	.....	260
10	Barker.....	52	12.00	.....
11	Steward of a club.....	52	20.00	.....
12	Carpenter.....	52	12.00	208
13	Physician.....	52	20.00	550
14	Clergyman.....	52	12.50	530
15	Carpenter.....	52	12.00	325
16	Barber.....	52	12.00	520
17	Clergyman.....	52	25.00	.....
18	Post-office clerk.....	52	16.00	294
19	Composer.....	52	8.00	.....
20	Store porter.....	52	10.09	218
21	Barber.....	52	12.00	520
22	Longshoreman.....	52	10.00	.....
23	Contractor, building.....	52	15.00	218
24	Contractor, building.....	52	50.00	.....
25	Barber, proprietor.....	52	15.00	.....
26	Merchant, boots and shoes.....	52	25.00	500
27	Waiter, head, hotel.....	40	25.00	2,496
28	Teacher.....	32	12.50	240
29	Merchant, commission.....	52	50.00	300
30	do.....	52	30.00	936
31	Clergyman and capitalist.....	52	40.00	780

¹ Not reported.

Nashville, Tenn.

Family No.	Head of family.			Children.
	Occupation.	Weeks employed.	Average weekly earnings.	Earnings for the year.
1	Carpenter	35	\$15.00	\$1,122
2	Laborer	52	5.00	463
3	Carpenter	52	9.50	118
4	Washerwoman	52	2.00	-----
5	No occupation, charity	-----	-----	-----
6	Porter	41	6.00	12
7	Cook, restaurant	46	9.00	-----
8	Clergyman	52	30.00	98
9	Porter	52	7.00	173
10	Furniture merchant	52	25.00	39
11	Teamster	52	6.00	108
12	Saloon keeper	52	15.00	-----
13	Hack driver	30	10.00	163
14	Shoemaker	52	7.00	-----
15	Cook, family	26	2.50	-----
16	Engineer	52	8.00	182
17	Porter, railroad	52	15.00	260
18	Teamster, with team	52	5.00	536
19	No occupation	-----	-----	416
20	Sorter, lumber	52	6.00	100
21	Teamster	39	6.00	-----
22	Gauger, lumber	52	9.50	-----
23	Carpenter	30	7.50	428

These figures give quite a clear idea as to the steadiness of employment among negroes, as well as to the character of their occupation; 41 out of 60 heads of families in the groups here presented were employed 52 weeks during the year.

In the city of Atlanta, Ga., out of a total of 324 families, 73, or 22.55 per cent, were supported wholly by male head of family; 31, or 9.57 per cent, wholly by a female head, and 84, or 25.93 per cent, wholly by a male and a female head of family. It is suggestive that 63.27 per cent of the families were supported wholly or in part by the mother; all of which goes to show to what an extent negro females are wage-earners in our cities.

The death rate of the negro race was given much attention in this investigation. The vitality of a people affects all the relations which it sustains to the community, whether economic or social. The general conclusion on this point is that the negro's death rate is about as 8 to 5 when compared with the whites, and that this excess is due mainly to remedial sanitary causes.

While these studies are not sufficient to enable us to draw infallible conclusions, yet we have here a body of data covering a wide area and a great diversity of conditions. We are at present concerned only with the economic side of these investigations in so far as they throw light upon the negro as a contributing factor of the several communities, who thus helps to support the burden of public taxation; and more especially the extent to which he contributes directly and indirectly to the education of his children. To this end it is essential to know (1) to what extent he has become a property owner; (2) to what extent he is tenant, and the money value of his rental; (3) how generally he is engaged in gainful occupations, and the manner in which he disposes of his earnings.

We saw that of 1,000 persons composing 165 families, at Sandy Spring, Md., 92 persons were owners of real estate; 63 families, or 38.2 per cent, owned the houses in which they lived; 54, or 32.7 per cent, paid money rent for the houses they occupied, and 44, or 26.7 per cent, occupied houses on the farm as a part of the stipulated agreement; 4 were not accounted for as to conditions of tenure. Forty-one per cent of the entire population was engaged in gainful occupations, and on the average a family must spend in the community nearly or quite all of its earnings in order to meet the ordinary requirements of living.

In Farmville, out of 262 families, 114, or 43.5 per cent, owned their own houses;

148, or 56.57 per cent, rented the houses they occupy, at an average rental of \$4,872 annually. Forty-eight per cent of the entire population was engaged in gainful pursuits, and, as at Sandy Spring, the average family must spend nearly or quite all of its earnings in order to live. The Black Belt reveals the same conditions.

In group 1, 5 out of 11 families owned their own homes, the other 6 rented their farms, and both sexes worked as farm hands.

In group 2, 6 out of 16 families owned their homes, and 10 families paid rent, from \$4 to \$5 monthly. The men were generally employed.

Forty-five per cent of group 3 were employed and the majority were reported as buying property. Of 50 families, 41 owned their own homes and 9 were renters.

In group 4, 28 out of 33 families owned their homes, and 5 were renters. Forty-one per cent were distributed among the various lines of industrial pursuits.

Group 5 showed 26 out of 40 families owning their own homes.

Group 6 yielded 39 home owners out of 45 families studied, and 6 renters.

When we turn to the cities, in Atlanta, Ga., 73 out of 324 families, or 22.53 per cent, owned their own homes, while 249 families, or 76.85 per cent, paid an average rental of \$4.25 per month. In Nashville, Tenn., 47.15 per cent of the families studied owned their homes and the rest paid an average rental of \$4.68 per month. For the other cities in which investigations were made, of 32 groups in all, 33.48 per cent owned the houses in which they lived and the rest paid \$5.50 average monthly rental.

That these families were steadily employed at wages not much more than sufficient to meet the urgent necessities of life can be judged by glancing at the tables under the head of city groups. Thus we see that the negro spends, and is spent in the several communities in which he resides, the little mite which, by the most rigid economy, goes to permanent accumulation after meeting the physical necessities of life, representing only an insignificant fraction of his energies. The productibility of his labor enhances the industrial and economic power of the community. His expenditures swell the bulk and profit of the merchants' business. From the rents collected from his black tenant the landlord pays the taxes on his tenements, and in every sense the negro is a vital contributing factor in the economic welfare and is justly entitled to his due share of public privileges.

VII. THE EDUCATION OF THE CITY NEGRO.

The urban negro constitutes a distinct problem from his rural brother. In their industrial status, social environments, and educational facilities they are widely asunder.

In discussing the education of the negro it is not usual to discriminate between the two classes, but to include the entire race under the same formula. The economic conditions of the Southern cities are so different from those of the country, and the educational provisions are so glaringly discrepant, that the two must be separated in any scheme of profitable discussion. The negro's educational fortunes have, perhaps, the widest margin of variation. His school opportunities in the cities are more nearly equal to those of the whites than in the rural districts. Thus the gap between the educational status of the two classes is emphasized. In the rural districts, where the school term covers only four or five months, and where economic and industrial conditions are such that the scholars do not attend regularly for even so short a term, it may be easily seen that the curriculum can not profitably be patterned after the city courses, with their superior advantages and facilities. When we consider that an average country child attends school for only a few terms, it appears that his entire schooling is scarcely equal to four grades of the city curriculum. On the other hand, the negro city school has all of the essential advantages of up to date scholastic requirements.

Cities of more than 5,000 colored inhabitants in 1890.

State and city.	White population.	Colored population.	Expenditure for school purposes, 1898-99.	School expenditure for State, 1899-1900.
Alabama:				
Birmingham	14,969	11,254	\$38,764	\$1,300,000
Mobile	17,429	13,630	76,644	-----
Montgomery	8,892	12,987	-----	-----
Arkansas, Little Rock	16,114	9,739	67,599	1,369,709
Delaware, Wilmington	53,754	7,644	229,832	418,479
District of Columbia, Washington	154,695	75,572	-----	1,323,000
Florida:				
Jacksonville	7,372	9,801	57,613	710,919
Key West	12,390	5,654	12,209	-----
Pensacola	6,001	5,743	18,847	-----
Georgia:				
Atlanta	37,416	28,098	142,345	1,807,815
Augusta	17,395	15,875	94,686	-----
Columbus	9,276	8,025	45,862	-----
Macon	11,538	11,203	80,963	-----
Savannah	20,211	22,963	121,288	-----
Kentucky:				
Lexington	13,020	8,544	86,171	3,163,000
Louisville	132,457	28,651	685,063	-----
Louisiana:				
Baton Rouge	4,444	6,027	-----	1,135,116
New Orleans	177,376	64,491	398,009	-----
Shreveport	4,439	7,532	16,000	-----
Maryland, Baltimore	337,143	67,104	-----	3,159,503
Mississippi:				
Meridian	5,442	5,178	25,076	1,165,840
Natchez	4,858	5,241	-----	-----
Vicksburg	6,164	7,204	-----	-----
Missouri:				
Kansas City	118,821	13,700	545,988	7,184,250
St. Louis	424,704	26,865	2,118,454	-----
North Carolina:				
Charlotte	6,417	5,134	-----	963,045
Newbern	2,572	5,271	-----	-----
Raleigh	6,320	6,546	-----	-----
Wilmington	8,731	11,324	-----	-----
South Carolina:				
Charleston	23,919	30,970	112,720	769,815
Columbia	6,563	8,789	31,751	-----
Tennessee:				
Chattanooga	16,525	12,563	43,000	1,661,144
Knoxville	16,106	6,423	55,633	-----
Memphis	35,766	28,706	182,607	-----
Texas:				
Dallas	30,006	7,993	-----	5,485,291
Galveston	22,316	6,722	105,464	-----
Houston	17,178	10,370	111,001	-----
Virginia:				
Alexandria	9,226	5,113	-----	1,971,224
Danville	4,764	5,538	-----	-----
Lynchburg	9,903	9,802	-----	-----
Norfolk	18,672	16,244	-----	-----
Petersburg	10,456	12,221	-----	-----
Richmond	49,034	32,330	-----	-----

The foregoing table reveals 46 cities in the Southern States with a negro population of more than 5,000, ranging from that limit up to 75,000. Twenty-two cities have a negro population above 10,000, 11 cities above 20,000, and three above 50,000. We have here an aggregate population of well nigh three-quarters of a million negroes collected in large municipal centers. The number of urban negroes exceeds the population of the State of Maine. Constituting about 10 per cent of the entire race, this body is too large to be ignored in any comprehensive treatment of the race problem.

The movement of population toward cities constitutes one of the most marked sociological phenomena of our times. The negro follows in the wake of this movement, and, although he does not seem to possess a profitable economic status in the centers of commerce and marts of trade, he is attracted by the allurements of city life as a moth by the glare of a candle. Perhaps the most pressing phase of the

race problem is presented by city conditions. The country negro is embalmed, as it were, in a state of nature, where he will be preserved, physically at least, until his opportunity comes. With the city negro, on the other hand, it is immediate rescue or destruction. The rural negro flees from the country, with its meager opportunities, to the city, with its congenial social circles and school privileges, unmindful of the fact that he is swapping industrial conditions with which he is familiar for those of which he has no knowledge. This constant influx of raw rural recruits imposes new problems upon city schools, for with a crude and undeveloped people the schools must fulfill not only the ordinary function of education, but must supplement defective home training. The city negro therefore presents a distinct educational problem with many interesting and peculiar features.

In the rural districts of the South the school fund is woefully inadequate to support a satisfactory system. The duplication of schools in the same territory for the two races serves to accentuate this inadequacy. In the cities the funds are much more ample, and though they fall far short of the educational provisions made in the other sections of the country, nevertheless they are sufficient to provide the essential facilities of instruction and to keep the schools in operation for the full length of term. The division of the school funds on racial lines does not work so great a hardship in cities as in rural places, where the population is sparse.

Per capita school funds for States and cities of the South.¹

State and city.	Per capita for—		State and city.	Per capita for—				
	State.	Cities.		State.	Cities.			
Alabama:			Mississippi, Meridian	\$0.75	\$2.37			
Birmingham	} \$0.71	\$1.84	Missouri:					
Mobile				Kansas City	} 2.31	5.50		
Montgomery				St. Louis				
Arkansas, Little Rock	1.04	2.61	North Carolina:					
Florida:			Charlotte	} .59	-----			
Jacksonville	} 1.34	1.90	Newbern					
Key West						Raleigh		
Pensacola						Wilmington		
Georgia:			South Carolina:					
Atlanta	} .71	2.60	Charleston	} .57	2.06			
Augusta						Columbia		
Macon				Tennessee:				
Columbus				Chattanooga	} .83	2.74		
Savannah				Knoxville				
Kentucky:		Memphis						
Lexington	} 1.48	4.22	Texas:					
Louisville				Galveston	} 1.80	3.83		
Louisiana, New Orleans82	1.64	Houston					
Maryland, Baltimore	3.07		Virginia	1.19	-----			

This table shows the school funds for the several States and cities under discussion, and the cost per capita for school expenditures. It is seen that the provisions for the cities enormously exceed those for the State at large. In Alabama the per capita cost of education is only \$0.71, while in the three leading cities of that State it is \$1.84. In South Carolina the State educational fund is only \$0.57, while for Charleston and Columbia it is \$2.06. If we should separate the cities from the rural districts, it will be seen that the per capita cost of the rural school's would fall much below the figures in the table. Let us not forget, also, the relative densities of the population as an essential factor of efficiency.

The courses of instruction for the colored schools embrace the ordinary primary and grammar grades, and in some of the cities high schools are also provided. The Supreme Court of the United States has recently decided, however, that a city is not compelled to maintain a high school for the colored race because it maintains one for whites.²

¹ Population for 1890 and expenditure for 1898-99.

² One hundred and seventy-fifth United States Reports, p. 528, decided December 18, 1899.

The teaching force in city colored schools is more or less proficient from a professional standpoint. The colored teachers compare quite favorably with their white colaborers. The schools furnish the only avenue of profitable employment above domestic service for colored women, and therefore the best equipped members of the race are thus engaged. The colored school teachers, male and female, receive on an average better pay than any other class of colored men or women in the several communities. They are looked up to as leaders in social life and public activities. This gives to the colored schools a relative advantage which the whites do not enjoy, for their best energies flow in other channels.

On the whole, it might be said that the urban negro's educational opportunities, so far as elementary instruction is concerned, are fairly ample, though of course far from ideal. Intellectual opportunities are open to every colored boy or girl which, among white youth, are counted sufficient to prepare for the ordinary duties of life. The educational facilities for colored children in the communities under discussion are, perhaps, superior to those offered the white race on a similar scale thirty years ago.

The true aim of education is to make the recipient wiser and better and to render him a more efficient instrument for service. Its beneficial effect is measured in terms of knowing, being, and doing. That the education of the negro has vastly increased his knowledge and tightened his intellectual grasp upon the problems of life can not be denied or doubted. The practical function, however, is far from fulfillment. The industrial life of the race has in no sense kept pace with its intellectual improvement. The negro labors to-day under the same industrial disabilities as he did thirty years ago. His education has neither enabled him to counteract the effect of hostile industrial influences nor to make himself independent of them. Indeed, he is daily losing industrial ground which he occupied when the dissemination of knowledge was not so general. It is doubtless true that to a large degree the cause of industrial decline is due to the operation of social forces which he can in no way direct or control; but the plain fact remains, and the educational effort of the future must occupy itself largely with means of meeting these industrial deficiencies.

Just here arises the perplexing question as to what modifications must be made in the general pedagogical programme in order to answer the peculiar needs of the negro race. All will agree that in any rational plan of education the scheme of instruction should be adapted to the needs, capacities, and probable vocation of those for whom it is proposed.

Existing programmes were adapted to the capacities and needs of the white race, and handed down to the negro on the somewhat generous principle that what is good for the white goose is good also for the black gander. It is true that in fundamental requirements and laws of growth the human mind is one and has the same formative needs. Knowledge and virtue have no ethnic quality. The multiplication table and the sermon on the mount do not accommodate themselves to local environments. The mind of the negro has the same faculties, powers, and susceptibilities as that of his white confrère. No competent authority has ever pointed out just where the two differ in any evident feature, and yet the average status of the races are so far asunder that the educational needs must be divergent at many points.

It would not be wise here to enter upon the intricate question as to the relative capacity of the two races. Any discussion of potential capacity would be wholly speculative and void of practical value. The practical educator must be governed by that component of capacity which is available for practical work. Suppose the pupil can attend school only a fraction of the time, or that by reason of necessary detention he is habitually absent or tardy, or that he is so poorly fed and illy clad that the strain and stress of physical necessity enfeebles his intellectual energy, or that the course and tone of his home life stifles rather than stimulates

his budding faculties. Can these factors be ignored with impunity? Would it be wise to proceed as if such obstacles did not exist? The negro constitutes the submerged element, and of necessity furnishes an excess of the defective, delinquent, and unfortunate classes. We should not forget that the object of public schools is to benefit the masses. Their plan and scope should be adapted to the capacity and condition of those for whose welfare they are intended.

The main concern of the college and the university is with the highest common factor, but the public schools must deal with the lowest common multiple. There are in every community many colored children who, by reason of exceptional faculties or good early influences, would easily take intellectual rank with superior persons of the dominant race. This fact is demonstrated wherever mixed schools exist. But the negro race is a race of extremes; there is little continuity of development; his growth is by leaps and bounds. The field hand or house servant of yesterday becomes class orator at a Northern college to-morrow; but the 10,000 field hands and domestic servants whom he leaves behind continue to pursue the daily humdrum of their stupid toil. It is perhaps generally true that the effect of the diffusion of knowledge is to increase the general capacity rather than to improve the extreme cases of ability. While three centuries of intensive culture has lifted the average status of the English race by many degrees, it has not enabled England to produce individuals superior to Shakespeare or Bacon. If this contention be correct, it is but natural to expect that the exceptional colored pupil will deviate widely from the normal average. This fact makes a just and equitable scheme a matter of great perplexity. The main feature of the programme should be placed near the center of gravity, with as wide a latitude of privilege as is compatible with the main purpose.

If, therefore, it should appear that prevailing schemes are not suited to the exigencies of circumstances, there should be no hesitancy in adopting such modifications as the necessities of the case require. No maudlin sentimentality should be allowed to prevent such sensible adaptation.

It might be argued with a considerable show of reason that it would be an unwise and dangerous acquiescence to acknowledge that there might be any divergence in the plan, scope, or method of public instruction. It is here that the humble are exalted and the mighty brought low until they meet upon a common level. The rich and the poor meet together; the state is the teacher of them all. The state, it may be claimed, has no right to discriminate among its subjects. The primary fact of discrimination is seen in the scholastic separation of the races. We should make the best use of the agencies in hand.

It might also be argued that it is inexpedient from the negro's standpoint to acknowledge that the negro child requires any treatment different from that of the white child. This feeling is already too prevalent, and if once the precedent be established there is no telling where the innovation will end. Many believe that the whites are only waiting for a reasonable excuse to readjust the negro's education to what they think it ought to be. This objection is not without much validity and goes to show that such modification should proceed along wise, cautious, and conservative lines, effecting only a sensible adaptation of effort to condition. Our duty is to our day and generation. Future generations will have their own problems and their own facilities for solving them. We can no more establish educational régimes for the future than we can prescribe the style of bonnet or cut of gown for our great-granddaughters. If at any time in the future the social and economic status of the races should come nearer together than they are to-day, can we not rely upon the wisdom and good sense of that time for a wise readjustment of régimes? All the hopes of the negro for a larger and better future rest upon the basis of this reliance.

The wild clamor for identity of plan and method without examining into fitness and adaptability shows a lack of self-knowledge, self-confidence, and self-respect.

Imitation without intelligence leads to grotesque and dangerous results. It is related of a Chinaman that when taking his first lessons in cooking he observed that his preceptress rejected every other egg out of a dozen, and when it came his turn to repeat the experiment this disciple of the kitchen, exercising a characteristic facility for imitation, rejected the eggs in the same order in which he observed his mistress had done; but as the rotten eggs happened to be differently distributed in the two cases, the pupil was subjected to the double chagrin of wasting his mistress's eggs and of spoiling her cake. By apish imitation, without intelligent discrimination, we may waste eggs and spoil the cake in a pedagogical as well as in a culinary sense.

Every subject in a programme of study, as well as every plan and method of impartation, should be interpretable in terms of actual needs and conditions. In a community where there is a considerable fraction of foreign population, there might be sufficient reason for introducing the vernacular of that element in the school programmes. Such language might be serviceable in the conduct of business and social intercourse, or might lead to a cultivation and enjoyment of ancestral literature and life; but there could be no such motive for adding similar lines to the colored schools. This does not apply to the educational value of language, but to its practical bearing and use. The attempt to master a foreign tongue before the pupil can secure harmony among the parts of speech in his own vernacular is grotesque and irrational.

A large proportion of white pupils on leaving school will enter upon business careers, either as occupants of prepared places or on their own responsibility. It is but reasonable, therefore, that professional business courses should form a part of their regular programme. But not one colored child in a hundred is likely to enter upon such a career. While the negro needs to be instructed in business forms and methods, the motive in the two cases is entirely different. The subject should be approached from the direction of the motive, reason, and end in view, and not in the spirit of observing a superficial sameness. Prof. Booker T. Washington will go down to history as one of the greatest educators of his day, perhaps as the greatest. His success is due mainly to the fact that he does not copy methods that have been exploited under other and more favorable conditions, but has devised plans for his constituency adapted to their present environment.

It must not be supposed, however, that the state owes less to the colored than to the white child. Although the needs of the negro child may often differ from those of the white child, yet they are rather greater than less. It certainly requires as great an outlay and as assiduous an effort to bring him up to the required standard of good citizenship.

Let us now consider some of the especial and distinctive features which should be made prominent in colored schools. Although many of these features are common to the needs of all schools, nevertheless in their application to the negro in the present state of his needs specialty of condition demands a more decided emphasis.

There is much dispute among educators as to the exact function and value of kindergarten training, but all will agree that it is of the highest importance to children of the neglected classes. No clearer statement of the case can possibly be made than was done by the superintendent of schools for Baltimore in a recent annual report:

Many children are compelled to leave school by the time they are old enough to earn wages to help support the family. Consequently many of them must receive all of their schooling before they are 10 years of age. In order to afford this class of children, found generally in the slums and in the most forlorn parts of the city, better opportunities for improvement it is very desirable to organize schools in such sections for the instruction of children between 3 and 6 years of age. Kindergartens would lengthen the school life of such children about three years and rescue them, for a time at least, during the most impressionable period of their

lives from the evil influence of homes in which idleness, vice, and crime are the daily examples set for their imitation. If the young children of idle, thriftless parents could be taken from their homes and subjected daily to the humanizing and enlightening influences of good schools, in charge of properly qualified teachers especially adapted to the performance of such work, many of them would be doubtless rescued from leading such lives as they see daily those among them living, and instead of growing up in ignorance and vice, to increase the number of idle and lawless, they would become industrious and law-abiding citizens. Such schools must constitute an important feature of any successful scheme the city may be compelled to adopt in its own protection.¹

These words apply with especial emphasis to the colored race, which supplies a large part of the submerged element. The criminal and vicious tendency of a large fraction of the negro population is alarming in its proportions. The ordinary process of education seems to have but little beneficial influence. Some method must be devised to reach, to help, and to save them. The state will be forced to advert to this matter for its own protection and defense. The kindergarten is the only institution yet proposed which promises the desired relief. The expense of such schools would doubtless be enormous; but it is poor economy that saves in the educational department only to add to the criminal budget.

There are only two ways by which children of degrading environments can be rescued. One is to take hold of them at a tender age, before they reach the ordinary school period, and give their thoughts, feelings, and aspirations the proper direction and trend. The other is to keep them in school for a sufficient length of time to appreciate the transforming power and refining influence of knowledge and culture. So far as the masses are concerned this last remedy is impossible. The first years of school life are spent in mastering the hard mechanics of learning. There is little or no reflex influence upon the life and character. This must come, if at all, at an earlier or a subsequent date. The school influence must reach lower down in the life of the negro child. The human twig is given its moral bent and inclination before reaching the ordinary school period, and the whilom effect of routine instruction can scarcely prevent it from growing into a twisted and distorted trunk.

The State establishes and maintains schools for the sake of producing a better grade of citizenship. In order to succeed with the submerged element it must step in loco parentis and take hold of the child while it is yet susceptible to moral impressions. This is not a charity or vicarious benevolence, but a plain duty demanded by every consideration of enlightened self-interest. It is as essential that the State protect itself from such internal evils as it is to maintain the Army and Navy to ward off foreign foes. The great difficulty with the ordinary colored child is that he enters the school too late and leaves too soon to derive from it the full benefit which it is calculated to impart. The term can be lengthened more easily and more profitably from below than from above. Let the education of the negro reach down before reaching up, and if there needs be a choice let it reach down rather than up, but let it always reach as far as possible in both directions.

To the white child the essential aim of education is to enable him to fit into an established social and industrial order. The negro child must endeavor to improve the status of his race. There is no one who has gone before to prepare a place for him. The teacher of the negro child needs more of the spirit of the missionary to arouse and quicken his lethargic energies into life and activity. Every successful teacher must be devoted to duty, but the colored teacher should be consecrated to a cause. He needs not only professional zeal for the work, but also the ardent devotion of a moral enthusiast. Every such teacher should regard himself as a laborer in the vineyard of humanity and not merely as a pedagogue peddling his services for pay.

¹ Seventeenth annual report of the Board of Commissioners of Public Schools of Baltimore, 1898, p. 102 et seq.

The Northern missionaries who came South immediately after the war to labor among the recently emancipated slaves would hardly be accounted educators in the modern sense of that term. Many of them were not even educated, and yet by reason of their missionary zeal and moral enthusiasm they wrought marvelous transformations. The State, with its more competent secular agencies, has supplanted them in the educational field, but it can neither hire nor demand the subtle spirit. It can only exact outward decency of behavior and a reasonable proficiency of service. The spirit of enthusiasm and consecrated zeal must spring from the consciousness on the part of the teacher that his own welfare is indissolubly linked with that of the masses whom he is commissioned to enlighten.

The negro child needs especially to be rooted and grounded in the concrete principles of things. It is characteristic of tropical temperaments to revel in intellectual subtleties and fine flights of fancy while ignoring the material things by which they are surrounded. Races and nations remain in a backward or barbarous state because they fail to heed the divine injunction to subdue the earth. All attempt to escape the difficulties of earth by building a tower to reach to the skies must end in a confusion of tongues. The Anglo-Saxon has gained his present eminence among the nations because he is of the earth earthy. He delves while others soar; he applies while others speculate. The Anglo-Saxon is not superior to other men in intellectual gifts or moral endowments. For intellectual subtlety and spiritual perception the Hindoo is conceded to be his equal, if not his superior, and yet when it comes to bringing things to pass one Englishman is equal to a thousand Asiatics. A close study of the Yankee reveals the fact that he is equal to almost any practical emergency, even when he has a rather slender basis of intellectual equipment. On the other hand, the negro is rather theoretical than practical. He knows immensely more than he can do. His practical prowess has by no means kept pace with his intellectual achievements. Slavery taught him to work by rule and rote, but not according to plan and method. The first effect of intelligence was, naturally enough, to disgust him with manual toil, which stood to him as a reminder of slavish drudgery. He has never learned the gospel of work or the joy of service, because he has never entered into it with intelligent plan and purpose. A thought is married to a thing and an enterprise is born, but when thought is divorced from things there is nothing but sterile speculation and barren criticism.

The greatest need of the negro is to bring the wild energy of his muscle under the guiding intelligence of his mind. In all his experience he has not been compelled to observe the fine adaptation of effort to task, but he has been confined to such crude lines of service that the vaguest approximation was deemed sufficient.

There are only two ways by which a people may gain proficiency in practical things. One is by long familiarity and practice in controlling affairs until the habit becomes fixed and is handed down by heredity. The other is by means of education of the young. The latter process is by far the more rapid, and is indeed the only course open to the negro at the present time. The child learns in a few years what it took the race half a dozen generations to acquire. If education can not overcome heredity, it can at least discount it by an enormous per cent.

The negro child needs to be trained in practical judgment, a faculty in which it must be conceded he is woefully deficient. He is too apt to commit to memory rather than to the understanding. If the average child were put to the test as to the weight and value of things which have become familiar by glib recital or required to interpret the verbal image of ideas in terms of their concrete equivalents, the results would be grotesque indeed. His information should be interpreted in terms of his own thoughts, feelings, and volitions. He should be made to feel that all lines of knowledge radiate from him as a conscious center. The method of impartation should be actual, tactual, factual. The old adage tells us that knowledge is power, but this applies only to digested and assimilated knowl-

edge. If one takes food into his stomach and fails to digest it, it not only does not give him added strength, but saps from him the strength already acquired. Intellectual indigestion acts in about the same manner as the corresponding physical ailment. Negro youth are everywhere suffering from intellectual indigestion, and there is danger of a race of mental dyspeptics. The only remedy is through a method of education which shall observe a just balance between the abstract and concrete.

The complaint is universal that our school curricula are overcrowded and that the pupil can get only a smattering of the kaleidoscopic programme. If this be a detriment to the white youth, it must be doubly so to the negro child, who may be the first, or well nigh the first, in the history of his race who has learned the use of letters. A little learning is a dangerous thing, and especially so if dissipated over too wide an area. The white child is apt to be steadied and balanced by his setting in society; the negro can hope for no such corrective influence. He is likely to overestimate his capacity and attainments and to make a miserable fizzle in an ambitious career, where he might have made a useful and respectable citizen in a more modest sphere. Or he may become a vainglorious, self-conceited egotist, disgusting sensible men with a showy display of shallow learning. To correct this tendency the courses should be judiciously limited in range and scope and a thoroughness of mastery rigidly insisted upon.

All that has been said under the head of concrete methods emphasizes the importance of manual training. The negro was brought to this country to labor with his hands. For more than two centuries he has fulfilled this manual mission; and for many years to come this must be his chief function in society.

He should be taught to do with skill, accuracy, and method that which inevitably devolves upon him. Being shut out from the shops he must look to the school for the only means through which he may be prepared to gain and retain a satisfactory status in the industrial order.

Manual training must be carefully discriminated from industrial education. The one looks forward to definitely established lines of work, the other to the acquisition of power. So far as we can judge the future by the present, it would be almost useless to equip any considerable number of our colored youth in our large cities with mechanical trades. They would have few facilities for plying them. The colored workman is rigorously excluded by organized effort. He labors under the double disadvantage of being weak and of being black. This makes the negro's industrial outlook a very unpromising one. The real hope is that he may be driven to take the industrial initiative, as the spirit of caste has already developed in him ecclesiastical independence and social self-sufficiency.

The real demand is for manual training which will enable him to do with mind as well as with might what his hands may find to do.

Nine-tenths of the negroes in cities must make their living by bodily labor and domestic service. More skill, intelligence, and character must be put into these lines of work.

Whatever may be said of the universal requirement of a system of education in the abstract, all will agree that the practical programme must have reference to the probable vocation of its recipients. The negro race can not escape this law. The bulk of them for all time that we can foresee must earn their livelihood by some form of manual labor. The following table shows the occupations in which city negroes are generally engaged. There are no potent forces at work which will materially modify this programme within any calculable period of time. The table shows that in all of the largest cities of the South 98,470 males and 79,429 females were employed in gainful occupations, making a total of 177,899. Of this number 60,172 men were employed as laborers, servants, draymen, teamsters, messengers, etc., and 67,686 women followed domestic and laundry service. It is

within these industrial lines that the negro must live and move and gain a livelihood. His education, therefore, should have direct bearing upon that sphere of industrial activity.

Occupations of negroes in cities.

MALES.

City.	All occupations.	Laborers.	Servants.	Draymen, teamsters, etc.	Messengers, porters, etc.
Atlanta, Ga.....	7,916	2,357	1,134	775	300
Baltimore, Md.....	19,342	5,498	3,507	2,586	1,139
Charleston, S. C.....	8,777	2,610	852	503	280
Kansas City, Mo.....	5,100	1,528	1,331	383	188
Louisville, Ky.....	9,236	3,123	1,356	1,232	288
Memphis, Tenn.....	7,161	1,143	990	1,052	565
Nashville, Tenn.....	8,100	2,503	1,017	803	324
New Orleans, La.....	15,051	7,455	1,374	1,006	321
Richmond, Va.....	8,530	2,248	1,100	805	305
St. Louis, Mo.....	9,137	2,248	1,542	921	519
Total.....	98,470	31,584	14,203	10,156	4,229

FEMALES.

City.	All occupations.	Servants.	Laundresses.	All other occupations.
Atlanta, Ga.....	6,857	3,310	2,986	561
Baltimore, Md.....	18,676	10,752	6,191	1,733
Charleston, S. C.....	7,098	2,319	2,638	2,141
Kansas City, Mo.....	2,554	1,362	972	220
Louisville, Ky.....	6,231	3,229	2,455	597
Memphis, Tenn.....	6,010	2,973	2,283	754
Nashville, Tenn.....	6,509	3,372	2,465	672
New Orleans, La.....	12,880	5,315	4,635	2,930
Richmond, Va.....	8,238	4,500	2,086	1,652
St. Louis, Mo.....	4,326	1,800	2,043	483
Total.....	79,429	38,932	28,754	11,743

The question of sex as a factor in education has recently received much attention. One of the most striking phenomena of the city negro is the relative excess of women. Strangely enough, this phenomenon seems to have escaped attention. The economic conditions which prevail in the rural districts are sufficient to account for this condition of things. The women are not well suited to farm labor; they can not enter into competition with men in such arduous tasks. On the other hand, there is an unlimited demand in the cities for competent and efficient colored females in the domestic sphere. It is not surprising, therefore, to find an enormous preponderance of women in the large centers. This excess of the female element conditions all phases of urban negro life, whether in home or church or general society. The school also feels its controlling influence.

Total population, school population, and school attendance of negroes in cities having more than 5,000 negro inhabitants.

	Population.		School population.		Number of pupils in school.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Alabama:						
Birmingham	5,511	5,758	1,716	2,007	664	798
Mobile	6,100	7,547	2,293	2,603	538	612
Montgomery	5,413	7,578	1,994	2,642	-----	-----
Delaware:						
Wilmington	4,738	4,311	-----	-----	-----	-----
Arkansas:						
Little Rock	4,262	5,134	1,429	1,791	653	877
District of Columbia:						
Washington	33,831	41,866	12,083	14,536	-----	-----
Florida:						
Jacksonville	4,662	5,176	1,624	1,889	690	790
Key West	2,739	2,928	928	1,061	277	321
Pensacola	2,810	2,939	993	1,118	381	415
Georgia:						
Atlanta	12,400	15,717	4,539	5,673	1,094	1,240
Augusta	7,198	8,797	2,613	3,131	692	945
Columbus	3,526	4,501	1,316	1,647	484	726
Macon	4,995	6,210	1,816	2,175	229	292
Savannah	10,493	12,485	3,328	4,177	620	822
Kentucky:						
Louisville	13,348	15,324	4,291	4,836	2,154	2,675
Lexington	3,915	4,632	1,427	1,517	395	502
Louisiana:						
Baton Rouge	3,118	2,916	1,041	1,094	105	114
New Orleans	28,636	35,727	9,946	11,852	2,595	2,785
Shreveport	3,486	4,054	1,256	1,495	198	214
Maryland:						
Baltimore	29,165	38,131	8,595	11,999	3,073	3,676
Mississippi:						
Meridian	2,324	2,858	960	1,123	211	275
Natchez	2,210	3,633	887	1,060	329	421
Vicksburg	3,139	4,070	1,099	1,368	313	473
Missouri:						
Kansas City	7,053	6,842	1,897	2,208	948	1,162
St. Louis	13,247	13,819	3,978	4,399	2,449	2,573
North Carolina:						
Charlotte	2,280	2,860	888	1,084	257	335
Newbern	2,305	2,966	939	1,049	-----	-----
Raleigh	3,396	2,955	1,130	1,054	633	742
Wilmington	5,070	6,225	1,899	2,152	594	693
South Carolina:						
Charleston	14,187	16,849	4,877	5,729	1,094	1,390
Columbia	4,366	4,424	1,512	1,609	362	505
Tennessee:						
Chattanooga	6,599	5,976	2,019	2,139	897	1,066
Knoxville	3,101	3,228	1,012	1,199	346	434
Memphis	13,333	15,396	4,281	5,091	-----	-----
Nashville	13,334	16,061	4,852	5,518	1,189	1,577
Texas:						
Dallas	4,114	3,947	1,341	1,433	490	500
Galveston	3,063	3,702	1,613	1,323	392	459
Houston	4,792	5,587	1,619	2,125	646	776
Virginia:						
Alexandria	2,393	2,720	975	1,015	383	373
Danville	2,382	3,159	878	1,140	401	409
Lynchburg	4,048	5,758	1,593	2,182	680	993
Norfolk	7,506	8,748	2,293	2,811	513	745
Petersburg	5,409	6,815	2,052	2,441	769	1,055
Richmond	14,216	18,138	4,852	6,300	2,110	2,853
Total	334,433	397,990	111,074	134,689	30,758	37,623

This table shows the excess of colored females in the Southern cities which contained in 1890 more than 5,000 colored inhabitants. There is an excess of 63,557 colored females, who are in the majority in all the cities named except Baton Rouge, La., Chattanooga, Tenn., Raleigh, N. C., Kansas City, Mo., and Dallas, Tex. The preponderance of men in these cities can be explained on the ground of special industrial conditions. It is known that there is great demand for colored male labor in the works of Chattanooga; and the excess in Kansas City can be accounted for by the fact that the males outnumber the females generally throughout the Western country. The relative excess of females of school age can not be

wholly accounted for by industrial conditions, and is a phenomenon which still awaits an explanation. That there should be 63,000 more females than males in the population at large, or 119 females to every 100 males, is surely a less striking phenomenon than that for ages between 5 and 20 the ratio should be 121 to 100. When the school attendance is considered the disproportion is still more glaring, there being 122 females to every 100 males. These figures should be studied in the light of proportion rather than as absolute numbers. The figures relative to a few cities are not given. For example, the census does not give the pupils for the city of Washington, whose numbers would have much weight on the general result; but it is also probable that the omitted figures bear about the same disproportion as those which are presented, so that the value of the table is not affected by their omission.

The female excess for the 11 cities which contained in 1890 a colored population of more than 20,000 is here presented:

Excess of colored females over males.

City.	Colored males.	Colored females.	Excess of females.	Number of females to 100 males.
Baltimore	29,165	38,131	8,966	131
Richmond	14,216	18,188	3,922	128
Atlanta	12,400	15,717	3,317	127
Washington	33,831	41,866	8,035	123
New Orleans	28,936	35,727	6,791	123
Nashville	13,334	16,061	2,727	120
Charleston	14,187	16,849	2,662	119
Savannah	10,493	12,485	1,992	119
Memphis	13,333	15,396	2,063	115
Louisville	13,348	15,324	1,976	115
St. Louis	13,247	13,819	572	104
Total	196,490	239,513	43,023	121

This table bears out the general tendency. There are 121 females to every 100 males, the total excess of females being 43,023. This surplus would form a city as large as Jersey City, N. J.

Such a disproportion in the population makes an unsatisfactory condition of society. But it presents a problem with which the schools must grapple. This is especially significant as applied to industrial education. These girls must become wage-earners. The investigations of the Atlanta conference showed that a large per cent of negro homes were supported wholly or in part by female wage-earners.¹ The preponderance of the female sex renders their participation in wage-earning pursuits inevitable. There is practically but one field open for them, and that lies in the sphere of the household industries. When we speak of industrial education, reference is usually had to work in wood or metal or training in some manly vocation; but the city negro presents a unique industrial problem. The negro male has no fixed industrial status. The trade organizations exclude him from participation in the higher mechanical pursuits. There is no assurance that any considerable number could find means of plying their trades, even if they were equipped with them. It is true that the spirit of trades unionism is fiercest in the North, but there seems to be no doubt that the same policy will be adopted in the South whenever the exigencies of industrial rivalry make it necessary. The whites belong to the preferred class, and the negro is forced out of any pursuit which they wish to occupy themselves. This unpleasant, though stubborn, fact renders a programme of profitable industrial training for the city negro very difficult to formulate.

¹ Bulletin Labor Bureau, No. 10, p. 237.

On the other hand, the colored woman holds undisputed sway in the field of domestic service, and nothing but her own incompetence can ever dislodge her. This affords one of the chief means of support of negro families, more than half of whom subsist in whole or in part by such service. The industrial education of the city negro must take cognizance of these facts and should be shaped largely to the requirements of domestic economy and household industries.

The negro pupil should be taught a knowledge of the conditions and circumstances of his race. As he must live the life conditioned by his race, his training should give him some adequate notions about that life. The German, the Irishman, the Scandinavian, or any other element of our cosmopolitan population need not of necessity study the status of their racial stock. What to them may be a matter of sentiment or pride, to the negro is a stern necessity. They are not compelled to live the life of their race unless they elect to do so. They are eligible to become at once full-fledged American citizens, without any hyphenated prefix. But not so with the negro. He can not escape the onus of his race. Mr. Douglass used to say that wherever the negro goes he carries himself with him. Every person who is tainted with his blood is circumscribed and conditioned by that fact. If it is the function of education to teach the pupil to enter upon the life which lies before him, should not the negro pupil be taught something of that life of which he must ever form a part? The American pupil is instructed in the history, institutions, and traditions of his country, in whose economy he must soon take his place. The negro is an American, but he is none the less a negro. Unlike the Jew, who of his own choice prefers to cling to the traditions of his fathers, the negro has little opportunity of gaining accurate or beneficial knowledge of his race through personal and domestic channels. His main reliance here, as in all other relations, must rest in the schools.

The ordinary text-books that treat of ethnological topics are often humiliating to his pride and revolting to his sense of self-respect. A hideous picture of an African savage and some reference to a domesticated race are about all he can hope to find about himself in the ordinary text which is placed in his hands. Whatever is creditable to the negro is merged in the credit of the general population, while the odious and repugnant stand out in bold relief. Some special corrective influence is necessary in order that the negro may not despise himself, for no class of people who despise themselves can hope to gain the respect of the rest of mankind. While he is feasting upon the fruits of the tree of knowledge, he should beware lest he should be eating and drinking unto his own damnation. It is folly to feed the intellect and starve the spirit. The negro child has a right to know of the contributions and achievements of his race, however insignificant these may appear in the eyes of his white neighbor. "These little things are great to little men." Inspiration is a more valuable function of education than information. Youth are inspired to noble endeavor mainly by the deeds of those of their own kind and condition.

It is indeed true that a people may become too painfully self-conscious. This will make them too proud and elated or too abject and mean. The negro whose time is spent in lachrymal lamentations over the woes and miseries of his race would not make an ideal citizen. The colored boy or girl, on the other hand, who grows up ignorant of the special condition of the class to which he is relegated would be as deficient in practical knowledge as the American youth who knows nothing of the history, institutions, and laws of his country. No negro can afford to be incurious as to the status of his race. It would be as great a manifestation of folly as it would be on the part of a convict to attempt to ignore the fact that he is in durance vile.

Wherever separate schools exist—and the fact of their existence is the most persuasive argument that the negro is shut in to a racial circle and range—there should be some definite instruction in subjects that pertain to the race. Of course,

there should be the highest prudence and caution in the selection of subject-matter and in the manner of impartation. All frictional and inflammatory methods should be discarded, and only subjects that are accurate, comprehensive, and sensible should find favor. There might be placed in parallel columns wrongs suffered and benefits received, rights withheld and duties neglected, present proscription of privilege and the larger promise of the future.

We have in the city negro a special educational problem of peculiar importance. The entire negro population must look to the cities for diffusion of light. The perfection of their educational régimes, therefore, is not only of prime importance to the 700,000 therein collected, but also to the 8,000,000 who are scattered abroad.

PART II.—THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

I. THE INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY OF THE NEGRO.

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 right 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 coefficient which is not detachable from the quantity whose value it may either 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 race. With a self-debasement surpassing the vow of the anchorite, he was expected to bow down to this 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 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 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 wittily 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 transformations 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 a servant,"¹ 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

¹ Occasional Discourses on the Nigger Question.

it is easy, as it is agreeable to the 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 alleged progenitor utilized as an object lesson in temperance the indulgent proclivity of an ancient patriarch.¹ Science was placed under tribute for 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 skull, facial outline, and cephalic configuration, the antinegro scientists outdistanced the modern psychologists in assuming a mechanical equivalent of thought.

But in spite of scientific demonstration, learned disquisitions, prohibitive legislation, and alleged divine intendment, the negro's nobler nature persisted in manifesting itself. The love, sympathy, 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 Phillis Wheatley, the scientific acumen of Benjamin Banneker, the persuasive eloquence of Frederick Douglass, were but faint indications of 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 oppression and ill usage. The negro, too, is gradually awakening to a consciousness of this great truth. The common convergence of religious and secular thought is toward the universal fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. This universality of kinship implies commonality of powers, possibilities, and destiny. It is difficult to estimate the importance of this belief to the backward races of the earth. We have of late heard a strangely discordant jangle from the jungles of India, with contemptuous reference to "lesser breeds without the law." Rudyard Kipling regards all other races of the earth only as contributory factors to the glory of his own. This conviction is betrayed even in what he intends for a kindly reference:

But the things you will learn from the yellow an' brown,
They'll 'elp you and 'eap you with the white.²

The backward races, according to this new light of Asia, have no inherent capacities, rights, or prospects, but are merely a part of the "white man's burden," a load more grievously to be borne than the weight which mythology assigned to the back of the ill-fated Atlas. But this note is strangely discordant to the prevailing sentiment of the opening century. How much broader in comprehension, truer in prophecy, and nobler in sympathy and spirit are the lines of Walt Whitman:

A man's body at auction!

(For before the war I often go to the slave mart and watch the sale.)

I help the auctioneer, the sloven does not half know his business.

Gentlemen, look on this wonder!

Whatever the bids of the bidders, they can not be high enough for it.

For it the globe lay preparing quintillions of years without one animal or plant.

For it the revolving cycles truly and steadily rolled.

In this head the all-baffling brain.

* * * * *

Examine these limbs, red, black, or white, they are cunning in tendon and nerve,

* * * * *

¹ Genesis, IX: 21-27.

² Seven Seas, p. 171.

Exquisite senses, life-lit eyes, pluck, volition,

* * * * *

And wonders within there yet.

Within there runs blood,

The same old blood! the same red running blood!

There swells and jets a heart, there all passions, desires, reachings, aspirations,

(Do you think they are not there because they are not expressed in parlors and lecture-rooms?)

This is not only one man—this the father of those who shall be fathers in their turns,

In him the start of populous states and rich republics,

Of him countless immortal lives with countless embodiments and enjoyments.¹

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 "amiable blockhead," and amenable only to the white man's "beneficent 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 a minute."² 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 lack of capacity on the part of colored youth to secure the higher lines of education has, until recently, in this country at least, been generally assumed. The few negroes who showed any intellectual development during slavery days were exceptions, sufficient only to prove the rule. It used to be an accepted dictum that the negro's skull was too thick to learn. This dictum, however, seems to have been founded upon a desire rather than a belief; for in order to justify the assertion laws were made forbidding the attempt. It was made a crime for the negro to perform the impossible. Why reenact the laws of God?

It will be noticed that those who deny the negro mental capacity may fairly be suspected of a motive. This was certainly true in the case of the slaveholders before the war. It is equally true in certain quarters to-day. Men will resort to all kinds of arguments in order to shape their consciences to their dealings. All the resources of knowledge were exhausted to show that the negro was not like other men, and that God had designed him for an inferior station in life. All this was undertaken to justify the system of slavery, or, slavery being dead, to shut out the negro from the full privileges of manhood and citizenship. It is easy as it is safe to shift responsibility from men's guilty consciences and place it upon divine intendment. The process was a logical and a cunning one. Admit the negro's mental and moral endowments and all justification for inhuman, unfair, or proscriptive treatment falls to the ground.

If I'm designed yon lording's slave,

By nature's law designed;

Why was an independent wish

E'er planted in my mind?³

John C. Calhoun was by all odds the most sagacious defender of slavery. He placed its justification squarely upon the ground of the negro's intellectual and moral inferiority. He is reported to have said that if he could find a single negro who understood the Greek syntax he would regard the race as human and worthy to be treated as men.⁴ This statement sounds very remarkable in the light of

¹Leaves of Grass, p. 85. ²Sartor Resartus (Helotage). ³Robert Burns's Man was Made to Mourn.

⁴On account of the importance and widespread currency of this statement, I deem it advisable to give here an account of its origin.

The late Rev. Alexander Crummell, founder and first president of the American Negro Academy, gives the following account:

In the year 1833 or 1834, the speaker (Rev. Alexander Crummell) was an errand boy in the

subsequent developments. If Mr. Calhoun could be reincarnated and could visit his old alma mater at New Haven, he would undoubtedly change his opinion. This remarkable statement should serve to make us heedless of all sweeping denunciations and hostile generalities against the race, however arrogantly they may be put forth or with however high authority they may be supported.

The mental capacity of the negro with reference to this higher education gives rise to two distinct questions: (1) Can he master and assimilate the branches usually placed in the college curriculum? and (2) is he equal in capacity to the white man?

The first proposition needs no argument. Nobody whose opinion is worth quoting doubts at this late date that the negro can master the higher branches of European learning and interpret them in thought and action. Whoever affects to doubt it himself needs to be pitied for his incapacity to grasp the truth. The only excuse for introducing this proposition is that it was at one time denied.

Duty depends upon and is proportionate to ability. Even though it be shown that the white man has larger gifts of mind than the negro, that does not relieve the latter from the duty of cultivating his mind by means of higher education. If the Russians should find that they are intellectually inferior to the Germans, would that make it any the less incumbent upon Russian youth to cultivate their minds to the highest possible degree? The possessor of one talent is called upon to make returns as well as the holder of ten. It is only the sloth who hides his talent in the earth because he imagines that somebody else has a larger allowance. The claim for the higher education of colored youth is not based upon relative capacity, but upon their ability to profit by it. There is a principle in mechanics that no more work can be gotten out of a machine than power is put into it. The problem of machinery is to so adjust force and friction as to bring out the largest possible fraction of useful work. The analogy applies with much strength to the case in hand. It is not attempted to create capacity. God alone can do that. But the problem is how can we best prepare the negro to do the work before him and that, too, with the capacity with which God has endowed him. The wisdom of mankind has decided that the best preparation for any serious duty is a careful training and discipline of the mind.

Although the relative capacities of the races can not be decided by arrogant assertions on the one hand and indignant denials on the other, nevertheless it is a matter of much speculative interest. Affirmation is worth no more than denial, and continued asseveration on either side is worth little more than a spirited contest of "did" and "didn't" between two pugnacious boys.

It will take ten generations to decide this question. The intellectual ascendancy of the various races and tribes is subject to strange variability. The Egyptian, the Jew, the Indian, the Greek, the Roman, the Arab, and the modern European has each had his turn at intellectual domination. When the early nations were at the zenith of art and thought and song, Franks, Britons, and Germans were roaming through dense forests, groveling in subterranean caves, practicing barbarous rites, and chanting their horrid incantations to savage gods. In the days of Aristotle the ancestors of Sir Isaac Newton and Kent and Gladstone could not count beyond the ten fingers. Tacitus tells us that the British youth were incapable of learning music and philosophy.

antislavery office in New York City. On a certain occasion he heard a conversation between the secretary and two eminent lawyers of Boston—Samuel E. Sewell and David Leo Child. They had been to Washington on some legal business. While at the capital they happened to dine in the company of the great John C. Calhoun, the Senator from South Carolina. It was a period of great ferment upon the question of slavery, State's rights, and nullification; and consequently the negro was the topic of conversation at the table. One of the utterances of Mr. Calhoun was to the effect that if he could find a negro who knew the Greek syntax he would then believe that the negro was a human being and should be treated as a man. (American Negro Academy, Occasional Papers, No. 3, pp. 10-11.)

To affirm that all races are equal in intellectual capacity is a rather hazardous proposition. There is not wanting, however, eminent authority to support it. Leaving this broad proposition untouched, let us now deduce some of the arguments which support the negro's claim to intellectual capacity.

1. Within the limits of the white race there is the widest possible divergence of mental capability. A philosopher and an idiot may not only be members of the same race, but of the same family. Such divergence is equally true of the negro race. No intellectual classification is possible which will put all whites in one class and all blacks in another. Some negroes are unquestionably superior in intellectual endowment to most white men.

2. Where mixed schools exist there is no discoverable difference of capacity or aptitude on the part of the pupils of the two races. This phenomenon has manifested itself not only in the case of the negro in the United States, but it is equally true of the children of all the so-called inferior races who have been brought in intellectual competition with Caucasian children. It has been observed, however, and remarked upon by Herbert Spencer, that the children of weaker races do not continue their mental activity after reaching maturity with the same vigor as their white competitors. This inactivity is clearly due to a lack of stimulus and incentive and not to incapacity.

3. Colored students pass through Northern colleges with success and sometimes with distinction. Their average rank is exceptionally high when we consider their early environments and opportunities. From time immemorial negro students from Africa, Haiti, South America, and the islands of the sea have passed through the universities of Europe. This occurrence is so common that it no longer excites remark.

4. The race has produced from time to time individuals who show unmistakable evidences of the highest susceptibility of mind. Such instances are so numerous that it would be invidious to mention a few of them, not being able to mention all.

5. Of the numerous authorities that might be quoted in this connection I will cite only a few. William Matthews, LL. D., one of the most successful American authors, in discussing negro intellect, says:

We affirm that the inferiority of the negro has never been proved, nor is there any good reason to suppose that he is doomed forever to maintain his present relative position, or that he is inferior to the white man in any other sense than some white races are inferior to others.¹

Benjamin Kidd, author of *Social Evolution*, says:

The children of the large negro population in that country [United States] are on just the same footing as children of the white population in the public elementary schools. Yet the negro children exhibit no intellectual inferiority; they make just the same progress in the subject taught as do the children of the white parents, and the deficiency they exhibit in later life is of quite a different kind.²

Prof. N. F. Shaler, of Harvard University, dean of the Lawrence Scientific School, writes in the *Arena*:

There are hundreds and thousands of black men in this country who in capacity are to be ranked with the superior persons of the dominant race, and it is hard to say that in any evident feature of mind they characteristically differ from their white fellow-citizens.³

The following citations from the highest academic authority furnish valuable testimony as to the negro's intellectual capacity:⁴

¹North American Review, July, 1889. ²Social Evolution, p. 295. ³Arena, December, 1890.

⁴These citations are taken from *The College-Bred Negro*, p. 31 et seq. *The College-Bred Negro* appeared as Atlanta University Publications, No. 5, and contains the fullest extant historical and statistical account of the negro's higher educational efforts. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois is secretary of the Atlanta conference, and the success of this work is due largely to his efforts.

From the University of Kansas we learn (January, 1900):

I am pleased to state that this year we have twice as many colored students in attendance at the university as ever before; in all, 28. The rule is that no student shall be allowed to take more than three studies. If he fails in one of the three, it is a "single failure;" in two of the three, a "double failure." The latter severs the student's connection with the university. There are 1,000 students in attendance at the present time. The semiannual examination was held last week, and as a result there are 200 "single failures" and 80 "double failures." The gratifying part of it is that not one of the colored students is in either number.

The secretary of Oberlin writes (February, 1900) in sending his list: "It is a list containing men and women of whom we are proud."

Colgate University, New York, writes of a graduate of 1874 as "a very brilliant student," who "was graduated second best in his class. It was believed by many that he was actually the leader."

A graduate of Colby College, Maine, is said by the librarian to have been "universally respected as a student, being chosen class orator."

Wittenberg College, Ohio, has two colored graduates. "They were both bright girls and stood well up in their respective classes."

A negro graduate of Washburn College, Kansas, is said by the chairman of the faculty to be "one of the graduates of the college in whom we take pride."

The dean of the faculty of Knox College, Illinois, writes of two negro students—Senator Bruce, of Mississippi, and another—who graduated and were remembered because of "their distinguished scholarship."

A black student of Adrian College, Michigan, "was one of the best mathematicians I ever had in a class," writes a professor.

Adelbert College, of the Western Reserve University, Ohio, has a negro graduate as acting librarian who is characterized as "one of the most able men we know;" while of another it is said, "We expect the best."

Lombard University, Illinois, has "heard favorable reports" of its single negro graduate.

The dean of the State University of Iowa writes (December, 1899) of a graduate of 1898:

He distinguished himself for good scholarship, and on that ground was admitted to membership in the Phi Beta Kappa Society. He is a man of most excellent character and good sense, and I expect for him a very honorable future. He won the respect of all his classmates and of the faculty. As president of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, I received him into membership with very great pleasure as in every way worthy of this honor.

Boston University writes of one graduate as "a fine fellow." He is now doing postgraduate work at Yale, and the agent of the Capon Springs negro conference writes (November, 1900) "I continually hear him mentioned in a complimentary way. On the other hand, two negro boys were in the freshman class not long ago, and both were conspicuously poor scholars."

Otterbein University, Ohio, has a graduate who "was a most faithful and capable student."

The dean of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, writes (December, 1899) of its graduates:

The last two or three are hardly established in business yet, but the others are doing remarkably well. These men have been in each case fully equal to if not above the average of their class. We have been very much pleased with the work of the colored men who have come to us. They have been a credit to themselves and their race while here and to the college since graduation. I wish we had more such.

The president of Tabor College, Ohio, says of two colored graduates: "They are brainy fellows who have done very much good in the world."

One of the most prominent colored Methodist ministers in Philadelphia said to the president of Allegheny College, Pennsylvania, speaking of a colored graduate: "Any college may be proud to have graduated a man like him."

The University of Idaho graduated in 1898 a young colored woman of "exceptional ability."

Westminster College, Pennsylvania, has graduated two negroes. "Both were excellent students and ranked high in the estimation of all who knew them."

Of a graduate of Hamilton College, New York, the secretary says:

He was one of the finest young men we have ever had in our institution. He was an earnest and consistent Christian, and had great influence for good with his fellow-students. No one ever showed him the slightest discourtesy. On leaving college he spent three years in Auburn Theological Seminary; was licensed to preach by one of our Northern presbyteries, and then went to Virginia, near Norfolk, where he built a church and gave promise of great usefulness, when, about two years ago, he suddenly sickened and died. He had many friends in Clinton outside of the college. He prepared for college in the Clinton Grammar School. On leaving the school for college the wife of the principal of the school made to me the remark that it seemed as if the spirit of the Lord had departed from the school. I received him into the church and was his pastor for a number of years. Everybody was his friend. Members of the Presbyterian Church of Clinton contributed to the erection of his church in Virginia, and the Sunday school has educated his sister. His untimely death caused deep sorrow in this community, where he was greatly beloved. We felt that he was destined to become a power for good among his people in the South.

At the larger colleges the record of the negro students has, on the whole, been good. At Harvard several have held scholarships, and 1 a fellowship; there has been 1 Phi Beta Kappa man, 1 class orator, 2 commencement speakers, 3 masters of art, and 1 doctor of philosophy. In scholarship the 11 graduates have stood: 4 good, 3 fair, 2 ordinary, and 2 poor.

At Brown one of the most brilliant students of recent years was a negro; he was among the junior 8 elected to the Phi Beta Kappa.

At Amherst the record of colored men has been very good, both in scholarship and athletics. A colored man captained the Amherst foot-ball team one year and is now one of the chief Harvard foot-ball coaches.

At Yale and Cornell colored men have held scholarships and some have made good records.

But, say the objectors, if the negro possesses this great capacity of mind, why has he not given the world the benefit of it during the course of history? By their fruits ye shall know them. Mr. Thomas Nelson Page, in his otherwise delightful book on the Old South, asks with supercilious disdain: "What of value to the human race has the negro race produced? In art, in mechanical development, in literature, in mental and moral science, in all the range of mental action, no notable work has up to this time come from a negro."¹ Henry Ward Beecher's sneer against the negro race is a hackneyed recital, viz, that "If all the negroes in the world were sunk to the bottom of the ocean, the bubbles that would come to the top would be of as much benefit to civilization as the bodies that went down."

Mr. Thomas Nelson Page and Mr. Beecher make the mistake of confounding intellectual capacity with intellectual activity. Capacity is potential and not kinetic energy. Whatever native energy the mind may possess, it must receive reinforcement from the prevailing tone of society before it can show any large results. In arithmetic a figure has an inherent and a local value, the latter being by far its more powerful function in numerical calculations. So it is with intellectual achievements. The individual mind may count for much, but the tone of society counts for more. It is absolutely impossible for a Bacon to thrive among barbarians or a Herbert Spencer among Hottentots.

In confirmation of this view let us for a moment follow the career of the Greeks, who were undoubtedly the most intellectual people that ever lived.

Mr. Lecky tells us in his *History of European Morals*:

I regard it as one of the anomalies of history that within the narrow limits and scanty population of the Greek states should have arisen men who in almost

¹ The Old South, p. 314.

every conceivable form of genius, in philosophy, in ethics, in dramatic and lyric poetry, in written and spoken eloquence, in statesmanship, in sculpture, in painting, and probably also in music, should have attained almost or altogether the highest limits of human perfection.¹

Mr. Galton, in his *Hereditary Genius*, tells us:

We have no man to put beside Socrates and Phidias. The millions of all Europe breeding, as they have done, for the subsequent two thousand years have never produced their equals. It follows from all this that the average ability of the Athenian race is, on the lowest estimate, very nearly two grades higher than our own; that is, about as much as our race is above that of the African negro.²

These remarkable statements are supported by the highest possible authority, and yet this intellectual race, this race of Phidias and Plato, of Homer and Socrates, has continued for two thousand years in a state of complete intellectual stagnation. In the words of Macaulay, "Their people have degenerated into timid slaves and their language into a barbarous jargon."³

Can there be any stronger proof of the fact that intellectual activity depends upon the environing stimulus, political and social stability, and not upon capacity?

It is often said that no negro has written a book fit for a white man to read. In so far as this is true, it grows out of the fact that the negro has not had favorable intellectual environment. The Dumas, père and fils, have laid the world under a debt of literary gratitude, but they did not write as colored men. They were not hindered by the environments of that race.

Our own country has not escaped the odium of intellectual inferiority. The generation has scarcely passed away in whose ears used to ring the standing sneer: "Who reads an American book?" It was in the proud days of Thomas Jefferson that a learned European declared: "America has not yet produced one good poet, one able mathematician, one man of genius in a single art or science." In response to this charge, Jefferson offers an eloquent, special plea. He says:

When we shall have existed as a people as long as the Greeks did before they produced a Homer, the Romans a Virgil, the French a Racine, the English a Shakespeare and Milton, should this reproach be still true, we will inquire from what unfriendly cause it has proceeded.⁴

How analogous to this is the reproach which Mr. Page hurls against the negro race! Let the negro shield himself from the reproach of Page under the plea of Jefferson.

Quoting again from Dr. Matthews's contribution to the *North American Review*:

Hardly two centuries have passed since Russia was covered with a horde of barbarians, among whom it would have been as difficult to find any example of intellectual cultivation and refinement as at this day to find the same phenomenon at Timbuctoo or among the negroes of Georgia or Alabama.

But subsequent events have shown that the Russians are in no wise inferior to any other European race.

It is an evident fact that the thought, the culture, and progressive spirit of our country is confined chiefly to certain sections and localities. According to Henry Cabot Lodge's *Distribution of Ability in the United States*,⁵ Massachusetts has contributed more stars to the galaxy of America's intellectual greatness than all the South and West combined, leaving out the single State of Virginia. Would it be fair, therefore, to assert that an inhabitant of Georgia or Illinois is God-ordained to be intellectually inferior to a native of Massachusetts? The difference in age, wealth, culture, and refinement of the communities accounts for the disparity in the results. The negro claims the benefit of the same argument. He

¹History of European Morals, vol. 1, p. 418.

²Hereditary Genius, p. 331.

³Macaulay's Essays (Mitford's History of Greece).

⁴Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

⁵The Century, September, 1891.

has never, during the whole course of history, been surrounded by those influences which tend to strengthen and develop the mind. It takes long generations of culture and leisure to produce the best results in scholarship and learning. The negro may not be expected to equal James Russell Lowell in letters, or Bancroft in history, or John Fiske in philosophy until the community in which he lives, as well as the special society to which caste assigns him, has developed a corresponding intellectual tone.

The intellectual equality of the sexes has recently gained many advocates, and yet, in all the list of civilized years, the feminine sex has contributed to history scarcely a single name of the first degree of luster. The explanation is offered that their energies have been directed along other lines of endeavor, and that they have not been competing for intellectual distinction. It would be as unfair to upbraid them for not reaching intellectual heights after which they have not been striving as it would be to chide them for not shining on the field of military renown. The cause of woman and the contention of the negro have many interesting parallels, but none more striking than the common argument which they advance to account for the lack of superior intellectual manifestations.

Leaving the speculative question in abeyance, it can certainly be said that history fails to reveal any people who, under such adverse circumstances of heredity and environment, have ever equaled the negro in the exuberance of intellectual qualities.

II. THE NEED OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION.

Culture, like virtue, is its own reward. It needs no vicarious excuse. The possession of a faculty justifies the development of it. The negro needs the higher education because, as was shown in the first section, he is susceptible of the culture which it affords. Civilization is due to the evolutionary process and grows by slow and imperceptible stages. Each generation does not begin its acquisitions *denovo*, but starts with the inheritance of all that has gone before. It must, however, take some time to digest and assimilate its inheritance. Suppose each generation had to rediscover for itself the propositions of Euclid, the state of mathematical learning would always remain in its infancy. This principle is equally true of a race which has recently entered the arena. The eleventh-hour adventurer enters into equal enjoyment with those who have borne the heat and burden of the day. No greater mistake can be made than to suppose that the colored race must pass through every variety of physical and mental vicissitude which the Caucasian race has undergone before it can attain like renown. This erroneous supposition lies at the basis of much of the opposition to the higher education of colored youth. Civilization was not an original process with any race known to history. The torch is handed down from age to age and gains in brilliancy as it goes. A race can not lift itself independently into civilization any more than a man can sustain himself by pulling against the straps of his own boots. The negro, as much as any, can boast, in the lines of Tennyson, "I, the heir of all the ages, in the foremost ranks of time."¹ Other men have labored, and he has entered into their labors. In order for the negro to assimilate the civilization into which he has been suddenly thrust, he must contemplate its highest models and latest forms.

It is said that the negro is a great imitator. This is a compliment rather than a reproach, provided only that he imitates the purest, the loftiest, and the best. The wearisome repetition of the slow steps and stages by which present heights have been attained is impossible and absurd. It will be readily agreed that language is the surest measure and gauge of a civilization. Wherever the language of a people prevails, their customs, laws, and institutions are sure to follow. Would anyone argue, therefore, that because the negro is a new creature in modern civilization

¹ Locksley Hall.

he must follow the course of historical development in the employment and use of English speech? That he must dwell for generations upon Anglo-Saxon forms and Chaucerian diction before he is prepared for the language of Gladstone and Lowell? Such questions need no answer. Whites and blacks have the same linguistic needs. They study the same forms of language and strive alike for excellence in syntax and diction, in spoken and written style. What has been said of language applies with equal force to all the complex elements of modern life. The higher education is the gateway to the best that civilization has to offer.

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 and truths 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, and education must span the gap. 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 mode of transportation—in the primitive dugout 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, struggle, and 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 through all the stages traversed by the race in its struggle upward. 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, in a shorter time.

In a settled state of society education is conservative rather than progressive in its main feature. Its chief function is to enable the individual to live the life already attained by the race. The initiative of progress is reserved for the few choice spirits of the human race. The bulk of any people can only live up to the level of their social medium, and can be uplifted only by social impulses imparted by some powerful personality. It is a wise provision of nature that large bodies move slowly, otherwise they would acquire dangerous momentum. The progress of the race must be provokingly slow as compared with that of the individual. Education prepares for a statical rather than a dynamical condition of society. And yet, notwithstanding these stern truths, every educated negro must be a reformer, a positive, aggressive influence, in uplifting the masses, and that, too, in spite of the fact that he belongs to a backward breed that has never taken the initiative in the progressive movements of the world. He must therefore be aroused to a consciousness of personal power, the energy of the will, the individual initiative, that subtle, indefinable quality which has always exerted a control-

ling influence upon human affairs, in spite of the theories of doctrinaires and the formulas of philosophy.

The first great 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 through 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 the new cult 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 at 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 the 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 graduates of the higher schools of learning and other institutions 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 can not 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 world 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 into 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 a centrifugal and not a centripetal process. It can not be injected hypodermically. Healthy growth can not be secured by feeding a child when he is not hungry or by forcing upon him a diet which he can neither digest nor assimilate.

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 a 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 more abiding impression on 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 business like and formal. It thus becomes all the more imperative that the race should gain for itself the primary principles of knowledge and culture. Civilization can not be imparted by attrition, but is the unfolding of the seed whose potency is in itself.

It becomes all the more needful for the negro to pursue the higher lines of education, because this is the principal avenue of refining influence now open to him. There is no long line of ancestors to inspire to noble thoughts or deeds. The

present basis of society does not admit the negro to close social and personal touch with the best forms of culture and refinement. Just as it is more needful for the crude rustic lad to study English syntax than it is for the son of a refined family who gains facility of speech by familiarity and use, so it becomes all the more necessary for the colored youth of crude antecedents and environments to gain culture and refinement through the medium of the school.

That servile and domestic contact has greatly benefited the race, at least so far as outward conformity and the graces of life are concerned, can not be doubted. This kind of contact served its purpose in its day, but its spirit is repugnant to the instincts of manhood. Slavish conformity growing out of favor or fear is not the kind of development that makes men. The helping hand that is most helpful must not be inclined downward, but stretched out on the horizontal. The alarm is sounded that as the negro is being freed from the restraining influence of the master class he is, in some localities at least, relapsing into barbarism. The fact is, slavery has never lifted them much above that deplorable state. The boasted benefits of slavery are superficial, not real. It reminds one of induced electricity, that lasts only so long as the inducing influence is present. Slavery can not elevate a people. The real uplifting influence has been the schoolhouse and the college. These are to become more and more effective as the other influences are removed.

Another great need of the race, which the schools must in a large measure supply, is self-reliant manhood. Slavery made the negro as dependent 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. They say that the possession of personal property is the greatest stimulus to self-respect. When a man 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 spake 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."¹

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 will assimilate and apply its principles. England can utilize no secret process of 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 preempt civilization any more than it can monopolize the atmosphere which surrounds the earth or the waters which hold it in their liquid embrace.

In passing through the streets you may notice a young man accommodate his companion with a light from his cigar. After the spark has once been communicated the beneficiary stands upon an equal footing with the benefactor. In both cases the fire must be continued by drawing fresh supplies of oxygen from the atmosphere.

¹ Essay on the Education of Children.

From whatever source a nation may derive the light of civilization, it must be perpetuated by the exercise of its own faculties. All of the visible forms of civilization have been dug out of the ground. We boast of our towns and cities, of our steamships and railways, and of the mighty works of art and invention, but the voice of time is ever whispering, "Dust thou art, to dust returnest." But after all these shall have crumbled into dust, the ingenuity of man will be able to produce mightier works than those that perished. Mind and matter are the irreducible elements. Mind is the common heritage of man, and matter is indestructible.

The negro race has not yet directed its energy to the solution of primary problems. It has been content to receive the crumbs that fall from the white man's table.

Several years ago I received from my florist a fine rosebush that had been grafted upon a Manetti stem, with instructions that the Manetti must be buried out of sight and that its shoots must be pinched back as fast as they appeared above the ground. The strength which its hardy roots derived from the soil was to be diverted from the natural course of developing the plant itself and infused into the more lordly rose, thus insuring greater vigor of growth and brilliancy of bloom. I was forcibly reminded of the analogous situation of the negro in the industrial world. While the race has, in a sense, been dealing with industrial first principles, it has, nevertheless, served only a vicarious purpose. The negro has been suppressed below the social surface, and wherever an individual emergence appeared it was forthwith pressed back to the common level. The substance which his sinews derived from the soil went to enrich, adorn, and glorify another race. But now, under the guidance of intelligence, the substance of his toil must be utilized to promote his own growth and expansion. "Each plant must grow from its own roots" is the botanical equivalent of the old mechanical adage, "Every tub must rest on its own bottom."

The negro race hitherto has been as the vine, which must cling to the tree or trail in the dust; but now it must imitate the oak, which gains independence of foothold and dignity among its rivals of the forest by sending its roots into the soil and expanding its foliage upon the happy air. It is knowledge that must rouse the negro to self-conscious activity.

Whatever system of education is good for Anglo-American youth is good also for Afro-American youth, who have to confront the same issues, and that, too, under much severer conditions. White youth, fortified and reenforced as they are by every advantage of opportunity and environment, find it necessary to pursue the higher education in order to equip themselves for the duties of life which lie before them. Should colored youth be less well prepared? Are their tasks any less difficult? Do the problems that await them call for an inferior order of ability or tact? The arbiter of success is a cruel master, reaping where he has not sown, gathering where he has not strewn, demanding fruit in abundance where he has not planted the seed of advantage. The stream of modern competition is a tempestuous current. The contestant must either swim on the surface or sink out of sight. The world in its cruel demands will accept no excuse. It makes little or no allowance for a man because his ancestors lived under a vertical sun. If you can not do the world's work, it will say to you, if it is in the humor to stop long enough: "'Tis true 'tis pity; and pity 'tis 'tis true," and pass on to some one who can. Men demand the best services available for their needs. No one is willing to trust his life in sickness, his cause in litigation, nor yet his moral and spiritual needs to half-trained or incompetent hands. That the higher education increases the efficiency of service goes without saying. If it is believed that the negro race is doomed to everlasting servility, and that its ordained mission is to hew wood and carry water, then discouragement of higher education is consistent. If all the ennobling vocations are to be filled by white men only and menial stations

assigned to the negro, then his higher culture is a delusion and a snare. But if the negro has wrapped up in him all the possibilities of humanity, he should prepare himself for the larger responsibilities.

Again, the class of men who justify human degradation has not yet passed away. Great learning and scholarship have always been employed against the negro. Men of great ingenuity and mental cleverness have always been arrayed against human rights. History, anthropology, ethnology, and the whole range of the inexact sciences, from which men derive the doctrines they are looking for, have been ransacked for testimony against the African. Our magazines frequently startle us with some amazing article, from authority of high repute, tending to degrade and belittle the race. Scholarship must be combated with scholarship. The situation calls for negroes who shall be able to accept the challenge on any plane and to meet and match the adversary in deep research, in logical acumen, in persuasive rhetoric, or disquisitional skill.

The work of educated colored men is largely that of leadership. They require, therefore, all the discipline, judgment, and mental balance that long preparation can afford. The more ignorant and backward the masses, the more skilled and efficient should the leaders be. It is easier to lead a trained army than a mob of raw recruits, ignorant of the discipline and tactics of war. It requires less wisdom to direct those who need no guidance than to control those who do not know their intellectual right hand from the left. It must be remembered, too, that the matters in which the negroes are to be directed are of the highest importance. It requires high qualification to deal wisely with finance, economics, and the general matters of government and state. But does it not require superior wisdom to deal wisely with human hopes and destiny? No man or set of men can be too learned or too profound into whose hands are committed the temporal and eternal welfare of a people.

Leaders will arise whether qualified or not. If the blind lead the blind all will land in the ditch. Who does not know of the harm which such leaders have inflicted by their rash judgment and ill-advised counsel? It is not contended that a college education makes a man a leader or that a lack of liberal culture disqualifies him for useful service. America has produced scores of men of the highest renown who were not the product of the schools. There are negroes, not a few, who are doing valiant service for the race by means of their virile common sense and untutored energy. Far be it from me to detract one iota from their usefulness or dim the luster of their renown. But when all that has been claimed is conceded the balance of advantages will be found on the side of culture. The whole trend of liberal learning is toward noble manhood and exalted service. The situation is too serious, the crisis too critical, to neglect any means whereby help might come.

In selecting the choice youth of a backward race and giving them a liberal education as the best means of preparing them to uplift their own people, we are only following ancient precedent. The Hebrews labored under disadvantages remarkably similar to those of the American negro. God's idea of a leader was a man identified in blood and sympathy with the downtrodden races, who should be learned in all the wisdom of his day and generation. He must be able to cope with the wisdom of Pharaoh's court. It seems that in ancient as in modern times learning frequently arrayed itself on the side of arrogance and oppression. Moses, in order to succeed in his mission, must match the wisdom of Egypt in logical argument, in persuasive speech, and in the manifestation of magical power. If the wise men of the Nile could perform wonders, he must do mightier works than these. His serpent must swallow up the rest. The culture of Moses, however, was of the greatest service to him in leading the undisciplined hosts through the wilderness and in laying the foundation of their national and permanent greatness. Can we not learn lessons from history? Although under the

present circumstances a single commanding leader is almost or altogether impossible, nevertheless the same principle holds now as then. There is no doubt that there were to be found both Egyptians and Hebrews who decried giving a Hebrew youth an Egyptian education, on the ground that it unfitted him for his place and made him think that he was as good as Egyptians.

It was the common practice of Rome to select the most promising youth of the provinces and give them a complete education in order that they might disseminate an uplifting influence among their own people. To-day the Japanese send their choicest youth to the universities of Europe and America as the best means of transplanting Western civilization to oriental soil. It is the highest ambition of missionaries in all parts of the world to send the best specimens of the native youth to the home country to take on the higher education and bring back the good influence to their own race. It will be noticed that in all these cases it is the higher education that is sought for—the highest that the recipient will take. The select negro youth of this country have as much need to absorb the higher culture and disseminate the beneficial influence throughout the race. This race needs teachers, preachers, physicians, and lawyers, aggregating more than 50,000, all of whom will be the better prepared for their functions by the higher education, or at least by a flavor of its influence. The higher education tends to develop superior individuals who may be expected to exercise a controlling influence over the multitude. The individual 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 perished probably because of their failure to produce commanding leaders to guide them wisely under the stress and strain which an encroaching civilization imposed. A single Indian with the capacity and spirit of Booker T. Washington might have solved the red man's problem and averted his impending doom.

The contention among scholars as to what place the classical or dead languages should occupy in a system of education is of much general interest. The friends of liberal learning need to stand firm against all short cuts to culture and the mad rushes after practical results. It is the part of wisdom for the educators of colored youth to adhere to the orthodox standards of culture approved by long centuries of trial and usage. The safest road to culture runs through Greece and Rome. "From thence," says Macaulay, "have sprung directly or indirectly all the noblest creations of the human intellect." It is especially necessary for colored youth to acquire acquaintance with classical institutions and life. The negro borrows his civilization from those who borrowed in their turn. A recent writer argues:¹

It is quite important that the higher education of the negro should include Latin and Greek. The Anglo-Saxon civilization in which he lives is a derivative one, receiving one of its factors from Rome and the other from Athens. The white youth is obliged to study the classic languages in order to become conscious of these two derivative elements in his life, and it is equally important for the colored youth. A liberal education by classic study gives the youth some acquaintance with his spiritual embryology.

The belief that a sound scholastic education will enable the negro to discriminate between the real things of life and the superficial appearances is clearly set forth in the following citation:

They say that egotism and self-conceit are characteristic of the African race, and especially the Afro-American of academic training. You will have to deal with a population that places a premium upon bombastic display and a discount upon unpretentious merit. You should devote your powers to the masses to uplift them and not to exploit them for your vainglory and unrighteous self-aggrandizement. It is said that a native African struts proudly when decorated with flaming European neckwear of the latest Parisian pattern, though he wear

¹ W. T. Harris in *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1892.

not a single other article of dress. Men cross the seas, and even go to college, without changing their natures. Witness those Afro-Americans who decorate themselves with the highest-sounding literary and scholarly degrees, making heavy demands upon the alphabet to express them, without a single other item of intellectual adornment to support this gaudy display. Reprobate all such childish infirmity. It will only make you ridiculous in the eyes of sensible men. Be natural. Be simple. "Be whatever you may, but yourself first." Do not impose cheap and shoddy standards upon the masses, but teach them to appreciate the noblest and the best. Grasp the real things of life rather than the superficial and showy. It is perfectly natural for a people who are rapidly acquiring civilization, and in whom the faculty of imitation is strong, to be captivated by the superficial aspect of things, to grasp after the frith and froth rather than the life-giving liquid upon which it floats. If a wild man from Borneo should plunge into the gayeties of the European capitals, should become initiated into the latest style of dress and forms of fashionable display, he might vainly flatter himself that he had leveled the immense lift between savagery and civilization, totally oblivious of the fact that he is separated from that life whose forms he slavishly imitates by ten centuries of solid development. It is true that other men have labored and you have entered into their labors, but you must prove your right to this inheritance by striving to comprehend its inner spirit and meaning, and to unravel its secret and method. I have said that your education has brought you in touch with the fundamental things of life. Return ever and anon to these first principles as your standards and data of reference. In Greek mythology we learn that Antæus, the giant, in wrestling with Hercules, received new vigor whenever he touched his mother earth; but Hercules, discovering the secret of his strength, lifted him into the air and squeezed him to death in his herculean grasp. I advise you to make sure of the firmness and fixture of your foothold in the basis of solid things for fear that you be lifted into the delusive realm of unreal allurements and be intoxicated by the frivolous demigod of this unsubstantial region.¹

In the same discourse it is also shown that a knowledge of the laws of growth of human institutions will give the negro a larger patience with the temporary ills of his lot.

Do not waste time complaining against the existing order of society. Enter a manly protest against all forms of wrongs and injustice, but do not pass your days in wailful lachrymations against the regulations of a civilization whose grandeur you have done nothing to make and whose severities you are doing nothing to mollify. Leave that to the ignorant demagogue. Bring your knowledge of history and of human nature to bear upon the situation. I have already pointed out to you that the adjustment of man's relation to man constitutes one of the primary problems of life. Where this adjustment is complicated by diverse physical peculiarities and by different inherited or acquired characteristics the problem becomes one of the greatest intricacy that has ever taxed human wisdom and patience for solution. Race prejudice is as much a fact as the law of gravitation, and it would be as suicidal to ignore the operation of the one as that of the other. Mournful complaint is as impotent as an infant crying against the fury of the wild wind. History has taught you that the path of moral progress has never taken a straight line, but has ever been a zigzag course amid the conflicting forces of right and wrong, truth and error, justice and injustice, cruelty and mercy. Do not be discouraged, then, that all the wrongs of the universe are not righted at your bidding. The great humanitarian movement which has been sweeping over the civilized world from the middle of the eighteenth century to the present time, manifesting itself in political revolutions, in social and moral reforms, and in works of love and mercy, affords the amplest assurance that all worthy elements of the population will ultimately be admitted to share in the privileges and blessings of civilization according to the measure of their merit.²

One of the chief functions of higher education for the negro is to stimulate his industrial energies.

Many able and earnest advocates of the negro's cause seem to have lost the power of binocular vision and have become one-eyed enthusiasts over a narrow feature. The two forms of education are not antagonistic, but supplemental; the one applies to the few, the other to the many; the one supplies the motive, the other the method. The negro needs, first of all, lofty idea's. The surest way to

¹ Address to graduating class, Howard University, June, 1898, by Kelly Miller, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

induce a people to provide for the material needs of life is to teach them that "life is more than meat." In order that the negro may feel a zest for work and enter into the joy of service he must have prospect and vista.

The day laborer pursues the mechanical rounds of his stupid toil, conscious only of the fact that "time and hour run through the whole day." Under a more enlightened view he would be inspired and sustained by the anticipated enjoyment of the fruits of toil. The negro lacks enlightened imagination. While slavery inculcated the regular habit of labor, it held out no incentive beyond the master's crib. The negro does not make provision because he lacks prevision. The prayer "Give us this day our daily bread" to him has a material and literal significance. The industrial incapacity of the negro is due largely to the fact that he has been confined to the low grounds of drudgery and toil without being permitted to so much as cast his eyes unto the hill of aspiration and promise. "The man with the hoe" is of all men most miserable, unless, forsooth, he has also a hope; but if he be imbued with the spirit of hope and promise he can wield the hoe with as much zest and satisfaction as any other instrument of service.

It is true that a people must be rooted and grounded in the concrete principles of things. When a seed is sown in the ground it first sends its roots into the soil, but only that it may rise out of it, so as to bring forth foliage and flower and fruit in the air above. The incentive to noble endeavor comes from a rational conception of the true end of existence. We can not reach the sky on a pedestal of brick and mortar, and all attempt to do so must end in bewilderment and confusion, as it did on the plains of Shinar in days of old. Even the builders of the tower of Babel derived their inspiration from above. They were inspired by the conceit that they were descended from the skies, and sought by mechanical contrivance only to regain the blissful seat. The negro needs a wider and a larger range of vision. He can not see beyond the momentary gratification of his desires. He does not look before and after. The most effective prayer that can be uttered for him is, Lord, open Thou his eyes. Such influences can be brought to him by means of the higher culture only.

Prof. Booker T. Washington is the greatest man which the race, under freedom, has produced. But his success is due wholly to his intellectual and moral faculties—his enlightened mind, consecrated zeal, and persuasive ability. The mastery of a hundred handicrafts would add nothing to his usefulness or power. Those leaders who have been most effective in guiding, directing, and controlling the life, in stimulating the lethargic energies, and in quickening the zeal of the masses, have derived their inspiration, either directly or indirectly, from contact with higher culture. This is true of Douglass, the orator; of Washington, the educator, and of Dunbar, the poet. The architect must plan before the artisan can execute. The idea comes from above and descends until it strikes the basis of popular needs, and then rebounds, bringing the concrete fulfillment up toward the level of the ideal from which it sprang.

III. OBJECTIONS TO THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO ANSWERED.

Of late it has been all but the universal fashion to discourage and discredit the higher education of the negro. So widespread has this spirit become that it is doubtful whether the proposition to afford facilities for the higher education of this class would receive substantial support were it now made for the first time. Indeed, many who were most enthusiastic in making the experiment have become hostile or indifferent in the light of experience.

In the first place, we are told that the cost is out of proportion to the result; that the higher education has been fostered at the expense of primary and industrial instruction, which are more essential in the present state of need. The late Charles D. Warner, who had been a lifelong friend and advocate of the negro's

cause, espoused this view in his last striking public utterance. In his notable address delivered before the American Social Science Association, in 1900, he said:

But the effort at education went further than the common school and the primary essential instruction. It introduced the higher education. Colleges—usually called universities—for negroes were established in many Southern States, created and stimulated by the generosity of Northern men and societies and often aided by the liberality of the States where they existed. The curriculum in these was that in colleges generally—the classics, the higher mathematics, science, philosophy, the modern languages, and in some instances a certain technical instruction, which was being tried in some Northern colleges. The emphasis, however, was laid on liberal culture. This higher education was offered to the mass that still lacked the rudiments of intellectual training, in the belief that education—the education of the moment, the education of superimposed information—can realize the theory of universal equality.

This experiment has now been in operation long enough to enable us to judge something of its results and its promises for the future. These results are of a nature to lead us seriously to inquire whether our effort was founded upon an adequate knowledge of the negro, of his present development, of the requirements for his personal welfare and evolution in the scale of civilization, and for his training in useful and honorable citizenship. I am speaking of the majority, the mass to be considered in any general scheme, and not of the exceptional individuals—exceptions that will rapidly increase as the mass is lifted—who are capable of taking advantage to the utmost of all means of cultivation, and who must always be provided with all the opportunities needed.

Millions of dollars have been invested in the higher education of the negro, while this primary education has been, taking the whole mass, wholly inadequate to his needs. This has been upon the supposition that the higher would compel the rise of the lower with the undeveloped negro race as it does with the more highly developed white race. An examination of the soundness of this expectation will not lead us far astray from our subject.¹

This is not saying that the higher education is responsible for the present condition of the negro. Other influences have retarded his elevation and the development of proper character, and most important means have been neglected. I only say that we have been disappointed in our extravagant expectations of what this education could do for a race undeveloped and so wanting in certain elements of character, and that the millions of money devoted to it might have been much better applied.²

Dr. G. A. Alderman, president of Tulane University, New Orleans, has quite recently claimed that the money contributed to negro education by Northern philanthropy has been, for the most part, literally wasted.³

These views have been assigned to these distinguished persons rather for the sake of definite location than for the weight of personal authority, for they represent stock assertions which have gained much headway by persistent asseveration. And yet, when we look the facts squarely in the face, the charge that the money spent on the higher education of the colored race has been wasted or even misapplied is indeed a remarkable one.

Does this charge come from the South? When we consider that it was through Northern philanthropy that a third of its population received its first impulse to 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 lifting the general life to a higher level and lightening the public burden; that these persons are almost without exception earnest advocates of harmony, peace, 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.

¹ Education of the Negro, by Charles Dudley Warner, pp. 4-5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³ Independent, September 5, 1901.

Does this charge come from the North? It might not be impertinent to propound a few propositions for consideration.

Is it possible to specify a like sum of money spent upon any other backward race which has produced greater results than the amount 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 excite them to breathe out slaughter against the strangers 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 Christian activity, the contributions of philanthropy have been more profitably spent.

Those who disparage the higher education because it has not banished ignorance and poverty and obliterated vicious tendencies are too impatient. If it takes twenty-five years to educate a white boy, it must require an incalculably longer period to educate a black race. It is true that \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000 have been already contributed by philanthropy for the education of the negro. This is about equal to the biennial expenditure of the city of New York for educational purposes. And yet, if we are to believe the reports of the low state of municipal morality and the rumors of corruption and wrongdoing, we see that education has by no means done its perfect work in our national metropolis. Then why should we rave at the heart and froth at the mouth because a sum of money scarcely equal to the biennial educational cost of a single American city, when scattered over a territory of a million square miles and distributed through a period of thirty years has not completely civilized an undeveloped race of some ten million souls?

The American people must yet learn to apply the simple principles of political economy to the race problem. A dollar contributed by philanthropy is not necessarily any more efficacious than one appropriated out of the public treasury. Money devoted to the education of the black race need not be expected to yield any greater return, either of knowledge, virtue, or practical capacity, than a like sum devoted to the white race. Although the Southern States have contributed to the full amount of their ability, it is still true that the combined contributions of Northern philanthropy and Southern statesmanship have been woefully inadequate to the task imposed. Fifty millions of dollars is indeed a princely sum, but on examination 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? We should be patient with the slow evolution of social forces. The human race makes very slow progress toward the goal of righteousness. After the lapse of nineteen centuries of Christian endeavor the curse of sin is still in the world. It is no marvel, then, that the negro has not put on the perfect dress of civilization and righteousness because exhorted to do so in proverb and psalm.

Wisdom is justified by her children. As an illustration of the value of the higher education to the negro race, I point to Howard University, which is the largest and best equipped institution of its class. The establishment and maintenance of this institution during the past thirty-four years has cost between \$2,000,000 and \$3,000,000. As the returns on this investment, it has sent into the world, in round numbers, 200 ministers of the gospel, 700 physicians, pharmacists and dentists, 300 lawyers, and 600 persons with general collegiate and academic training, together with thousands of sometime pupils who have shared the partial benefits of its courses. These graduates and sometime pupils are to be found in every district and county where the negro population resides, and are filling places of usefulness, honor, and distinction, as well as performing works of mercy and sacrificial service for social betterment. Not a half dozen of the entire number have a criminal record. They serve as an inspiration and a stimulus,

quicken the dormant energies of the people and urging them to loftier ideals and nobler modes of life. It devolves upon the complainant to present some plan by which a like sum of money, in a like space of time, can be expended so as to produce a more wholesome or more widespread effect upon the general social uplift.

Another potent objection against the higher education is that it has not checked the evil disposition and vicious tendencies of the race. Prof. John Roach Straton, in the *North American Review*, sets forth this view with much erudition and argumentative skill.¹ As this phase of the question has never had a more learned or effective advocate, it seems well to consider at length the arguments which Professor Straton advances.

In the first place, he contrasts the present criminal status of the race with its moral behavior under the régime of slavery.

Several weighty considerations must have escaped the author while he had this topic under discussion.

Slavery did not improve the moral nature of the negro, but merely compelled outward conformity by physical force. If convicts in prison are well behaved, it is from physical necessity and not from moral choice. Herein lay the chief evil of slavery. It suppressed overt manifestations of wrongdoing, but did not implant the corrective principle. When the physical restraint was removed there was no corresponding moral restraint to take its place. It was inevitable that when let loose this pent-up momentum would expend itself in wild license and excessive indulgence. It is manifestly unfair to compare the behavior of the race under freedom of action and liberty of choice to its conduct when under the control of an alien will.

The parallel increase of crime and intelligence is not peculiar to the negro, but is a common phenomenon of the country at large. "After the war the education of the negro began and rapidly advanced, but side by side with it has gone his increase in crime and immorality in even greater ratio."² If the author had left out the word "began" and substituted "the American people" for "the negro" in this recital, he would have told the whole truth and not merely a disjointed fragment, to the disadvantage of a discredited class.

The negro constitutes the lower stratum of society, where the bulk of crime is always committed. His social degradation is the greatest factor contributive to his high criminal record. If corresponding social classes among the whites could be segregated for the sake of comparison, equally damaging conclusions would doubtless be revealed. The foreign element of our cosmopolitan population shows a much higher criminal average than the native whites, because they represent a lower social stratum, and they have not yet become adjusted to their new environment. Both of these arguments, with intensified force, apply to the case of the negro. The polished granite may look with contempt upon the rough and uncut stone buried beneath the mud and mire, but its lordly eminence is due to the unseemly foundation which it affects to disdain. The amplest proof that the criminal record of the negro race, alarming though it be, is not due to inherent trait is furnished by the fact that the presence of a large number of negroes in any community does not increase its total criminal average. While it is true that 12 per cent of the population commit 30 per cent of the crime, does anyone believe that if this 12 per cent were supplanted by a corresponding class of the white race the criminal quality of the whole population would be improved? According to the Eleventh Census the North Atlantic Division of States, in which the negro element constitutes only a slight sprinkling, had 833 prisoners to every million inhabitants; the South Atlantic Division, where the race is densest, had only 331,

¹ *North American Review*, June, 1900. See also Booker T. Washington's reply to Professor Straton, *North American Review*, August, 1900.

² Professor Straton in *North American Review*, June, 1900.

while the Western section, where the negro is a negligible quantity, had 1,300. The same condition of things is revealed if we limit our study to States and municipalities. In 1890 New York had 1,369 prisoners to the million, California 1,703, Alabama 720. According to the police reports of 1896 the percentage of arrests in Boston was 9.37, whereas in Washington, D. C., one-third of whose population is colored, it was only a slight fraction above 8.¹ If it were asked why, according to the revelation of statistics, the white people of the North Atlantic States were not so well behaved as the mixed population of the South Atlantic Division, or why New York and California have a higher criminal record than Alabama and South Carolina, or why Boston has a greater percentage of arrests than Washington, it would be manifestly unkind to attribute the lower ethical average of the higher tier of States to race degeneracy or to superior education.

Professor Straton urges as unassailable proof of his position the fact that the Northern negro is two or three times as criminal as his more unfortunate brother in the South. He fails, however, to make suitable allowance for the restlessness and recklessness due to unsettled conditions. The Northern negro population is recruited very largely by emigration from the South, many of whom leave their homes for reasons best known to the police. He is apt to mistake liberty for license, and to make the largest possible use of his new-found privilege of apparent social equality, which culminates in the dens of vice and crime. The employment of the Northern negro is unsteady and intermittent, affording a wide latitude of idleness, thus giving the evil one his coveted opportunity for mischief. Again, the Northern negro meets with a wider hostile area than his Southern brother, and is more apt to resent insult from the white race. The prejudice in the North is as narrowing and as harrowing as it is in the South, albeit it may reveal itself under a different mode of manifestation. The disparity between profession and performance in the North is as great a provocative as the repressive treatment of the South.

It is useless to attempt to gainsay the alarming criminality of the negro, so far as this can be tested by statistics. The facts presented by Professor Straton are not disputed, only he fails to credit them to the proper account. It is environment, not race; condition, not color; and education, instead of being a contributing factor, as the author avers, is a partial though not a complete deterrent.

Our philanthropists have expected too much from education, especially when it is applied to the negro. 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. Tracing the letters of the alphabet with a pen 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 fascinate the learner with the Sermon on the Mount. Rules in grammar, dates in history, sums in arithmetic, and points in geography do not necessarily strengthen the grasp upon moral truth. These things constitute the mere mechanics of knowledge. It is only when the pupil begins to feel its vitalizing power that it begins to react upon the life and to fructify in character. While the criminal tendency of the race, so far as it can be tested by the statistician, shows an alarming tendency to increase, it is notable that the products of those schools with prolonged courses of study and continuous discipline have met every expectation from the standpoint of conduct and demeanor. We do not hear one word of criticism as to the behavior of the graduates of Howard, Fisk, Atlanta, Hampton, Shaw, Wayland, and other institutions of rank.

It is sometimes said that the higher education of the negro will carry him beyond his race and make him dissatisfied with his lot. Discontent is a necessary condition of progress. What American is there who is not trying to improve his lot?

¹ See police reports for Boston and Washington, 1896.

Then, why should the negro be satisfied with his, which is the most miserable of all?

If nature intends one for a fool no amount of education can alter the design. Intellectual sham, vainglorious display, and pompous pretense are, unfortunately, unavoidable. This is the fault of too little rather than too much education. The familiar lines of Pope are pertinent:

A little learning is a dangerous thing;
 Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring;
 There shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
 And drinking largely sobers us again.

There is no danger that education will lift the recipient above the needs of humanity. The missionary work among crude and primitive peoples calls for men of the best minds as well as the highest consecration. Jonathan Edwards, who, perhaps, possessed the most philosophical mind that America has yet produced, spent the last years of his life as preacher among the savage Indians. The schooling which leads away from sympathy with the race is a perversion which experience shows to be quite unusual. Prejudice, relentless and cruel as it is at points, is nevertheless not, perhaps, an unmixed evil. It keeps within the race serviceable elements which otherwise would be lost to it. All such volatile elements are thrown back upon the race by the repellant power of prejudice. The attempt to escape is as suicidal as the conduct of the caged eagle which beats its wings to insensibility against the iron bars of its prison house. Give the negro the higher education and his sense of duty and love of humanity will make it effective for the good of his race; or, this failing, a meaner motive necessitated by prejudice will make it available also.

It is assumed that the negroes are leaving the farm and the shop and are rushing in disproportionate numbers to the college and the university. This race is affected with great material and intellectual poverty. After abstracting all who are able to think there will be left sufficient to toil.

The following table taken from the Reports of the Bureau of Education ought to forever silence this assertion:

Number of pupils in secondary and higher institutions in the United States.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Year.	Population.	Number of secondary and higher students.	Same per million of population.	Number of pupils in secondary and elementary public schools.	Percentage of column 3 on column 5.
1879-80.....	50,155,783	218,809	4,362	9,867,505	2.22
1889-90.....	62,622,250	437,308	6,982	12,721,581	3.44
1897-98.....	172,800,000	752,776	10,342	15,638,636	5.01

THE COLORED RACE.

1879-80.....	6,106,695	7,874	1,289	2,784,709	1.00
1889-90.....	6,954,840	14,338	2,061	1,296,959	1.11
1897-98.....	17,923,000	17,446	32,202	1,506,742	1.16

¹ Estimated.

² Former slave States.

³ 2,517 in 1899-1900.

Mr. A. F. Hilyer, in commenting upon these figures, says:

This table shows that the proportionate number of secondary and higher students to the whole number of children attending school in the United States as a whole had increased from 2.22 per cent in 1879 to 5.01 per cent in 1897, nearly two and one-half times, while the proportion of colored in secondary schools and colleges

had increased very little, indeed, from 1 per cent to only 1.16 per cent, and that now, at the height of all this outcry against any further aid, public or private, for the higher education of colored youth, there is only one-fifth as many colored students in secondary and higher institutions as the average for the United States as a whole. But the story is not yet half told. According to the Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1897-98, volume 2, page 2097, the total number of students taking the higher education in the United States as a whole was 144,477, being 1,980 to each million of the total population. The same Report, page 2480, gives the total number of students pursuing collegiate courses in these much-discussed colleges as 2,492. This is only 310 to the million of colored population; whereas the whole of the United States, as shown above, had 1,980 to the million, nearly six and one-half times as many in proportion to population.

This does not look as though the whole of the colored race is rapidly stampeding to the higher education, or that the labor supply in the Southern States is falling off from this cause. This is an age of higher education for the masses. The increase in the number of students taking the secondary and higher education in the United States during the last ten years has been phenomenal—unprecedented. Is the person of color so much superior to the white that he does not need so much educational training? I think not. In view of the history and present condition of this race the obvious necessity for a large number of educated and trained teachers, ministers, physicians, lawyers, and pharmacists; and in view of the statistical fact that this race has only one-fifth of its quota pursuing studies above the elementary grades, what fair mind will not say there is great need of more of the secondary and higher education for the colored youth instead of less of it?

According to the Report above cited, there are 161 academies and colleges for colored youth in the United States. The total number enrolled was 42,328, of whom 2,492¹ were reported in collegiate grades, 13,669 in secondary grades, and 26,167 in elementary grades. Even in these colored colleges less than 6 per cent of their students are pursuing collegiate courses, and perhaps not more than 2 per cent are pursuing a college course equal to that offered at Howard. Nearly two-thirds of the total enrollment in these colored colleges are receiving elementary instruction in "readin', ritin', and rithmetic." Classified by courses of study, 1,711—217 in a million—were taking the classical course; 1,200—150 in a million—the scientific; 4,440—555 to the million—the normal course, preparing for teaching; 1,285—160 in a million—professional courses; 9,724 English, and 244 the business course. In each of these courses the colored race has only about one-fifth or one-sixth of its quota. Is there anything in these figures to alarm the nation?

About one-third of the total number of students in these 161 colored schools and colleges are taking industrial training.² There is surely no need of further proof or assertion on this score.

Again, we hear that higher education for the negro does not solve the race problem. It was a shallow philosophy that predicted this result in the first place. The race problem divides itself into two leading divisions: First, the development of a backward race, and, second, the adjustment of two races with widely divergent ethnic characteristics.

These two factors are in many respects antagonistic to each other. The more backward and undeveloped the negro, the easier is the process of adjustment to the white lord and master, but when you give him Greek and Latin and metaphysics he begins to feel his manhood stirring within him and frictional problems inevitably arise. The good old negro servant, ever loyal and true, is esteemed and honored, but his more ambitious son with a Harvard diploma in his knapsack is persona non grata. Under slavery the adjustment between the races was complete, but the bond was quickly burst asunder when the negro was made a free man and clothed with full civil and political privilege. It would be rather a hazardous statement to affirm that education will solve social and ethnic problems. The development of humanity would be a simple task indeed if a few years schooling could facilitate the adjustment between the European and Asiatic, African and Aryan. The adjustment of peoples, races, and social systems lies in the sphere of statesmanship, philanthropy, and religion.

¹ The investigations of Professor Du Bois show that there can not be more than 1,000 negro students of collegiate grade, according to the average American standard.

² Popular Science Monthly, August, 1900.

The function of education is to develop the faculties of the individual in order to fit him for the life of that society of which he forms a part. The function of the education of the negro is to develop in the individual and in the race the requisite degree of personal and social efficiency. And if it does not eradicate deep-seated prejudices and batter down race and ethnic barriers, it is because the wrong remedy has been applied to the disease. Wise men do not expect to gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles.

IV.—THE RELATIVE CLAIMS OF INDUSTRIAL AND HIGHER EDUCATION.

Whenever the higher education of colored youth is advocated somebody is sure to suggest industrial training as a counterirritant. The higher and industrial phases of education are not mutually exclusive, and neither can properly be played off against the other. They are both essential to the symmetrical development of any people. Both factors are equally essential to the common product. The one-sided advocates of a particular kind of education for all colored youth remind us of the disputants in rural debating societies who decide, once for all, the momentous question: "Which is the more indispensable element of civilization, fire or water?" The fact is, civilization could not exist without either of these elements, neither can the negro race reach the full measure of development without receiving both kinds of education. It is deemed timely, however, to point out and compare the relative advantages to the negro derivable from industrial training and the higher education, and especially so since the trades school is being prescribed as a panacea for all the ills of the situation, while literary culture is being decried and disparaged. As there are several parties to this contention, it may be well to analyze the motives that give rise to the prevailing preference for industrialism.

1. The vast majority of white people in this country believe that the ordained mission of the negro is to do manual labor—to perform personal and domestic service. This belief is vaguely founded upon a scriptural reference: "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." The old method of textual interpretation has been superseded by Biblical research and rational criticism. The traditional classification of the human family has been abandoned by most authors of scholarly repute. The Hametic origin of the negro race is accepted by few modern archaeologists, yet the agreeable belief in the ordained servility of the negro still lingers. It was on the basis of this belief that the African was first enslaved. Las Casas, the philanthropic priest, first suggested the enslavement of the African as a means of merciful relief to the poor Indian, who sickened and died in the house of bondage. The negro was brought across the sea to be made a hewer of wood and a carrier of water. Human slavery had a benevolent origin. It was regarded more philanthropic to enslave captives in war than to slay them. But there was not a bit of philanthropy in the establishment of African slavery. It was a business measure pure and simple. The only part of the negro deemed to be valuable was his hands. No account was taken of his mind, his soul, or his all-baffling brain. For well-nigh three hundred years he fulfilled the purpose of his enslavers. Although the civil war overthrew the system of slavery it did not materially alter the minds of the white people as to the negro's place in the social scale. He is still looked upon as a servant whose mission is to minister to the wants of others. Among men of this way of thinking it is easy to gain popularity by advocating industrial training for negroes—any policy that has work for its main object is heartily approved, but the higher education is held up to ridicule and scorn.

2. The second class to this controversy may be called the philanthropists, or those who have a special friendly interest in the colored race. It is this class that has already done so much to rescue the perishing and to lift up the fallen. They

have sent millions of dollars into the South to educate and enlighten the blacks, and have hitherto constituted the leading factor in the upbuilding of the race. It is easy to discern that their sentiment also, during the last few years, is shading toward industrial training, to the disparagement of higher culture. This is easily intelligible. Charity should be applied where it is most needed and where it will reach the largest possible number of the helpless. Its aim is to help those who are lowest in the scale of want and distress. Benevolent people are easily and willingly persuaded that assistance rendered an industrial institution will be more widespread in its application than if given to a college. Colored universities have almost without exception added on industrial courses, largely for the sake of gaining the favor of Northern philanthropists. The literary education of colored youth is so far discredited in the public mind that institutions of higher learning have to attach industrial courses in order to gain financial favor and support. This is practical wisdom, if not pedagogical prudence. Experience bears out the opinion that trades schools and colleges should be maintained as separate and distinct institutions, unless reasons of financial policy suggest otherwise. Blending of the two reminds us of Horace's ridiculous picture with the head of a beautiful woman and the tail of a horrid fish. But, as suggested above, the drift of benevolent sentiment is easy explainable. Charity aims to help the beneficiary to go so far and no farther. We do not aim by charity to lift others into complete equality with ourselves. It is not human nature to assist those whom we deem our inferiors to reach our own plane. The unwritten law of human charity demands that we relieve acute distress when it is easily within our power to do so, but our civilization is not yet sufficiently altruistic to require us to take the unfortunate creatures thus relieved on terms of equality with ourselves. We give a crust to the starving poor. Even Lazarus in the parable fed of the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table. But we do not invite them to attend the banquet which we spread for our friends. Let us marvel not, then, that benevolent friends are ready to assist the negro to a knowledge of letters and the use of tools, but are totally indifferent as to whether or not he studies Greek philology, or the differential calculus. They do not feel any obligation to sustain the beneficiary in those pursuits of truth and beauty which themselves and their children enjoy. A donation to Harvard or Yale can hardly be called charity; it is simply giving on one's own level, to perpetuate one's own name or to advance some favorite idea. But colored schools need not expect gifts of this character from white men; in all such benefactions eleemosynary intent is plainly apparent. Industrial education of the colored race will doubtless continue to be considered of more importance than literary culture by Northern philanthropists, and will continue to receive the bulk of their benefactions.

3. The negro himself is the most interested party to this contention. He bears the same relation to the race problem that a beast does to the burden which has been placed upon its back. How does he think that the youth of the race should be educated? The time has come when the race should do its own original thinking on such vital questions, and not regulate its conduct according to the opinion of white men. However kindly the intentions of the Anglo-Saxon may be, still it seems impossible for him to view the situation under the negro's angle of vision. The sentiment of the white race is well-nigh unanimous that the colored race should confine its energies chiefly to manual and industrial pursuits, and they will make it so in so far as they can control the situation. But the negro can not accept the estimate which the white race places upon him, and consequently must in a large measure reject the treatment prescribed. The sentiment of every self-respecting negro, when clothed in his right mind, must be: "I am a man, and all things which are human appertain to me, although circumstances and environments may hamper me for a season, I will suffer it to be so now, but will relinquish none of the ultimate claims of my species."

There are two leading aims of education: (1) To develop the faculties and powers of the mind, the accomplishment of which is a uniform and invariable process, the same for all minds under all conditions of outward life; and (2) to prepare the individual for the special work which he has to perform; this preparation varies according to environment, opportunity, or the ambition and aptitude of the learner. In any well-regulated community the inhabitants will be distributed among the various industries, trades, and professions according to the needs and opportunities of the community and the capacity, aptitude, and natural bent of individuals. The negro race in this land occupies a peculiar and unique position. The vast majority of them follow agricultural pursuits, domestic service, and other forms of crude, unskilled labor. The number outside of these lines is so small that it would hardly form a homeopathic fraction of the population. They are also the creatures, or rather the victims, of circumstances over which they have no control. In this discussion, then, we are shut up to special circumstances rather than general principles. The unwisdom of an exclusive industrial and mechanical education of the colored race will appear from the following considerations:

1. It would be almost useless to equip a considerable number of colored men with the mechanical trades, for they could find no opportunity to ply them. This is an age of great combinations: both capital and labor are organized and solidified. What the trusts are to capital the trades unions are to labor. Neither the small dealer nor the individual workman can compete with these gigantic monopolies. This is an age in which "the individual withers and the trust is more and more." These trades unions will not admit the negro, in large numbers, on equal terms, and he is absolutely powerless to combat them. They will not combine with him, and he can not compete with them. If any one industrial fact in our history is clearly demonstrated it is that white labor will not compete with black labor. The poor whites of the South, rather than compete with negro labor, betook themselves to the woods, and lived in the mountains and pine thickets in idleness and poverty, constituting that thriftless element known far and wide as "poor white trash." The complaint goes up from all sections of the country that white men are driving negroes out of employments which were hitherto considered peculiarly theirs. It is not because the negro is not a competent and efficient workman in these lines that he is thus supplanted, but it is simply a case of the stronger element driving the weaker to the wall. The Asiatics were excluded from the western coast because they manifested too much skill, thrift, and economy. They were shut out on the plea that competition with them would lower the American white laborer to the level of Mongolian life. The same argument could and would be advanced against the negro. As a further evidence that it is not a lack of skill which renders the negro unable to hold his own in the labor world, he is being crowded out of occupations where no complaint has ever been uttered against his efficiency, and where his supplanters are not more apt or competent than the black competitors. It is a notorious fact that in all the large centers of population positions of waiters, coachmen, and barbers are being filled by white men to the exclusion of his brother in black, or rather, his brother in colors. The competency of the colored waiter has never been questioned. White men do not make more courteous, safe, and reliable coachmen. The whole world acknowledges that the negro is an expert with the razor. The labor wars between the races precipitated in the mines of Tennessee and Alabama and along the levees of New Orleans were not inaugurated because of the inefficiency of colored labor, but because white men wanted the places. It is the policy of most Southern railroads to employ negro firemen, but with the express understanding that they shall never be promoted to positions of engineers. No incapacity is alleged; but white labor zealously guards all such employments against black encroachment.

There was a time when the mechanical work of the South was performed by colored men; but the Northern laborer has gone there and carried his trades unions and his exclusive policy, and the result is the negro is being relegated to the rear. The industrial war has been carried into Africa. It requires no gift of prophecy to predict that in the near future negro mechanics will be as rare in Richmond and Atlanta as they are in Boston and Philadelphia. All will agree that under the present circumstances the negro can not compete with the Anglo-Saxon for political domination; he is equally incapable of sustaining the contest for industrial supremacy. The stronghold of the race hitherto has been its ability to do crude, unskilled work, along lines where white men did not care to compete; to work with the body under a tropical sun where the white man pants for rest and shade. But it has not been able to stand the onward march of skilled labor and machinery. It was announced some time ago that a machine had been invented for picking cotton. An influential Southern journal announced with triumph that the introduction of this invention would settle the race problem for all time. The picture is indeed a dark one. The situation calls for the highest wisdom on the part of negro leaders and the friends of the race. But it is more than foolish to shut our eyes to the facts before us. It is absolute folly to advise remedies which reason tells us in advance can not be effective.

The chief value of the mechanical and industrial schools in the South is that they inculcate in the minds of the crude agricultural population notions of thrift, economy, and decency, and not because they teach the mechanical and scientific trades. Hampton, Tuskegee, and Claflin are among the most useful institutions in America, because their graduates go to and fro throughout the South and carry with them their newly acquired notions of character and life, and disseminate them among the people. They are for the most part engaged in teaching school. I venture the assertion that not one such graduate in ten finds an opportunity to ply the trade which he learned in school. The literary and moral features of their courses are after all of the greatest value. Prof. Booker T. Washington is the most remarkable product of this class of schools. No colored man of his generation has rendered a moiety of the service which he has done in a visible, tangible shape. He is justly accounted one of the great men of America. But the chief element of his success has been his mind, heart, and character, and his unselfish devotion to the welfare of his race. No mere artisan or mechanic could do the work which Professor Washington has done; no, nor 10,000 of them rolled into one. Professor Washington is endowed by nature with splendid mental and moral gifts which he has developed by wide observation and study. He possesses the sagacity to see the needs suggested by special circumstances, and the constructive ingenuity to devise ways of meeting those needs.

2. A supply of labor, skilled or unskilled, can never create a demand for it; but where there is a demand the supply is always forthcoming. Where is the demand for colored mechanics? It certainly is not in the North; it is not in the large cities North or South. There is no considerable demand for colored mechanics in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or Washington, and I fear not in Richmond, Atlanta, or New Orleans. When there was a demand for such workmen they were always to be found. If there were 5,000 such artisans in Washington City, as skilled as the master workman whom King Hiram sent to Solomon to build the Temple at Jerusalem, they would starve to death under the shadow of the national Capitol for the want of employment. The trades schools may turn out these workmen, but they can not create a demand for them. It is not wise to have in a community a number of men with trades but with no opportunity of plying them; they usually have not the aptitude or willingness to turn to any work except their particular trade, and the last state of the community will be worse than the first. It is often urged as an argument against the negro's higher education that after he has filled

his mind with knowledge he can not find a field in which to use it; but can not this objection be urged, and that, too, with a greater show of probability, against too much industrial training? A trained mind is likely to be more fertile in expedients than a mere "hand;" if it does not find a way it will make one. The one will do with his might what his hands find to do; the other will find with his mind what his hands might do.

3. The educational impulse proceeds from above downward. "Mens agit molem." I am not arguing, be it borne in mind, against industrial education in its proper place, and under those favorable circumstances where it can be wisely applied; but against the general policy of shutting up the negro to a particular kind of training. It is sometimes objected that the negro race began on top. The top is the natural birthplace of progress. Does Jewish history boast of greater names than Abraham and Moses, the one the founder of the race and the other of the nation? Does not every good and perfect gift come from above? The philosophy of evolution has clearly established a close analogy between the development of organic life and the growth of human society. Even biological progress, it is claimed, is from above downward. Some individual by accident acquires some valuable acquisition to the life of the race, and by a slow process it infiltrates into the life of the species and finally lifts it up to the level of the lucky individual. History reveals the fact that the same law governs the growth of races, states, empire, and republics. It seems as if Providence raises up in the outset some commanding genius so that the common people may have some model to work to. Then why should the negro race not strive to imitate worthy models and lofty ideals? Stimulus can not come from the workbench, the furrow, and the dull routine of daily toil, but must be handed down from "the radiant summit." True, great lights have arisen from lowly occupations, but it was because their avocations could not contain them; they burst their bands asunder and swiftly leaped beyond them. In a certain industrial school which is deservedly famous throughout the country a majority of the instructors in influential positions are college-bred men and women. This is only natural; the educated mind will direct its energies where the need is greatest. All true progress grows out of applying the thought within to the thing without; but the thought is the primary agency, and the outward thing only the object operated upon.

4. The negro is a man and is entitled to all of the privileges of manhood. Why should his education be circumscribed and limited? Why should the larger elements of his nature be left unnurtured, while the mechanical side only is developed? Life is more than meat. As important as the material element is in our civilization, there is danger of pushing it too far. The highest possessions of man do not consist in material wealth. A slaveholder was once asked what was his object in farming. He replied, "I raise corn to raise hogs; I raise hogs to raise niggers; I raise niggers to raise corn." Thus the gross material circle begins and ends in itself. The great evils which confront the negro race are rather of a moral than of a material nature. Truth and justice do not hinge upon industrialism and trade, but are abstract, eternal verities. The negro cries for justice and is offered a trade; he pleads for righteous laws, and is given an industrial school. The case is wrongly diagnosed; the remedy does not apply to the disease. It is sometimes urged upon the negro to get money as the surest means of solving the race problem. Those who argue thus show themselves ignorant of the law of moral reforms. In all the history of the human race, the possession of money has never corrected an evil or righted a wrong. But, on the other hand, it lies at the bottom of most of the ills which our nature is heir to. The greed for gold is the fundamental cause of the negro's misfortune in this land. Will this same love for gold when transferred from the white man to his victim remedy the evil? The accumulation of

evils do not usually counteract, but aggravate each other. The love of money is the root, not the remedy, of all evil. God's truth will not be altered in order to suit the convenience of the negro.

That the negro can have no great industrial future in the large cities, especially where the climatic conditions are such that white men are willing and able to work, has been clearly seen by students of social problems for many years. There are sufficient white men in such communities to perform the skilled mechanical work, and as they belong to the preferred class they will always receive first consideration. They will not combine with the negro, nor are they willing to compete with him on terms of equality. This intolerant policy relegates the negro to those classes of work which white men do not particularly care for.

The negro is excluded not so much because he is black but because he is weak. The same exclusive policy is exercised toward all feeble classes, because there is not enough of the higher lines of work for all of the contestants. The negro is being driven out of his erstwhile industrial strongholds. The colored coachman, barber, waiter, and private domestic is a vanishing quantity in all of the large cities. The white workmen have filled up the ranks of their accustomed vocations and are pushing over the boundaries into the territory occupied by their weaker neighbors. This industrial contest, or rather conquest, is exactly analogous to what is taking place in the political world. As fast as the stronger and more powerful nations have populated their own countries up to the limit of comfortable subsistence, they push over the boundaries into the possessions of the weak, helpless, and feeble races. In sociology, as in physics, when a stronger body comes in contact with a weaker one, the motion of the weaker is reversed and that of the stronger proceeds in the same direction as before, though with a lesser velocity.

It is true that industrial discrimination lies at the base of much of the negro's social degradation. We may say that it is unjust, un-Christian, and unreasonable, but still the fact persists; nor is its force or sanction one whit diminished by the bitter denunciation. The industrial rivalry is fierce and brutal. Kindness is not characteristic of sharp competition. It is an old maxim that business and philanthropy are dissociable. Each competitor is bound to use every advantage at his disposal. To suppose that the white man is going to voluntarily surrender the advantage which his color confers, in order to admit the negro into industrial rivalry on equal footing with himself, is to expect too much of weak human nature. Mankind is not yet sufficiently sanctified for such sublime acts of self-surrender.

Of late we can hear nothing but the hue and cry about the industrial education of the colored race, and, indeed, great good may reasonably be expected to come from this worthy movement. A training in system, order, and method, and a knowledge of how to do things with skill, accuracy, and science will be of incalculable advantage to the possessor in whatever station of life he may be. But who believes that the industrial disadvantages of the negro, in the large cities at least, can be overcome or even materially altered by industrial education? To equip a considerable number of colored boys in Philadelphia, Baltimore, or Washington with the mechanical trades would be simply to furnish them with edged tools without anything to cut.

That form of industrial training which alone offers any considerable relief lies in the field of agriculture and the domestic industries. It is encouraging to note that thoughtful colored people are giving this matter serious attention. The resolution touching this topic, adopted by the Second Hampton Negro Conference,¹ is significant:

¹ Report of Second Hampton Negro Conference.

We call upon our teachers and preachers in the country districts to advise the people to develop the agricultural and industrial resources of their respective communities, and not to be deceived by the glare and glitter of city life. The flocking of the agricultural masses to the cities constitutes one of the great social evils of the period. This evil is especially emphasized in the case of the negro immigrants. They do not form a part of the industrial current and are apt to drift into the alleys and dens of squalor and vice, and their last state becomes worse than their first. On the contrary, every effort should be put forth to induce those who are now in the alleys and byways of the city to seek the country. No one should be encouraged to migrate from the country to the city unless he or she has some definite employment or plan of work previously determined upon.

The negro must dig his civilization out of the ground, as all other races have done. In the country the competition is not so sharp and color forms no barrier. The rain falls and the sun shines on white and black alike. The earth will yield for him just as much as his skill and industry can persuade her to bring forth. Corn and cotton are supremely indifferent to the color of the planter. The markets ask only the quality of the produce and not the color of the producer. He who succeeds in inducing the negroes to work out their industrial salvation in the fertile soil of the South and under conditions with which they are familiar, rather than to rush to the large centers of population, where they have no industrial status, and whose evils they know not of, may truly be denominated their guide, philosopher, and friend. But in every instance it will be found that the wisdom which comes from the higher culture is alone profitable to direct.

V.—THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF COLORED WOMEN.

If the higher education of the colored man seems or seemed ridiculous in the eyes of the wise and prudent, that of the colored woman must appear too absurd for a moment's consideration. The function of the higher culture for the female element of a backward race still waits to be clearly set forth.

The cause of woman in general bears many analogies to that of the negro. They are both characterized by weakness and have had to fight every inch of their way to their present degree of opportunity. All of the arguments which are now being urged against the education of the negro were at one time put forth against the enlightenment of woman. The general attitude on this question at the beginning of the nineteenth century is well expressed in the following citation:

In the very first year of our century, the year 1801, there appeared in Paris a book by Sylvain Maréchal entitled "Shall Woman Learn the Alphabet?" The book proposes a law prohibiting the alphabet to women, and quotes authorities, weighty and various, to prove that the woman who knows the alphabet has already lost part of her womanliness. The author declares that woman can use the alphabet only as Molière predicted they would, in spelling out the verb "amo;" that they have no occasion to peruse Ovid's *Ars Amoris*, since that is already the ground and limit of their intuitive furnishing; that Madame Guyon would have been far more adorable had she remained a beautiful ignoramus, as nature made her; that Ruth, Naomi, the Spartan woman, the Amazons, Penelope, Andromache, Lucrétia, Joan of Arc, Petrarch's Laura, and the daughters of Charlemagne could not spell their names; while Sappho, Aspasia, Madame de Maintenon, and Madame de Staël could read altogether too well for their good; finally, that if women were once permitted to read Sophocles and work with logarithms or to nibble at any side of the apple of knowledge there would be an end forever to their sewing on buttons and embroidering slippers.¹

This sounds very much like the objections that used to be put forth, and, indeed, in some quarters are still putting forth, against the higher education of the negro.

There has been a radical change of sentiment on this question during the progress of the nineteenth century. Indeed, this century did more than all the list of preceding years to emancipate the weak and lowly and to place them on equal

¹ A Voice from the South, by Mrs. Anna J. Cooper, pp. 48-49.

footing with the rich in the rivalry of life. Educational facilities have been furnished for women on a scale and schedule approximating those provided for men. In this matter, as in all other phases of human emancipation and broadening of the bounds of opportunity, the United States has taken the leading part and played the most conspicuous rôle. All of this, however, has had reference mainly to the gentler sex of the favored race. But while the showers of blessings were scattering so freely, some of the surplus droppings have fallen even upon the weaker sex of the weaker race. The negro woman represents the most unfortunate class of American womanhood. The mere contemplation of her condition fills the soul with infinite pity. No negro can think of the unfortunate status of the womanhood of his race without feeling the force of the wailful plaint of the prophet of old: "Oh, that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people."¹ The sins and weaknesses of both races were and are visited upon her. No one has described the condition out of which negro womanhood sprung with more clearness and accuracy than the late Dr. Alexander Crummell:

In her girlhood all the delicate tenderness of her sex has been rudely outraged. In the field, in the rude cabin, in the press room, in the factory, she was thrown into companionship of coarse and ignorant men. No chance was given her for delicate reserve or tender modesty. From her childhood she was the doomed victim of the grossest passions. All the virtues of her sex were utterly ignored. If the instinct of chastity asserted itself, then she had to fight like a tigress for the ownership and possession of her own person, and oftentimes had to suffer pains and lacerations for her virtuous self-assertion. When she reached maturity all the tender instincts of her womanhood were ruthlessly violated.²

Her home life was of the most degrading nature. She lived in the rudest huts, and partook of the coarsest food, and dressed in the scantiest garb, and slept in multitudinous cabins upon the hardest boards.³

Gross barbarism, which tended to blunt the tender sensibilities, to obliterate feminine delicacy and womanly shame, came down as her heritage from generation to generation; and it seems a miracle of providence and grace that notwithstanding these terrible circumstances so much struggling virtue lingered amid these rude cabins; that so much womanly worth and sweetness abided in their bosoms.⁴

On first view one would say that bringing the facilities for the higher culture within the reach of such a condition is like casting pearls before swine. But it has been abundantly demonstrated that the influence of culture is able to reach and to relieve, even unto the uttermost limit of degradation. The world has probably never witnessed a more heroic struggle than these women, hampered, as it were, with a millstone chained about their necks, have made and are making for virtue, knowledge, and light.

Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, ex-president of the National Association of Colored Women, who is herself a college-bred woman, and whose life adds emphasis and exemplification to her words, says:

Nothing, in short, that could degrade or brutalize the womanhood of the race was lacking in that system from which colored women then had little hope of escape. So gloomy were their prospects, so fatal the laws, so pernicious the customs, only fifty years ago. But from the day their fetters were broken and their minds released from the darkness of ignorance to which for more than two hundred years they had been doomed, from the day they could stand erect in the dignity of womanhood, no longer bond, but free, till now, colored women have forged steadily ahead in the acquisition of knowledge and in the cultivation of those virtues which make for good. To use a thought of the illustrious Frederick Douglass, if judged by the depths from which they have come rather than by the heights to which those blessed with centuries of opportunities have attained, colored women need not hang their heads in shame. Consider, if you will, the almost insur-

¹Jeremiah, ix, 1.

²Africa and America (The Black Woman of the South), p. 64.

³Ibid., p. 65.

⁴Ibid., p. 66.

mountable obstacles which have confronted colored women in their efforts to educate and cultivate themselves since their emancipation, and I dare assert, not boastfully, but with pardonable pride, I hope, that the progress they have made and the work they have accomplished will bear a favorable comparison at least with that of their more fortunate sisters, from whom the opportunity of acquiring knowledge and the means of self-culture have never been entirely withheld; for not only are colored women with ambition and aspiration handicapped on account of their sex, but they are everywhere baffled and mocked on account of their race. Desperately and continuously they are forced to fight that opposition, born of a cruel, unreasonable prejudice which neither their merit nor their necessity seems able to subdue. Not only because they are women, but because they are colored women, are discouragement and disappointment meeting them at every turn. Avocations opened and opportunities offered to their more-favored sisters have been and are closed and barred against them. While those of the dominant race have a variety of trades and pursuits from which they may choose, the woman through whose veins one drop of African blood is known to flow is limited to a pitiful few. So overcrowded are the avocations in which colored women may engage and so poor is the pay, in consequence, that only the barest livelihood can be eked out by the rank and file. And yet, in spite of the opposition encountered and the obstacles opposed to their acquisition of knowledge and their accumulation of property, the progress made by colored women along these lines has never been surpassed by that of any people in the history of the world. Though the slaves were liberated less than forty years ago, penniless and ignorant, with neither shelter nor food, so great was their thirst for knowledge and so herculean were their efforts to secure it, that there are to-day hundreds of negroes, many of them women, who are graduates, some of them having taken degrees from the best institutions of the land. From Oberlin, that friend of the oppressed, whose name will always be loved and whose praise will ever be sung as the first college in the country which was just, broad, and benevolent enough to open its doors to negroes and to women on an equal footing with men; from Wellesley and Vassar, from Cornell and Ann Arbor, from the best high schools throughout the North, East, and West, colored girls have been graduated with honors, and have thus forever settled the question of their capacity and worth. But a few years ago in an examination in which a large number of young women and men competed for a scholarship, entitling the successful competitor to an entire course through the Chicago University, the only colored girl among them stood first and captured this great prize. And so wherever colored girls have studied their instructors bear testimony to their intelligence, diligence, and success.

With this increase of wisdom there has sprung up in the hearts of colored women an ardent desire to do good in the world. No sooner had the favored few availed themselves of such advantages as they could secure than they hastened to dispense these blessings to the less fortunate of their race. With tireless energy and eager zeal colored women have, since their emancipation, been continuously prosecuting the work of educating and elevating their race, as though upon themselves alone devolved the accomplishment of this great task. Of the teachers engaged in instructing colored youth it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that fully 90 per cent are women.¹ In the backwoods, remote from the civilization and comforts of the city and town, on the plantations, reeking with ignorance and vice, our colored women may be found battling with evils which such conditions always entail. Many a heroine, of whom the world will never hear, has thus sacrificed her life to her race, amid surroundings and in the face of privations which only martyrs can tolerate and bear. Shirking responsibility has never been a fault with which colored women might be truthfully charged. Indefatigably and conscientiously in public work of all kinds they engage that they may benefit and elevate their race. The result of this labor has been prodigious indeed. By banding themselves together in the interest of education and morality, by adopting the most practical and useful means to this end, colored women have in thirty short years become a great power for good.²

The home life of a people lies at the basis of its progress, and by the intendment of nature and the decree of society woman is regnant in the domestic sphere. Let it be frankly conceded that the education of the colored woman should be mainly of an industrial and domestic character. The higher education has a much narrower function in general for woman than it has for man. In its application to the colored race its function is proportionately restricted for the two sexes. If

¹ This estimate is too high.

² Progress of Colored Women, pp. 7-9.

the demand for college-bred men is small in proportion to the population, that for colored women is indefinitely more so.

The programme laid down by Dr. Crummell for the education of the colored woman of the South has never been, and perhaps can not be, improved upon:¹

1. Boarding schools for industrial training.
2. Intellectual training in the rudimentary branches.
3. Domestic industries.
4. The cultivation of flowers, fruits, and vegetables.

But there is ample scope for the few ambitious and determined spirits in the higher reaches of intellectual pursuits. School-teaching is very largely in the hands of colored women, and it is necessary for those who would occupy commanding places in the educational arena to equip themselves thoroughly for such exalted stations. There are other fields calling for higher preparation on the part of colored women. Not a few such women have entered the arena as authors, lecturers, and as practitioners in the learned professions. The distinctive schools for colored girls which have done and are doing so much to elevate negro womanhood are Scotia Seminary, in North Carolina; Spellman Academy, in Atlanta, Ga., and Hawthorn College, in Richmond, Va. These schools do little more than cover the scope as laid down in Dr. Crummell's programme, although they make excursions into the field of secondary studies.

Most of the institutions for the education of the colored race admit women on equal terms with men. Females are to be found in all of the courses, although they do not so generally patronize the higher reaches of the curricula.

The number of graduates from the collegiate courses can be seen from the accompanying table:

Colored women college graduates to 1898.

FROM NORTHERN INSTITUTIONS.²

Oberlin College	55	University of Iowa	1
Iowa Wesleyan University	4	Adrian College	1
University of Kansas	3	University of Idaho	1
University of Michigan	3	Bates College	1
Cornell University	3	Vassar College	1
Wellesley College	2	Mount Holyoke College	1
Wittenberg University	2	McKendree University	1
Geneva University	2		
Butler University	1	Total	82

FROM SOUTHERN INSTITUTIONS.

Fisk University	31	Roger Williams University	5
Shaw University	21	Berea College	4
Wilberforce University	19	Leland University	1
Paul Quinn College	13	Virginia Normal and Collegiate In-	
Knoxville College	10	stitute	1
Atlanta University	8	Paine Institute	1
Southland University	8	Straight University	1
Howard University	8	Branch University	1
Central Tennessee College	7	Clark University	1
Rust University	7	Allen University	1
Livingstone College	6		
Claffin University	6	Total	170
New Orleans University	5		
Philander Smith College	5	Grand total	252

¹ Africa and America, p. 80.

² Du Bois: College-bred Negro, p. 55.

There have been 82 colored women to graduate from Northern and 170 from Southern colleges. Of the colored colleges, only two institutions, both of which are under control of the Presbyterian Church, do not admit girls.

In the year 1898-99, of the college students of Howard, Atlanta, Fisk, and Shaw 22 per cent were females. The proportion shows a decided tendency to increase.¹

Of 100 college-bred women reporting their conjugal condition, one-half had been married. It is interesting to note the tendency of college-bred women to marry and develop cultivated homes. The great need of the negro is to develop a higher tone of family life. The highest culture of negro women will not have been in vain if it is exploited in the domestic sphere. There have been 2,272 college-bred negro men and 252 negro women, making a total of 2,524, of whom the females constitute 10 per cent. These college-bred women are or have been for the most part engaged in the work of teaching. Their influence for good has been felt in scores of communities throughout the country. Many of them have become wives of influential colored men, and have thus merged their talent and influence with the work of their helpmates and the development of cultivated family life.

Mention might be made of a few college-bred women who may be regarded as typical, albeit perhaps a little more conspicuous than the general average of their class.

Mrs. Fannie Jackson Coppin:² Fannie M. Jackson was born a slave in Washington, D. C., in 1837, and was purchased by her aunt. She was sent to Oberlin College, where she was graduated with honor.

She has the distinction of being the first colored person to teach a class at Oberlin College, which she taught with good success for two years. In 1865 she took a position in the Institute for Colored Youth, Philadelphia, and in 1869 was made principal of that institution, which position she has held for thirty years. She is the wife of Bishop Levi J. Coppin, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Perhaps no single individual influence among the colored race has done so much to stimulate high aspirations and zeal for knowledge and service as Fannie Jackson Coppin.

"Without doubt she is the most thoroughly competent and successful of the colored women teachers of her time, and her example of race pride, industry, enthusiasm, and nobility of character will remain the inheritance and inspiration of the pupils of the school she helped to make the pride of the colored people of Pennsylvania."³

Miss Lucy E. Laney is a graduate of Atlanta University. She has, mainly by her own endeavor, built up the Haines Institute, of Augusta, Ga., of which she is principal. This institution is under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, and is one of the best secondary schools in the South.

Mrs. Booker T. Washington, wife of Prof. Booker T. Washington, principal of Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala., was graduated from Fisk University in the class of 1889. She was a teacher at Tuskegee, where she met and married Professor Washington. She is a coworker with her distinguished husband and has been very successful in improving the social life of the black people in the black belt of Alabama. She is vice-president of the National Association of Colored Women.

Mrs. Anna J. Cooper was born in Raleigh, N. C. Mrs. Cooper entered Oberlin College in 1881, after the death of her husband, Rev. G. A. C. Cooper, a talented

¹ College-bred Negro, p. 57.

² The interesting work, *Women of Distinction*, by L. A. Scruggs, A. M., M. D., published at Raleigh, N. C., 1893, contains an account of a long list of notable colored women. Much of the information presented is from this book, although it has been confirmed by other sources of information and brought nearer to date.

³ Williams's *History of the Negro Race*, Vol. II, p. 449.

Episcopal divine. She was graduated from Oberlin in 1884 and has taught at Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, St. Augustine Normal School, Raleigh, N. C., and the Colored High School, Washington, D. C., of which she is at present the principal. Her book, *A Voice from the South*, has elicited flattering encomiums from competent critics and forms a valuable part of the literature of the race problem.

Mrs. Mary Church Terrell was born in Memphis, Tenn., and was graduated from Oberlin College in 1884. She has taught at Wilberforce University and the Washington High School; has served as trustee of the public schools of Washington, D. C., and was the first president of the National Association of Colored Women. Mrs. Terrell is listed among the regular lecturers before the Western Summer Chautauquas, where her addresses are always well received.

Mrs. Josephine Turpin Washington was born in Richmond, Va., and was graduated from Howard University in 1886. She taught for several years in her alma mater before she was married to Dr. S. S. H. Washington, of Alabama. She has written quite widely in Southern and Northern papers and magazines and is well known as a worker for the general social betterment of the people.

College-bred women are everywhere doing their full share to lift the social life of the race to a higher level, which is ample justification of the training they have received.

The strivings and triumphs of colored women are well expressed in the following citation:

And so, lifting as we climb, onward and upward we go, struggling and striving and hoping that the buds and blossoms of our desires will burst into glorious fruition ere long. With courage born of success in the past, with a keen sense of the responsibility which we shall continue to assume, we look forward to a future large with promise and hope.¹

In the fruition of these desires and the fulfillment of this crescent promise the higher education will exercise no inconsiderable influence.

VI.—THE ORIGIN OF THE NEGRO COLLEGE.

Before plunging "in medias res," as Horace would say, let us take a brief survey of the educational opportunities of the colored race before the war. Schools for persons of color had been established and maintained at scattered points throughout the North for well nigh two hundred years. These schools usually met with the good will and approval of the white people in the several communities, although in some instances hostility and opposition were encountered. Several States from the earliest times admitted colored pupils to the general school system without distinction. One searches their records in vain for any legislation upon this question. It is a curious fact that the colored girl who was the initial, though innocent, cause of Miss Prudence Crandall's troubles had received her primary education in the district schools of Connecticut along with white pupils. In general, however, it might be said that the ante-bellum opportunities for an education on the part of the colored man were few and far apart. The training obtained in the schools was of the most meager and rudimentary sort. It embraced the fundamental processes, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and but little more. In the larger centers, such as New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, efforts were made, with more or less success, to establish academies and schools of higher training. A few white institutions would now and then admit a colored man who was preparing for the ministry. An occasional college would open its doors to him, but not very often and not very wide. It was late in the forties, I believe, when Harvard first let him in. When the colored applicant,

¹ *The Progress of Colored Women*, by Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, p. 15.

Williams by name, first knocked at the door of this ancient seat of learning there was great confusion and uproar. The usual tactics were resorted to—the patrons threatened to withdraw their support—but President Everett manifested that deliberate courage which always conquers. He informed the objectors that if every other student should be withdrawn from the institution he would use all of its resources and machinery to educate this sole colored man. Dartmouth College was founded about the middle of the eighteenth century for the education of the Indians. So far as I have been able to ascertain, it has never made any discrimination on account of race or color. Those who have gone unto her with the proper intellectual and moral qualifications she has in no wise cast out.

By all odds the greatest stimulus which the educational interest of the colored race received before the war was the foundation of Oberlin College in 1833. A few other institutions extended to colored youth a cold permission; Oberlin a warm welcome. She cordially invited all colored people who were hungering and thirsting after knowledge to come unto her and be supplied. This, indeed, they did. They flocked to her in such numbers that in 1865 fully one-third of the students of Oberlin College were of the colored race. The policy of Oberlin in this regard can not be better set forth than was done by Miss Sophia Jex Blake, an English woman, who visited the leading American schools and colleges in 1865, for the purpose of studying their coeducational feature as applied to women. In her report published in England, entitled *A Visit to American Schools*, we read:

In 1834-35, the trustees [of Oberlin] took up their definite position with regard to one of the questions then even more bitterly agitated than now, and decided it by the free admission of all colored students on equal terms with the whites. This step marks an epoch in the educational history of America: for though solitary colored students had been admitted to Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, and possibly elsewhere, no such proclamation of welcome had hitherto gone forth from any educational body, and the extreme opposition which the measure called forth is the best testimony to the merits of its supporters.

The Ashum Institute was established by the Presbyterian Church in 1853, and chartered by the legislature of Pennsylvania in 1854. Its aim and purpose are clearly set forth by the action of the Presbytery which founded it: "There shall be established within our bounds and under our supervision an institution called the Ashum Institute, for the scientific, classical, and theological education of colored youth of the male sex." This institution still survives under the name of Lincoln University. It is the largest and one of the most prosperous and useful of the negro colleges.

When we turn from the North to the South, we are confronted by an appalling situation. As we look upon the intellectual horizon and mental sky, despair and gloom are everywhere—"darkness there and nothing more." Here and there it was indeed possible to find a few negroes who had furtively snatched a few morsels of knowledge. In the earlier stages of slavery, it was not uncommon to find slaves who had been taught to read and write. But the Missouri compromise, the Nat Turner insurrection, and the growing abolition sentiment of the North inflamed the Southern passion. It was at this time that the antinegro sentiment reached the acute stage of malignity. The legislation of most of the Southern States forbidding the teaching of negroes bears about the same date.

The educational value of slavery is thus portrayed by Col. George W. Williams:

The institution of American slavery needed protection from the day of its birth to the day of its death. Whips, thumbscrews, and manacles of iron were far less helpful to it than the thralldom of the intellects of its helpless victims.¹

The real intellectual life of the race began with the overthrow of slavery. This applies to the North as well as to the South. When the smoke of war had blown

¹ *History of the Negro Race*, by George W. Williams, Vol. II, p. 147.

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 4,000,000 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 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 40 pages of the leaves of history. Look on this picture, and then on that. The words of prophecy are fulfilled: "Though ye have lien 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. Nothing is great or small, high or low, except by comparison. The same power, mainly educational, that has brought the negro safe thus far, will lead him on and on until he reaches the climax of his destiny.

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 immortal 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 people. 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 mercenary 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. 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 to 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. They had no foregoers; they have left no successors. 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 women shall not want a monument of living ebony and bronze.

The National Government inaugurated the work of education among the colored people of the South. Early in the war, Gen. U. S. Grant appointed Rev. John Eaton, afterwards United States Commissioner of Education, to take charge of the instruction of the colored people who were following in the wake of his army. The work developed into enormous proportions. General Banks undertook similar work in New Orleans. The Union Army was turned into a band of schoolmasters. Teachers from the North came down to work under the protection of the Federal Army. Northern churches and benevolent associations soon entered the field. Freedmen's aid societies were organized in all the leading denominations. Contributions poured in both from this country and from Europe. This work on the part of the Government soon grew too large and bulky to be wisely managed by disjointed agencies. In 1864 the Freedmen's Bureau was organized, with Gen. O. O. Howard at its head. The working of this bureau is too well known to need comment here. The reports of General Alvord, the superintendent of education for the bureau, are most valuable contributions to the history of this subject. The work of the Freedmen's Bureau was largely that of education. It confined its efforts chiefly to building schoolhouses and furnishing facilities of instruction, leaving Northern benevolence to supply and support teachers. It is estimated that the General Government thus spent fully \$5,000,000 for the education of the freedmen.

The need of the higher education was soon felt. Teachers and leaders must be provided. Hence arose the negro college and university. When the Freedmen's Bureau came to an end it turned its educational interests over to religious and benevolent societies, which had cooperated with it in the work. About this time also the reconstruction movement was under way. A great many things have been written in condemnation of this unwise experiment in government. The rule of black ignorance under the guidance of white villainy proved a failure. But it has left the South one monument that should take away some of the unavory flavor from its memory. It established the public-school system throughout the South, and thereby conferred upon that section the greatest boon which it has received since the adoption of the Constitution. It is upon this corner stone that the South must build all her hopes for future years. Naturally enough the religious and denominational associations did not want their work swallowed up in the public-school system. These schools became chartered institutions. They assumed the high-sounding name of college or university, while their work was mostly of an elementary character.

In addition to the institutions of the class above described, almost every Southern State has established a State college for colored youth as an offset to the State institutions maintained for the whites. The National Government appropriates a large sum of money for colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts. Wherever a State has separate schools it is stipulated that the division of this fund between the races must be in numerical proportion to their numbers. Thus the negro colleges were born in weakness. May they be raised in power.

The accompanying table will show the order in which the negro colleges were established, and under what auspices they were founded and supported.

Negro colleges, in the order of establishment.¹

College department established.	Name.	Founded by—
1864.....	Lincoln University.....	Presbyterians.
1866.....	Wilberforce University.....	African Methodists.
1868.....	Howard University.....	Freedman's Bureau, United States Government.
1869.....	Berea College.....	American Missionary Association.
1870.....	Leland University.....	Mr. H. Chamberlain.
1870.....	Benedict College.....	Baptists.
1871.....	Fisk University.....	American Missionary Association.
1872.....	Atlanta University.....	Do.
1872.....	Biddle University.....	Presbyterians.
1872.....	Southland College.....	Friends.
1873.....	Roger Williams University.....	Baptists.
1874.....	Central Tennessee College.....	Methodists.
1874.....	New Orleans University.....	Do.
1874.....	Shaw University.....	Baptists.
1874.....	Rust University.....	Methodists.
1874.....	Straight University.....	American Missionary Association.
1878.....	Branch College (Arkansas).....	State.
1878.....	Clafin University.....	Methodists.
1879.....	Knoxville College.....	Presbyterians.
1879.....	Clark University.....	Methodists.
1880.....	Alcorn University (Mississippi).....	State.
1880.....	Wiley University.....	Methodists.
1882.....	Paine University.....	Southern Methodists.
1883.....	Allen University.....	African Methodists.
1883.....	Livingstone College.....	Zion Methodists.
1885.....	Talladega College.....	American Missionary Association.
1885.....	Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.....	State.
1885.....	Paul Quinn College.....	African Methodists.
1890.....	Lincoln Institute.....	Colored soldiers and State.
1890.....	Morris Brown College.....	African Methodists.
1893.....	Atlanta Baptist College.....	Baptists.
1894.....	Georgia State Industrial College.....	State.
1894.....	Delaware State College.....	Do.
1894.....	Philander Smith College.....	Methodists.

¹ Taken from the College-Bred Negro.

VII. WORK, WAYS, AND FUTURE OF NEGRO COLLEGES.

"New occasions teach new duties." The conditions out of which the colored institutions grew are quite different from those by which they are surrounded to-day. A great wave of philanthropic enthusiasm swept the country immediately after the war. Institutions had been founded to meet the immediate needs of the situation. These schools must adjust themselves to the change of environments. The experimental stage has passed. The following announcement of the trustees of the John F. Slater fund is eloquent with suggestion:

"The trustees believe that the experimental period in the education of the blacks is drawing to a close. Certain principles that were doubted thirty years ago now appear to be generally recognized as sound. In the next thirty years better systems will undoubtedly prevail."¹

When these schools were first founded the work was an untried experiment, now it is settling into definite lines; then the great demand was to provide teachers, now there are more teachers than can be supplied with schools; then the public-school system had not been organized in the South, now schools are well established in all the States; then high and normal schools were unknown, now each Southern State has one or more of them under its jurisdiction. The relation between private and public schools is one of primary importance. There is some jealousy and not a little rivalry between them in many instances. The private schools were first in the field and do not wish to give way. It is, however, decidedly unwise for private instruction to rival the public schools in their legitimate

¹ The trustees of the John F. Slater fund, Occasional Papers, No. 1, page 4.

territory. According to our theory of government primary education is the duty of the State. It is true that the Southern States are too poor to do their full duty in this regard. The effort which they put forth, however, is commendable in the highest degree. No other community in this country lays such heavy proportional taxes upon itself for school purposes as the South.

Any supplement to the public schools of the South has always been welcome. The Peabody and Slater funds have added greatly to the educational progress of that section. But the question arises as to the wisdom of private institutions, calling themselves colleges and universities, duplicating the work of the public schools. An examination of the catalogues of many of the colored colleges will show that they are for the most part huge primary schools with the college course attached for ornament and style.

Proportion of college students to total enrollment in negro colleges, 1898-99.

College.	College students.	Secondary students.	Primary students.
Lincoln	135	0	0
Biddle	69	135	0
Fisk	51	180	133
Howard	42	325	0
Shaw	37	235	0
Atlanta	33	230	22
Wilberforce	31	159	59
Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute	28	138	162
Leland	20	34	33
Livingstone	20	52	159
Allen	19	111	149
State College (Delaware)	18	21	0
Knoxville	18	94	145
Claffin (1897-98)	17	109	553
Clark	16	108	322
Philander Smith	15	69	238
Roger Williams	15	99	74
New Orleans	14	37	275
Georgia State	12	72	140
Paine	10	180	80
Talladega	9	65	129
Rust	9	76	125
Atlanta Baptist	9	25	66
Arkansas Baptist	9	32	142
Straight	8	131	382
Southland	8	57	70
Southern	7	66	341
Wiley	5	49	288
Branch (Arkansas)	2	57	129

The poet Horace tells us that a lawyer of mediocre ability may be held in high esteem, though he be not so eloquent as Messalla nor so learned as Aulus; but neither gods nor men nor booksellers will tolerate a mediocre poet. What the Apulian bard remarks of the poet will apply with equal force to a college. There can be no excuse or toleration for an inferior institution of high pretension. The old adage, "a whole loaf or none," suggests a principle that is at once salutary and sound. One had better remain untaught in the higher branches of learning than to be imperfectly instructed. From an intellectual standpoint it is better not to see at all than to see through a glass darkly. The worst possible condition of the mind is to have it crammed with smatterings of undigested and unassimilated knowledge. This is the state of mind from which spring bigotry, conceit, and shallow pretense. A self-respecting individual can not afford to be very different in his dress and habits of life from the society in which he moves; if he finds it too difficult to keep pace with his class, he is relegated to the grade below by the law of social gravitation. So it is with an institution of learning; it can not afford to be much different from other schools of like grade and pretension; and if it can not maintain itself on such a plane, it had better fall back to the next lower grade of academy or nting school. Colored colleges need not expect

exemption from the usual tests of excellence. Knowledge is color-blind. Science and philosophy do not accommodate themselves to the various hues of the human species.

The requirements for admission to colored colleges, as well as the extent of courses and allotment of time to the several subjects of study, may be seen from the accompanying tables:

Requirements for admission to negro colleges.

Institution.	Length of preparatory course.	Number of years of preparatory study required in—					Weeks of study per year.
		Latin.	Greek.	Mathematics.	English.	Other important studies.	
Lincoln	0	0	0	0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	32
Biddle	2	2	1	1	1	1	35
Fisk	3	3	2	2	0	2	37
Howard	4	4	2	2	1	2	36
Shaw	2	2	1	2	2	2	32
Atlanta	3	3	1	2	1	3	34
Wilberforce	3	3	2	2	1	1	39
Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute	2	2	0	1	1	1	33
Leland	4	3	2	3	2	1	31
Livingstone	3	3	2	2	1	5	28
Paul Quinn	3	3	2	3	0	2	36

From this it would seem that these colleges ranked in the severity of their entrance requirements about as follows:

1. Howard: Nearly equal to the smaller New England colleges.
2. Fisk, Atlanta, Wilberforce, Leland, Paul Quinn: From one to two years behind smaller New England colleges.
3. Biddle, Shaw, Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute, Livingstone: From two to three years behind smaller New England colleges.
4. Lincoln: A little above an ordinary New England high school.

Table showing what fractional part of the four-years' college course is devoted to certain studies.

Institution.	College preparatory course of—	English.	Modern languages.	Ancient languages.	Natural science.	Political science, history, and philosophy.	Mathematics.
	<i>Years.</i>						
Howard	4	1-8	1-16	1-4	1-8	1-4	1-16
Fisk	3	1-30	1-6	1-3	1-5	1-6	1-8
Atlanta	3	1-16	1-13	1-3	1-6	1-4	1-7
Wilberforce	3	1-18	-----	1-2	1-5	1-9	1-7
Leland	4	1-15	-----	1-3	1-4	1-5	1-7
Paul Quinn	3	1-20	1-20	1-3	1-5	1-5	1-7
Biddle	2	1-12	1-12	1-3	1-6	1-7	1-6
Shaw	2	1-6	1-8	1-5	1-5	1-6	1-8
Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute	2	1-15	1-8	1-3	1-9	1-7	1-5
Livingstone	2	1-10	-----	1-2	1-9	1-10	1-6
Lincoln	-----	1-7	-----	2-5	1-9	1-9	1-5

Approximate distribution of work in negro colleges.

[Hours of recitation per week for the year.]

FRESHMEN.

	Howard.	Fisk.	Atlanta.	Wilberforce.	Leland.	Paul Quinn.	Biddle.	Shaw.	Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.	Livingstone.	Lincoln.
Latin	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	4	5	5	5	4	4	5	4	4
Greek	4	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4
Mathematics	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4
English	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	3
Other studies	2	0	2	0	0	0	4	3	1	2	1

SOPHOMORES.

Latin	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	4	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	3
Greek	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	5	5	4	4	4	0	4	4	3
Mathematics	3	3	5	3	4	4	3	4	4	4	3
English	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	3	1
History	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Natural science	3	1	0	0	4	4	3	4	0	0	2
Civics	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Modern languages	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
Other studies	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3

JUNIORS.

Latin	(1)	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	3
Greek	(1)	3	0	4	4	4	4	0	4	4	3
Mathematics	(1)	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	4	2	3
English	1	0	2	0	4	3	2	0	0	0	3
History	1(3)	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	2	0
Natural science	1	5	5	6	6	5	4	5	2	3	3
Political science	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Modern languages	1(4)	5	4	0	0	0	2	4	4	0	0
Psychology and philosophy	0	0	0	1	2	2	1	4	1	2	3
Other studies	1(3)	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

SENIORS.

Latin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Greek	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	3
Mathematics	(2)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
English	1	1	1	3	0	5	1	3	4	0	1
History	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Natural science	2(3)	5	5	5	4	3	4	4	4	4	2
Political science	2(2)	3	4	1	4	2	1	3	0	0	0
Modern languages	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	3	0	0	0
Psychology, etc	6	5	2	4	6	5	6	4	5	4	2
Other studies	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1

¹ Ten additional hours to be chosen from these. The figures in parentheses indicate a probable course.

² Five and one-third hours of electives to be chosen from these. The figures in parentheses indicate a probable course.

The best of these schools are almost on par with the average New England college, so far as standard of admission and reach and range of curriculum are concerned. Howard University stands at the head of the list. It would certainly not fall far below the prevailing collegiate standard, with Fisk and Atlanta as close seconds. From these the range is downward until they reach the level of a New England fitting school.

The chartered institutions are usually located in the large centers of population, where the provisions for public institutions are more or less ample. Men who

have carefully studied the situation are asking themselves the question whether it is good policy to entreat Northern philanthropy to carry on a work which the States themselves can more easily perform. There is no doubt that there will be outside benevolence to assist in this work for a long time to come. Begging at best is a disagreeable task. It should never be indulged in unless there is some overshadowing necessity. It is the unanimous opinion of thoughtful observers, as well as the dictate of common prudence, that these institutions should relegate to the public schools all the work that properly belongs there, and should confine their energies to that class of work which falls beyond, or at least outside of, the range of public instruction.

The relative influence of white and colored men in the management and conduct of the schools is a matter of much moment and not a little delicacy. This question, however, is a persistent one. It will not down at our bidding and has no regard for our delicate scruples; it requires brave, heroic treatment; it should be handled with all the plainness of English speech. Most of these schools are under the management and control of some church or religious organization. These societies have founded the work, developed the plants, and accumulated the property. This class of schools is usually directed and officered by white men. There is a good deal of human nature even in the persons who are engaged in missionary work. Nowhere do we find it a common thing for men to voluntarily yield up authority when it is possible for them to retain it. It is only reasonable to suppose that this class of schools will continue to be dominated by white men. The argument is advanced that white people furnish the means, and it is but fair that they should dispose of it in any manner which they deem fit. It is true that practically all of the money for this work is furnished by the whites. However it may be liked or disliked, it will probably continue to be the fact that as long as the whites contribute the support they will continue to wield the dominant influence.

Those institutions which are supported by the States are under the control of colored men. It is the policy of the South to let the negro manage his own affairs. It is found that those institutions which are under colored management are in no wise behind the rest in point of discipline, order, and good results.

There is still another class of institutions, originally supported and managed wholly by colored men. These are to be found for the most part within the limits of the A. M. E. Church. There are as many as 40 such institutions, several of which take high rank as colleges. It is here that we must look for the best illustrations of independent action in many directions. These institutions are of the colored people, by the colored people, and for the colored people.

The resources of these schools are a matter of serious concern. The total productive endowment of all the higher institutions is about three-quarters of a million dollars. This is about sufficient to run one small college alone. The small amount which colored men have contributed to these funds is remarkable. There have been several illustrious examples of colored men in the A. M. E. Church who have left the bulk of their fortunes to the educational institutions; but I know of no others who have followed their example. The race spends immense sums of money for the support of their religion, but very little for education. The value of negro church property is placed at \$26,000,000, all of which has been contributed or solicited by themselves; but their contribution to education would hardly amount to a tenth part of that sum. One thing seems to be certain, the support as well as the management of colored institutions must ultimately be transferred from the white to the colored race, if they are to be permanent. The resources of charity will not last forever. A people who really deserve and appreciate institutions for their moral and intellectual welfare will sustain them. It is a physical impossibility for a body to remain in stable equilibrium whose center of gravity falls outside of the basis of support.

There are entirely too many of these colleges. Every school that teaches the least bit of classics is ambitious to confer the academic degrees. There is not a fitting school pure and simple in the whole range of the educational work. There are more universities for colored people in the United States than there are altogether in England or France and quite as many as there are in Germany. If the educational work could be harmonized and systematized, so that a majority of the universities could be reduced to fitting schools and academies, leaving two or three stronger ones to carry on the higher lines of study, the work could be done with half the present expense and with thrice the efficiency.

The denominational feature is largely responsible for the great number of institutions with high-sounding names. Every denomination is anxious to have its own schools, to enforce its own principles, and inculcate its own doctrines. Hence it is not an uncommon thing to find two or three universities of as many different denominations in a single Southern city. Any unity of action or harmony of plan is made exceedingly difficult on account of this denominational rivalry.

A university in its complete growth and equipments represents the ripest product of a civilization. The colored schools, notwithstanding their shortcomings, represent more fully than anything else the progress of the race. They not only show what has already been accomplished, but are the surest promise of what is to be.

The collegiate prerogative of conferring degrees is one which these schools exercise without the least modesty. Degrees were originally conferred upon students as a license to teach. In course of time they came to stand for various achievements in several branches of learning. Some of them indicated the courses of study pursued, while others stood for eminence or proficiency in the arts and sciences. A love of cheap distinction seems to be the greatest malady which afflicts the American mind. The theory is that under democratic institutions the love of titular distinctions is eradicated. Our Government grants no titles of nobility. To be an American citizen is supposed to be honor enough for any man. We laugh at the number of worn-out counts and earls and what-nots of the old world, but we can overmatch them in the number and variety of degrees. Few people seem to be satisfied with a plain name; they want some addition either before or after it. Our civilians who never saw action in the field and who know no more about military operations than Shakespeare's arithmetician are dubbed "captain," "colonel," or "general." Men are called "judge" whose judgment would not be respected on a single item of human interest from a horse race to metaphysics. Masonic societies load down their votaries with a list of degrees that seem to exhaust the letters of the alphabet. American heiresses swap their millions for a titled name.

It should not be wondered at, then, that colleges, which hold the exclusive patent of literary degrees, should partake of this same lavish spirit. The smaller and feebler colleges seem to make up their deficiencies by the number and variety of degrees which they confer. It is said that in many cases they are sold outright. The story is told of a certain Southern institution that its faculty consisted of two members of the same family. The father was president and the son was professor of the whole curriculum. The faculty met on a day and voted to confer the degree of LL. D. upon the president, and, in order to return the compliment, the president conferred the degree of Ph. D. upon the faculty. The writer is familiar with the facts of the following case: An eminent divine was invited to deliver the commencement address before a certain college class. After having performed the task to the best of his ability the institution offered either to pay his railroad fare or to give him a D. D. The railroad fare was preferred. This evil has become so prevalent that not only educators but common-sense men in all walks of life have become aroused to its serious nature. Several of the leading institutions have decided not to confer any more honorary degrees. Mr. James R. Garfield has recently introduced a measure in the Ohio legislature to have that

body regulate the matter of degrees from the colleges of the State. President Cleveland several years ago declined the honor of an LL. D. from Harvard University; more recently he has declined the same proffer from Wilberforce. His declension is based on the ground that he is not a college graduate and is not otherwise entitled to literary distinctions.

What has been said so far upon this topic refers to the abuse of degrees in general and is not especially applicable to colored schools. This abuse is a general one. Our 400 or more colleges have so flooded the land with learned degrees that they have lost their intended significance. They are not recognized by the institutions of Europe. There is an old adage in the South, "If you want to see a thing run in the ground, let the negroes get hold of it." This adage has been more than justified in the present instance. The matter of degrees has been carried to ridiculous, even to disgusting, extremes. The extravagant lavishness with which persons who in the nature of the case can have no claim to them are loaded with literary degrees would be amusing if it were not so amazing. Colored men are no longer willing to have their attainments properly characterized by the three R's; they must be represented by the various combinations of L's and D's. It has been facetiously stated that a great many colored men who stagger under the heavy load of A. B., A. M., D. D., LL. D., etc., would have their acquisitions more accurately described by A B C and the other letters of the alphabet. There are hundreds of colored men dubbed D. D. who can not give a critical rendering of a single passage of Scripture in the original or give an opinion on any phase of theology that would challenge respect, or write a single line on any topic, sacred or secular, that will live six hours after they are dead. Many of these degrees have been conferred on account of useful work, pious life, holy consecration, or ecclesiastical eminence. Too much can not be said in praise of these things. But it is pure mockery, a travesty upon learning, to decorate such persons with honors which they do not deserve and whose significance they can not appreciate. Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles? So far has this practice prevailed that when it is announced that the Rev. Mr. Blank, D. D., LL. D., is going to preach at such and such a church, we no longer think of a learned scholar who can partake of the things of God and show them unto us with logical clearness and power, but instead our risible emotions are aroused. Ecclesiastical degrees are not more abused than those of purely literary or scientific import. Many of the colleges fall short of the average standard. Their regular degrees, therefore, do not stand for a fair amount of culture. The goods are not properly labeled. Thus the land is full of A. B.'s and A. M.'s which could not stand the test of severe standards. It was but yesterday that the negro race first saw the light of intellectual day. The bulk of the race is still illiterate or nearly so. So it is marvelous beyond words that so many of them have reached the highest pitch of literary honors. Where else in history is there such a sharp contrast of bright lights and deep shadows? When we think of the suddenness with which this has been brought about, we can but suppose that these learned men must have sprung into being full fledged, like the Grecian Minerva from the brain of Zeus.

This question has its serious as well as its facetious side. It points out an evil and suggests a duty. It is positively damaging to sound scholarship and to high standards. If the highest honors are so easily won, and when won are of so little significance and worth, what stimulus is there for young men to struggle for honest acquisitions? There needs to be cultivated a wholesome public sentiment which will not tolerate such intellectual sham. Institutions which have no higher appreciation for this collegiate function than to abuse it so shamefully should meet with stern popular disfavor. The educators of colored youth can render no greater service to the intellectual welfare of the race than to discourage intellectual dishonesty under the guise of unmerited degrees. These colleges and universities should see to it that these bogus honors are stopped.

Negro college graduates of white colleges, according to institutions.

(A) THE LARGER UNIVERSITIES.

Name of college.	Total gradu-ates.	Name of college.	Total gradu-ates.
Harvard	11	Catholic	3
Yale	10	Chicago	2
Michigan	10	Stanford	2
Cornell	8		
Columbia	4	Total	54
Pennsylvania	4		

(B) COLLEGES OF SECOND RANK.

Oberlin	123	University of Nebraska	2
University of Kansas	16	Wesleyan (Connecticut)	2
Bates	15	Radcliffe	2
Colgate	9	Wellesley	2
Brown	8	Northwestern	1
Dartmouth	7	Rutgers	1
Amherst	7	Bowdoin	1
Bucknell	7	Hamilton	1
Ohio State	7	New York University	1
Williams	4	Rochester	1
Boston University	3	Denver	1
University of Minnesota	3	De Pauw	1
Indiana	3	Mount Holyoke	1
Adelbert	3	Vassar	1
Beloit	3		
Colby	3	Total	245
University of Iowa	2		

(C) OTHER COLLEGES.

South Carolina	10	Ohio Wesleyan	2
Geneva	9	Lombard	1
Hillsdale	7	Otterbein	1
Lafayette	6	Southwestern Kansas	1
Wesleyan (Iowa)	4	Allegheny	1
Dennison	4	Olivet	1
Baldwin	4	Albion	1
Western of Pennsylvania	3	University of Idaho	1
Hiram	3	Iowa College	1
Wittenberg	3	Upper Iowa University	1
Butler's	3	University of Omaha	1
Westminster	3	McKendree	1
St. Stephen's	3	Illinois	1
Antioch	3	Ohio University	1
Tabor	2		
Knox	2	Total	90
Washburn	2		
Adrian	2	Grand total	389
Washington and Jefferson	2		

Negro college graduates from negro colleges.

Name of college.	Total gradu-ates.	Name of college.	Total gradu-ates.
Howard	96	Clark	21
Fisk	194	Philander Smith	29
Atlanta	94	Roger Williams	76
Wilberforce	130	New Orleans	30
Leland	16	Georgia State	1
Paul Quinn	18	Paine	11
Biddle	140	Talladega	5
Shaw	106	Rust	30
Virginia Normal and Collegiate In-stitute	27	Atlanta Baptist	7
Livingstone	33	Arkansas Baptist	4
Lincoln	616	Straight	11
Berea	29	Southland	19
Allen	24	Wiley	9
State College of Delaware	6	Branch, Arkansas	9
Knoxville	44	Lincoln Institute	6
Clafin	46	Bennett	3
		Central Tennessee	46

There have been 1,941 graduates from negro colleges, and 389 from white institutions. Their occupations, usefulness, and influence must be taken as the highest measure of the value and importance of the higher education. The fifth Atlanta conference was at great pains to study this phase of the question. The 1,312 negro graduates reporting were distributed as follows among the several vocations:

	Number.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.
Teachers.....	701	53.4	In business.....	47	3.6
Clergymen.....	221	16.8	Farmers and artisans.....	35	2.7
Physicians.....	83	6.3	Clerks, secretaries, etc.....	22	2.2
Students.....	74	5.6	Editors.....	9	-----
Lawyers.....	62	4.7	Miscellaneous.....	5	-----
In Government service.....	53	4			

Commenting on these figures, the report continues:

These figures illustrate vividly the function of the college-bred negro. He is, as he ought to be, the group leader; the man who sets the ideals of the community where he lives, directs its thought, and heads its social movements. It need hardly be argued that the negro people need social leadership more than most groups. They have no traditions to fall back upon, no long-established customs, no strong family ties, no well-defined social classes. All these things must be slowly and painfully evolved. The preacher was, even before the war, the group leader of the negroes, and the church their greatest social institution.¹ Naturally, this preacher was ignorant and often immoral, and the problem of replacing the older type by better-educated men has been a difficult one. Both by direct work and by indirect influence on other preachers and on congregations, the college-bred preacher has an opportunity for reformatory work and moral inspiration, the value of which can not be overestimated. The report of the Atlanta conference on "Some efforts of American negroes for their own social betterment," shows the character of some of this work.

It has, however, been in the furnishing of teachers that the negro college has found its peculiar function. Few persons realize how vast a work, how mighty a revolution has been thus accomplished. To furnish 5,000,000 and more of ignorant people with teachers of their own race and blood in one generation was not only a very difficult undertaking but a very important one, in that it placed before the eyes of almost every negro child an attainable ideal. It brought the masses of the blacks in contact with modern civilization, made black men the leaders of their communities and trainers of the new generation. In this work college-bred negroes were first teachers and then teachers of teachers. And here it is that the broad culture of college work has been of peculiar value. Knowledge of life and its wider meaning has been the point of the negro's deepest ignorance, and the sending out of teachers whose training has not been merely for bread winning, but also for human culture has been of inestimable value in the training of these men.²

Another question which philanthropists have a right to ask about these graduates is, What are they doing for the general social betterment of the race aside from the vocations from which they derive a livelihood? The following table throws much light on this question, which gives a list of college-bred negroes who are engaged in religious, philanthropic, and literary work:

Occupation.	Number.	Occupation.	Number.
Active in religious service.....	101	Organized charity.....	15
Investing in negro business enterprises.....	48	Kindergartens and mothers' meetings.....	7
Contributing to newspapers.....	165	Building associations.....	7
Editing and publishing newspapers.....	46	Hospitals.....	10
Lecturers.....	21	Farming and truck gardens.....	4
College and student aid.....	20	Savings banks.....	10
Benevolent club work.....	9	Contributing to magazines.....	11
Nurseries, orphanages, and homes.....	12	Papers before societies.....	9
Slum, prison, and temperance work.....	16		

¹ Cf. The New World, December, 1900, article Religion of American Negro.

² College-bred Negro, p. 65.

It is true that the college-bred negro has not as yet entered, in appreciable numbers, upon productive pursuits, but has followed the line of least resistance, and fitted into positions that were already prepared. The college-bred men of New England, up to the middle of the present century, sought the ranks of the learned professions and political careers, but seldom entered upon practical pursuits. When the educated negro finds prepared places all occupied, he too will be compelled to launch out into profitable industry and productive enterprises. And then he will be found to be a captain of industry, just as he is now the leader in the more leisurely and learned callings.

The negro college has a valuable function in the general educational equation and will occupy an important place among American institutions of the future. They have been centers of light that have illuminated the darksome path of an entire race. They antedated the public schools, and gave to the negro his initial impulse toward the better things of life. There is scarcely an educated colored man or woman in the South who has not been touched by their beneficent influence. The value of an object is enhanced by contemplating its absence or withdrawal. We do not dare even think what the condition of the negro would be if it had not been for these colleges. It is equally painful to speculate as to the conditions of the future if these institutions should be withdrawn. How could the preachers, of whom there is need for many thousands, be prepared for the work? Where would the lawyers and doctors and teachers in the higher range of instruction qualify for their function?

The vital question of perpetuity is one of financial support. Only two of them, the Gammon School of Theology and the Lincoln University, are adequately endowed. The others must depend for the most part upon current contributions from the State, religious denominations, and private philanthropy. Those schools which have been fostered by religious denominations will doubtless continue to receive such support as a means of religious propagandism. Fisk University and the Union University at Richmond, Va., will doubtless be upheld as representing the highest expression of the missionary and philanthropic endeavor of their respective denominations. The future of those schools which have no definite mooring, but which must depend upon the ebb and flow of public and private favor, is more precarious and uncertain.

It can not be denied that the trend of private philanthropy is toward the industrial and practical idea to the discouragement of the higher culture. This turn in public sentiment is scarcely due to the abiding conviction that the industrial policy will come any nearer solving unsettled problems than the higher knowledge, but is perhaps the outgrowth of the feverish spirit of the Athenian, which is ever in quest of some new thing. When the new idea has been exploited as fully as the old, there will in all probability be a redistribution of public favor between the two according to their proper proportion and balance.

The tendency on the part of the State colleges is to eliminate everything that flavors of the higher culture, and to adapt their courses to the requirements of an agricultural and industrial régime. There can be but little doubt that the State institutions will relinquish what little claim they now have to collegiate distinction and take rank in the more elementary and practical class.

There is need of a sensible adaptation of the negro college to the requirements of its function in the light of what experience has taught us.

1. Let it be conceded that a backward and suppressed race must of necessity be afflicted with great intellectual poverty. Such a race can, at best, produce only a small number of youth who, with their present incumbrances, are likely to profit by the advanced courses of learning. The mass of any people must ever fall short of the collegiate grade. At present the negro shows only 1 student in 3,000 of the population, who by the widest stretch of courtesy can be said to be pursuing the

higher education. After abstracting all who are able to think, there will be left sufficient to toil.

2. The courses of study should be thorough and the instruction competent. Nothing is so dangerous to a backward race as a smattering of learning. The people need sane, safe, cautious, conservative standards. They are already too prone to superficiality and show.

3. The Northern college is not likely to inspire colored youth with enthusiasm and fixed purpose for the work which destiny has assigned them. The white college does not contemplate the needs of the negro race. American ideals could not be fostered in the white youth of the country by sending them to Oxford or Berlin for their tuition. No more can the negro gain racial inspiration from Harvard or Yale. And yet it would be a calamity to cut them off from these great centers of learning. They need the benefit of contact and comparison, as well as the greater facilities which they afford. If the negro is shut in wholly to himself he becomes too painfully self-conscious; on the other hand, if allowed to stray too far from his race, he finds himself stranded on the barren shores of culture, or, like Mohammed's coffin, suspended in mid-air, without upper or nether support. The negro college in the South and the larger institutions of the North will preserve a just balance between these conflicting principles.

4. Negroes should contribute liberally toward their own higher education. You who have been benefited ought therefore to be enlarged. Thousands of colored people are better able to contribute to such movements than many of the regular contributors in the North. No equilibrium can be stable when the center of gravity falls outside of the basis of support.

5. There are by far too many schools which claim the collegiate function. The number might well be reduced to three or four—perhaps one for each of the leading denominations and a central one in the city of Washington.

6. There is a great need of fitting schools which should be content to do thorough secondary work without the ambition to assume full academic prerogative. Most of the schools which now call themselves colleges and universities might easily confine themselves to this work without suffering the least in real character.

7. The work of primary grades, now a prominent feature of most of the negro universities, should be relegated to the public schools, and their courses should be confined to those lines of instruction which fall beyond, or at least outside of, the scope of public instruction. The work now undertaken could thus be done at a tithe of the present cost with thrice the efficiency. The higher educational interest of the race needs to be rationally modified and sensibly adopted. There should be a sharp definition of the function and sphere of the college and those of the industrial school. Appeals should be made to philanthropic sources on the basis of relative, not rival claims. It would be as unwise policy on the part of philanthropy to abandon the higher education of the negro as it would be to give up his industrial training. They are supplementary parts of a symmetrical whole. This ought ye to have done and not to have left the other undone.

VIII. THE NEGRO IN NORTHERN COLLEGES.

There are, or were in 1890, 443 universities or colleges in the United States, counting the good, the indifferent, and the bad. Many of these—generally the poorer and feebler ones—are located in that section of the country where the races are not accustomed to be taught together. The largest, richest, and most influential of these, however, are open to all, without regard to race, color, or previous servitude, regardful only of the present intellectual rating of the applicant. There are 25 or more universities, for the most part courteously so called, which were established for the benefit of the negro race. These schools, together with the higher institutions of the North, are open to colored youth. Let us now consider the relative advantages of the two classes of institutions to the negro.

It is not perhaps profitable to discuss the larger question of mixed schools, except in so far as the logical exigencies of the subject require. It offers such wide latitude for difference of opinion and friction of feeling that I would gladly avoid it altogether if the subject in hand permitted me to do so. Some notice of it here, however, is unavoidable. A stranger with a keen, inquiring, critical sense and unbiased prepossessions who should visit a community for the first time and should notice the existence of parallel courses of instruction, maintained at increased public cost and care, for different elements of population would begin to suspect that there must be some maladjustment of social forces. If, on closer scrutiny, he should find that the same distinction obtains in all the other relations of life, in business, in politics, in society, and even in religion, and that the separation in each case rested upon a racial basis, he would speedily conclude that there must be a race problem on hand. He would also be convinced that separate schools do not form an isolated distinction, but are only a part of the prevailing social status of the two races. Nor would he, if he were wise and liberal minded, rail against the existence of separate schools, knowing in the fullness of his wisdom that they were expedient just so long as the causes that make them necessary exist; seeing also that protest would be of no avail, but would serve only to engender bad feelings and harmful friction. Separate schools are not the cause, but simply one of the effects of the race problem. The effect is less than the cause. This problem will be on our hauds for many a long day, and that, too, whether our schools be separate or mixed.

The advantage claimed for mixed schools is that the colored pupils gain much by contact with the white race, and that the two races being brought into close association will learn to appreciate and respect each other. It is argued, on the other hand, that where mixed schools prevail the negro teacher is excluded, and the colored pupil, accustomed to seeing all ennobling stations filled by white men and women, imbibes, consciously or unconsciously, a feeling of the inferiority of his race, and consequently loses ambition and self-confidence. The isolated instances of colored teachers, whose tenure of office is more or less precarious in such schools, do not materially relieve the situation. Some advocates of mixed schools are so enthusiastic as to claim that they will furnish a panacea for all the ills which the race suffers. Unfortunately, this roseate view is not sustained by the facts of experience. Those who believe that prejudice is not strong enough to survive class-room contact are greatly mistaken. The Jews in Germany attend the universities and rise to the highest ranks by reason of their undoubted mental endowments, and yet prejudice against them seems to abate no whit on that account. The University of Salerno, founded in Italy in the ninth century, received Jews both as students and teachers at a time when persecution against that unfortunate race was at its highest pitch.¹ There is, indeed, a democracy of letters, but its liberality of spirit is largely confined to its own domain. The inefficacy of mixed schools in our land to solve the race problem is too painfully apparent. It has nowhere been shown that they have had any appreciable effect in softening the asperities of prejudice. On the other hand, many honest observers are convinced that prejudice in the North is more hurtful than in the South, and that it is on the increase. True, it takes on another form, but only to accommodate itself to a change of circumstances. Nor have mixed schools produced such striking results for the good of the race as to justify us in ascribing to them any extravagant advantage.

No one, I presume, would undertake to justify separate schools, unless it be on the ground of expediency. The ideal school system is one in which such questions as we have been discussing do not enter, but where all elements of the population stand on an equal footing in management, instruction, and pupilage. But, unfor-

¹ Britannica Encyclopedia—Universities.

unately, we are creatures of circumstances. We have, therefore, to deal with things as they are, and not as we fancy they ought to be. It is a fact which is as certain and as convincing as the law of gravitation that where the colored people form a considerable fraction of the population the races are taught in separate schools; wherever there is sufficient of the African element to give decided color, it is secluded and set apart. This is not a question of geographical lines and political divisions. It depends simply upon the relative weight of the colored element in the community. The negro is the weaker vessel. He can only accept, it may be with an ineffectual protest, conditions which are forced upon him. His frantic outcry against existing discriminations will have no more effect than the wail of an infant crying in the night.

There are three elements of greatness in an institution: (1) Great wealth, which enables it to secure the best equipments and facilities of instruction and to surround itself with learned professors and distinguished scholars; (2) age and scholarly tradition, filling the atmosphere with a bracing influence and intellectual tone; (3) an enthusiastic constituency and a large and widespread body of influential alumni. The better colleges of the East possess all these elements of strength. Contrasted with these, the negro colleges are young, poor, and struggling. It must not be taken for granted, however, that because a college is small and comparatively poor it can not do good and efficient work. If such an institution has sufficient funds to employ a competent faculty, and adhere to a conservative policy of restricting its energies to a definite, limited range of work, there is no reason why it might not accomplish as much in its scope as a school of greater pretensions. Success in the ordinary studies of a college curriculum does not depend so much upon large libraries and laboratories, showy and imposing surroundings, nor yet upon the exalted abilities of the professors, beyond a fair degree of competency, as upon faithfulness, diligence, efficient direction, wholesome enthusiasm, and serious purpose. The smaller college can not rival the great universities in the range and variety of courses, in the liberty, sometimes amounting to license, of electives, nor in the upper reaches of post-graduate and special lines of work. The mission of the small college is to do faithful and efficient work along definite if somewhat limited lines, stamping a deep moral and intellectual impress upon its products; to turn out handmade instead of manufactured articles, not hiding the man in the multitude. Many of the best scholars and most prominent citizens are products of feeble colleges.

The colored student is drawn to the Northern university because of the imposing surroundings and the attractive power of a great name. His ambition is indeed noble, his motive worthy. It is also true that the colored man who attends a white school seems to gain, for a time at least, an enhanced preferment among his own race. This can be explained partly because of his supposed superior equipment and partly on the same ground that a New Englander, in years gone by, who had visited the national capital was looked upon with something of bewilderment by his less fortunate associates. The old doggerel couplet, though wanting perhaps in dignity, is not without direct applicability:

How much a monkey that has been to Rome
Excels a monkey that has stayed at home.

The colored youth from the South, on entering a Northern institution, finds himself in such different relations to white men from those which he has been accustomed to sustain (and which, alas, he is not destined to sustain again) that he is often carried beyond himself by the first heat of enthusiasm. In the minds of many the fear exists that the Southland may be thus decimated of its best intelligence and strength. This would indeed be regretful—a sheer waste of energy. The negro, under the present circumstances, can add nothing to the civilization of the North. If the intelligence and vigorous manhood of the colored race be thus

wasted in unprofitable fields, the negro youth would take to the North that which does not enrich it, but would rob the race in the South of that which leaves it poor indeed. Education should not cause the recipient to shrink from duty, however difficult or disagreeable, but to meet it manfully and to bring all of one's added mental resources to bear upon its accomplishment. The claim of the colored colleges is advocated on several grounds:

1. The existence of a colored college does not prevent those colored youth who prefer to do so from going to Northern institutions. It rather stimulates them to go. There has recently been planted at Washington the Catholic University of America, but that does not imply that all Catholic students will forthwith cease to attend Protestant schools. Denominational institutions never include all the students of a particular faith. It need not be supposed, then, that negro schools must include all negro pupils. It would be a great misfortune if the colored race were cut off from intellectual contact with the Caucasian. The negro has not yet learned a tithe of what the white man can teach him. The time has not yet come for a declaration of intellectual independence. I adopt for the purposes of this argument the words of the late W. W. Patton, D. D., LL. D., president of Howard University. "But," he says in his inaugural address, "to secure this result (the higher education of the negro), so difficult and yet so essential, the process must be such as to throw the colored man under every possible quickening influence. Hence it is not best to separate him carefully from his white brother and raise him in an institution by himself, like a tender plant in a hothouse. He needs the contact with the more advanced race. The acknowledgment of his manhood thus given will add to his self-respect and will fire his nobler ambition."¹

I will venture the proposition that the most wholesome and beneficial contact between the races in the schools is to be found in those cases where the colored student has first passed through some first-class negro college, and afterwards goes to a Northern institution for work in special lines or professional equipment. This view is borne out partly by facts of experience and partly by considerations of a general nature. So far as the results of experience are concerned, let each look around and judge for himself. On general principles, it might be said, the graduate of the colored school has been trained in the atmosphere in which his future lot must be cast. He is impressed on every hand by the vast magnitude of the work which awaits him. If urged on by a desire to extend his knowledge in a greater school, he does so with the fixed purpose of applying his wider acquisitions to the needs of his race. He has also a definite attachment to some school as his alma mater; his zeal for the advancement of education is thus localized and heightened. Mr. S. W. Powell, writing in the *Century Magazine* on a topic of like import, says: "By getting their education where they would be brought face to face with the heartbreaking destitutions of their race, they would be more apt to acquire the enthusiasm and fixed purpose of the missionary. Lack of these is one of the most marked defects of the negro who has a little education. Unless these qualities are developed in those of higher gifts and attainments the task of elevating the race will be much more formidable." Graduates of colored schools, having reached a considerable degree of maturity and soberness, are not likely to be carried away by false enthusiasm and lose their racial balance because of a quasi equality with white men, artificially fostered, and destined to last only for a day. The graduates of these schools should not limit their further search after knowledge to American schools, but should be encouraged to go to the English, German, and French universities, and to gather the sparkling gems of knowledge wherever they glitter.

2. The colored college serves to develop negro scholarship by giving members of the race an opportunity to make their education effective. The scholar must have

¹ Inaugural address as president of Howard University.

time, leisure, and opportunity to observe, study, and reflect. Many usually finish their education, in the strict literary sense, at the college commencement, unless, luckily, their vocation in life calls for constant literary activity. A college is a seat, and not merely a dispensary of learning. It is not more a distributing center than a depository of knowledge. The mission of the college professor is not merely to teach, but to study, to investigate, and to grow. The great minds of Europe are gathered in the universities. Harvard, Yale, and Princeton mean most to American scholarship. If the negro student is to be permitted to go to the universities, but is to be given no opportunity to develop beyond graduation, the intellectual status of the race will always be low.

One of the striking peculiarities of the colored race is that its members are not inspired by the great achievements of white men. It seems to be taken for granted that the Caucasian should do great things. The negro seems to think that the white man is removed from his plane of competition. It seldom, if ever, occurs to the colored pupil to equal or surpass his white teacher. He is at most a pupil, never a disciple of his Caucasian master. But when one colored man rises, every other colored man begins to look upward. The negro does not care how far the white man outstrips him, but will do his level best to keep pace with one of his own color. There should be colored men of approved character, culture, and racial enthusiasm conspicuously at the front in these schools of higher learning. They stand out before the students as a typical embodiment of the possibilities of their kind. The abolition of the negro college would be the death knell of the higher education of the race. Colored youth would soon cease to attend Northern colleges if there were no stimulus beyond the commencement. The negroes of the North have often been upbraided for not taking better advantage of the educational facilities by which they are surrounded. They answer this reproach with the query, "Cui bono?" Let us notice the harmful effect of this principle when applied to another situation. In a publication of the Bureau of Education, entitled *Education in Maryland*, the author attributes the backwardness of that State in higher educational matters, until quite recently, largely to the fact that in the early history of the colony the youth were sent abroad for their higher education, to the neglect of home institutions. Some went to William and Mary in Virginia, others to England, and still others of Catholic parentage, like Charles Carroll, were educated on the continent of Europe.

3. "Practical education" is the cant phrase of the hour. Let us repudiate the cheap sentiment that all negroes should be taught a mechanical trade. What is here meant by a practical education is one that will enable the recipient to deal wisely with the issues which he must grapple with in after life. One's education should, as far as possible, fit for the special circumstances of his environment. Dr. Edward W. Blyden, the world-renowned negro scholar, tells us: "The object of all education is to secure growth and efficiency, to make a man all that his natural gifts will allow him to become, to produce self-respect, a proper appreciation of our own powers and the powers of other people, to beget a fitness for one's sphere in life and action, and an ability to discharge the duties it imposes."¹ The negro's "sphere of life and action" in this land is well known. The American negro may attempt great works, may plant fields and build houses, may gather silver and gold and the precious treasures of the earth—yea, may turn himself to the pursuit of wisdom and surround himself with the highest delights known to the sons of men—but unless he measures it all by the gauge of his racial circumstances he will find that it is all vanity and vexation of spirit. During the civil war all of the moral, mental, muscular, and material resources of the North were called into use to defend and uphold the Union. The skilled mechanic must build ships and devise engines of war; the chemist must invent destructive com-

¹ *Islam and the Negro Race*, p. 85.

pounds; the philosopher must uphold the theory of the government in dispute by his erudition; the scholar must write books and the poet must sing songs full of the Union sentiment and patriotic devotion. The negro race is in the midst of a life and death struggle for a higher existence, for racial development and manly recognition. All available powers need to be impressed into service. The colored college is necessary in order that the youth may be educated consciously and enthusiastically as to the needs of the race.

4. The courses of study in the Northern colleges do not contemplate the needs of the negro. They were made out without reference to him, and indeed without any thought that he would ever participate in them. These may include subjects which to the negro student's manly instinct and sense of self-respect are worse than a chilling blast. In one of the most liberal of American universities there is, or was, a distinguished professor who is the author of a book which sinks the negro to the lowest depths of degradation, from which, according to its learned dictum, he shall be lifted nevermore. Think of a self-respecting colored student learning the science of man from such a source! I can more easily think of a Baptist minister putting his children under the tutelage of a Jesuit priest, or a Union general during the war sending his son to school in South Carolina. Quoting Dr. Blyden once more: "In all English-speaking countries the mind of the intelligent negro child revolts against the descriptions—given in elementary books, geographies, travels, histories—of the negro; but though at first he experiences an instinctive revulsion from the caricatures and misrepresentations, he is obliged to continue, as he grows in years, to study such pernicious teachings. After leaving school he finds the same thing in newspapers, in reviews, novels, in quasi scientific works, and after a while, *saepe cadendo*, they begin to seem the proper thing to say about his race."¹ There is to the colored race a baneful influence lurking in that literature which sets forth the negro in every mood and tense of contempt.

The Southern white people, if we omit a single issue, possess many admirable traits and qualities. Their sense of self-respect is most highly commendable. No Southerner would send his child to a school where any doctrine was taught repugnant to his sense of dignity and self-esteem. No text-book reflecting in any way on Southern character can be introduced into their schools.

The new woman, clamoring for what she considers to be her rights, has learned the same lesson. No institution is too venerable, no book too sacred to be attacked, if in her opinion it degrades and humiliates her sex. She has rendered a new interpretation of the Bible itself in accordance with the new notion of the dignity and elevation of womanhood. A distinguished bishop of an influential denomination has suggested a new rendering of the sacred book in its reference to the negro. All these parties are doubtless extreme in their sensitiveness, but the whole trend of manhood is to accept nothing that insults one's own soul. The negro university, then, in its fuller development, can be a bulwark of strength to the race as a friendly interpreter of science and learning.

5. It would be very unfortunate if the negro in Texas who desired a higher education should have to go all the way to Massachusetts to procure it. Should there not be some higher institutions of learning accessible to him nearer home? Emperor Frederick II gave as his reason for founding the University of Naples in 1225 that his subjects in his Kingdom of Naples should find in the capital adequate instruction in every branch of learning and "not be compelled in the pursuit of knowledge to have recourse to foreign nations or to beg it in other lands."²

6. It is not wise to depend wholly upon the Northern institutions for the higher education of colored youth. It can not be predicted at what point they may fail. Prejudice is a capricious frenzy. It obeys no law and is subject to no rational principle. Its slightest whim will put to naught our profoundest plans and pur-

¹Islam and the Negro Race, p. 88.

²Encyclopedia Britannica—article Universities.

poses. It is impossible to make the operation of prejudice conform to the formulas of logic. It is illogical and inconsistent and cares nothing for the discomfiture of its victim. If prejudice orders it so an institution will close its doors to the negro to-morrow, notwithstanding it received him yesterday with open arms. Can anyone predict what would be the policies of the universities of the North should the negro contingency become "too numerous?" Dr. J. E. Rankin, president of Howard University, in a notable utterance before the second Mohawk Conference on the Negro Question, tells us: "It is true that colored men can go to Northern institutions of learning; that is, as an individual—one of him. But ten of him would break up any college class. Even Harvard would cease to elect him class orator. He can not be educated in large numbers except in institutions established for his benefit. Christian as are our theological seminaries, I believe that the white students of a class would regard one colored man as a curiosity, a phenomenon, and two colored men as a double enigma, but ten colored men would put 10,000 of them to flight."¹

7. It is objected that separate institutions tend to perpetuate prejudice. There is time and patience for but a word to objectors of this class. The best possible way to perpetuate prejudice is for the negro to do nothing and to have nothing, but to live like the sponge and the parasite. If the time is to come when the foundations of prejudice are to be broken up, separate institutions, especially if they be good ones, will not stand in the way. The wisest way to break down prejudice, if that is possible to be done, is for the negro to have something which white men want and not always be wanting something which they have.

IX. COLORED MEN IN THE PROFESSIONS.

In a homogeneous society where there is no racial cleavage, only the select members of the favored class occupy professional stations. In India it is said that the populace is divided horizontally by caste and vertically by religion; but in America the race spirit serves both as a horizontal and vertical separation. The isolation of the negro in all social and semisocial relations necessitates independent ministrative agencies from the lowest to the highest rungs on the ladder of service. It is for this reason that the colored race demands that its preachers, teachers, physicians, and lawyers shall be for the most part men of their own blood and sympathies. Strangely enough this feeling first asserted itself in the church—that organization founded upon the universal fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. In the estimation of its founder there is neither Jew nor Greek, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free. According to a strict construction of its requirements, there is no difference in kind among those who are spiritually akin. And yet the organic separation of the races first asserted itself in the matter of religion. Whenever the colored adherents became sufficiently large to excite attention, they were set apart, either in separate communion or in separate assignment of place in the house of worship. When the negro worshiper gained conscious self-respect, he grew tired of the back pews and upper galleries of the white churches, and sought places of worship more compatible with his sense of freedom and dignity. Hence arose the negro church and the negro clergy. This was the first professional class to arise, and is still relatively the most numerous. The religious interests of the race are almost wholly in the hands of the colored clergy. Outside of the Catholic Church it is almost as difficult to find a white clergyman over a colored congregation as it is to meet with the reverse phenomenon. The two denominations, Methodists and Baptists, that are wholly under negro ecclesiastical control, include well-nigh the entire colored race.

The proportional number of church communicants for the colored race exceeds

¹ Report of second Mohawk Conference on the Negro Question.

that for the white race. In 1890 the colored race had one communicant for every 2.79 of the negro population, while the whites had one out of every 3.04.

The negro church communicants were distributed as follows among the several religious denominations:

Regular Baptists	1,348,989
African Methodist Episcopal	452,725
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	349,788
Methodist Episcopal	246,249
Colored Methodist Episcopal	129,383
Regular Baptist North	35,221
Disciples of Christ	18,578
Primitive Baptist	18,162
Presbyterian (Northern)	14,961
Roman Catholic	14,517
Cumberland Presbyterian	12,956
Other denominations (17)	34,448
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Total	2,673,977

This vast host of church members is, as above stated, almost wholly under colored ecclesiastical control. There is need for at least 25,000 trained men to administer to the spiritual needs of this multitude. Herein lies one of the most powerful arguments for the higher education of select members of the negro race. The tendency of the times is to require of candidates for the professions sound academic training as a preparatory basis for their professional equipment. It is idle to say that because the negro race is ignorant and undeveloped therefore its clergy need not measure up to the average of professional requirements. It surely requires as much discretion, resourcefulness, and sense to meet the needs of the lowly as to administer to those who are already exalted. It is true that the negroes have been gathered in the church in great multitudes under the guidance of men who had little academic equipment for their work; but we know full well that this is but the first step in their spiritual development, and that their future welfare requires not only men of consecration, but men of definite training for their work. Let us not forget also that the negro church has a larger function than the white church. Therefore the negro preacher must be not only the spiritual leader of his flock, but also the general guide, philosopher, and friend.

The rise of the colored teacher is due almost wholly to the outcome of the civil war. The South soon hit upon the plan of the scholastic separation of the races, and assigned colored teachers to colored schools as the best means of carrying out this policy. Hence a large professional class was at once injected into the arena. As the negro preacher is responsible for the spiritual life of the race, so the negro teacher is charged with its intellectual enlightenment. The 2,000,000 negro children of school age constitute the charge committed to the keeping of 30,000 negro teachers. There were at the inception a great many white laborers who generously entered upon this work, of whom there still remains a goodly sprinkling. But their function was and is mainly to prepare colored men and women for the responsible tasks. It was inevitable that many of the teachers, for whom there was such a sudden demand, should have been illy prepared for the task imposed. It was and still is in many cases a travesty upon terms to speak of such work as most of these teachers were able to do as professional service. We find here as strong an argument for the secondary and higher education of the negro as was furnished by ecclesiastical necessities. The duty imposed upon negro teachers is as onerous and requires as high a degree of knowledge and professional equipment as that imposed upon any other class engaged in educational work.

The special needs of their constituency call for a higher rather than a lower order of training, preparation, and fitness.

The colored doctor and lawyer have only recently entered the field in anything like sufficient numbers to attract attention. The same spirit that demanded the negro preacher has also operated in favor of the negro doctor. The relation between patient and physician is close and confidential. The social barrier between the races often operates against the acceptability of a physician of the opposite race. The success of the colored physician has often been little less than marvelous.

The colored lawyer has not been so fortunate as his medical confrère. The relation between client and attorney is not necessarily close and personal, but partakes of a business nature. The client's interest is also dependent upon the court and jury, with whom the white attorney is generally supposed to have greater weight and influence. For such reasons the negro lawyer has not made the headway that has been accomplished in the other professions.

It must be said for the professions of law and medicine that the applicants are subjected to a uniform test, and therefore colored and white candidates are on the same footing. Colored practitioners, therefore, must have a fair degree of preliminary training and professional preparation.

Macon B. Allen was the first colored attorney regularly admitted to practice in the United States. He was admitted in Maine in 1844. It is claimed by some that the husband of Phyllis Wheatley was a lawyer. Robert Morris was admitted to the Boston bar in 1850, on motion of Charles Sumner, where he practiced with splendid success until his death, in 1882. Prof. John M. Langston was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1854. James Durham was born a slave in Philadelphia in 1762. His master was a surgeon. He purchased his freedom and became one of the most noted physicians in New Orleans. His practice is said to have been worth \$3,000 a year. The following account attests the success of a black physician:

Dr. David Ruggles, poor, blind, and an invalid, founded a well-known water-cure establishment in the town where I write (Northampton, Mass.), erected expensive buildings, won fashionable distinction as a most skillful and successful practitioner, secured the warm regard and esteem of this community, and left a name established in the hearts of many who feel that they owe their life to his skill and careful practice.¹

Dr. John V. Degress was admitted in due form as a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1854.

The above are only samples of negroes in the learned professions before the civil war. Of course, there was a larger number of ministers and teachers. Out of such meager beginnings has grown the great number of professional colored men and women of to-day.

The number and distribution of colored and white men among the different professions for the sixteen former slave States and the District of Columbia can be seen from the following table:

*Professional occupations.*²

ALABAMA.

Profession.	Number.		Number of persons to each.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Teachers	3,188	946	262	718
Doctors	1,798	28	464	24,618
Lawyers	1,298	13	642	52,254
Clergymen	1,046	799	799	850

¹ Wendell Phillips in introduction to W. C. Nell's *Colored Patriots of the American Revolution, 1832.*

² Eleventh Census.

Professional occupations—Continued.

ARKANSAS.

Profession.	Number.		Number of persons to each.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Teachers	2,792	612	293	506
Doctors	2,224	40	369	7,761
Lawyers	1,052	30	816	10,313
Clergymen	1,138	666	719	465

DELAWARE.

Teachers	677	42	297	679
Doctors	231	2	606	14,214
Clergymen	192	72	729	395
Lawyers	155	1	903	14,427

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Teachers	996	361	155	209
Clergymen	255	129	696	587
Doctors	692	37	224	2,046
Lawyers	1,375	26	112	2,911

FLORIDA.

Teachers	1,204	417	187	397
Clergymen	486	433	464	385
Doctors	620	12	563	13,873
Lawyers	561	13	401	12,806

GEORGIA.

Teachers	3,999	1,535	217	559
Clergymen	1,240	1,270	790	673
Doctors	2,343	40	411	21,475
Lawyers	1,713	17	.....	50,529

KENTUCKY.

Teachers	7,290	711	218	377
Clergymen	1,897	651	838	412
Doctors	3,214	42	495	6,385
Lawyers	2,339	14	689	19,155

LOUISIANA.

Teachers	2,818	628	198	892
Clergymen	524	639	1,061	871
Doctors	1,212	58	467	14,926
Lawyers	1,040	30	537	15,339

MARYLAND.

Teachers	4,595	382	180	565
Clergymen	1,188	287	696	752
Doctors	1,663	37	497	5,563
Lawyers	1,161	23	712	8,592

Professional occupations—Continued.

MISSISSIPPI.

Profession.	Number.		Number of persons to each.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Teachers	3,157	1,546	173	483
Clergymen	814	989	668	758
Doctors	1,624	34	335	21,965
Lawyers	872	26	626	28,644

MISSOURI.

Teachers	13,689	546	189	276
Clergymen	3,439	402	735	375
Doctors	5,225	28	494	5,383
Lawyers	3,943	8	641	18,591

NORTH CAROLINA.

Teachers	3,679	1,091	287	516
Clergymen	1,385	855	762	658
Doctors	1,488	46	709	12,229
Lawyers	978	14	1,079	40,183

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Teachers	2,130	889	217	775
Clergymen	747	876	618	787
Doctors	1,099	30	420	22,971
Lawyers	748	23	617	29,963

TENNESSEE.

Teachers	5,485	1,093	245	394
Clergymen	1,862	812	712	531
Doctors	3,283	102	407	4,224
Lawyers	1,562	76	856	5,669

TEXAS.

Teachers	7,388	1,473	236	332
Clergymen	2,518	836	694	586
Doctors	4,286	54	408	9,068
Lawyers	3,540	12	493	40,799

VIRGINIA.

Teachers	6,026	1,459	169	435
Clergymen	1,417	747	720	851
Doctors	1,892	39	539	16,253
Lawyers	1,611	38	633	16,733

WEST VIRGINIA.

Teachers	3,823	134	191	244
Clergymen	910	77	802	425
Doctors	1,022	4	714	8,179
Lawyers	935	2	789	16,358

The colored preachers are quite as numerous in proportion to the population as the white, and in some cases more so. In West Virginia there are 425 whites and

only 802 blacks to each minister of the respective races. One might expect a preponderance of colored ministers for two reasons: (1) There is a larger relative church membership; and (2) the colored population has not more than half the density of that of the white in the area under consideration. In the State of Missouri, for example, 735 colored preachers cover the same territory as 3,439 white ministers; and while each of the former has on an average 375 persons to the parish to the latter's 735, yet his geographical area is five times as extensive. If we turn to the States where the negroes predominate, we may expect to find a reversal of conditions. In Mississippi and South Carolina the colored parish is smaller in area but more populous than that of the whites. The clerical demand of the negro population is fully supplied in a numerical sense, albeit there is much need for a higher standard of professional equipment for its most arduous and delicate duties.

In no case has the colored race as many teachers in proportion to the population as the white. In some cases, like South Carolina and Alabama, the disproportion is glaring, the number of persons to each teacher being 217 to 775 in the former, and 262 to 718 in the latter, in favor of the more fortunate race. It must be said, however, that the number of persons to each teacher does not necessarily represent the actual distribution of the work between the races; for it is known that in every Southern State there are white teachers working among colored people. These are mainly in private and philanthropic schools, however, and do not materially affect the general equation, or rather the inequality, of educational conditions. If we take geographical conditions into account, and the fact that the two sets of teachers operate over the same area, it will be seen that the disparity is greatly enhanced. Taking all in all, it appears that the negro teaching force is in no sense adequate to the task imposed upon it.

The colored lawyers and doctors form so small a proportion of the general population as scarcely to merit mention as a professional class. In Texas there is 1 negro doctor in 9,000 and 1 negro lawyer in 40,000 of the population, while in South Carolina there are 22,000 and 29,000 to a colored practitioner in the respective professions. In Alabama there is 1 black doctor to look after 24,000 patients, and each colored lawyer has 52,000 clients. The work in these professions is conducted mainly by the whites, although the Twelfth Census will undoubtedly show a large increase in the colored practitioners. Where numbers are small, proportions are sensitive. The number of persons to each practitioner will be materially reduced. The argument which we sometimes hear that negroes are leaving the farm and the shop to rush into the learned professions is not borne out by the collected facts in the case. In Alabama, for instance, only 1 negro in 50,000 has entered upon the practice of law and 1 in 25,000 upon the profession of medicine. While it is true that there is no large demand for colored men in these professional pursuits, especially outside of the large centers, nevertheless the steady progress of the people in property, intelligence, and diversified material and commercial interests calls for a conservative increase in the number of professional colored men both in medicine and in law.

It can not be claimed that the colored race has developed superlative names in the several professions. There are not a few ministers of piety and eloquence. The teacher in the public service must maintain the average proficiency of the system to the satisfaction of the white superintendents. The negro lawyers are in open competition with their white collaborators, and must render satisfactory service, else they would have no clients. Colored physicians generally have a good record for professional skill and integrity. There is no movement affecting the lot and life of the colored race so suggestive of its educational needs as the size of the professional class.

X. NEGROES WHO HAVE ACHIEVED DISTINCTION ALONG LINES CALLING FOR DEFINITE INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY.

The individual is the proof of the race, the first unfoldment of its potency and promise. The glory of any people is perpetuated and carried forward by the illustrious names which spring from among them. As we contemplate the great nations and peoples, whether of the ancient or of the modern world, their commanding characters rise up before us, typifying their contribution to the general welfare of the human race. On the contrary, no people can hope to gain esteem and favor which fails to produce distinguished individuals illustrative and exemplary of its possibilities.

For four centuries the African race has been brought in contact with the European in all parts of the globe. This contact has not been of an ennobling character, but of the servile sort, affording little opportunity for the development of those qualities which the favored races hold in esteem. And yet there has arisen from this dark and forbidden background not a few striking individual emanations. This race, through a strain of its blood, has given to Russia her national poet and to France her most distinguished romancer. Toussaint L'Ouverture, the negro patriot, is the most commanding historical figure of the entire West Indian Archipelago. In South America persons of negro blood have gained the highest political and civil renown.

The Anglo-Saxon deals with backward peoples on a different basis from the Latin races. While he has a keener sense of justice and is imbued with a spirit of philanthropic kindness, yet he builds up a barrier between himself and them which it is almost impossible to overcome. To him personal solicitude and good will and racial intolerance are not incompatible qualities. On the other hand, the Latin races, while possessing a much lower order of general efficiency, accept on equal terms all who conform to the prevailing standards. Under the Latin dispensation color offers not the slightest bar to the individual who exhibits high qualities of mind or soul. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find that the colored men who have reached the highest degree of fame should have sprung from the Latin civilization. The persons of African blood who are most nearly comparable with names of the first order of renown among Europeans are Toussaint L'Ouverture, of Haiti; Alexander Pushkin, of Russia; Alexander Dumas, of France. In France, Italy, or Spain color is only a curious incident. The Afro-American therefore belongs in a category by himself. His circumstances and conditions are so different from those of his European brother that although of same color they are not of the same class.

Several lists of distinguished colored men have been prepared, the most important of which, perhaps, was published by Abbé Grégoire, and was prepared to answer the argument of Thomas Jefferson and others, who undertook to prove the negro's intellectual inferiority. This work contains accounts of negroes in all countries who had reached eminence and distinction in all lines of endeavor.¹ An account of the part played by colored men in the Revolutionary war contains the deeds and achievements of noted negroes.² Rev. William J. Simmons brings the former work nearer to date and includes many colored men now living.³ A list of distinguished colored women has also been compiled.⁴

Numerous magazine articles have appeared on this subject from time to time.

¹ De la littérature des Nègres, ou Recherches sur leur facultés intellectuelles, leur qualités morales, et leur littérature; suivies par notices sur la vie et les ouvrages des Nègres qui se sont distingués dans les sciences, les lettres et les arts. Par H. Grégoire. Paris, 1808.

² Colored Patriots of the American Revolution, by William Cooper Nell, with introduction by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Boston, 1855.

³ Men of Mark, 1141 pages, by William J. Simmons, D. D. Cleveland, 1887.

⁴ Women of Distinction, by A. L. Scruggs, M. D. Raleigh, 1893.

The two which are, perhaps, of the greatest importance, and which include the substance of the rest, appeared in the *International Quarterly Review*¹ and in the *North American Review*²

An interesting syllabus has recently been prepared by Mr. A. O. Stafford on "Negro ideals," which gives a good outline of the efforts of the negro toward better things.³

It is with some hesitancy that a few names of the more distinguished Afro-Americans are here presented. In such a restricted list it is inevitable that many should be omitted who are equally worthy as some who are mentioned. The names here presented have not been selected because of general distinction, but rather for technical, artistic, and intellectual achievements in the scholastic sense.

Only those have been included of whose achievements the world takes account. There is no name in the list which may not be found in Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*. Nothing is great or small except by comparison. The names here presented are at least respectable when measured by European standards. It is true that no one of them reaches the first, or even the second degree of luster in the galaxy of the world's greatness. The competing number has been so insignificant and the social atmosphere has been so repressive to their budding aspirations that it would be little short of a miracle of genius if any member of this race had reached the highest degree of glory. It is true that if not one of these had ever been born the bulk and quality of science, literature, and art would not be appreciably affected.

While these contributors must be measured in terms of European standards in order that there may be a sane and rational basis of comparison, yet there is another measure which takes account of the struggles and strivings out of which they grew. In the light of European comparison it appears that they represent more than the marvelous vision of a one-eyed man among the blind, but rather the surprising visual power of a one-eyed man among two-eyed men. The significance of these superior manifestations, however, must not be measured solely by their intrinsic value. They serve both as an argument and an inspiration. They show the American people that the negro, at his best, is imbued with their own ideas and strives after their highest ideals. To the negro they serve as models of excellence to stimulate and encourage his hesitant and disheartened aspirations.

One will be struck by the versatility and range of the names in the list. They cover well-nigh every field of human excellence. It will be noticed that the imitative and esthetic arts predominate over the more solid and severe intellectual acquisitions. Is this not the repetition of the history of culture? The poet and the artist precede the scientist and the engineer. This meager fruitage does not furnish cause of self-complacent glorification on the part of the negro, but is only an index of the promise of the tree of which they are the initial bearings. With its extended range and scope, the rising generation can look upon them in the light of promise rather than fulfillment.

That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do.⁴

Phyllis Wheatley was born in Africa and was brought to America in 1761. She was bought from the slave market by John Wheatly, of Boston, and soon developed remarkable acquisitive faculties. In sixteen months from her arrival she could read English fluently. She soon learned to write, and also studied Latin. She visited England in 1774 and was cordially received. After returning to Boston

¹ "The intellectual position of the negro," by Prof. Richard T. Greener. *International Quarterly Review*, July, 1880.

² "Negro intellect," by William Matthews. *North American Review*, July, 1889.

³ Hampton Sumner Normal Institute Papers, July, 1901.

⁴ Tennyson's "Locksley Hall."

she corresponded with Countess Huntington, the Earl of Dartmouth, Rev. George Whitfield, and others, and wrote many poems to her friends. She addressed some lines to Gen. George Washington, which were afterwards published in the Pennsylvania Magazine for April, 1776. General Washington wrote a courteous response and invited her to visit the Revolutionary headquarters, which she did, and was received with marked attention by Washington and his officers. Her principal publications are *An Elegiac Poem on the Death of George Whitfield*; *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, published in London in 1773, and republished as *The Negro Equalled by Few Europeans*, two volumes, Philadelphia, 1801. The letters of Phyllis Wheatley were printed in Boston in 1804, collected from the proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society.¹

Benjamin Banneker was born November 9, 1731, near Ellicotts Mill, Md. Both his father and grandfather were native Africans. He attended a private school which admitted several colored children along with the whites. Although his early educational facilities were scanty, young Banneker soon gained a local reputation as a miracle of wisdom. In 1770 he constructed a clock to strike the hours, the first to be made in America. This he did with crude tools and a watch for his model, as he had never seen a clock. Through the kindness of Mr. Ellicott, who was a gentleman of cultivation and taste, he gained access to his valuable collection of books, and was thus inducted into the study of astronomy. In this study he gained great proficiency and constructed an almanac adapted to the local requirements of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. This was the first almanac constructed in America, and was published by Goddard & Angell, Baltimore. Banneker's Almanac was published annually from 1792 to 1806, the year of his death. It contained the motions of the sun and moon; the motions, places, and aspects of the planets; the rising and setting of the sun, and the rising, setting, southing, place, and age of moon, etc., and is said to have been the main dependence of the farmers in the region covered. He lived mainly from the royalty received from this publication. Banneker sent a copy of this almanac to Thomas Jefferson, which elicited a flattering acknowledgment on the part of the philosopher and statesman. Banneker assisted the commissioners in laying out the lines of the District of Columbia. A life of Banneker was published by Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe, Baltimore, 1845, and another by J. S. Norris, 1854.² That Thomas Jefferson believed in the intellectual capacity of the negro and appreciated the force of the argument that the treatment of this race found justification in its assumed low state of mental possibility is revealed by his letter to Benjamin Banneker, the black astronomer:

SIR: I thank you sincerely for your letter of the 19th instant and for the almanac it contained. Nobody wishes more than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit that nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of the other colors of men, and that the appearance of a want of them is owing merely to the degraded condition of their existence, both in Africa and America. I can add with truth that nobody wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition both of their body and mind to what it ought to be as fast as the imbecility of their present existence and other circumstances which can not be neglected will admit. I have taken the liberty of sending your almanac to M. de Condorcet, secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Paris and member of the Philanthropic Society, because I considered it as a document to which your color had a right for their justification against the doubts which have been entertained of them.

I am, with great esteem, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Mr. BENJAMIN BANNEKER,

*Near Ellicotts Lower Mills, Baltimore County.*³

¹ See Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. VI, pp. 449, 450.

² Williams's *History of the Negro Race*, Vol. I, pp. 385-398.

³ Jefferson's *Works*, Vol. III, p. 291.

Lemuel Haynes was born in Hartford, Conn., July 18, 1753. His father was an African, his mother a white woman. He received the honorary degree of A. M. from Middlebury College in 1804. After completing a theological course he preached in various places and settled in West Rutland, Vt., in 1788, where he remained for thirty years and became one of the most popular preachers in the State. He was characterized by a subtle intellect, keen wit, and eager thirst for knowledge. His noted sermon from Genesis 3 and 4 was published and passed through nine or ten editions. His controversy with Hosea Ballou became of world-wide interest. The life of Lemuel Haynes was written by James E. Cooley, New York, 1848.

Ira Aldridge was born at Belaire, Md., about 1810.¹ There is some dispute as to the exact composition of his blood, some claim that he was of pure African descent, while others contend that he was of mixed extraction. He was early brought in contact with Mr. Kean, the great tragedian, and in 1826 accompanied him to Europe. Mr. Kean encouraged his dramatic aspiration, and on one occasion, at least, permitted him to appear as Othello, while he himself took the part of Iago. As an interpreter of Shakespeare he was very generally regarded as one of the best and most faithful. He appeared at Covent Garden as Othello in 1833, and in Surrey Theater in 1848. On the Continent he ranked as one of the greatest tragedians of his time. Honors were showered upon him wherever he appeared. He was presented by the King of Prussia with the first-class medal of arts and sciences, accompanied by an autograph letter from the Emperor of Austria; the Grand Cross of Leopold; a similar decoration from the Emperor of Russia, and a magnificent Maltese cross, with the medal of merit, from the city of Berne. Similar honors were conferred by other crowned heads of Europe. He was made a member of the Prussian Academy of Arts and Sciences and holder of the large gold medal; member of the Imperial and Arch Ducal Institution of Our Lady of the Manger in Austria; of the Russian Hof-Versammlung of Riga; honorary member of the Imperial Academy of Arts and Sciences in St. Petersburg, and many others. Aldridge appeared with flattering success in Amsterdam, Brussels, Berlin, Breslau, Vienna, Pesth, The Hague, Dantzic, Konigsberg, Dresden, Berne, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Cracow, Gotha, and numerous other cities in the leading parts of the standard plays of the times. He was an associate of the most prominent men of Paris, among whom was Alexander Dumas. When these two met they always kissed each other, and Dumas always greeted Aldridge with the words "mon confrère." Aldridge died at Lodz, in Poland, 1867.

Col. George W. Williams was born in Pennsylvania in 1849. He was educated in public and private schools and completed his theological training at West Newton Theological Seminary. His *History of the Negro Race in America* is the sole existing authority on the subject of which it treats, and forms, without doubt, as valuable a literary monument as any yet left by a colored man.

Paul Laurence Dunbar is still a young man under 30 years of age. He has already made an impression on American literature that can never be effaced. He has published *Oaks and Ivy*, *Majors and Minors*, *Lyrics of Lowly Life*, and *Lyrics of the Hearthstone*, together with half a dozen volumes of fiction and short stories. Several of his works have been reprinted in England. Speaking of his early poems, William Dean Howells says: "Some of these [poems in literary English] I thought very good. What I mean is, several people might have written them, but I do not know anyone else at present who could quite have written his dialect pieces. There are divinations and reports of what passes in the hearts and minds of a lowly people whose poetry had hitherto been inarticulately

¹ There is some dispute as to the exact date of his birth; 1804 is the time given by Simmons in *Men of Mark*.

expressed, but now finds, for the first time in our tongue, literary interpretation of a very artistic completeness."¹

Henry O. Tanner, son of Bishop B. T. Tanner, of the African Methodist Church, was born in Pittsburg, Pa., in 1859. His early educational opportunities were good, having studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and subsequently at Paris. His pictures have been hung on the line in many a salon exhibition, and now the Government of France has crowned the long list of medals and prizes which Mr. Tanner has received by buying one of his most important works, *The Raising of Lazarus*, for the Luxemburg Gallery. The picture has already been hung in the Luxemburg Gallery, and in the course of time will naturally be transferred to the Louvre. Other notable pictures by the same artist are *Nicodemus*, owned by the Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia; *The Annunciation*, which now hangs in the Memorial Hall, Philadelphia; the *Betrayal*, in the Carnegie Gallery, at Pittsburg.²

Dr. Daniel H. Williams, of Chicago, is widely known throughout the medical profession. He has performed several noted operations that taxed the skill of surgical science.

In 1897 Dr. Williams performed an operation on account of a stab wound of the heart and pericardium, a report of which was published in the *Medical Record*, March 27, 1897, attracted the attention of the entire medical and surgical fraternity, and was published in the medical journals of nearly every country and language. It has also been referred to in most recent works on surgery, especially in *International Text-Book on Surgery* and *Da Costa's Modern Surgery*.

An article on "Ovarian cysts in colored women," by Dr. Williams, published in the *Philadelphia Medical Journal*, December 29, 1900, had for its purpose the refutation of the idea that had been almost universal among surgeons, that colored women did not have ovarian tumors. The record of the cases collected by Dr. Williams furnishes sufficient data to sustain his contention. It is also shown in this article that the same may be said of fibrous tumors. This article has been considered of such value to the profession that it has been copied extensively in medical literature and notably in some of the best German and French medical journals.

Dr. Williams has performed various important operations that have been published in medical journals and widely commented upon in the medical world. He was surgeon in chief of the Freedmen's Hospital, at Washington, D. C., from 1893 to 1897.

Charles W. Chestnut was born in Fayetteville, N. C., about fifty years ago. He moved to Cleveland, Ohio, where he was employed as court stenographer. Mr. Chestnut has written several works of fiction which, according to competent critics, place him among the foremost story tellers of the time. *The Wife of My Youth*, *The House Behind the Cedars*, and *The Marrow of Tradition* are published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, Mass.

Prof. W. S. Scarborough was born in Georgia in 1852, was graduated from Oberlin College in 1875, and is professor of Greek at Wilberforce University. He is a member of the American Philological Society and of the Modern Language Association. He has published *First Lessons in Greek* (New York, 1881), and the *Theory and Functions of the Thematic Vowel in the Greek Verb*.

Prof. W. E. B. Du Bois was born in Massachusetts about thirty-three years ago. He was graduated from Fisk University and subsequently from Harvard, after which he studied two years in Germany and earned his Ph. D. degree from Harvard. He has been a teacher in Wilberforce University, associate in sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, and professor of history and political economy at Atlanta University. His chief works are *The Suppression of the African Slave*

¹ Introduction to *Lyrics of Lowly Life*, by W. D. Howells.

² See "A negro artist of unique power," by Elbert Frances Baldwin, *Outlook*, April, 1900.

Trade, published in the Harvard Historical Series; The Philadelphia Negro, published under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, and numerous special studies and investigations that have appeared in the proceedings of the Atlanta conferences and the bulletins of the Bureau of Labor, as well as sundry magazine articles. Mr. Du Bois has done more to give scientific accuracy and method to the study of the race question than any other American who has essayed to deal with it.

It is generally believed that while the negro possesses the imitative he lacks the initiative faculty; that while he can acquire what has already been accumulated, he can not inquire into the unrevealed mystery of things. As an illustration of how easy it is for the achievements of the negro to escape his fellow-colaborers, the following incident may be regarded as typical. The Patent Office sent out circulars inquiring as to the number and extent of colored patentees. One of the leading patent attorneys responded that he had never heard of the negro inventing anything except lies; yet the Patent Office record reveals 250 colored patentees and more than 400 patents. Many of these show the highest ingenuity and are widely used in the mechanical arts.

Granville T. Woods was born in Ohio, and is 44 years old. He has more than twenty patents to his credit. Mr. Woods is the inventor of the electric telephone transmitter, which he assigned to the American Bell Telephone Company for a valuable consideration, said to amount to \$10,000. This transmitter is used in connection with all the Bell telephones.

Elijah T. McCoy, of Detroit, Mich., has taken out 30 patents, mainly devoted to the improvement of lubricating devices for stationary and locomotive machinery. His inventions are in general use on locomotive engines of leading railways in the Northwest, on the lake steamers, and on railways in Canada.

There are numerous colored people who have achieved distinction in fields calling for practical energy, moral courage, sound intelligence, and intellectual resource. Mr. Frederick Douglass and Prof. Booker T. Washington are, in general average of distinction, the most renowned of their race, although their fields of exertion are not mainly intellectual, in the academic sense of the term—and yet Mr. Douglass was one of the most eminent American orators, and his autobiography forms an integral part of the literature of the antislavery struggle; and Mr. Washington's *Up from Slavery* is one of the most popular books printed in the first year of the twentieth century. As Mr. Douglass's life is woven in the warp and woof of the great epoch ending in the civil war, so Mr. Washington's life and work have become a vital part of current educational literature, and his place in the history of education is assured.

CHAPTER III.

THE COLLEGE-BRED NEGRO.^a

The following information has been selected (in large part reprinted verbatim) from a report of the results of a social study, made under the direction of Atlanta University, to the Fifth Conference for the Study of Negro Problems, held at Atlanta University, ^b May 29-30, 1900. The report referred to was drawn up by W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Ph. D., corresponding secretary of the conference. Appended to this chapter is an argument by President Bumstead of Atlanta University in favor of the higher education of the negro.

The general idea of the Atlanta Conference is to select among the various and intricate questions arising from the presence of the negro in the South, certain lines of investigation which will be at once simple enough to be pursued by voluntary effort, and valuable enough to add to our scientific knowledge. At the same time the different subjects studied each year have had a logical connection, and will in time form a comprehensive whole. The starting point was the large death rate of the negroes; this led to a study of their condition of life, and the efforts they were making to better that condition. These efforts, when studied, brought clearly to light the hard economic struggle through which the emancipated slave is to-day passing, and the conference therefore took up one phase of this last year. This year the relation of educated negroes to these problems, and especially to the economic crisis, was studied.

Schedules of inquiry, containing 26 questions, were sent out to nearly 2,500 negro graduates: returns more or less complete were received from 1,252. Any graduate who had received the degree of B. A. or B. S. from an institution which had "a course amounting to at least one year in addition to the course of the ordinary New England high school," was considered a college graduate for the purposes of the inquiry.

^aSee also an article entitled "The education of the negro," by Prof. Kelley Miller, of Howard University, in Vol. 1 of the Report of 1900-01, chap. 16. That article contains a number of tables and some other matter from Dr. DuBois's report not reprinted in this chapter.

^bAtlanta University is an institution for the higher education of negro youth. It seeks, by maintaining a high standard of scholarship and deportment, to sift out and train thoroughly talented members of this race to be leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among the masses.

Furthermore, Atlanta University recognizes that it is its duty as a seat of learning to throw as much light as possible upon the intricate social problems affecting these masses, for the enlightenment of its graduates and of the general public. It has, therefore, for the last five years, sought to unite its own graduates, the graduates of similar institutions, and educated negroes in general, throughout the South, in an effort to study carefully and thoroughly certain definite aspects of the negro problems.

Graduates of Fisk University, Berea College, Lincoln University, Spelman Seminary, Clark University, Wilberforce University, Howard University, the Meharry Medical College, Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, and several other institutions have kindly joined in this movement and added their efforts to those of the graduates of Atlanta, and have, in the last five years, helped to conduct five investigations: One, in 1896, into the "Mortality of negroes in cities;" another, in 1897, into the "General social and physical condition" of 5,000 negroes living in selected parts of certain Southern cities; a third, in 1898, on "Some efforts of American negroes for their own social betterment;" a fourth, in 1899, into the number of negroes in business and their success. Finally, in 1900, inquiry has been made into the number, distribution, occupations, and success of college-bred negroes.—*From the Introduction.*

The number of negro college graduates, with their date of graduation, was ascertained to be as follows:

Number of negro graduates.

	From—	
	Negro colleges.	White colleges.
Before 1876.....		
1876-1880.....	137	75
1880-1885.....	143	22
1885-1890.....	250	31
1890-1895.....	413	43
1895-1899 ^a	465	66
1895-1899 ^a	475	88
Class unknown.....	58	64
Total.....	1,941	390

^aThe report for 1899 is incomplete.

NEGRO GRADUATES FROM WHITE COLLEGES.

In corresponding with white colleges, for the purpose of procuring information bearing upon the subject of the inquiry, most of the colleges addressed confined themselves to furnishing a simple list of graduates; some, however, added information as to the standing and character of their negro students, information which is considered all the more valuable from its having been unsolicited; others made some statement of the conditions regarding the admission of negro students. The following extracts will serve to show the trend of these observations:

From the University of Kansas we learn (January, 1900): "I am pleased to state that this year we have twice as many colored students in attendance at the university as ever before; in all, 28. The rule is that no student shall be allowed to take more than three studies. If he fails in one of the three, it is a 'single failure;' in two of the three, a 'double failure.' The latter severs the student's connection with the university. There are 1,090 students in attendance at the present time. The semiannual examination was held last week, and as a result there are 200 'single failures' and 80 'double failures.' The gratifying part of it is that not one of the 28 colored students is in either number."

From Bates College, Scranton, Me., President Chase writes (February, 1900): "We have had about a dozen colored people who have taken the full course for the degree of A. B. at Bates College, one of them a young woman. They have all of them been students of good character and worthy purpose." One was a "remarkably fine scholar, excelling in mathematics and philosophy;" he was "one of the editors of the Bates Student while in college." Another was "an honest, industrious man of good ability, but of slight intellectual ambition." A third "was a good scholar, especially in mathematics." A fourth graduated "with excellent standing. He was a good all-around scholar, but excellent in the classics." A fifth "acquired knowledge with difficulty." A sixth did work "of a very high order," etc.

The secretary of Oberlin writes (February, 1900) in sending his list: "It is a list containing men and women of whom we are proud."

Colgate University, New York writes of a graduate of 1874 as "a very brilliant student," who "was graduated second best in his class. It was believed by many that he was actually the leader."

A graduate of Colby College, Maine, is said by the librarian to have been "universally respected as a student, being chosen class orator."

Wittenberg College, Ohio, has two colored graduates. "They were both bright girls and stood well up in their respective classes."

A negro graduate of Washburn College, Kansas, is said by the chairman of the faculty to be "one of the graduates of the college in whom we take pride."

The dean of the faculty of Knox College, Illinois, writes of two negro students, Senator Bruce, of Mississippi, and another, who graduated and was remembered because of "his distinguished scholarship."

A black student of Adrian College, Michigan, "was one of the best mathematicians I ever had in class," writes a professor.

Adelbert College, of the Western Reserve University, Ohio, has a negro graduate as acting librarian, who is characterized as "one of the most able men we know;" while of another it is said, "we expect the best."

Lombard University, Illinois, has "heard favorable reports" of its single negro graduate.

The dean of the State University of Iowa writes (December, 1899) of a graduate of 1898: "He distinguished himself for good scholarship, and on that ground was admitted to membership in the Phi Beta Kappa Society. He is a man of most excellent character and good sense, and I expect for him a very honorable future. He won the respect of all his classmates and of the faculty. As president of the Phi Beta Kappa Society I received him into membership with very great pleasure as in every way worthy of this honor. We have three colored people in the university at present; two in the collegiate department and one in law. You are aware that we have but a small colored population in Iowa. In all cases colored young men in the university receive the very best treatment from instructors and students." * * *

Boston University writes of one graduate as "a fine fellow." He is now doing post-graduate work at Yale, and the agent of the Capon Springs Negro Conference writes (November, 1900) that "I continually hear him mentioned in a complimentary way. On the other hand, two negro boys were in the freshman class not long ago and were both conspicuously poor scholars."

Otterbein University, Ohio, has a graduate who "was a most faithful and capable student."

The dean of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, writes (December, 1899) of their graduates: "The last two or three are hardly established in business yet, but the others are doing remarkably well. These men have been in each case fully equal to, if not above, the average of their class. We have been very much pleased with the work of the colored men who have come to us. They have been a credit to themselves and their race while here and to the college since graduation. I wish we had more such."

The president of Tabor College, Ohio, says of two colored graduates: "They are brainy fellows who have done very much good in the world."

A graduate of Southwest Kansas College "was one of the truest, most faithful and hard-working students that we ever had."

One of the most prominent Methodist ministers in Philadelphia said to the president of Allegheny College, Pennsylvania, speaking of a colored graduate: "Any college may be proud to have graduated a man like him."

The University of Idaho graduated in 1898 a young colored woman of "exceptional ability."

Westminster College, Pennsylvania, has graduated two negroes. "Both were excellent students and ranked high in the estimation of all who knew them."

Of a graduate of Hamilton College, New York, the secretary says: "He was one of the finest young men we have ever had in our institution. He was an earnest and consistent Christian, and had great influence for good with his fellow students. No one ever showed him the slightest discourtesy. On leaving college, he spent three years in Auburn Theological Seminary; was licensed to preach by one of our Northern Presbyteries, and then went to Virginia, near Norfolk, where he built a church and gave promise of great usefulness, when, about two years ago, he suddenly sickened and died." * * *

At the larger colleges the record of negro students has, on the whole, been good. At Harvard several have held scholarships, and one a fellowship; there has been 1 Phi Beta Kappa man, 1 class orator, 2 commencement speakers, 3 masters of art and 1 doctor in philosophy. In scholarship the 11 graduates have stood: 4 good, 3 fair, 2 ordinary, and 2 poor.

At Brown one of the most brilliant students of recent years was a negro; he was among the junior eight elected to the Phi Beta Kappa.

At Amherst the record of colored men has been very good, both in scholarship and athletics. A colored man captained the Amherst football team one year and he is now one of the chief Harvard football coaches.

At Yale and Cornell colored men have held scholarships, and some have made good records.

Among the women's colleges the color prejudice is much stronger and more unyielding. The secretary of Vassar writes (December, 1900): "We have never had but one colored girl among our students, and as no one knew during her course that she was a negro, there was never any discussion of the matter. This young woman graduated from the college, and although it is now well known that she is a negro, the feeling of respect and affection that she won during her

college course has not been changed on the part of those who knew her here. There is no rule of the college that would forbid our admitting a colored girl, but the conditions of life here are such that we should hesitate for the sake of the candidate to admit her, and in fact should strongly advise her for her own sake not to come."

Barnard College, New York, 'the new woman's adjunct of Columbia, says (December, 1900): "No one of negro descent has ever received our degree, and I can not say whether such a person would be admitted to Barnard, as the question has never been raised; but there is nothing in our regulations that excludes any one of any nationality or race."

Wells College and Elmira College, New York, both agree in saying that they never have had negro students and "do not know what would be the policy of the board of trustees if such a person should make application for admission."

A prominent Southern institution, the Randolph-Macon Woman's College, of Lynchburg, Va., writes frankly: "We entirely favor the education of negroes to any degree they may wish, but are not prepared to enter upon the work ourselves. We believe that in all boarding schools and colleges the races must, for the good of both, be educated separately."

In the West the sentiment is more favorable. The president of Rockford College, Ill., writes: "I think that no one of negro descent has ever received the bachelor's degree from this college. In 1889-90 such a lady came here from St. Louis. This one was here only about two years, I believe. She afterwards married. Persons of negro descent, if able to meet our requirements, would be received here. So far as I know, however, this is the only such student that we have had; but before she left us, she had made herself very popular with her fellow students."

The trustees of Mills College for women, in Alameda County, Cal., "decided some years ago that it was not best for us to receive such students."

In New England there is usually no barrier, although Mount Holyoke puts the statement negatively: "We do not refuse admission to colored persons, but we seldom have application for this class of candidates."

They have one negro graduate from Smith College, we learn: "Our first colored student graduated last year with the degree of A. B. * * * We also have two students of negro descent in our present senior class. No person is refused admission to Smith on account of color, provided she is able to meet our requirements for entrance. Miss —— was an excellent student, and very popular."

Wellesley had quite a number of colored students, of whom two graduated. "Both these young women had more than average ability, and one did brilliant work."

Radcliffe College, the Harvard "annex," has two colored graduates, who are well spoken of.

In all Northern institutions there have appeared, from time to time, black students as well as white who lacked ability to do the required work. The negroes of this sort are of course always conspicuous. It is naturally much easier to convince an average American group of a negro's inferior attainments than of any unusual ability in any line. So that one such student has often done more by his failure to form public opinion than several others by their success. Then, too, there has been, in some instances, a tendency to coddle black students simply because they were black; in some cases scholarships have been granted them, and pass marks given which in strict competition they did not earn. Of course these cases are more than balanced by the opposite kind, where the prejudice and unconscious bias of students and instructors have made life so intolerable for some lonely black student that he has given up in despair, or done far poorer work than he might have done. In the older institutions all these phases are now passing away, and the black student is beginning to be received simply as a student, without assumptions as to his ability or deserts until he has given evidence in his work and character.

Besides the negroes who have graduated from these colleges, there has been a large number who have pursued a partial course, but taken no degree. They have dropped out for lack of funds, poor scholarship, and various reasons. Then, too, many institutions having no graduates have promising candidates at present. The registrar of the University of Illinois informs us "that so far no negro has ever been graduated from the University of Illinois. One member of our present senior class is a negro, and he will doubtless be graduated next June. He is a good scholar, and is very much respected in the University. He is this year the editor of the student's paper."

Wabash College, Indiana, "has had frequently colored students enrolled in her classes, but none have completed their course. We have at present two colored students in attendance at college."

Dickinson College, Pennsylvania, "has never conferred a degree upon a negro. We have two at present time in attendance at the College: One, Miss ———, a member of the freshman class, and the other, Mr. ———, a member of the junior class, and one of the brightest scholars and most highly esteemed gentlemen in attendance at our institution."

The universities of Wyoming, Montana, and California, have all had, at one time or another, colored students.

Syracuse University has three negro students now, "especially bright and promising."

The University of Vermont dropped two colored members of the class of 1897 "on account of inability to do the work."

Wheaton College, Illinois, has "had many colored students, and some good ones, but none of them has gained the degree of A. B."

Among the colleges who have never had any negro students it is not easy to learn how many would actually refuse such students. Most of the replies are noncommittal on this point, as in the case of John Hopkins. "No colored man has ever been a candidate for a degree here."

So, too, from Bryn Mawr they write: "President Thomas desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and to say that no person of negro descent has ever applied for admission to Bryn Mawr College, probably because the standard of the entrance examinations is very high and no students are admitted on certificate."

The attitude of Princeton is thus defined (December, 1900): "The question of the admission of negro students to Princeton University has never assumed the aspect of a practical problem with us. We have never had any colored students here, though there is nothing in the university statutes to prevent their admission. It is possible, however, in view of our proximity to the South and the large number of Southern students here, that negro students would find Princeton less comfortable than some other institutions; but I may be wrong in this, as the trial has never been made. There is, as I say, nothing in the laws of the college to prevent their admission."

In other places, usually smaller Western schools, the attitude is quite cordial. "I am sorry to say that we have no negro graduates as yet," writes Carleton College, Minnesota. Whitman College, Washington, says: "We should be glad to receive any negroes if they were to apply, but there are few in this section of the country." The University of Oregon says the same thing.

To sum up, then: Negroes have graduated from Northern institutions. In most of the larger universities they are welcome and have, on the whole, made good records. In nearly all the Western colleges they are admitted freely, and have done well in some cases and poorly in others. In one or two larger institutions, and in many of the large women's colleges, negroes, while not exactly refused admission, are strongly advised not to apply. The summer schools at Harvard, Clark, and the University of Chicago, have several negro students.

BIRTHPLACE OF COLLEGE-BRED NEGROES.

The birthplace of 646 college-bred negroes is given as follows:

South Carolina	95	Rhode Island	1
North Carolina	80	Connecticut	1
Tennessee	73	Vermont	1
Virginia	60	Colorado	1
Georgia	55	Pennsylvania	17
Mississippi	48	Missouri	12
Alabama	34	Louisiana	12
Ohio	34	Illinois	11
Kentucky	25	District of Columbia	10
Maryland	17	Texas	9
Indiana	4	Kansas	9
Massachusetts	3	New York	5
West Virginia	3	Arkansas	4
Iowa	3	Florida	4
New Jersey	2	Delaware	1
Michigan	2		

In foreign lands:	
Hayti	4
West Indies	3
West Africa	2
Ontario	1
	30
North	30
South	542
West	64
Abroad	10
	646
Total	646

The most interesting question connected with birthplace is that of the migration of colored graduates—that is, where these men finally settle and work. If we arrange these 600 graduates according to sections where they were born and where they now live, we have this table:

Migration of college graduates.

Persons born in—	Are now living in—											
	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.
A. New England	2	1	3	1	1							
B. New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey	1	10	5	1	1		5	1		1		
C. Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Missouri, District of Columbia	4	18	148	39	12	4	26	1	1		1	
D. South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama	3	8	35	159	6	1	26					1
E. Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio		2	7	4	9	1	5					1
F. North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas					4		5	2				
G. Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Indian Territory			3	1	4	1	5					
H. Canada			2									
J. Africa				2								
K. West Indies		3	3	2			2			2		
L. California, Nevada, Washington, Oregon												
M. New Mexico, Arizona												

This means that of 254 college-bred negroes born in the border States (i. e., Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Missouri, and the District of Columbia), 148 or 58 per cent stayed and worked there; 39 or 15 per cent went farther South; 26 or 10 per cent went Southwest; 12 or 5 per cent went to the middle West, etc. Or again:

Of 73 college graduates born North, 35 stayed there and 38 went South.

Of 507 college graduates born South, 443 stayed there and 62 went North.

These statistics cover only about one-fourth of the total number of graduates, but they represent pretty accurately the general tendencies so far as our observation has gone. It is therefore probably quite within the truth to say that 50 per cent of Northern-born college men come South to work among the masses of their people at a personal sacrifice and bitter cost which few people realize; that nearly 90 per cent of the Southern-born graduates, instead of seeking that personal freedom and broader intellectual atmosphere which their training has led them in some degree to conceive, stay and labor and wait in the midst of their black neighbors and relatives.

WOMEN GRADUATES.

The number of negro women graduates, not including the graduates of 1899, is as follows:

Oberlin	55	Philander Smith	5
Shaw	21	Iowa Wesleyan	4
Paul Quinn	13	University of Kansas	3
Atlanta	8	Cornell	3
Southland	8	Geneva	2
Rust	7	Leland	1
Claffin	6	University Iowa U	1

Idaho	1	Roger Williams	5
Bates	1	Berea	4
Clarke	1	University of Michigan	3
Straight	1	Wittenberg	2
Branch, Arkansas	1	Wellesley	2
Mount Holyoke	1	Butler	1
Fisk	31	Adrian	1
Wilberforce	19	McKendree	1
Knoxville	10	Virginia Normal and Collegiate	1
Howard	8	Allen	1
Central Tennessee	7	Paine Institute	1
Livingstone	6	Vassar	1
New Orleans	5		
Total women			252
Total men			2,272

Before the war 10 women graduated, as far as we have been able to ascertain; from 1861 to 1869, 36; from 1880 to 1889, 76; 1890 to 1898, 119.

The rapid increase of college-bred women in later years is noticeable, and the present tendency is toward a still larger proportion of women. Twenty-three per cent of the college students of Howard, Atlanta, Fisk, and Shaw were women in the school year of 1898-99. The economic stress will probably force more of the young men into work before they get through college and leave a larger chance for the training of daughters. A tendency in this direction is noticeable in all the colleges, and if it results in more highly trained mothers it will result in great good. Of 100 college-bred women reporting their conjugal condition, one-half had been married, against nearly 70 per cent of the men.

EARLY TRAINING.

There is little in the matter of early training that leads itself to statistical statement, but there is much of human interest. A number of typical lives are therefore appended which show in a general way the sort of childhood and youth through which these college-bred negroes have passed. First as to the men:

Men.

"My early life was spent in the schools of the American Missionary Association. I attended Beach Institute and finally Atlanta University."

"I attended the public schools in Augusta, Ga., and sold papers, brushed boots, and worked in tobacco factories. While in college I taught school in summer time."

"Born in Springfield, Mass., where I attended the public schools, and acted as driver and hotel waiter. I attended Fisk University and during vacations taught school, worked in a sawmill, waited on table, and acted as Pullman porter."

"My parents were old and poor and I worked my way through school and helped to support them by manual labor."

"I came to Texas with my parents about 1876, and attended the Galveston public schools. I then went to college, assisted in part by my parents and in part by my own efforts. The expenses of the last two years were paid by a scholarship which I won by examination."

"I spent most of my youth with my uncle, a merchant in Florence, S. C., where I attended the public school, which was poor. I afterwards worked five years on my father's farm, and finally went to college."

"I attended public schools in Virginia, working in white families morning and night for my board. I then worked my way through a normal course, and finally through Hillsdale College."

"I was a farmer before going to school. My church conference sent me to school. My parents were poor and my mother died when I was but 4 years old."

"I came to Kansas when 9 years old and lived on a farm until I was 20, neither seeing or hearing from any of my relations during that time. In 1871 I went to Oberlin and began work in Ray's Third Part Arithmetic."

"I was born a slave in Prince Edward County, Va. I worked as a farmer and waiter and then went to Hampton Institute. After leaving Hampton I helped my parents a few years and then entered Shaw."

"I sold papers and went to school when a boy; I learned the brick-mason's trade of my father. After graduating from the high school I worked in the printing office of a colored paper, thus earning enough to go to college."

"I was born in Calvert County, Md., being one of 7 children. We lived at first in the log cabin which my father had built in slavery times. Soon we moved away from there and settled on a farm which my father commenced buying on shares. I went to school, worked on the farm, and taught school until I was 22, when I entered Lincoln."

"I was born in Crawford County, Ga. My father moved to Macon, then to Jones County, then back to Crawford County, then to the town of Forsyth, and finally to the State of Mississippi. I finally left home at the age of 16 and roamed about for two and a half years. I saved some money by work on a railroad and started to school."

"My parents, having been slaves, were poor. I was the fifth of 10 children, and the task of educating all of us was a serious one for the family. My parents made every sacrifice, and at 9 years of age I was helping by selling papers on the streets of Pittsburg, and colored papers among the negroes on Saturday. After completing the common schools I worked as elevator boy and bootblack, and finally at the age of 15 was enabled to enter the engineering course of the Western University of Pennsylvania."

"I was born in a stable; my father died when I was 2 years old. I blacked boots and sold sulphur water to educate myself until I was 18."

"My mother and father took me from Alabama to Mississippi, where my father joined the Union Army at Corinth, leaving me with my mother, brother, and sister. We went to Cairo, Ill., and then to Island No. 10. There mother and brother died and my sister sent me to Helena, Ark., in charge of an aunt. My father died during the siege of Vicksburg, and I was sent to the orphanage in Helena, which afterwards became Southland College."

"My father died when I was 5 and my mother when I was 12, leaving me an orphan in the West Indies. At 14 I left home with a white man from Massachusetts. I went to school one year in Massachusetts, then shipped as a sailor and stayed on the sea ten years, and finally returning, started to school again."

"I was born in Alton, Ill., in 1864. In 1871 we moved to Mississippi, and happening to visit my grandfather at Wilberforce, Ohio, I begged him to let me stay there and enter school. He consented, and by housework, taking care of horses, and his help I got through school."

"I was born of slave parents who could neither read nor write. I had but five months' regular schooling until I was 17 years of age. Then I worked my way through a normal school in South Carolina, and thus gained a certificate to teach and helped myself on further in school."

"Father died about my ninth birthday, so I attended the public schools and worked on the farm to assist mother earn a livelihood for herself and the four children. Late in my teens, after three months' day labor upon the farm, railroad, wood chopping, etc., I entered Alcorn with the sum of \$20.50. By working there I was enabled to remain in school six years, the last five of which I secured work as a teacher in Wilkerson County. The money I obtained was used by myself, my two brothers, and a sister in common, as from time to time each joined me in college. Mother would accept very little of our earnings for herself, lest we might be deprived of an education."

"I was born and reared on my aged mother's farm near Thomastown, Miss. I began going to a country school at 12 years of age, having learned my A B C's under Uncle York Moss, at his Sunday school, where we used Webster's 'Blue-back.' My chances for attending even a country school were meager, for I had to help on the farm. Attending two and four months in the year, I got far enough advanced by the time I was 16 to teach a little and use my earnings in entering, first, Tougaloo and then Alcorn."

"I was reared on a farm and was 16 before I knew my letters and 21 before I spent a month in school."

"In early life I lived with my parents, who were ex-slaves and took great pride in working hard to educate their children. I attended the first Yankee schools established in Savannah. As soon as I could read, write, and figure a little I started a private afternoon school at my home, which I taught."

"I was born a slave. Soon after the fall of Port Royal, S. C., in 1861, three of us escaped from Charleston to Beaufort, and joined the Union forces. We were taken on the U. S. gunboat *Unadilla*. There I was attached to a lieutenant in the Forty-eighth New York Regiment of Volunteers, and remained with him until he was wounded before Fort Wagner. I then went North, attended night school in Portland, Me., and finally entered Howard University."

"I was the fifth child in a family of eleven. My father was a poor farmer and did not believe in education, so my training was neglected until I was able to work and help myself."

"I was born a slave and taken North to an orphanage by Quakers after the war, both my parents being dead. Afterwards I was sent to New Jersey, and then worked on a Pennsylvania farm until I went to Lincoln."

"My father was set free prior to the war and purchased my mother. He died when I was 8, leaving a little home and \$300 in gold. My mother was an invalid and we had to work at whatever came to hand, going to school from three to five months a year. At the age of 15 I stopped school and labored and taught a three-months' school at \$25 a month. Finally I entered Roger Williams University, working my way through and helping mother."

"Twelve years of my life was spent as a slave. I worked at driving cows, carrying dinner to the field hands, and running rabbits. My master owned 300 negroes, so that boys were not put in the field until they were 18. When I was freed I did not know a letter, but I worked my way through Webster's 'Blue-back' speller."

"I was born the slave of Jefferson Davis's brother and attended contraband schools before the close of the war."

"Mine was the usual life of a boy whose folks were comfortably circumstanced. School was the chief occupation. At 16 I went to sea as a cabin boy, and on returning entered Lincoln."

"I was raised partly on a Mississippi plantation and partly in and near New Orleans. For about two years I was with the Union Army as servant to an officer in a Vermont regiment. I went with him to Vermont, where I attended school and finally entered Dartmouth College."

"I had very little early training, and was apprenticed at the calker's trade from 12 to 16. At the age of 18 I joined the Fifty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers, and was finally discharged on account of wounds. I then entered the preparatory department at Lincoln."

"Lived in Lebanon, Tenn., until 11 years old, when I joined a company of colored men and went to West Tennessee. I kept books and cooked for the company. I moved the whole family at last to West Tennessee, and bought and paid for a farm by raising cotton and teaching school. I then entered Fisk University, and by teaching and farming during vacations supported myself and two sisters in school."

"The greater portion of my early life was spent in East Tennessee, whither I had been brought away from my parents when only 5 years of age. My master kept me as errand boy about his store and house until the close of the war. By this time, under the tutelage of the white children of the family, I had learned to read. In the summer of 1865 I started out without a cent of money to try my own fortune in the world, working at anything I could find to do. I made considerable money, attended public schools, and finally entered Fisk University."

"Soon after the war my father built a log schoolhouse on a spot given him by his former master. I went to school seven months before my father died, after which I was compelled to go to work to support my widowed mother. At the age of 20 I entered school again."

"Born of a good woman in Mississippi, I left home while the war was raging and went to Alabama. There I finally went into the service of an ex-Confederate general, who sent me to the Burrell School, an institution fostered by the American Missionary Association. Afterwards I went to Tougaloo and Roger Williams."

"I lost my mother when I was only 1 year old. I was then sold as a slave to an aged French couple, who treated me as their child. Then, in 1862, I was sold again, taken to Texas, resold, and finally, when free, returned to New Orleans in 1869. I found my father dead, and so I went North and stayed there until I entered Fisk in 1876. I had had but little schooling up to this time—only what I had picked up at a night school and at an eight-months' free school in Texas."

"I was born in Raleigh, N. C., and emancipated in Pennsylvania in 1830. I went to school and learned the three R's and afterwards went to Ohio and entered Oberlin, working at my trade of gunmaker all through the course. I studied, because I found knowledge was power; I also found that I was a born mechanic. I never had the idea that education would elevate me into any profession whatsoever. My trade occupied my whole mind and thought."

"I was born of slave parents and worked when young in a tobacco factory. I was taught to read by an ex-Confederate soldier. I entered school right after the surrender of Lee and remained till I finished the college course."

"I had the advantage of a father who had a good education, for his time. He was free and able to conduct his business in Augusta, Ga., during slavery time. I quit school and served two years at a trade. A Northern teacher offered to help me finish my education and my parents gave me my time."

"My earliest recollections are of slavery, the perturbed conditions at the beginning and end of the war, the struggle of mother and grandmother under the new conditions, and the assumption of the support of the family by myself at the age of 10 years."

"My parents moved to Providence, R. I., when I was very young. I attended school about five years and night school one winter. Then I learned the barber's trade. During the winter of 1890-91 I decided to prepare myself for work among my people in the South and entered Livingstone College."

"My mother and I were sold away from my father, who lived in South Carolina, and taken first to Mississippi, and then to Banks County, Ga. Here, when I was 6 years of age, my master started me at work in a stable, with the purpose of making me learn the care of horses and become his carriage driver. I was freed in 1865, and then my mother and I walked to Newberry, S. C. (110 miles), and found father again. We were very poor and my parents had to hire me out for a year. Then they decided to send me to school and I went very irregularly from 1866 to 1874. I gained at last a State scholarship in the South Carolina College, but the Republicans, after two years, were forced out of power and the college closed to them. Finally I entered the Atlanta University."

"I was born in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1867, the son of the sexton of a large city church. I passed through the common and high schools of the city, and at the same time worked as office boy and waiter. In 1879 I came South to enter college and prepare for teaching."

"About the close of the war Confederate soldiers stole me from my parents in South Carolina and took me to Georgia. I ran away to Tennessee, where I worked as janitor in a white school and studied at night by the aid of the principal, who was very friendly. He afterwards sent me to Howard University."

"I was born in Richmond, Va., and when 3 years of age was sold with my mother, sister, and brother away from my father and taken to South Carolina. We have never seen father since. My new mistress taught me the alphabet, and after emancipation paid my expenses through school and college."

"I worked my way through college. I was the oldest of eight children, with father bitterly opposed to education, although he had a commanding mind and had heard lectures at the University of Virginia before the war. Have been practically the head of the family for over 12 years, and assisted and encouraged all the children to educate themselves. Five of them went or are going to school."

"My mother died when I was but 2 years old, and I was left to the care of my mother's mistress, who, though a slaveholder, cared for me as though I was her own child, until emancipation, when my father took charge of me and placed me in school under Northern teachers sent South by the Presbyterian board of education."

"I was reared on a farm; then became meat cook on a steamboat during vacation. I served two years and five months as first sergeant Company C, Fifty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers, during the civil war, and was injured twice, at James Island and Honey Hill engagements. I made out contracts between ex-slaves and former masters in South Carolina in the Freedman's Bureau, under Gen. O. O. Howard, after being disabled."

"Until 15 years old I stayed with my grandparents, and followed the occupation of my grandfather, a gardener. From 15 till 17 I clerked in a colored grocer's store: from 17 till 19 I worked in a colored restaurant, giving my earnings to my grandparents, for they cared for my wants and gave me what little school training I had. My parents were dead. In my 20th year I taught a five months' district school, with the proceeds of which I began a course of study at Wilberforce University."

"My early life, until I was 6 years old, was spent on a large plantation. At that age, father having secured a little home of his own, consisting of 3 acres of land and a log house, I with the family was carried thither. At the age of 10 I entered my first school, where I learned to read and write. The school was a Presbyterian school. During the summer I worked on a farm which father rented. At the age of 12 we moved to Lexington, N. C. I still attended school in winter and worked in a brickyard in summer. At the age of 14 my school days stopped until I was 19 years old. I did hotel work during the intervening years, and taught a three months' country school. At the age of 19 I entered college."

"My early life was spent as most poor boys, at work. I have served in every capacity from a dinner boy to a clerk. Have clothed myself since I reached my 14th year, beginning with earning 25 cents a week, and in two years I commanded a salary of \$6 per week. At 18 I was head clerk for a produce firm that did a business of \$10,000 a year. This was at Nashville, Tenn."

"I was born on a farm near Chillicothe, Ohio, November 15, 1825. At the age of 4 years I was taken with my parents to Jackson County, where there was a community of colored people; they had settled in close proximity in order to educate their children, because they were debarred from attending the public schools with white children. I attended a select school until 14 years of age."

"My first school-teacher was Mr. Turner, who was the colored Congressman from Alabama. His school was destroyed by Kuklux while I was attending it. Next attended Freedman's Bureau school and Swayne school in Montgomery, Ala. I attended Storr's, in Atlanta, and taught school when 15 years old; entered Atlanta University in 1874. Taught school during vacations."

"Born in Yazoo County, Miss., 6 miles from Yazoo City. I was taught my letters by my father. He died in 1866, and left mother with nine children, six sons and three daughters, three younger than myself. Desiring her children to have educational advantages, mother removed to Vicksburg in December, 1866. Here I entered the United Presbyterian mission school. I attended five years, sometimes day school and sometimes night school, as circumstances permitted, being largely dependent upon myself for support. I often had to hire out to earn money with which to purchase books and clothes, but when I hired out in the day I attended school at night. I taught school 1871-72. Was paying and collecting teller in Vicksburg branch of the Freedman's Savings Bank 1873-1875. Taught school 1875-76. Entered preparatory department of Oberlin September, 1876; admitted to college 1879. Matriculated at Dennison University in 1880, graduating in 1884. Though a slave I always had love for books and craved learning, in which I was much stimulated by mother, who, though unable to render me any financial assistance, gave all moral and prayerful help."

"Father was in good circumstances, so my opportunities for advancement were as fair as those of the average colored boy. I attended the public school of my native town until 17 years of age, then I went to Straight University, New Orleans, La., graduating from the classical course in 1881. My home surroundings were favorable to success. I had an excellent father, who is still living; my mother, whose memory I can not too greatly reverence, has been dead for many years. Their teachings, example, and influence have molded my character. Whatever success I have had I owe to them."

Women.

"I was born on a farm in Ohio, and lived there until I was 16. My father died when I was 12 and I had to provide for myself. At the age of 16 I taught a country school and saved \$100. With this I went to Oberlin, and went through by teaching and working."

"I am an African Methodist preacher's daughter, and from my 10th until my 15th year we were continually traveling over the State. Finally we came to Atlanta, where I stayed till I finished school."

"Lived a short time in Virginia, some time in Ohio, but principally in Missouri. Attended public schools in Macon, Mo., until the age of 15, when I went to Lincoln Institute for one year and Oberlin for five years."

"Was born and schooled in Philadelphia during the dark days of slavery. Was intimately associated with the work of the 'underground railroad' and the anti-slavery society. I was sent to Oberlin in 1864."

"My early life was spent at my home at Shoreham, Vt., where I attended Newton Academy. In the fall of 1891 I entered Mr. Moody's school at Northfield, Mass., graduating as president of my class. I then entered Middlebury College, Vermont."

"My father was route agent between Norfolk and Lynchburg, Va. Both of my parents had some education and were careful to send their children to school. I started in the public schools at 7."

"I went to school at Monroe, Mich., until a female seminary was opened there from which colored children were barred. I then went to Oberlin."

"My father was a creole and my mother a free negro woman. We moved from Mobile, Ala., to Wilberforce, Ohio, where I was reared. My parents were devoted Christians and were blessed with the comforts of life. My father had a fine collection of books."

"At a very early age I assumed the responsibility of housekeeper, as my mother died and I was the oldest of a family of five; hence I labored under many disadvantages in attending school, but nevertheless I performed my household duties, persevered with my studies, and now I feel that I have been rewarded."

"My mother and I 'took in' washing for our support and to enable me to get an education. After finishing the public schools of Jacksonville, Ill., I was supported four years in college by a scholarship."

"My early life was spent in Darlington, S. C. I did not attend the public school until I was a large girl, but was taught at home, first by my mother, then by a private teacher. When the public school was graded, in 1889, I entered the high-school course."

"While a schoolgirl I taught persons living out in service, going into the premises of some of the most prominent white people in New Orleans. I always kept a large class of night pupils at the same time. I paid my tuition out of these earnings."

OCCUPATIONS.

The most interesting question, and in many respects the crucial question to be asked concerning college-bred negroes is: Do they earn a living? It has been intimated more than once that the higher training of negroes has resulted in sending into the world of work men who can find nothing to do suitable to their talents. Now and then there comes a rumor of a colored college man working at menial service, etc. Fortunately the returns as to occupations of college-bred negroes are quite full—nearly 60 per cent of the total number of graduates.

This enables us to reach fairly probable conclusions as to the occupations of college-bred negroes. Of 1,312 persons reporting there were:

	Per cent.
Teachers	53.4
Clergymen	16.8
Physicians, etc.	6.3
Students	5.6
Lawyers	4.7
In Government service	4
In business	3.6
Farmers and artisans	2.7
Editors, secretaries and clerks	2.4
Miscellaneous .....	.5

Over half are teachers, a sixth are preachers, another sixth are students and professional men; over 6 per cent are farmers, artisans, and merchants, and 4 per cent are in Government service.

These figures illustrate vividly the function of the college-bred negro. He is, as he ought to be, the group leader, the man who sets the ideals of the community where he lives, directs its thought, and heads its social movements. It need hardly be argued that the negro people need social leadership more than most groups. They have no traditions to fall back upon, no long-established customs, no strong family ties, no well-defined social classes. All these things must be slowly and painfully evolved. The preacher was even before the war the group leader of the negroes, and the church their greatest social institution.^a Naturally this preacher was ignorant and often immoral, and the problem of replacing the older type by better educated men has been a difficult one. Both by direct work and by indirect influence on other preachers and on congregations the college-bred preacher has an opportunity for reformatory work and moral inspiration the value of which can not be overestimated. The report of the Atlanta conference on "Some efforts of American negroes for their own social betterment" shows the character of some of this work.

It has, however, been in the furnishing of teachers that the negro college has found its peculiar function. Few persons realize how vast a work, how mighty a revolution has been thus accomplished. To furnish five millions and more of ignorant people with teachers of their own race and blood in one generation was not only a very difficult undertaking but a very important one, in that it placed before the eyes of almost every negro child an attainable ideal. It brought the masses of the blacks in contact with modern civilization, made black men the leaders of their communities and trainers of the new generation. In this work college-bred negroes were first teachers and then teachers of teachers. And here it is that the broad culture of college work has been of peculiar value. Knowledge of life and its wider meaning has been the point of the negro's deepest ignorance, and the sending out of teachers whose training has not been merely for bread-winning, but also for human culture, has been of inestimable value in the training of these men.

In earlier years the two occupations of preacher and teacher were practically the only ones open to the black college graduate. Of later years a larger diversity of life among his people has opened new avenues of employment. The following statistics of occupations according to the year of graduation illustrate this partially:

Occupation.	Before 1870.	1870-1879.	1880-1884.	1885-1889.	1890-1894.	1895-1898.	Total.
Teachers.....	10	65	74	159	179	214	701
Clergymen.....	5	38	26	56	56	31	212
Editors.....	1	2	1	3	1		9
Lawyers.....	2	5	11	14	23	7	62
Gunmakers.....	1						1
Miners.....	1						1
Merchants.....	1	1	14	9	13	5	43
Physicians.....	1	8	13	16	31	7	76
Druggists.....		2			2		4
Clerks and secretaries.....		1	1	5	4	11	22
Elocutionists.....		1					1
United States civil service.....		12	8	15	13	2	50
Farmers.....		2	5	7	6	6	26
Real estate dealers.....		1		2		1	4
Matrons.....		1			1		2
Dentists.....		1		1		1	3
Engineers.....		1					1
Missionaries.....		3	3		1	2	9
Students.....			3	4	14	53	74
Printers.....			1			2	3
City civil service.....				1			1
State civil service.....					2		2
Librarian.....					1		1
Tailor.....						1	1
Draftsman.....						1	1
Hotel work.....						1	1
Carpenter.....						1	1

A study of present and previous occupation gives a still deeper insight into the problem of work. For instance, the following number of persons have never had but one occupation; they began as teachers and are still teaching, or as preachers and are still preaching:

^aCf. The New World, December, 1900, article on "Religion of American negro."

Persons who have never changed occupation.

Teachers	315	Editors	3
Clergymen	106	Artisans	3
Lawyers	26	United States civil service	3
Physicians	24	Clerks and secretaries	3
Students	15	Dentists	2
Farmers	7	Hotel work	1
In business	7		

Let us now add to these such persons as have changed occupations once. In the following table the period of study necessary in preparing for a profession is not considered a different occupation.

Previous and present occupations of persons who have had but two successive occupations. (Showing also persons who have had but one occupation.)

Present occupation.	Previous occupation.							Physicians.
	Teachers.	Clergymen.	Students.	Farmers.	Clerks and secretaries.	In business.	United States civil service.	
Lawyers	11				1	2	1	1
Teachers	(315)	18		6	7	9	12	
In business	7					(7)		
Clerks and secretaries	5	1	1			(3)		
Farmers	4	1		(7)		1	1	
Clergymen	26	(106)			1		1	
Real estate agents	2		1		1			
Physicians	9				1	1		(24)
Druggists						1		
Students	7	2	(15)		1			2
United States civil service	12	1	1	1				(3)
City civil service			1					
Editors	1		1					
Artisans	3							
Changed work	87	23	5	7	12	14	17	1
Did not change	315	106	15	7	3	7	3	24
Total	402	129	20	14	15	21	30	25

Present occupation.	Previous occupation.							Total number reporting.
	Lawyers.	Editors.	United States Army.	Dentists.	Artisans.	Matron.	Mental work.	
Lawyers	(26)						1	43
Teachers	4	2	1		2	1	1	378
In business							1	15
Dentists				(2)				2
Clerks and secretaries	2				1		1	14
Farmers	1							15
Clergymen	1	1						135
Real estate agents								4
Physicians							1	36
Druggists								1
Students							1	28
United States civil service								18
City civil service								1
Editors		(3)						5
Artisans					(3)			6
Mental work							(1)	1
Changed work	7	3	1		3	1	6	187
Did not change	26	3		2	3		1	515
Total	33	6	1	2	6	1	7	702

Many interesting things may be noted in the above table. For instance, 43 lawyers report; of these, 26 started on a law course immediately after graduation, finished it, went to practicing, and are still engaged in that work; 11 taught before reading law, 2 were in business, and 4 in other employments, from which

they turned to law. There are reservations to be made, of course, in interpreting these figures; some persons report a few months of teaching as a "previous occupation," while others ignore it; some have not changed occupations, because being young graduates they have not given their present vocation a sufficient trial. Nevertheless, with care in using, the table has much to teach. We find that the profession of teaching is a stepping stone to other work; 87 persons were at first teachers and then changed, 11 becoming lawyers, 7 going into business, 26 entering the ministry, 12 entering the United States civil service, etc. Seven have at various times engaged in menial work, usually as porters, waiters, and the like, but all but one man working in a hotel have done this only temporarily. It is quite possible that others who are engaged in such work have on this account sent in no reports. We see in this way that of 700 college-bred men over 500 have immediately on graduation found work at which they are still employed. Less than 200 have turned from a first occupation to a second before finding apparently permanent employment.

Making all allowances for the gaps in these statistics and some bias on the part of those reporting, it seems fair to conclude that the majority of college-bred men find work quickly, make few changes, and stick to their undertakings. That there are many exceptions to this rule is probable, but the testimony of observers, together with these figures, makes the above statement approximately true.

GRADUATES OF A SINGLE TYPICAL COLLEGE.

It might be well here to turn from the more general figures to the graduates of a single representative institution. A graduate of Dartmouth College who has been in the work of educating negro youth for over thirty years writes as follows in a small publication which gives the record of Atlanta University graduates, including the class of 1899:

"This leaflet covers an experience of about a quarter of a century of graduating classes. It will tell of the work of only the graduates of Atlanta University, all of whom have been kept under the watchful eye of their alma mater. It would be difficult to trace the careers of the thousands of others who did not graduate but who have attended the institution for a longer or shorter period, although many of them are known to have made good use of their meager attainments and some are occupying prominent positions. If it were asked why no larger percentage of the students have obtained diplomas or certificates of graduation a sufficient answer would be found in the one word, 'poverty.' Their parents have been too poor to spare them from home or to pay their expenses at school and they themselves have been utterly unable to find any employment sufficiently remunerative to permit them to keep on and graduate within a reasonable limit in time. Probably the world can not show instances of greater sacrifices by parents or greater pluck, persistency, and self-denial of students than are to be found among the patrons and pupils of Atlanta University.

"While the 94 graduates from the college department represent only a small portion of the work done by the university, they represent a very important part of that work, as will be evident from a statement of the positions they occupy and the work they are doing.

"Of these 94 graduates 12 have died, and it seems to the writer of this leaflet as rather remarkable that only 1 has died during the four years since a similar leaflet was written. Of the 82 now living 11 are ministers, 4 are physicians, 2 are lawyers, 1 is a dentist, 43 are teachers, 1 is a theological student, 1 is studying at Harvard University and another at the University of Pennsylvania, 10 are in the service of the United States, 6 in other kinds of business, and 2 are unemployed.

"Three of the ministers are pastors of Congregational churches in the cities of Chattanooga, Tenn.; Selma, Ala., and Savannah, Ga.; two are pastors of Baptist churches in Augusta, Ga., and Charleston, S. C.; two of Methodist churches in Griffin, Ga., and Portsmouth, Va.; one is chaplain of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute and dean of its Bible school; another is secretary of the International Sunday School Convention; another is the general secretary of the Baptist negro churches in Georgia, and another is presiding elder of the African Methodist Episcopal churches in Sierra Leone, Africa. All the churches named are centers of great power and wide influence. Some of these ministers have made addresses in national and international assemblages, one is a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and one has had the unique pleasure of being a member of the board of education in a large Southern city for eleven successive years.

"Many of the teachers are holding high positions. Eleven are principals of

public schools and three of high schools. Others are designated as follows: Professor of Latin and Greek in Clark University, Atlanta, Ga.; teacher of music in Savannah, Ga.; president of the State Industrial College of Georgia; principal of Howard Normal School, Cuthbert, Ga.; principal of Normal School, Oakland, Tex.; professor of Greek in Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.; vice-principal of Normal School, Prairie View, Tex.; principal of Knox Institute, Athens, Ga.; superintendent of the industrial department in Biddle University, Charlotte, N. C.; professor of modern languages, history, and pedagogy, and vice-president in Lincoln Institute, Jefferson City, Mo.; president of the Florida Baptist College, Jacksonville, Fla.; professor of natural science in the State Normal School, Frankfort, Ky.; principal of the Georgia Normal and Industrial Institute, Greensboro, Ga.; principal of Walker Institute, Augusta, Ga.; superintendent of mechanical department of Knox Institute, Athens, Ga.; teacher of science in the J. K. Brick Normal and Agricultural School, Enfield, N. C.; assistant superintendent of the mechanical department in Tougaloo University, Tougaloo, Miss.

"The four physicians are located in Denver, Colo.; St. Joseph, Mo.; Savannah, Ga., and Chicago, Ill. All of them were among the very first in their classes in the medical schools that they attended.

"The two lawyers are practicing severally in Boston, Mass., and Augusta, Ga., and are successful in their profession. One is a master in chancery by appointment of the governor of his State. The one dentist lives in Atlanta and has an extensive practice.

"One of these graduates was a lieutenant in the Army during the Spanish war and is now a captain of United States Volunteers, serving at Manila. Another was paymaster with the rank of major.

"Several of the graduates who are clerks in the United States service in Washington have taken a full course in law or medicine. And when it is considered that this has required several hours of hard work in the evening after a full day at the office, for months and years, one can understand that they have grit and perseverance. Then three at least have been mail agents on railroads under four successive administrations, and have successfully passed the severe examinations required and conquered the violent opposition that has arisen against them from various sources.

"The peculiar conditions existing in the South have prevented these graduates from becoming prominent in political affairs. Yet one of them has been a member of three successive national Republican conventions and another has represented his county in the Georgia legislature, while a third has served two terms in the Texas legislature, being elected by the aid of the votes of Southern white men in a predominantly white community. * * * His most conspicuous service has been rendered to the negro farmers of his State. This has been done through the organization of a farmers' improvement society with many branches, whose members are pledged to become landowners, to diversify their crops, to improve and beautify their homes, to fight the credit system by buying only for cash on a cooperative plan, and to raise their own supplies so far as possible. The fact that he can report to-day 86 branches of his society scattered over the State of Texas with 2,340 members, who have bought and largely paid for 46,000 acres of land, worth nearly half a million dollars, is a valuable illustration of what one negro with high ideals and an earnest purpose can accomplish for the economic and material advancement of his race.

"Several graduates have done considerable newspaper work, and many sermons and addresses delivered by them have been published. At least two publications have been highly commended by the press. Of President Richard R. Wright's Historical Sketch of Negro Education in Georgia the Journal of Education says: 'And it is just this that makes his story so valuable and forces one to read it straight through from beginning to end, which is not the way books and pamphlets are usually read in newspaper offices.' And of Prof. William H. Crogman's Talks for the Times the New York Independent says: 'The author speaks for his race and speaks in strong, polished English, full of nerve and rich in the music of good English prose.'

"And these graduates are not fickle and unstable, but retain their positions year after year, doing faithful, earnest, and patient service. The length of the pastorates of the ministers has been far above the average, and one of the teachers is completing his twenty-fourth year in the same institution.

"Do not these simple statements impress their own lessons? Should they not help to silence the sneers against Latin and Greek and higher education for negroes? Could less than a college course have fitted most of these men and women so well for the responsible positions they are occupying and the work they

are doing as pastors, professors, principals, physicians, editors, teachers, Sunday school superintendents, home builders, and leaders of their people? If half of them had failed to fill the place for which their education ought to have prepared them, even then their teachers and friends would not have been disheartened. But almost none have failed to meet reasonable expectations. This record of the college graduates is full of encouragement and inspiration."

THE WORK OF TEACHERS.

A glance at the work done by negro college graduates in different fields can be but casual, and yet of some value. The teachers we asked to estimate roughly the pupils they had taught. Some answered frankly that they could not, while others made a statement, which they said was simply a careful guess. From these estimates, we find that 550 teachers reporting think they have taught about 300,000 children in primary grades and 200,000 in secondary grades. From this we get some faint idea of the enormous influence of these 700 teachers and the many other college men who have taught for longer or shorter periods.

OTHER PROFESSIONS.

Outside the work of teachers, the chief professions followed are the ministry, law, and medicine. In most cases a regular professional course is pursued after the college course is finished, in order to prepare for the profession. The chief theological schools are Biddle, at Charlotte, N. C.; Howard, at Washington, D. C.; Gammon, at Atlanta, Ga.; Straight, at New Orleans, La.; Payne, at Wilberforce, Ohio; Lincoln, in Pennsylvania, and Union, at Richmond, Va. These institutions and others have turned out large numbers of ministers, until the supply to-day is rather more than the demand, and the number of the students is falling off. The work of replacing the ordinary negro preachers by college-bred men will go on slowly, but it will require many years and much advance in other lines before this work is finished. Some colored men have gone to Northern theological schools, usually to the Hartford Theological School, Newton Seminary, and Yale University. The leading negro ministers to-day are not usually college-bred men; still a large number of the rising ministers are such, and the influence of the younger set is widespread.

There are comparatively few negro law schools, those at Shaw University and Howard being practically the only ones. There has been a good deal of contempt thrown on the negro lawyer, and he has been regarded as superfluous. Without doubt to-day lawyers are not demanded as much as merchants and artisans, and they have often degenerated into ward politicians of the most annoying type. At the same time there has been a demand for negro lawyers of the better type. The negroes are ignorant of the forms of law, careless of little matters of procedure, and have lost thousands of dollars of hard-earned property by not consulting lawyers. In criminal cases in the South, where public opinion would support and protect in many cases the innocent but unfortunate white, it would allow the negro to go to the corrupting influence of the chain gang. Such practice a white lawyer would not care to follow, because of the prejudice of his clients. Where public opinion sets strongly against a negro suspect, it is very difficult to get a white lawyer to make more than a perfunctory defense, even if convinced of the man's innocence. His standing in the community would be seriously jeopardized if he showed too much zeal. There is, therefore, a distinct place for the black lawyer, but one hard to fill, with small and uncertain income in most cases. Here and there are exceptions, especially in the North. In Boston, for instance, there are four or five colored lawyers who make fair incomes, largely from white practice—foreigners, Jews, Italians, and some few Americans. In Chicago there are two or three colored lawyers with large incomes, and a host who make a living.

Some of the reports from lawyers are of interest:

A Memphis lawyer who has practiced for twenty-five years says: "I can not complain of the treatment I have received at the hands of both bench and bar."

A lawyer of Vicksburg, Miss., says: "There are two colored lawyers here in bar of about fifty. I do not enjoy any considerable white practice, but get my share from my race."

A Kentucky lawyer writes: "In my profession I am succeeding fairly well. My experience with the whites in all sections is that the white man looks upon himself as white and you as black."

A South Carolina man says: "As a rule white lawyers appear friendly; some will associate in cases with colored lawyers. The country white, however, who

sits on the jury is usually ignorant and prejudiced. When the jury is intelligent the chances are better. I am doing fairly well."

A very successful Tennessee lawyer reports his collections in 1899 as amounting to over \$4,000.

A Nashville lawyer writes: "I know of no special success attending my practice. I am making a living out of it."

A North Carolina practitioner says: "I handle real estate for both white and colored. I have a paying practice in all State courts. My clients are all colored."

From the North the character of the replies differs somewhat. "My practice is largely amongst the whites," says a Minnesota lawyer. From Chicago come several reports: "As a lawyer of six years' practice here, I have no reason to complain. My clients are about evenly divided between the two races." "In my practice as a lawyer for the past seven years I have done general law practice. Nine-tenths of my patronage from point of emolument has been and is from white clientele. I do considerable business for Irish people, a few Germans, many Poles and Bohemians, and many of English descent." "My clients are nearly all white. When people here want a lawyer, they want a man that can do their work, and they don't consider the color of his skin."

From Buffalo, N. Y., a lawyer writes: "My practice has not yet assumed proportions sufficiently extensive or varied to warrant me in making deductions upon present success. I can see no reason, however, why a colored man of high character and the requisite qualifications should not succeed in the practice of law. Of the white man's skeptical attitude toward the professional negro's ability and training one has frequent experiences at once amusing and disgusting."

Another writes: "My experience as a lawyer in Buffalo has been pleasant, and in my intercourse with the lawyers, almost exclusively white, I have had no cause for complaint, being apparently respected by bench and bar. I have been successful in winning cases, but have had less success in collecting fees."

A Minnesota lawyer, graduated in law in 1894: "Was appointed clerk of criminal court, and resigned December 21, 1898, to serve as a member of the Minnesota house of representatives. Am still a member, and have been practicing law. The district I represent—the Forty-second—is an entirely white district. I led the Republican ticket by 690 votes."

A Cleveland, Ohio, lawyer says: "My practice is increasing."

An Omaha, Nebr., lawyer says: "My practice has been mixed both as to kind of cases and classes of people."

A Boston lawyer, who is common councilman of Cambridge from a white ward, reports "fair success."

Another Boston lawyer has been alderman of Cambridge for several years.

A Philadelphia lawyer says: "My practice is largely confined to Jews. The better class of negroes is not so likely to patronize me as the whites are."

The chief negro medical schools are Meharry, at Nashville, Tenn.; Leonard, at Raleigh, N. C.; Howard, at Washington, D. C.; Knoxville, at Knoxville, Tenn., and New Orleans, at New Orleans, La. These institutions have done remarkable work in sending out colored physicians. Their standard is lower than the great Northern schools, but in most cases the work seems honestly done and the graduates successful. Negroes have also graduated at the Harvard Medical School, the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania, and other Northern institutions. The rise of the negro physician has been sudden and significant. Ten years ago few negro families thought of employing a negro as a physician. To-day few employ any other kind. By pluck and desert black men have cleared here a large field of usefulness. Moreover, in this profession far more than in the ministry and in the law the professional standard has been kept high. The college-bred physician has had quacks and root doctors to contend with, but to no such extent did they hold and dominate the field as was the case in the churches and criminal courts. The result is to-day that there is scarcely a sizable city in the United States where it is not possible to secure the services of a well-trained negro physician of skill and experience. The Freedmen's Hospital, of Washington, has made an extremely good record in the difficult operations performed, general efficiency, and training of nurses. Hospitals have grown up in various cities under colored medical men, notably in Chicago, Charleston, and Philadelphia. There are State medical associations in Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and several other States.

The testimony of physicians themselves is usually hopeful. From the North a report from Newark, N. J., says: "I am and have been medical representative on our grand jury. Two-thirds of my practice is among whites. I run a drug store in connection with my practice."

From New York City: "At first I found the whites very backward in dealing with me, but success in several emergency cases gave me some reputation. Now my practice is about equally divided among black and white."

Another from New York City says his practice amounts to about \$10,000 a year, and he actually collects about half of that. About a third of his patients are white.

From Philadelphia one reports a large practice, chiefly among blacks and in the colored hospital. One colored physician is connected with a large white hospital. A lady physician from the same city reports "marked courtesy and respect on the part of all."

From the West a Chicago physician says: "I have been quite successful in the short time I have been practicing. About one-half of my patients are white."

Another Chicago physician represented the State of Illinois at the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States.

From Minnesota one writes: "I am succeeding in the practice of medicine in a city whose negro population is very small."

From Denver it is reported that a negro was the first chief medical inspector of the Denver health office, and he was also State sanitary officer. He has a large practice.

From the border States a Tennessee doctor reports: "I have succeeded in building up a good practice here among my own people. No missionary ever had a better field for useful labor."

A man who ranked his class at the Harvard Medical School reports a practice between \$3,000 and \$4,000 a year. "I am fully successful as a practitioner and surgeon, and I believe I enjoy the confidence of a large number of people."

From Missouri a report says: "I meet with most of the best white physicians in consultation, and they treat me with courtesy."

From Kentucky a young physician reports: "I am located in a town of 12,000 inhabitants, one-third of whom are colored, and am thoroughly convinced that there is a great field here in the South for the educated young colored man. As a physician I am well received by my white professional brother. We ride in the same buggy, consult together, and read each other's books. I have a few white patients, but most of them are colored. I have purchased property on one of our best residence streets, and also a business house on the main street of our town."

A report from Baltimore, Md., reads: "As a physician I find my practice a paying one."

From the heart of the South come many interesting reports. A North Carolina man says: "I have a fair practice for the length of time I have been at work. My intercourse with the white members of my profession is cordial along professional lines. I seek no others."

Another North Carolina physician "has treated more than 40,000 patients with reasonable success." He is now conducting a sanitarium for consumptives.

A colored man of Savannah, Ga., has been one of the city physicians for more than five years. "I have treated no less than 25,000 patients, including several hundred whites."

A Columbia, S. C., practitioner is often "called upon by white physicians to consult with them in medical cases and assist in surgical cases in their practice. I have an extensive and paying practice among my own people and a considerable practice among the poorer classes of the white people."

Another North Carolina physician has been usually invited to attend the white State medical society meetings.

On the other hand an Arkansas doctor says: "I have experienced some prejudice among my white friends. We do not have much to do with each other as physicians."

Still another Arkansas man reports that he "has had a half interest in some of the real major surgical operations done in this city. I have a large field and am often called to see patients at a distance of 20 and 30 miles."

In Macon, Miss., an unusually successful doctor says: "My practice here is very large and among both colored and white. Before I settled here no one had heard of a 'colored doctor.' The history of my parents, who had always lived here, helped to establish me. I have had white people come here from a distance and board here to get my treatment."

No thoughtful man can deny that the work of negro professional men as thus indicated has been, and still is, of immense advantage in the social uplift of the negro. There have of course been numerous failures, and there has been a tendency to oversupply the demand for ministers and lawyers. This is natural and is

not a racial peculiarity, nor indeed is it chargeable to the higher education of the negro. It was the natural and inevitable rebound of a race of menials granted now for the first time some freedom of economic choice. In the ministry this natural attraction was made doubly strong by the social prominence of the negro church, and by the undue ease with which theological students can get their training all over the land. Nevertheless, granting all the evils arising from some overcrowding of the professions, the good accomplished by well-trained ministers, business-like lawyers, and skilled physicians, has far outbalanced it.

OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY.

It is very difficult to collect reliable statistics of property which are not based on actual records. It was not advisable, therefore, to ask those to whom reports were sent the amount of property they were worth, for with the best of motives on the part of those answering the resulting figures would be largely estimates and personal opinion. One kind of property, however, is least of all liable to be unknown to persons or to be exaggerated in honest reports, and that is real estate. Each college-bred negro was asked, therefore, to state the assessed value of the real estate owned by him. The following table was the result of 557 answers:

Assessed value of real estate.

	Number.	Actual amount.		Number.	Actual amount.
Under \$100.....	3	\$150.50	\$5,000 to \$6,000.....	36	\$182,275.00
\$100 to \$200.....	3	410.00	\$6,000 to \$7,000.....	13	75,540.00
\$200 to \$300.....	15	2,035.00	\$7,000 to \$8,000.....	7	56,500.00
\$300 to \$400.....	10	4,810.00	\$8,000 to \$10,000.....	9	79,375.00
\$400 to \$500.....	5	1,625.00	\$10,000 to \$15,000.....	17	161,000.00
\$500 to \$750.....	58	31,400.00	\$15,000 to \$20,000.....	5	71,550.00
\$750 to \$1,000.....	28	23,375.00	\$20,000 to \$25,000.....	1	21,700.00
\$1,000 to \$2,000.....	129	162,250.00	Own no real estate.....	85	
\$2,000 to \$3,000.....	73	153,400.00	Total.....	557	1,342,862.50
\$3,000 to \$4,000.....	42	239,887.00	Average per individual.....		2,411.00
\$4,000 to \$65,000.....	18	82,600.00			

With regard to the 85 who are tabulated as owning no real estate, it is not certain that in all cases this is a fact, or that some of them may not have had property which they did not wish to report. There is no way of knowing, of course, how far these 557 persons are representative of the 2,331 negro graduates. All things considered, however, this is probably an understatement of the property held; for while many of those not reporting held no property, yet most of those who did report represent the more recent graduates, who have just begun to accumulate, while numbers of the other graduates with considerable property could not be reached. Some who are known to own property did not report it. It is therefore a conservative statement to say that college-bred negroes in the United States own on an average \$2,400 worth of real estate, assessed value. If the assessed value is two-thirds of the real value in most cases, this represents \$3,600 worth of property, market value. To this must be added the worth of all personal property, so that the average accumulations of this class may average \$5,000 each, or \$10,000,000 for the group. Such figures are, of course, mere estimates, but in the light of the testimony they are plausible.

THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO.

Among the most interesting of the answers received were those given to the questions: "Are you hopeful for the future of the negro in this country?" "Have you any suggestions?" Of 733 answers received, 641 were hopeful, 40 were doubtful, and 52 were not hopeful. Two hundred and seventy-six persons simply answered "Hopeful."

Others who were hopeful made the following suggestions as to the best methods and ways of advance: One hundred and twenty-five, "College and industrial training;" 49, "Accumulate land and wealth;" 47, "Better trained leaders;" 34, "More unity among ourselves;" 28, "The way seems dark;" 17, "A more friendly feeling between the races;" 11, "Parents and women hold the keys to success;" 10, "America is our home; stay here and work out the problem;" 8, "Better sexual morals;" 8, "Keep out of politics;" 7, "Eventually some must emigrate;" 6,

"Learn economy;" 4. "The negro will never rule, but will gradually gain his rights;" 1. "Emigration talk should be stopped."

Of persons who said simply "Not hopeful" there were 49. Others who were not hopeful or doubtful said: Nine, "They must migrate;" 6, "Fight for morals, industry, and higher education;" 5, "Little chance for the masses; Certain individuals will survive;" 4, "Do not accumulate means;" 3, "The industrial craze must be stopped;" 2, "Prejudice has gone to the North;" 2, "He must enter the commercial world;" 1, "Tendencies of the youth to crime."

The different points of view can best be appreciated by reading the following extracts:

"I am hopeful of the negro. The changes in a rapidly developing country like ours will afford many opportunities for the advancement of the negro; let him acquire the keenness of vision to see them and have the good sense to embrace them; let him seize every opportunity to put any community or the country at large under obligations to him for some manly service, regardless of how he is treated now. These obligations will be paid, if not in this, in the next generation. Problems will do good. Every theory presented by his opponents can be shattered by facts, facts, facts. There is no way in the world to deprive him long of a vote. It is very dark for him now. I think ignorance is making it harder for him than it would otherwise be. Not simply a want of knowledge of letters, but a general deficiency in everything necessary for well-being."

"Yes, but it is only in proportion as the negro is socially, commercially, and politically oppressed by the white people. In other words, under existing circumstances, I count oppression a blessing."

"Sometimes I am hopeful, sometimes I am not. In this part of the country negroes do not seem to embrace opportunities. Too much talent is wasted in politics and in office holding."

"I have always heretofore lived North and have not known the real condition of my people South. While I think I may say I am hopeful, yet as I see the conditions here I sometimes think that it is the progress rather than our lack of progress that is causing the continued friction between the races."

"While I am hopeful of the future of the negro in this country, I realize that he is now passing through the most crucial period of his existence here, if we except his condition in slavery. The sympathy of the North is being largely withdrawn from him and the South I believe to be growing more antagonistic to his progress and self-respect as a citizen. I would suggest a college education for the few exceptionally bright and industrial training for the majority of the negro youths."

"His future depends upon his own self-respect and thrift."

"Despite hindrances, too many opportunities are opened and opening for us for it to be possible to despair. The work of schoolhouses and churches, of such organizations as you represent, means a brighter day. The greatest need of our people, as I can see it, is parents. We need, need sadly, fathers and mothers who realize the full importance of the training of the children sent to them. Every home that has a cultivated, womanly mother and a manly, intelligent father is a source of strength and power. God grant that such homes may increase."

"This country offers the negro the brightest future of any in the world. He will and must succeed."

"Present oppression, suppression, and misrepresentation must give place to a sentiment of fairness and fair play. We must expedite its coming by developing a ministry that will study and comprehend the moral needs of the race and teach accordingly. Parents must be awakened to a sense of their duty as parents—the trend of the youth toward the vices must be checked. I am not in sympathy with those who say that the negro should eschew politics to the extent of neglecting to exercise his franchise."

"The negro must know that he must rid himself of obnoxious characteristics, save money, acquire property, learn trades, and become moral. The leading men among us must have sense enough to denounce the rapist as well as the lynchers."

"Guard well the sanctity of the home. Make a home, beautify it, make it pure, protect it, defend it, die by it. If the youths of our race were sent out from pure, happy, well-regulated homes, half the battle would be fought to begin with."

"In spite of conditions, apparently inauspicious, I am sufficiently optimistic to be hopeful of the future of the American negro. I consider the ostracism—political, social, industrial, etc.—to which he is subjected to be a training school out of which he will emerge a united race and, as a necessary concomitant, invincible. The key to the situation is the fostering of the spirit of race pride and the formation of ideals necessary to be realized and possible of realization."

"I think the strong caste prejudice in certain sections will lessen as those sections become less provincial and more cosmopolitan."

"I find that the negro's ignorance, superstition, vice, and poverty do not disturb and unnerve his enemies so much as his rapid strides upward and onward."

"I would like to see a restricted ballot fairly applied; I believe the negro would be the greater gainer."

"I suggest that one-tenth of his external religious energy be applied to the accumulation of homes and desirable lands."

"The future of the negro depends upon his making himself felt as a race. Not by force, but by intelligence and wealth. Also, I would add that our colored lawyers have much to do, for through them we are to get our legal rights."

"When we look at the masses of our people and see on the one hand ignorance and on the other careless indifference, it is difficult to feel very hopeful for the future. We see so many of our young people who seem to have no thought of the future, no ideas beyond having a good time in the present, who seem able to have no enthusiasm over anything higher than a ball or like entertainment. They can not be brought to take interest in any measure that will benefit us as a people."

"Patience, character, time. I believe the negro will have to build up a government of his own somewhere."

"A good many of our young men and ladies, after they have gone to college, think that manual labor is not for them to do. When we get more real estate we can open stores and other places of business and employ the college-bred negro."

"Money, money, money, is what he needs."

"The negro should engage in business, have his own stores, dry goods, drugs, groceries, banks, his own professional men; and make morality and education the basis of worth."

"I would suggest that we accumulate more property, get homes, and that those who have homes invest their money in negro enterprises."

"I am very hopeful. All of the older races have risen and fallen; the white race is at its zenith and of necessity will fall and the negro take its place."

"I am indeed hopeful for our future, and not only in this country but here in the South. Daily I ride through thousands of acres of land owned by negroes in Mississippi. They are happy and prospering. Let us fear God, treat our white neighbor with courtesy, save money and educate our children, and the close of the twentieth century will find us a great and prosperous people."

"For the remote future I am hopeful; but a triumph which is to come only 'after the silence of the centuries' holds out little to those of the present age; and still there is some pleasure in planting trees for future generations."

"I have never seen any good or sensible reason to despair of the future of our people in this country, though I must admit the outlook at times is anything but hopeful. I can not escape the conclusion that it would have been better for the race in the long run had a Territory or Territories been set apart for it. His progress would certainly have been more apparent. As it now is he is overshadowed by the white race. The negro may eventually reach his best here and will doubtless, but it will be a long while yet."

"I am hopeful for individual members of the race, but for the race as a whole I am not. I am in favor of expatriation."

"I would suggest that our leading men do less talking on the negro question as such. Much talking means much concession, and much concession means less opportunity."

"More should turn their attention to business and fewer enter the professions of teaching or preaching."

"As a race, no; as individuals, yes. Class legislation, such as 'Jim Crow cars,' disfranchisement, and other kindred evils, is slowly undermining the manhood of the race. The negro begins to think that he is in all respects inferior to all other people."

"I believe that the wheels of progress never glide backward. How fast the advancement of the negro will be is left to his control. I believe in union of negroes—that they should stand together in all things, and that their inherent prejudice should be turned from each other and directed toward those who hate them."

"Suppress the so-called political leaders among us and send those who incite to deeds of violence to the Transvaal, and the period of right living and right thinking which must come will be hastened."

"Those of us who are getting out of the wilderness and mire of ignorance and degradation must help those who will not or can not help themselves."

"Why should I not be hopeful? The abandonment of the priesthood of a race has always been attended with disasters. Let the negro stick to his church in the service of God. Be honest, honorable, peaceable, make and save money, educate his children as highly as he can afford to, attend to his own business, and let white people settle their own quarrels."

"I suggest that religious and educational work should be done on the missionary plan in the lanes and quarters where the lowest and most vicious negroes live. Negro churches are not practical enough in their work. Religion is too often mistaken for piety. Our educated young people are too high above the masses to help them. Let them personally help in the moral uplift of the criminal classes, and especially their children. Industrial training should be advocated for the masses, but higher education should not be discouraged when the means and ability are sufficient.

"I believe that ultimately, just as the Pilgrim Fathers left England to escape persecution, so the negro will have to leave this country to escape color persecution. It is also necessary for him to leave this country to gain racial independence. As long as the negro is carried about in the lap of the superior race as an infant in 'swaddling clothes,' which he is, or as long as he permits any other people to assign to him a place he does not like, or which he has not carved out for himself, or which he is unable to maintain, so long will he continue to remain helpless and despised. There are plenty of countries in the Tropics where the thrifty negro may go, and where by patient and earnest toil he might lay the foundation of a government which would be free from color persecution and which would be attractive to future generations of American negroes."

"I am hopeful, though it is dark just now and the world seems to be against us. God is just and will lead us through the cloud in His time. The people should be urged to buy land, get homes, educate their children, save their money, live honestly, and stick together—that is, love our race better than any other."

"The abundance of ignorance and poverty among our people is the general hindrance."

"I would suggest that we be honest with ourselves, not try to lay the blame upon some one else; stop whining and try by individual effort and accomplishment to prove our claim and right to American citizenship."

"My suggestion is that he make good use of the opportunities at hand; develop that which is best in himself. Don't strive to be other people, but make himself the equal, and if possible the superior, of other people."

"When I look back to the point from which the negro started, the distance he has already come, and the achievements he has made through adverse circumstances, all this is to me but dim prophecy of future possibilities, and therefore I can see no reason for despair, though the night be dark and the storm rage."

"I have the most profound confidence in the future of the negro; but there is need, first, of a greater dissemination of knowledge among the masses; second, more attention given to real character building; third, facts creditable to the negro made known; fourth, falsehoods answered and publicly exposed; fifth, immoral and weakening habits rebuked, and Judases among negroes denounced."

"If the white people were more disposed to reason on the race question from the negro's standpoint, and the colored people were also more disposed to reason on the question from the white man's standpoint, there would be good ground for being more hopeful."

"I was hopeful until I went to Alabama."

"If the fullest glow of warmth and glare of light possible to American life would be afforded him he would come to the light and walk in the light, but with a flaming sword at every gate he can not progress. Without a radical and early change in the general judgment and treatment of the negro the first half of the twentieth century will place him in a position more inextricable and more hopeless than his enslavement."

"I am sorry to say that the future for the negro in this country looks very dark to me, and the more I come in contact with the masses of the people, especially our people, the more confirmed becomes my opinion."

"Am much afraid of the bad influence of so-called leaders who lack the moral stamina, and often have large influence with the masses. They work on their prejudice, and appeal to their instincts. In place of noisy 'leagues,' 'conventions,' and showy resolutions and talk, only talk, more solid, honest, modest work among us would wonderfully help. Our leadership is often superficial in character, sentimental, insincere. We are often discredited among better classes of other races because we fail to discriminate on lines of character."

"In a manner, yes. He is a sluggish, lazy creature, however, and must be driven either by necessity or some other master, or he will not accomplish much. They need competent leadership, especially in the pulpit, from which point most of them may be reached. Too many of their ministers are mercenary politicians entirely lacking in character."

"Very hopeful. The work lies mainly in the hands of teachers and ministers. They must insist upon neatness, cleanliness, good, orderly homes, refinement, quiet manners in all public places. Teach boys and girls to establish an ever-increasing bank account. Every family should have at least one good newspaper and family magazine."

"No, there is no future here for the negro but peonage. A few of the quadrants will lift themselves out of the slough of oppression and go to the English colonies. The mass will go lower and lower to the dead level of mere existence. The reasons for this are the terrible combination of odds against the negro and his own qualities."

"A few years ago I had great hope that the depressing conditions which existed then could not last long, but my hopes have about faded. The main reason for this is in the fact that prejudice against the colored man has spread from the South to the farthest point North."

"I am discouraged when I note, particularly in the South, the tendency of our young men to immorality, vice, and crime. The saloon and the dice are playing terrible havoc with the 'flower' of the race. I am more hopeful for the young women, as shown by the numbers that are being trained in schools and colleges."

"The negro can not be a great race in this country. Let the race learn all the trades and professions, and thus be prepared for separation, for separation must come some time."

"I am hopeful. I would suggest that the negro leaders, preachers, teachers, editors, etc., assemble and have a conservative understanding as to how we shall best reach and improve the condition of that class of negroes who are guilty of the crimes which are the alleged cause of the confusion in this country. That class of negroes who are guilty of confusing this country with heinous crimes is a class that never attend church and school, nor do they read a paper."

"I believe he can prosper here if he'll get an education, be honest, and accumulate property. I believe the future of the negro rests with the women. Every effort should be made by mothers and schools to raise their morals. I would advise young women not to take immoral men as their equals. Mothers should teach their daughters that it is better to be alone than in bad company."

"Our future looks dark to me. I think colonization out West or in the West Indies our only hope."

"There is no hope for the negro in America unless put to himself. As long as he is found with the white people so long will he be their servant. This is clearly seen every day. The prejudice is too great. Emigration is the only solution. Let him get to himself."

"The negro religion at the present time is a hissing and a reproach. Kipling says: 'When the negro gets religion he returns to the first instincts of his nature.' We are cartooned to the full extent of the law and many of these cartoons have much truth in them. Purify negro worship. Uncloud the negro's God and the church will be the true solvent of the difficulties of the race."

"I have hope, because we have a Bible. In a heathen country in the midst of like conditions I should utterly despair. The American conscience will some day respond to the Sermon on the Mount."

"This is the most favored spot on the globe for any man. I do not recognize any demands upon the negro different from those upon every other man of our conglomerate civilization and nationality. My suggestion is that we be ourselves to the very fullest and highest."

"To my mind the future of the negro in this country seems dark. Ten, fifteen, and twenty miles from the cities and towns in this State you will find the majority of our people practically slaves to the landlords. We need a true Moses to lead us away."

"I do not think that the negro will ever reach the height of his ambition in this country. I think we should have a territory to ourselves; somewhat like the Indians have."

"I am not very hopeful of the negro as a race. The only suggestion I would make is that those of us who have influence do something to stop this industrial craze. It is popular because many of the whites believe that the theory is to educate the negro to be a good servant. The average white man cares little for the negro as a man. If he is to be educated to take some inferior place the whole country applauds."

"It is a hard question. I fear the negro is degenerating. Our boys and men are for the most part lazy around our cities and towns, and the outlook so far as they are concerned is gloomy."

"I think that the physical vitality of the race has been and is still being lowered by immorality and the race stock permanently weakened."

"I am hopeful, but I fear I shall never live to see the better day which is assuredly coming. The present negro will have to suffer, sacrifice, work, and die for those who will come after us. I think we are too sycophantic. We do not agitate enough right here in the South, and we do not avail ourselves as we ought of the right of petition to redress our grievances."

"I write from Oklahoma. This place offers to my mind the best opportunity negroes have had in this country. The civilization is being built up now and negroes have a chance to be in the formation."

"I think the negro has a future in this country, but they must rise as individuals and not as a mass."

"I fear more from the negro's own misconduct toward himself than I do from the outrages of others. I am hopeful, however, of the negro's future."

"The negro can succeed in this country. One of the principal things against us is the boastful spirit in the negro. Let him throw away that spirit and take on one of kindness and obedience to law and order, putting forth every effort to accumulate money and to buy land and other of the earth's treasures, he will succeed beyond man's estimate."

"The negro in this country must learn to be a unit, to stop social strife, and, above all, to forbid the ignorant to attempt to rule those of their own race who are educated and are competent to fill positions of trust and honor on their merits and educational qualifications."

"Let each negro forge ahead regardless of proscription. Success must come to the man who works regardless of obstacles."

"I am hopeful, yet it will be necessary for us to open the eyes of our people to the fact that we are being supplanted by white men. White men are taking employment from us. What must be done? We must do something."

"His future is beclouded. He is drifting morally, and unless there be some speedy rescue his doom is sealed. The Bible asserts that: 'A man's greatest enemy is in his own house;' so my candid belief is that the negro is the greatest enemy of the negro. Confidence must be implanted. that organizations may be perfected for protection and successful enterprise."

"Can you offer a solution for the employment of the great loafing classes? These are the ones who cause the enormous death rate in our cities. These are the ones who commit the crimes chargeable to the negro race."

"Not through amalgamation nor deportation—often we console ourselves with such delusive hopes—but through much humiliation, many obstacles from within and without, much learning and labor, many tears and years to success."

"I am, provided he will acquire real estate; own something that somebody wants; separate and go into different political parties; stop clamoring for places; go make places and occupy them; economize along all lines."

"Yes, if they can be encouraged to buy farms, and not seek the cities and towns unless they have a profession. Give the negro a farm and a plenty to eat and he will care but little for the 'Jim Crow' car. Independence is the best way to keep from being oppressed."

"If we could get the negro to see his own condition, and then be willing to strive with all his might to improve even the few opportunities he has, I am sure he would soon come to the front."

"I must be hopeful of a race that has made in one generation the progress that we have, and that in competition with the most progressive people on earth."

"I think through industry, constancy, and self-respect the future of our race will be made secure. I am not in sympathy with any colonization schemes."

"The negro can never enjoy equal civil and equal political rights with the white man in this country except through centuries of wars and revolutions similar to those Rome, England, and France experienced in securing equal rights to their different classes of subjects."

"When we can get our women to see that the future success of the race depends on them; when they have a higher standard, when we have purer mothers, wives, and daughters, then we shall have better men; then will our race succeed."

"I hardly know what to say here. If it were intelligence which was demanded of the negro I would be hopeful. But I fear it is not that; the prevailing belief among the masses of the white people is that the negro is made for all lowly work in life, and wherever the negro differs from this belief there is ground for trouble."

"As to the future of my race I am an optimist. I believe that the salvation of the negro lies in the regenerated South."

"I entertain hopes, but I am not enthusiastic over them."

"I am hopeful, yet sometimes I doubt the wisdom of being so."

"I think the future of the race in this country is indeed uncertain."

"As a negro, 'no.' As an American citizen, growing important silently under persecution, individually catching the prosperity epidemic by contact until merit forces color in the background, 'yes.'"

"The chief occupation of the young negroes of this town seems to be as waiters, caterers, and the like. Outside of these menial lines I see but little prospect of any notable success among them, though if increased ideas of soberness and thrift could be made theirs, they might be a more respected and powerful portion of this community."

"I am sanguine. The negro must get in the van of every profession pursued by the Anglo-Saxon and stay there. Solid reason molded into general intelligence, sound morality, financial independence, and reverence for the Constitution and laws of our country is the basis upon which the race is destined to reach a pre-eminent place in American history."

"I am hopeful, though I regard the present condition in the South as alarming. I have serious apprehensions on account of the friendship between the North and South as a result of the war, and I have some fear lest the industrial theory of

education may be exaggerated or misconstrued and the race be put in the light of aspiring to nothing more than to be successful 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.'"

"If we are left to carve our own future, unhampered by negative laws and influences, I have hope in our own powers of development, but I fear the things that may discourage us."

"The fittest will survive; the public schools and the graveyard will ultimately bring things right."

"I am; but the difficulties seem to increase with progress. I am in favor of industrial education, but not to take the place of higher education."

"I am hopeful of the negro's future. Organized support should be given for the education of negroes of superior mental ability at the best universities in this country. The best among us must be fully developed and the worst truly saved."

"I am hopeful of our future. But inequality of wages and expenses is greatly hindering our progress in almost every way. Far more of our troubles are to be attributed to this than one would suppose."

"History shows that the negro of America is treated better than the peasants of the past were treated, though they were of the same race as were their masters."

"I have, and my hopes are based on the equality of the work that is being done in Fisk, Atlanta, Wilberforce, Central, Howard, Tuskegee, and like institutions. Surely the catalogues of higher instruction are sufficient to inspire hope when one sees the vast amount of work accomplished by their army of graduates. I suggest that each negro principal of public school should be the representative of some standard negro publication; should endeavor to create an interest in race literature. Each teacher should take at least a half hour each week talking of representative colored men and women and what they have accomplished; should teach race history in conjunction with United States history, from the battle of Lexington to the storming of San Juan Hill."

"It will require an age to cement the negroes together. Intelligence, virtue, industry will join education and work; all kinds of education, from kindergarten to the university, and all kinds of work, from the plow to the telescope. The young negro must be put to work in order to save virtue, keep out of crime, and lay the foundation for a mighty race."

"To the extent that he is willing to distill his life's blood into his chosen work, I am. Let him find out what he can do well, and do that thing with all his might. If in any case 'his legs fail him, let him learn to fight on his knees.'"

"Yes, and no. Materially and financially, yes. For us as a people who may hope to win an equal respect and consideration for our manhood from the dominant race, I am afraid the situation is hopeless."

"The fault is not in our stars, dear brothers, but in ourselves."

"We need better primary schools, more teaching force, and longer terms in the rural districts."

"The Northern negro, as I see him, lacks earnestness of purpose, is too easily satisfied, lives too easy, does not appreciate the value of character, and too often does not know what it is. Lives too much in the present, thinks not of to-morrow."

"We should never forget that the world belongs to him who will take it."

"I am hopeful for the future of the negro to a certain extent. The masses in the rural districts must be looked after more than they are. Earnest, educated men and women must go among these people to live and work."

"I am sorry to say that the evidence of our hope is not as substantial as I would like it to be."

"The hope of the masses of the negroes will be, in my opinion, in industrial education."

"I regard the future of the negro in this country as assured. He will never encounter absolutely insurmountable barriers to his really essential progress. Men are ashamed to be quoted as opposing him in that direction. The wrongs done

him in the name of resisting his criminal tendency will operate only to spur him to better things, and those who interpose to hinder him here will suffer permanent moral deterioration and decay."

"While I favor industrial schools, there never was a time, in my opinion, when there was a greater need of college-bred negroes than there is to-day. There will never be too many, the road is too long and rough for too many ever to reach the end. Our race needs college-bred men just as badly as do the whites; in fact, we need them more."

"It does seem to me notwithstanding the criticisms from without and the constant complaining within that the race is progressing."

"I would suggest that each put forth effort to have a greater number of college-bred men and women. We need them as leaders. Our race has and is furnishing plenty of muscle, but we need more brain."

"The responsibility of this age is upon the negro to educate the white man out of his prejudice. It is our condition rather than color that is our great drawback. When we want a special car, put up the money and we get it. If we owned railroad stock we could help make the rules that govern the company. If we had the controlling amount of stock we could have our conductors."

"I am optimistic in spite of the lowering clouds. We have but recently burst from the storm and are not far enough away from it to become settled. I believe this to be the 'Sturm und Drang' period of the negro's existence. I am aware of the strong arguments against such a position, but in the light of the teaching of history there must be, there is, a turning point down near the gates of despair; where once the opposing currents are mastered brighter and better conditions must arise. A better understanding, and the practical application of the laws of chastity, morality, Christianity; an ever increasing acquisition of wealth and practical intelligence; the adoption of principles of courageous manhood; the wholesale banishment of buffoonery and instability; a closer study of those elements that have made the Anglo-Saxon great, and a strong pull, a long pull, and a pull individually and collectively toward the acquisition of the same traits, seem to me to be a few of the essential things that may possibly level our barriers."

"(a) In spite of the present disquieting conditions I am inclined to feel hopeful for the following reasons:

"1. The difficulties that now confront the negro will serve to awaken his dormant energies, and in proportion as he applies himself to master these difficulties will he be developing his manhood. I notice that where the negro is most oppressed there he is most prosperous. For this reason I have always held that the salvation of the race is to be worked out in the South.

"2. I feel in what the negro has achieved since emancipation the promise of what he will achieve in the future. His power and resources have increased considerably in these thirty-five years.

"3. I perceive in the negro elements of character which are his saving virtues. He is ambitious, irrepressible, patient, and possessed of marvelous powers of endurance. He aspires to be something else than what he is, and will strive for it. If he is kept back he will still look at the object, bide his time, and seize the opportunity when the chance invites.

"4. I believe that humanity, respect for law, and love of justice, which are such conspicuous qualities of the heart of the Anglo-Saxon—the dominant race of this country—will some day reach out and embrace the negro in America as it has his brother in Cuba and his cousin in the Philippine Islands.

"5. I have strong faith in the irresistible power of the Christian religion to bring those under its influence to accept the doctrine of the brotherhood of man and to live up to its obligations.

"(b) As the conditions of American life demand that the negro shall take an active part in bringing about a change for the better in his situation, there are some things which should engage his most earnest endeavor. I venture to suggest those that now occur to me:

"1. To try and make himself a necessity. Whatsoever his hands find to do he must do it so well that his services will be indispensable. And he should strive to be a producer as well as a consumer. In order to gain this position let him follow the example of his prosperous Anglo-Saxon brother, namely, of cultivating and applying the resources of his intellect. To this end an opportunity could be afforded by means of the university-extension system, adapted to the peculiar needs and circumstances of the race. The plan should provide for night schools, in which

professional men and women can, in their own communities, give their service freely or for a small remuneration.

"2. The practice of thrift and frugality.

"3. The establishing of real unity and cooperation of the race.

"4. The making the best use of the opportunities which are at hand."

IS THE COLLEGE TRAINING OF NEGROES NECESSARY?

A few opinions of prominent men in answer to this query are subjoined. They are partly in answer to a circular letter sent to a few college presidents:

I have never lived South, and my opinion on the question you ask is not very valuable. It is, in a word, this, that Mr. Warner's contention is right for most members of the race, but that the way should be kept as wide open as possible for gifted men like * * * , Booker Washington, and many others to have every opportunity that any of the Northern or other colleges can afford.

I am, very truly, yours,

G. STANLEY HALL,
President of Clark University.

DECEMBER 10, 1900.

I believe not only in common-school and industrial education for the negroes of the South, but also in their higher education. The higher education is necessary to maintain the standards of the lower.

Yours, truly,

GEORGE E. MACLEAN,
President of the State University of Iowa.

DECEMBER 11, 1900.

I believe fully in the higher education of every man and woman whose character and ability is such as to make such training possible. There are relatively fewer of such persons among the negroes than among the Anglo-Saxons, but for all of these the higher training is just as necessary and just as effective as for anyone else.

For the great body of the negroes the industrial and moral training already so well given in certain schools seems to me to offer the greatest hope for the future.

Very truly, yours,

DAVID S. JORDAN,
President of Leland Stanford Junior University.

DECEMBER 14, 1900.

Your circular of December 8 comes duly to hand. In response I would say that in my judgment no race or color is entitled to monopolize the benefits of the higher education. If any race is entitled to be specially favored in this respect I should say it is the one that has by the agency of others been longest deprived thereof.

The above you are at liberty to present as my sentiments.

Yours, cordially,

WM. F. WARREN,
President of Boston University.

DECEMBER 13, 1900.

In reply to your request of December 5, I would say that it seems to me that the collegiate or higher education is not a special favor to be granted to men on the ground of race, family, or any such minor consideration. The only condition for the receiving of a college education should be the ability to appreciate and to use it. Human nature is substantially the same everywhere. It should be the glory of our country to afford to all her young men and women who crave the broadest culture and who have the spirit and ability to acquire it, the amplest opportunity for development. Looking at it more specifically, I can see that the general uplifting of our negro population requires a proper percentage of college-bred negro leaders.

Yours, sincerely,

GEORGE C. CHASE,
President of Bates College.

DECEMBER 17, 1900.

You ask for my opinion in regard to the desirableness of higher training for the negroes. Let me begin my statement by saying that I have the utmost faith in the management of the Atlanta University and several other institutions for the training of negroes in the South. I will, however, candidly say that in my judgment there are a great many of the negroes whom it is not worth while to guide through a course of university training. I think that is true also of the white race, but in the present condition it is peculiarly true with regard to colored people. My idea would be that all the training that the colored man is capable of thoroughly mastering should be given him, but that in the higher departments of learning, like political economy and history, the ancient classics and the natural sciences, only selected men should be given the fullest opportunities. I have the strongest confidence that such training as is given at Hampton and at Tuskegee, largely manual and industrial, is of the greatest importance for the negroes and is to be the means of fitting the race a generation or two hence to enter more fully into the more abstract and philosophical studies. I do not know that I have made myself perfectly clear, but in a general way I should say the multiplication of universities of the higher sort is not desirable in comparison with the multiplication of training schools for all the trades and manual activities.

With best wishes, very sincerely, yours,

FRANKLIN CARTER,
President of Williams College.

DECEMBER 12, 1900.

Teachers and leaders need more than a common school education. This is as true of negroes as of whites.

Where shall they obtain a liberal education? With few exceptions, I think, it should be in the Southern colleges. The color line is so sharply drawn in Northern colleges (unfortunately) that a negro is at great disadvantage, not in studies, but socially. * * *

Very truly, yours,

GEORGE HARRIS,
President of Amherst College.

DECEMBER 12, 1900.

I believe in the Southern negro college and the higher education of negroes.
* * *

Very truly, yours,

JOSEPH SWAIN,
President University of Indiana.

DECEMBER 10, 1900.

The problem is such a difficult one that I have been compelled largely to rely on the judgment of my friends. My opinions are chiefly taken from the experience of Mr. William F. Baldwin, now president of the Long Island Railroad, and are therefore hardly such as I ought to put in a form for quotation.

Sincerely, yours,

ARTHUR T. HADLEY
President of Yale University.

DECEMBER 10, 1900.

I am, like many others, greatly interested in the question of education of the negroes. There seems to me to be a place for the college properly so called which shall teach a certain number, who may be leaders of their race in the South, as preachers and advanced teachers. At the same time, I have much sympathy with Mr. Booker T. Washington's idea, that a large proportion of them should be educated for industrial pursuits.

Yours, truly,

JAMES B. ANGELL,
President of the University of Michigan.

DECEMBER 10, 1900.

How, then, are the teachers, the preachers, the physicians for the colored race of the South to be provided, unless the South has institutions of the higher education serving the negro, fitting him for these higher positions? We know very well that the negro, as he rises in the social scale, will live in better houses and

follow better trades, and, in general, be industrially and financially elevated: and we should not for a moment criticise the work which is going on throughout the South in several institutions which Boston interest and sympathy have furthered.

But there is another essential thing—namely, that the teachers, preachers, physicians, lawyers, engineers, and superior mechanics, the leaders of industry, throughout the negro communities of the South, should be trained in superior institutions. If any expect that the negro teachers of the South can be adequately educated in primary schools, or grammar schools, or industrial schools pure and simple, I can only say in reply that that is more than we can do at the North with the white race. The only way to have good primary schools and grammar schools in Massachusetts is to have high and normal schools and colleges in which the higher teachers are trained. It must be so throughout the South; the negro race need absolutely these higher facilities of education.—CHARLES W. ELIOT, *President of Harvard College* (in a speech at Trinity Church, Boston, February 23, 1896).

The higher education is the last thing that the individual pupil reaches; it is what he looks toward as the end. But from the point of view of the teachers, from the point of view of the educational system, the higher education is the very source and center and beginning of it all; and if this is wanting the whole must collapse. Take away the higher education, and you can not maintain the level of the lower; it degenerates, it becomes corrupt, and you get nothing but pretentiousness and superficiality as the residuum. In order to maintain the lower education which must be given to the South, you must have a few well-equipped institutions of higher learning.—WILLIAM D. HYDE, *President of Bowdoin College* (in a speech at Trinity Church, Boston, February 23, 1896).

It seems fair to assume from these and other letters that the conservative public opinion of the best classes in America is that there is a distinct place for the negro college designed to give higher training to the more gifted members of the race; that leaders thus trained are a great necessity in any community and in any group. On the other hand, there is considerable difference of opinion probably as to how large this "talented tenth" is—some speaking as though it were a negligible quantity, others as though it might be a very large and important body.

The opinions of some other persons ought perhaps to be added to the above. First, there is the almost unbroken line of testimony of the heads of negro colleges; this is, of course, interested testimony, and yet it is of some value as evidence. A man who left a chair in the University of Michigan to go South and teach negroes before the war ended wrote after twenty-five years' experience in college work:

"By this experiment certainly one thing has been settled—the ability of a goodly number of those of the colored race to receive what is called a liberal education. A person who denies that shows a lack of intelligence on the subject.

"But the possibility granted, the utility of this education is doubted both as to individual and race. First, then, as to the individual, aside from the mere mercantile advantage derived from education, does not the hunger of the negro mind for knowledge prove its right to know, its capacity show that it should be filled, its longing that it should be satisfied? And as to the race at large, does it not need within it men and women of education? How would it be with us of the white race if we had none such with us—no educated ministers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, professors, writers, thinkers? All the preaching to 8,000,000 of colored people in the United States is done by colored preachers, with the merest exceptions here and there. Do these negroes not need preparation for their vastly responsible calling?

"The entire work of instruction in the colored public schools of the South is done by colored teachers. These teachers can not be prepared in the white schools and colleges of the South. Where, then, shall they be prepared if not in special higher institutions of learning open to them? What is to become of the millions of colored people in the United States? Who are to be their leaders? Doubtless persons of their own race. Do they need less preparation for their calling than

do members of the white race for theirs? Is not their task even more difficult? Have they not questions of greater intricacy to solve? Did not Moses when leading ex-slaves out of Egypt need special wisdom? Are not the colored people of to-day 'perishing for lack of knowledge?'

"But the objector will say, Why have these long courses; these colleges for colored people? Would not shorter courses be as well, or even better? The following is my belief on this point, after twenty-five years of thought and experience: If the negro is equal to the white man in heredity and environment, he needs an equal chance in education; if he is superior, he can get on with less; if he is inferior, he needs more. The education required is not simply that of books, but of life in Christian homes, such as are supplied in nearly all our missionary schools for that people, and of religion through the Christian church and its influences."

The president of another negro college said in 1896:

"To imagine that the negro can safely do without any of the institutions or instrumentalities which were essential to our own advancement is to assume that the negro is superior to the white man in mental capacity. To deprive him of any of these advantages, which he is capable of using, would be to defraud ourselves, as a nation and a Christian church, of all the added power which his developed manhood should bring to us. It does not seem to be necessary in this audience to discuss the proposition that intelligence is power, and that the only road to intelligence is through mental discipline conducted under moral influences.

"What have we been doing for our brother in black to help him in his life struggle? The work began somewhat as in the days of our fathers. The John Harvards and the Elihu Yales of Pilgrim history found their counterparts in General Fish, Dr. Phillips, Seymour Straight, and Holbrook Chamberlain, who founded colleges even before it was possible for many to enter upon the college course, but with a wise forecast for the need that would eventually come and is now actually upon us."

These two extracts sufficiently represent the almost unanimous opinion of the presidents and teachers in negro colleges that this training is a success and a necessity.

Further testimony is at hand from the answers which college-bred negroes made to questions as to their present estimate of the value of their training. This testimony is, of course, apt to be distinctly one-sided—only a few peculiarly open natures being likely to acknowledge a failure in their own training. Nevertheless the answers received were so frank and varied that they should be studied:

HAS YOUR COLLEGE TRAINING BENEFITED YOU?

Yes	412
It was a great benefit	34
The largest possible benefit	6
It was certainly a benefit	23
My college training has fitted me for life	17
A wonderful help	21
It has been of incalculable value	7
Immeasurable	18
It has been of infinite value	8
It was indispensable	20
The college made me	9
I owe my success to it	6
Too difficult to answer	1
No other would have been serviceable	11
Could not pursue my present course without it	4
Industrial and college training together benefit me greatly	1
To do great service for my race	4
Useful even to a laborer	1
Have no reason to regret	5
It has been the best investment	3
Nothing above it but virtue	1
Wish I had time for more	6
Gave me a foundation	2
No other could take its place	1
It has enabled me to educate 500 persons	1
It has been invaluable to me	2
Great service in rearing my children	1
It has not, in my line of work	1

WOULD SOME OTHER TRAINING HAVE BEEN OF MORE SERVICE?

I think not	172
Doubtful	11
Not sure	7
Some system to keep in mind professional intentions	1
An agricultural course might have been of more benefit	1
Good business course would have been better	2
Industrial training helps	1
Judging from present conditions, no	1
A scientific course	1
There is no substitute	1
No other could be of so general service	3
Could tell if I had used my energies in another direction	1
A practical course in the English Bible and in music training	1
A course in music	1
Would not exchange for another kind. It is an eminence from which all other fields can be surveyed	1
No other kind could have	7
Would not exchange	2
A commercial in addition	3
Not as far as I can observe	1
Some other in addition would have been helpful	4
No other would have suited my case	1
Financially, some other might	9
A more complete training would be beneficial	1
Manual training would have been more beneficial	1
A complete mastery of one trade would be of great help in addition	8
Would have to try some other to be sure	2
Architectural drawing would have helped me	1
No other in my profession	2
Tried another, but found college most beneficial	1
A practical training would have been quite beneficial	1
Primary work more beneficial in my work	1
A course in sewing	1
A carpenter's and a printer's trade in addition	1
Can not say	18
Yes	2

From a careful consideration of the facts and of such testimony as has been given the following propositions seem clear:

1. The great mass of the negroes need common school and manual training.
2. There is a large and growing demand for industrial and technical training and trade schools.
3. There is a distinct demand for the higher training of persons selected for talent and character to be leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among the masses.
4. To supply this demand for a higher training there ought to be maintained several negro colleges in the South.
5. The aim of these colleges should be to supply thoroughly trained teachers, preachers, professional men, and captains of industry.

The central truth which this study teaches to the candid mind is the success of higher education under the limitations and difficulties of the past. To be sure that training can be criticised justly on many points: Its curriculum was not the best; many persons of slight ability were urged to study algebra before they had mastered arithmetic, or German before they knew English; quantity rather than quality was in some cases sought in the graduates, and above all, there was a tendency to urge men into the professions, particularly the ministry, and to overlook business and the mechanical trades. All these charges brought against the higher training of the negroes in the past have much of truth in them. The defects, however, lay in the application of the principle, not in the principle; in poor teaching and studying rather than in lack of need for college-trained men. Courses need to be changed and improved, teachers need to be better equipped, students need more careful sifting. With such reform there can be no reasonable doubt of the continued and growing need for a training of negro youth, the chief aim of which is culture rather than bread-winning. Nor does this plain demand have anything in it of opposition or antagonism to industrial training—to those schools

which aim directly at teaching the negro to work with his own hands. Quite the contrary is the case, and it is indeed unfortunate that the often intemperate and exaggerated utterances of some advocates of negro education have led the public mind to conceive of the two kinds of education as opposed to each other. They are rather supplementary and mutually helpful in the great end of solving the negro problem. We need thrift and skill among the masses; we need thought and culture among the leaders. As the editor has had occasion to say before:

"In a scheme such as I have outlined, providing the rudiments of an education for all, industrial training for the many, and a college course for the talented few, I fail to see anything contradictory or antagonistic. I yield to no one in advocacy of the recently popularized notion of negro industrial training, nor in admiration for the earnest men who emphasize it. At the same time I insist that its widest realization will but increase the demand for college-bred men—for thinkers to guide the workers. Indeed, all who are working for the uplifting of the American negro have little need of disagreement if they but remember this fundamental and unchangeable truth: The object of all true education is not to make men carpenters—it is to make carpenters men."

HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO—ITS PRACTICAL VALUE.

By President HORACE BUMSTEAD, D. D.,

Atlanta University, Georgia.

All education is practical which can be turned to use and made productive of some desired end. In the education of the American negro there are certain ends which all good people agree in desiring. The appalling illiteracy of the masses must be reduced. The criminal tendencies of the lower classes must be checked. The productive capacity of the wage-earners must be increased. The domestic life of the race must be improved. Their citizenship must be safeguarded and ennobled. The development of personal character must be stimulated—this last the most important of all.

MANY CLASSES OF NEGROES.

It is idle to suppose that all these desired ends can be secured by any single form of education without the cooperation of other forms. No man can wisely shout "Eureka," and proclaim the race problem solved by any one method of training. The problem is too manifold, too complex, too intricate to admit of solution by a single panacea.

Moreover, the American negro is in condition to receive in due proportion a much greater variety of education than many people have supposed. We have too long made the mistake of regarding the race as one homogeneous mass instead of recognizing the diversity of its different classes. The 4,000,000 set free by the civil war have grown, probably, to 9,000,000, or nearly as many as the entire population of the United States in 1820. So large a population as this, mostly born in freedom and growing up for thirty-five years in contact with American civilization, could not fail in that length of time to differentiate itself into classes of varying character and ability, illustrating many different grades of progress. No careful observer can deny that this differentiation has taken place. The more hopeful classes may still be small relatively to the whole mass of the negroes, but they are too large absolutely, and they are potentially too important a factor in the solution of the great problem, to be safely ignored.

With full recognition, then, of the varied forms of educational effort needed and with no desire to disparage any of them, let me come to my task of presenting the practical value of the higher education. And I will ask you to measure this value as related, first, to the individual negro himself, and second, to the social group or mass of negroes of whom the individual forms a part.

For the individual negro who so far rises above the common mass of his race as to be fitted to receive it, I believe that the higher education has a preeminently practical value.

If the term "higher education" needs definition, let me say that I have in mind such education as an average white boy gets when he "goes to college." I mean a curriculum in which the humanities are prominent and in which intercourse with books and personal contact with highly educated teachers constitute the chief sources of power. Let us, furthermore, understand such a curriculum to be handled not in any dry-as-dust spirit, but with the most modern methods of teaching and with the most direct and practical application to the needs of modern life as they will be encountered by the students pursuing it.

INDIVIDUAL OPPORTUNITY.

There is a practical advantage in the mere offering of such an educational opportunity to the individual negro of exceptional ability. So long as it is denied he will ask, "On what ground do you set a limit to my educational progress?" If we answer "Because the masses of your race are not fitted to take a college course," he can reply, "That is a principle of exclusion which you do not apply to your own race, and why should you apply it to mine?" If we say, "Because we doubt your individual ability to take it," he may answer, "That is a matter which only a fair trial can determine, and I ask the privilege of testing my ability as an individual." How can you justly refuse such a plea as this? If the claimant really has exceptional ability he ought to have the exceptional opportunity. If he does not possess such ability it is still worth something to set before him the open door of the higher education, for then, if he does not enter it, the responsibility is entirely his own. In education there is no principle more just or wise than this: To every negro youth, as to every white youth, an educational opportunity commensurate with his ability as an individual.

Let us not forget in this connection to how large an extent it is in the province of all colleges to discover talent. For many boys and girls the studies of the grammar and even of the high school are insufficient to reveal their most marked aptitudes and point out the most promising path of usefulness. It is only as they are confronted with a college curriculum that this revelation is made in the case of very many. It is sometimes said that any bright negroes in the South who want a college education can come to Northern colleges and get it. This may be true as regards the very brightest who can feel the attraction of an educational opportunity a thousand miles away and obtainable there only at high cost. But for a much larger number, only the inexpensive college of the vicinage, within easy reach of home, can either discover talent, or train it when discovered.

TEACHING TO THINK.

A very practical service which a college education renders to the individual negro is to teach him to think. The power of rational thought is one which the past history of the race has not tended to cultivate. Neither savagery in Africa nor slavery in America were favorable to it. As a slave the negro was trained not to think. The thinking negro was a dangerous negro. The master and the overseer did his thinking for him, regulating his movements and planning his work, and the more the negro surrendered his self-direction and became a facile machine in their hands, the better slave he was. This is an unavoidable feature in every system of human slavery.

But the moment freedom begins and the responsibility for one's life and work is transferred from an outside authority to the individual himself, the power of

rational and consecutive thinking becomes an absolute necessity. It is the lack of this power which constitutes one of the chief elements of weakness in the negro of to-day. The studies of the usual college curriculum are especially fitted to develop it. Slavery did much to make the negro a worker, and since slavery ended we have all been very properly concerned to make him more and more a skilled worker. But we have been far too little concerned to make him a careful thinker.

Incidentally to this, a very practical advantage which comes to the individual negro through a college education is the discovery of how large a part of the world's work is performed by the world's thinkers. The delusion that work of the hands is the only work worthy of the name can not remain long in the mind of a college student. In the study of history, and science, and language, and philosophy, and mathematics, he discovers again and again how the chief workers in those fields have been foremost among the promoters of the world's progress, ever cooperating with and stimulating the work of the hand workers and often exceeding them in the severity of their toil. It is not too early for the negro to learn that some of the opportunity and responsibility for the brain work of the world belongs to him, and that in proportion as he is able to embrace it and use it well will his race achieve a symmetrical development of its powers, more nearly approaching that of other races, and so gain more and more the respect of their fellow-men.

NEED OF INCENTIVE.

But the individual negro needs not only opportunity and training for working with both hand and brain, he also needs incentive for working, and the highest kinds of incentive. If anything, he needs incentive more than he needs opportunity. There are numerous opportunities open to many a negro which he fails to utilize simply for lack of incentive. He is too easily content with his low estate, and has too little ambition to improve it. There is probably not a negro in the South who does not have the means, the skill, and the time, which constitute opportunity, for making his condition less wretched than it is, if he wanted to. But the trouble is he does not want to, and never will want to until sufficient incentives are set before him. It is a good thing to present the incentives of material comfort and financial prosperity—to tell the negro he can have a better house and a more productive farm and an account at the bank, if he will only bestir himself; these are all worthy incentives for effort, but they do not go far enough. It is as true of the negro as of any other human being, that the life is more than meat and the body than raiment, and that a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things he possesseth. Does it not behoove us, then, to awaken within the negro's soul the desire for a better life for himself and family in that better home, whenever he shall get it, and to stimulate a craving for higher pleasures than those of the body, to the gratification of which he may utilize his abundant harvest and his growing bank account? Many a negro already has more of this world's goods than he knows how to use wisely, either for himself or for others. Making a livelihood is important, but realizing a wholesome life is more important. The "plain living and high thinking" of our homespun ancestors in New England and Virginia is a worthy object of aspiration to set before the American negro of to-day. From the colleges and universities it came to our ancestors, and from colleges and universities it must come to the negro. And as it comes, his incentive to work, with both hand and brain, for both the material and the spiritual progress of America, will be increased.

But it is time to turn to the second part of our subject.

THE EXCEPTIONAL NEGRO AND THE MASSES.

In a recent address President Tucker, of Dartmouth College, used these words: "I believe, with a growing conviction, that the salvation of the negro of this country lies with the exceptional men of that race." These words of President Tucker concisely express the truth which explains the practical value of the higher education to the negro as a social group or mass of which the individual forms a part. In showing how college training is of practical advantage to the individual negro, in enabling him to discover and train his highest powers, and in furnishing the most potent incentives for their use, we have by no means stated the strongest reason for such education. A much stronger reason is to be found in the relation which the college-bred negro holds to the masses among whom he dwells and works. The masses may not be able to go to college, but they may send their representative to college, and when he comes home they may be wise by proxy. This does not mean that they are all going to learn Latin and Greek from their representative or make him a little demigod of culture for their worship. But it does mean this: That in every community of negroes it ought to be possible for the common people, occasionally at least, to look into the face of a college-bred man or woman of their own race and catch something of inspiration from his high attainment. Currents of culture and progress are ever being set in motion among the masses of mankind by this sort of educational induction, even where no direct efforts are put forth to that end.

But the opportunity for the direct and positive activity of the college-bred negro in promoting the elevation of his own people is of the most varied and striking character.

NEGRO PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Consider the matter of popular education in the public schools. The South has separate schools for the two races, and custom requires that the teachers of these schools shall be of the same race as the pupils attending them. The 30,000 negro public schools, on which the Southern States are spending six and a half million dollars annually and have spent over a hundred millions since 1870, are greatly weakened and the vast sum of money spent on them wasted because of the inefficiency of the negro teachers. To stem this great tide of waste and to provide teachers of the desired efficiency there is no influence more potent than that of the negro colleges in the South. The graduates of these colleges not only teach in these schools, usually filling the most prominent positions in them as principals or otherwise, but they are also teachers of teachers, a single individual often numbering the teachers whom he has trained for other public schools by the scores and hundreds, and the pupils thus reached at second hand by the thousands. One graduate of Atlanta University has trained 200 teachers, who in turn are instructing 10,000 children.

These college graduates are also prominent in organizing and maintaining State associations of negro teachers, and in conducting, under the direction of State superintendents of education, the summer teachers' institutes which are fostered by appropriations from the Peabody fund. In one case a negro graduate has served for eleven years as a member of the city board of education by appointment of the mayor and aldermen in a large Southern city.

RELIGIOUS WORK.

The religious work of the race presents another most important field of activity for the college-bred negro. While slavery lasted the negroes in many localities shared the religious privileges of their masters, and listened to the sermons of educated preachers. With the advent of freedom, and the inevitable separation

of the races in so many of the relations of life, the negroes very naturally organized churches of their own, to the pulpits of which they called men of their own race, in most cases with little or no preparation for their work. Though some advantage was gained in the assumption by the negroes of the responsible management of their own church organizations, there was an undoubted loss for the time being in the character of their religious and moral training, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that to this, among other causes, may be attributed the criminal tendencies of the race in their new life of freedom. While the character of the negro ministry is gradually improving through the accession of better educated men to their ranks, the supply of such men is far inadequate to the need.

OTHER PROFESSIONS.

As physicians, too, college-bred negroes find an important field of usefulness. Aside from the ordinary round of their medical practice, they are needed to foster the work of hospitals and training schools for nurses among their people. They can also do much in instructing their people in matters of hygiene, in improving the sanitary condition of their homes, and in the proper care of young children; thus helping to reduce the excessive death rate of the negroes. In much of this work they can accomplish far more than white physicians working among their race could do.

The opportunity for the college-bred negro in the legal profession is not so large, nor the call so urgent as in the occupations already considered. But in proportion to their numbers the few college-bred negroes who have become lawyers are having as successful and useful careers as the members of other professions.

Some editors, too, must be supplied by the negro colleges, and these, in cooperation with the lawyers and ministers, will be more and more needed as the race progresses to foster a wholesome public opinion among the negroes, to elevate the character of their citizenship and harmonize their relations with the white race.

SELF-REGENERATION OF THE RACE.

Another field of activity which loudly calls for the attention of all college-bred negroes, whatever their specific occupation may be, is the matter of organized efforts for their own social uplift. In every considerable community the negro teachers, ministers, doctors, lawyers, editors, and others occupying prominent positions have it in their power, by united action, to promote efforts for reform in such matters as temperance, purity, the improvement of home life, the training of children, the provision of wholesome amusements, the organizing of reading clubs, debating societies, and lecture courses, and in general so ministering to the higher life of their people as to help them to stem the tide of animalism and materialism that is ever threatening to sweep them away. Considerable of this work has already been undertaken with fair success, generally under the auspices of the negro churches, secret societies, and other beneficial orders. But the organizing power of the negroes is still in a somewhat crude stage, and greatly needs the enlightening and directing influence which the college-bred negroes can furnish, and are already furnishing to an encouraging extent. And herein appears another very practical advantage of the higher education of the negro, in that it is helping him to do for himself that which many have supposed only the white man could do for him. We have too long failed to recognize the tremendous power for the self-regeneration of the race to be found in the race's highest class, and in the aspiring members of its middle class. The discovery and equipment of this power is one of the very practical services rendered by the colleges for negroes.

AN APPEAL TO FACTS.

A striking confirmation of the positions taken in this paper is to be found in the results of a careful investigation into the careers of college-bred negroes under the direction of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, as brought out at the Fifth Annual Conference on Negro Problems, recently held at Atlanta University.^a

Since 1826, 2,414 negroes have been graduated from college; most of them since 1870, and for the last six years to an average number of about 130 a year.

With few exceptions these negro college graduates have found work as teachers and professional men and also in newspaper work, business, farming, and the trades. Returns from some 600 show an individual holding of real estate of an average assessed value of nearly \$2,500.

Returns from more than half of all these graduates show that 55 per cent were teachers; 19 per cent ministers; 6 per cent doctors, and 3 per cent lawyers, or 83 per cent engaged in teaching and the professions.

Ninety per cent of those graduated in Southern colleges remain and work in the South, while fully 50 per cent of those graduated in the North go South and labor where the masses of their people live.

To the question: "Do you vote?" 508 answered "Yes," and 213 "No." To the question: "Is your vote counted?" 7 said "No," 61 were in doubt, and 455 answered "Yes." To the question: "Are you hopeful for the future of the negro in this country?" 40 were in doubt, 52 said "No," and 641 answered that they were hopeful.

May we not safely conclude that the negro college graduate as an individual is a good breadwinner, thrifty property holder, and conservative citizen, and that as the exceptional man of his race who has enjoyed exceptional opportunity, he is devoting himself in a very remarkable degree to the forms of service most adapted to the uplift of the masses in intelligence, morality, and good citizenship? What can be more practical than an education that secures such results as these?

I plead for a larger faith in the exceptional negro—a larger faith in his capacity as an individual, and a larger faith in his power as a regenerator of the masses of his race, on whom we should seek more and more to shift the "white man's burden."

^aSee the preceding pages (191-224).

CHAPTER V.

THE WORK OF CERTAIN NORTHERN CHURCHES IN THE EDUCATION OF THE FREEDMEN, 1861-1900.

By A. D. MAYO, LL.D.

CONTENTS.—The American Missionary Association.—The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.—The Presbyterian Church (North) in connection with the schooling of the freedmen.—The Protestant Episcopal Church in the education of the colored race. The Society of Friends in the education of the colored people of the South.—The Baptist Church of the Northern States in the education of the colored race in the South.

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

The first and still the most notable of the several great missionary associations for the training of the negro race in the Southern States, through schools of every grade and the ordinary methods of mission work employed by the Evangelical Protestant churches in the Northern United States, was the American Missionary Association. It was incorporated January 30, 1849, with a constitution containing ten articles. Article I announces its purpose "to conduct Christian missions and educational operations, and diffuse a knowledge of the holy Scriptures in our own and other countries which are destitute of them, or which present open and urgent fields of effort." Its active and voting membership was limited to persons of "Evangelical religious opinions, who profess faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. * * * not slaveholders or in the practice of other immoralities." An additional fee of \$30 constituted a life member; although "children and others who have not professed the faith may be constituted life members, without the privilege of voting." In a footnote, the term "Evangelical faith" is explained as in accordance with the Puritan creed. In Article VIII the antislavery clause of the organization is emphasized by the declaration that all its operations shall tend "particularly to discountenance slavery, by refusing to receive the fruits of unrequited labor, or to welcome to its fellowship those who hold their fellow beings as slaves."

As at first organized, during the twelve years previous to the opening of the civil war, the operations of the American Missionary Association do not especially concern the object of this essay, since there could evidently have been no field through all the fifteen slave States for the operation of an association that even refused to accept the money or the personal cooperation of slaveholders. Up to 1861 it was a general missionary association of the strict antislavery type, including all persons of the different evangelical denominations desirous of using a society freed from cooperation with one specified class. But the breaking out of the civil war and the drifting of large numbers of negroes from the plantations of Virginia to the army of Gen. B. F. Butler, with headquarters at Hampton, for the first time opened a wide door for missionary activity, which during the past forty-one years has never been closed. It has been stated in a paper which appeared in the preceding Report of this office that the first school for the "contrabands" was opened

by a woman, Mrs. Mary Peake, at Hampton, under the guns of Fortress Monroe. At the close of a three-years' service as agent of the Freedmen's Bureau in ten counties of east Virginia, Gen. S. C. Armstrong found a school of 1,500 colored pupils housed in the old hospital barracks and in the Butler School in that vicinity.

During the fourteen years after this first appearance in the schools for the colored race the work of the American Missionary Association grew apace. Between 1866 and 1870 it received \$243,753.22. The Freedmen's Bureau, on its retirement from educational work, passed over a large sum of money to it, which was expended in the erection of the first buildings of the schools at Hampton, Va., Nashville, Tenn., Charleston, S. C., New Orleans, La., and other places. It is estimated that the people of Great Britain contributed not less than \$1,000,000 in money and clothing for the colored people during these years. During this period the foundations of several of the association's most important schools were laid. Its first report after the close of the war appeared in 1869-70.

At an important convention held at Chattanooga, Tenn., November 24-26, 1869, reports were received from the churches established by the American Missionary Association (all open to a mixed membership of white and colored) and representatives from the schools already established appeared. At this initial period the new public-school system of the South, though recognized in the revised constitutions of all the reconstructed States, was not in a condition to supply the wants of any class. Indeed the aspirations, especially among the lower orders of the white people, and the discontent among the better sort with the policy of reconstruction, largely under negro rule for four years, found constant vent in opposition to the teachers and directors of the schools. If the negroes were to be educated at all, it seemed necessary that the work should go on under the direction of the same agency that since 1862 had been so active among great numbers of the colored masses. But from 1870 to 1876 the association failed to receive the assistance of the National Government, either by supplies or by personal protection from the remnant of the Army of the United States gathered at military posts through these States. The well disposed among the white people and the new State governments were greatly shorn of their power or influence to prevent a reign of disorder.

It was a mercy, under such conditions, that educational work should be in connection with a missionary enterprise, and really under one direction. And, although the people and clergy of most of the great Northern religious bodies had long since outgrown the church parochial system of schooling the masses at home, yet under the patronage of the educational missionary societies for the colored people a system of parochial schools for the negroes was placed upon the ground that is not yet abandoned. The American Missionary Association, now practically one of the great missions of the evangelical Congregational Church (the denomination under which the common school originated and was developed during the entire colonial period in New England), had never used this parochial church system of schooling to any great degree, and retired from it earlier than any other. It can not but be regarded as a misfortune that this system should have been so early associated with popular education in the minds of the better class of the Southern negroes that it has been very difficult to eradicate it, and at present, in many ways, it acts as a serious obstacle to the improvement and proper working of the common school of the American type in every State of the South.

But good things can not always be done, in the beginning, in the most approved fashion. The American Missionary Association took up the work among the negroes as it came to hand. It found the churches far more disposed to contribute funds, and teachers were more willing to go forth to a life of toil and sometimes of peril, uniformly of social and religious neglect by the Southern people of their

own color, in connection with an organization supplied and backed as was this association. In the reports of the American Missionary Association at this time we come across much information concerning the more important schools which, under different names, "universities," "colleges," "institutes," etc., have given their full influence and wrought with great success in the uplifting of the children and youth of the negro race.

It is impossible in this essay to give more than a glance at the different institutions or localities through which this great association for the past forty-one years has wrought for God and humanity and the general welfare of the Republic. A few brief notices will give the trend of its work, and the voluminous publications of the association will supply the interesting details.

In October, 1869, Avery Institute, at Charleston, S. C., was opened with 325 pupils, "mainly of the better class of colored people in the city." Besides this, there was in Charleston a school for colored pupils, established by the family and friends of Col. Robert G. Shaw, who lost his life at the head of his colored regiment in the onset on Fort Wagner; another school under Northern Presbyterian protection, and one sustained by the Episcopalians. The city of Charleston had already moved in the establishment of a free public school for the same class, of 900 pupils. In connection with the Avery Institute general missionary work was carried on among the negroes. All these agencies were also concerned with charitable work, and distributed large amounts of clothing and supplies and rendered assistance of various kinds, of which no estimate has been attempted in computing the pecuniary cost of the work during the past forty-one years. During the period of reconstruction a large school for colored youth was opened in Charleston by Mr. L. Cardozo, a free man of color and a graduate of the University of Glasgow, Scotland, where the Latin and Greek languages and other branches of secondary and higher education were taught. Cardozo and his brother became noted political officials in the reconstruction government of the State. This school contained 1,000 pupils and 20 teachers. The teachers of the American Missionary Association schools were gathered from the great body of churches to this attractive field, or had been employed in similar work during the war, or were known as friends of negro education.

Atlanta University, at Atlanta, Ga., was also getting upon its foundations. President E. A. Ware, of Connecticut, one of the most admirable of all the men connected with this early work, commenced in April, 1870, and presided over the building operations—a dozen of the colored boys armed with shovels digging for the foundations. President Ware read the proclamation of President U. S. Grant on the ratification of the fifteenth amendment, and made a few very stirring remarks. This proceeding is thus noticed for its historical value and because it is a fair representation of the spirit of these schools at the advent of the new order of affairs, to which Atlanta University has already been a large contributor.

In Louisiana, as already shown in the paper before referred to, the common school system, established by Gen. N. P. Banks in 1864, had gone the way of all positive attempts to anticipate the coming of the new education. Before the close of the war the American Missionary Association had sent to this State a band of 26 missionaries and teachers. The public schools opened by the arrangement of General Banks were under the superintendency of Maj. Rush Plumley, of Philadelphia. After the failure of this movement there had been no public schools in the State, outside of New Orleans, until 1869. The school law enacted that year was almost impotent, from lack of funds and organization and the want of local interest, and in 1870 it was estimated that at least 85,000 colored children in the State were without any educational privileges whatever. The American Missionary Association, in company with the Northern Methodist and Baptist missionary bodies, came to this inviting field, sustaining more schools in

the rural districts than all other agencies combined, aided by the Freedmen's Bureau as long as it was in operation. In 1870 it supported 50 teachers with 3,000 children in as many as 30 schools. Children were accustomed to walk 12 miles a day to attend these little district schools. The people could pay the board of the teacher if the schooling could be given. But it is also recorded that, as soon as the State came under the charge of the original white population, the American Missionary Association withdrew from this elementary work to give its attention to the secondary, higher, and professional grades. Straight University had already been founded, by the investment of \$25,000 in land and buildings in New Orleans, contributed by the General Government through the Freedmen's Bureau, and soon announced itself as "incorporated in 1869, with the power to confer all such degrees as are conferred by universities in the United States."

The exalted titles of the schools established by this and other of the Northern educational missionary bodies have furnished occasion for a great deal of ridicule, which might also be applied to the same mischievous habit, in many portions of our country, of magnifying the character and grade of schools by the magnificence of their titles. There can be no doubt in the minds of the most reliable educators that this practice has been especially harmful to the genuine advancement in letters of the first generation of these children and youth gathered in schools, especially coming with the virtual indorsement of the churches of the Northern States to a people sunk in dense ignorance. It can, however, be truly said that the teaching faculties of all these seminaries have largely recognized the actual situation and labored as faithfully in laying the foundations of an elementary education as if they did not bear the learned title of professor or president. For many years the best of these schools were only of the secondary rank, and in the most successful only a meager half dozen of the 500 pupils in attendance could be pushed up to a college graduation. At present the majority of these seminaries are accepting the situation and giving to their pupils the mental fare adapted to their capacity, with a growing emphasis on a sound English education, the proper training of teachers, and industrial theory and practice in great variety. The great work, of course, has been in the field of religious, moral, and social advancement, in which all these seminaries have wrought with undisputed ability and success.

The new school at Hampton was at first largely aided by the American Missionary Association, which has always been its "next friend." But under the administration of Gen. S. C. Armstrong it was organized as an independent corporation with 6 teachers and 75 students. The institution received its charter from the legislature of Virginia, by which it was subsidized at the rate of \$10,000 a year for the industrial training of its pupils; but its government from the first was in charge of a board of 14 trustees, including men like Gen. O. O. Howard; President Hopkins, of Williams College, Massachusetts; Hon. James A. Garfield, of Ohio; State Superintendent of Public Instruction B. G. Northrup, of Connecticut; and President R. E. Strieby, of the American Missionary Association.

At Wilmington, N. C., 800 pupils were instructed by the night schools of the American Missionary Association. "Three-fourths of the colored children of the State are living in ignorance. There are no sufficient schools for the colored people and there can not be till their young men are educated. There are but few colored men fit to hold civil office. We are trying [say the managers] to reform the religious worship of the people, so much of which is degrading and demoralizing."

To far-away Florida the American Missionary Association had gone. At Jacksonville during the war, in 1864, the opportunity of schools for colored children had been furnished under the supervision of the military. April 10, 1869, a normal institute had been opened, two stories high, with a library and apparatus, and rooms and arrangements for 300 pupils, at a cost of \$16,000. There were

400 pupils, chiefly under the care of Mrs. Williams, of Deerfield, Mass., and 300 children were in the white schools. It is declared that this was the first normal school building erected in Florida. The State had already moved in the establishment of common schools, and it was compelled to look to the normal institute for the teachers of the colored children.

In Alabama, in the beautiful city of Montgomery, on a high hill fronting the State capitol where Jefferson Davis eight years before took the oath of the Presidency of the Southern Confederacy, was organized a school of 450 colored children and 10 teachers, in a fine building; the best schoolhouse then in the city. The teacher reports that he has "a normal class of 16 of the most promising young men and women it has been my privilege to see in any school, white or colored, south of the Ohio River." The superintendent of public schools, after examining 11 of these students for service in the adjoining county, says, "they were the first colored teachers we sent out to the country. They took the carriage in sight of the capitol where Jefferson Davis took his oath as President; where the first Confederate Congress met and sent the message 'to open on Sumter,' and in sight of the barracks where still hangs the sign 'Negro barracks,' where their fathers and mothers had been sold as slaves."

Berea College, Kentucky, situated at the foot of the great mountain world of the Central South, a region as extensive as the German Empire, inhabited by 2,000,000 people, generally loyal to the Union during the war, but still in the most primitive condition of civilization of any class of native-born people in the country, had been organized before the war by Rev. J. G. Fee, who, during the conflict, had been compelled to leave the State while endeavoring, at the risk of his life, to school the negroes. In 1869 it held its fourth commencement in the presence of one to two thousand of the country people. This college is the only school of similar rank that has been able to exist and steadily grow weighted by the union of the two races among its students and teachers.

Fisk University, at Nashville, Tenn., named from Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, one of the most active of the army men in the employment of General Eaton in the educational work in the valley of the Mississippi, had an attendance of 250. This school will long be remembered in connection with the tour of the first group of "Jubilee Singers," who went from State to State and to England and Germany, singing the old plantation melodies. They literally sung up the walls of the first college building for colored youth in Tennessee, the parlors of which are adorned by the portraits of some of the most distinguished personages in Great Britain. These children of freedom were welcomed everywhere and even flattered by the crowned heads of the Old World.

To Mississippi, at Tongaloo, near the capital of the State, indeed, to every State of the South, the American Missionary Association sent forth its missionary teachers, among them many women of large culture, high character, and social standing, to labor among the colored children and youth. In addition to the laborious office of teacher and practically mother, these excellent people were burdened with the responsibility of preparing their crude and wayward constituency for the "grand and awful time" to which they had been awakened as by "the new Jerusalem coming down from Heaven, adorned with shining grace."

At Washington, D. C., Howard University, a seminary of the secondary academic, higher, and professional education, had been established as one of the first of its kind and subsidized generously by an appropriation from Congress. As in other schools, the American Missionary Association was interested in its beginnings, although it is now an independent corporation, receiving an annual grant from Congress. There were 506 teachers and students at Howard, representing the sixteen former slave States and the District of Columbia.

In 1870 the American Missionary Association was furnishing education to 21,840 pupils. Besides this it was doing a great work in other directions. Its teaching and missionary force numbered 3,161. The reports from the field secretaries in 1870 showed that the new public-school system was beating its way up to success against great opposition, although the disordered state of political and industrial affairs was largely responsible for the resistance. In several of the States, as in Virginia at Hampton, the legislature cooperated with the American Missionary Association by subsidies for their schools. From this time the Freedmen's Bureau withdrew its aid from the American Missionary Association. It had disbursed \$213,000 for Southern education through this agency. One of the most vitalizing forces of this early work was the religious zeal and consecration which surrounded it with an atmosphere surcharged with power and love. The teachers all worked on what would be a pittance in the North, and assumed burdens in and out of school hours that, of themselves, would often appear to be a hardship in any well-organized community. They lived in crowded dormitories with their students, generally partaking of the inferior diet which, although often better than these scholars had ever known, was of a quality ill-adapted to their own health. They were always in reach of these children, who needed everything, and obliged to sustain a relation far more resembling a public reform institution than a school. The very nature of the work developed in all its superior workers an exaggerated and often a morbid sense of responsibility, which held them to their posts with the courage of a soldier on a perilous outpost, only to be vacated at the risk of disgrace and maintained at the great risk of collapse of health. Numbers of these excellent teachers laid down their lives in this work as certainly as the soldiers who fell in battle; indeed, comparatively few of them have ever been able to bear the strain of the work for a long succession of years. Of course they were not received in any proper social or even religious fellowship by the white people among whom they came to serve. Yet there were noble exceptions to this exclusiveness, and many a lifelong friendship dates from an acquaintance formed during these years of service in the Southland. It is probable that this phase of the situation was unconsciously exaggerated, especially by the women teachers. Their schools were generally established at a distance from the social center of the villages and cities in which they were situated. At that time there were few or no means of rapid transit, even in the larger towns. The teachers were generally overworked and unable to place themselves in the way of making acquaintances, perhaps sometimes, although very useful in their work, without the social interest or tact to make their way in this respect. The people whose social acquaintance would have been a pleasure were themselves, to a great extent, under a cloud, often of personal affliction, made doubly severe by the straitened circumstances that forbade the old-time social hospitality, and under the peculiar circumstances made it next to impossible to seek new friends among the teachers of their former emancipated slaves. The class most accessible, not only to the men but to the women, consisted of the public men, the physicians, superior teachers, and public-school officials, who were more frequently brought in contact with the mission schools, and from the first were glad to avail themselves of all the service in conventions, institutes, etc., which the newcomers had the strength and time to afford. It can truly be said that there was no considerable portion of the superior people of the South who ever showed any persistent and public hostility to this work.

The reports of the teachers, missionaries, and agents of the American Missionary Association in these years read like a perpetual romance, and in future years will be regarded by the historian, poet, and educator as most valuable material for the illustration of this period. This peculiar condition continued until as late as 1880. One hundred years hence the vast body of publication that grew up around these

schools will furnish the material for an important division of our new American literature. Especially will the historian of education, who at the beginning of the second century of the Republic seems to be just coming to a sense of his place in the national literature, find in these interesting records of the adoption and the rehabilitation of the former things the wondrous versatility of the American people, making the Republic itself the world's "nation of all work." The spectacle of more than five millions of slaves coming up from the darkness of centuries of pagan barbarism through the experience of two hundred and fifty years of chattel bondage into the possession of full citizenship in the world's chief republic was also a demonstration of the power of Christianity and the progress of humanity never to be left out of the history of mankind.

It may be noticed that by 1880 the American Missionary Association, which at the beginning had included a large constituency from the different evangelical Protestant denominations, had finally become a representative of the evangelical Congregational churches of the country. In 1881 a constitutional revision of the charter adjusted the association to its new position. The thirty-fifth annual report places its expenditure for educational work among white and colored children and youth at \$186,398.97, and its entire expenditure for all purposes at \$244,578.96. The State of Massachusetts had furnished \$150,000 of this sum. In addition to this the association had received for education through State aid for colored schools and in various other ways large sums in money and supplies. Its educational outfit in 1880 was 8 chartered institutions of the higher education, under the titles of college, university, and institute; 111 high and normal, and 35 common schools: instructed by 230 teachers and missionaries.

In 1886, at the end of forty years of work, the association moved on a new line of work among the 2,000,000 of white people in the great central mountain world of the South. Out of this population had come two of the Presidents of the United States—Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson. This class of the Southern people, by a large majority, was favorable to the Union during the civil war and furnished a most efficient section of the Army of the Southwest. But the masses of these people twenty years after the dawn of peace remained largely illiterate. From the center of operations at Berea College, Kentucky, with which the American Missionary Association had always maintained a friendly relation, a group of valuable schools has come up under the direct control of the association, into which an increasing number of the more ambitious and intelligent of the young mountain people have been gathered. Several of these seminaries are established in the new villages which have been developed by the extension through the vast, and to-day by far the most interesting, portion of the undeveloped country east of the Mississippi River, of the great railroad systems connecting the East and the West, and have proved themselves among the most notable agencies in the uplifting of the people of the entire district.

In 1888 the American Missionary Association was reinforced by the generous gift of \$1,000,000 by Mr. Daniel Hand, an aged retired merchant, residing at Guilford, Conn. Mr. Hand was born in 1801, of good Puritan stock, and until the age of 18 worked on his father's farm in Connecticut. In 1818 he removed to Augusta, Ga., entering into business with his uncle, an old merchant of that city and Savannah. Daniel Hand succeeded to the house and, up to a few years before the breaking out of the civil war, was a leading member of the firm. Fifteen years before 1860 he admitted Mr. G. W. Williams, of South Carolina, to a business arrangement in which the partners had an equal interest. At the breaking out of hostilities Mr. Hand was at the head of the capital invested in Charleston. During the war he resided at Asheville, N. C., relying upon Mr. Williams in Charleston for the general charge of affairs. After a great deal of litigation, largely through the personal influence of his old partner he saved the house from

wreck. At the age of 88 he made this great bequest to the American Missionary Association. He wisely left to the directors of the association the manner of its expenditure, premising that only the income should be expended annually and suggesting that it should be used largely as a student aid fund of \$100 a year for promising students.

With this reenforcement the association launched out in a wide expansion, so that it subsequently found itself involved in a debt that compelled immediate attention. The sinking fund of \$100,000 was established and a policy of economy adopted.

At the jubilee meeting in 1896, held in Boston, the association was welcomed by the governor of the State and the mayor of the city, and the sermon was preached by Dr. Lyman Abbott, editor of the Outlook, successor of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, of the Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. The receipts of this year were \$340,798.65 and the expenditures \$311,223.35; the debt having decreased from \$96,000 to \$66,000. The income of the Hand fund was \$68,830. This year was the fiftieth anniversary of the association. The will of Mr. Hand had left a large additional sum to the cause. From 1860 to 1893 the expenditures of the American Missionary Association in the South nearly reached the large sum of \$11,610,000. In 1893 the association reported 6 chartered institutions, 44 normal and graded and 27 common schools, with 413 teachers and 12,348 students.

Of all the mission educational enterprises of the Northern Protestant evangelical churches, the American Missionary Association seems to have borne in mind most completely the idea of working in connection with the Southern States and people in the upbuilding of the common school for the colored race. It has, more than others, discouraged the mischievous habit of engrafting the old-time parochial school on the churches that have been developed by its missionary activity. In three of these States—Virginia, Mississippi, and Georgia—at different times its larger schools have been subsidized by the State in the interest of their normal and industrial departments. It has not shown the usual desire to retain its original authority or to utilize its bounty to acquire the perpetual educational control of its schools. Four of the most important schools of the higher order with which it has been connected and which have been liberally aided by it are now entirely separated from it—Howard, Washington, D. C.; Hampton, Virginia; Berea, Kentucky, and Atlanta University, Georgia. The explanation of this may be found in the fact, already stated, that although the American Missionary Association first united with several of the evangelical Protestant churches in its work among the colored people, each of these associations in turn has preferred to separate itself from others and organize on a more decided and exclusive denominational basis, looking to the church it represents for its support and guided by the sectarian policy thereof. This has left the American Missionary Association, like the A. B. C. F. M., virtually in charge for the evangelical Congregational Church. It was in New England, which for one hundred and fifty years of the colonial life was exclusively committed to this form of Congregational Church government, the only ecclesiastical polity that owes its origin to the Christian people of this Republic, that the people's common school was developed and alone sustained until the close of the war of independence. That original interest in and connection with the common school by the Congregational clergy and laity has never been lost by the members of this great and growing religious organization. It has not, like the three great remaining Evangelical Protestant churches, been ruptured by a sectional secession from the original body; as, previous to the close of the civil war there were, outside a few congregations in the border cities, no Congregational churches in the Southern States. Hence it has been called to encounter no sharp conflict with a rival church of its own household and has been left more exclusively to the radical work of preparing the colored race for a

superior form of religion through a general uplift of mental, moral, social, and industrial life, in which all the habits and the general spirit of society will become the most powerful teachers and the new citizenship of the race become at once a university and a church. There is nothing in the idea or the policy of the American Missionary Association that will forbid any or all of its present educational foundations, as new times and changed circumstances might demand, to retire amicably from its denomination control and become independent or even State institutions for the mental, moral, and industrial training of the class of students that has always been found under its benign and progressive influence.

In 1891 the American Missionary Association reported 8 schools of the higher and secondary type, 4 seminaries for the mountain whites in North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, 2 for Indians in Nebraska, and 93 other normal, industrial, graded, and primary schools. Its church work is almost entirely confined to the very poor among the Indians, and the lowland colored people of the South, with a growing interest for the people of the Southern mountains. Altogether there are 106 schools, with 15,252 pupils, and 242 churches, with 708 missionaries and 12,905 church members, the majority in the South. A bureau of woman's work is connected with the association.

THE FREEDMAN'S AID SOCIETY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The first report of this society furnishes a complete account of its organization in 1866, the reasons for it, and its preliminary operations until May, 1868. It was established in response to a call, dated March 8, 1866, and signed by Bishop D. W. Clark, representing the board of bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. During the progress of the civil war the original work for the Freedmen in the North was carried on by a variety of Freedman's aid associations formed in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Chicago during the years 1862-63. The first call was for the relief of the physical condition of the "contrabands," and it has already been related how this aid was dispensed largely through the agency of the Union Army, while supplies and money were forthcoming from these and private agencies. In 1864 the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church indorsed these additional methods of charitable aid. But as early as 1862-63 the call was made for additional effort in behalf of the mental and moral elevation of these people. Teachers were sent to the seaboard in 1862 and to the valley of the Mississippi in 1863. The physical needs of the Freedmen were so well supplied by the arrangements for their self-support on the vacated lands and in the Army, as soldiers and laborers, that after 1863 the chief need of assistance was for the maintenance of schools and teachers.

The beginning of this great work seemed at first to be an open door of invitation by Divine Providence for the long-desired and prayed-for, but slow in coming, union of the different divisions of the Protestant Church in some one grand and voluntary enterprise for the uplift of humanity. But it was soon found that here the churches were the first to break the bond. It was decided that the educational workers among the negroes should be members of the churches of the evangelical type of creed. This, of course, would leave outside the large majority of the American people whose "good will to man" was manifested by undenominational and practical labors and sacrifices, rather than through the regular channels of church work. First of all, the Friends, then the United Presbyterian Church, in 1863, inaugurated special denominational work among the freedmen. Later followed another division of the Presbyterian, and the United Brethren, and one type of the Baptists. In 1864 a committee was chosen by the old-school Presbyterian Church (North) for the subsidizing of a proper missionary work.

The Congregational Evangelical churches in 1865 reorganized the American

Missionary Association, that had existed since 1849, and reconsecrated it to this special work, and proposed to raise \$250,000 per annum for this purpose. In the same year the Methodist Episcopal Church organized "The Freedman's Aid Society," and the Northern Baptists of the regular "persuasion" called for \$100,000 as a fund for denominational work in the South. The five leading commissions already on the ground had fallen apart, the two in the West as a rule employing members of the evangelical churches as teachers, while the three in the East—Boston, New York, and Philadelphia—did not make church membership a necessary qualification for any position in the work. By 1866, despite vigorous efforts to combine these organizations in one free-school society, every teacher from the undenominational societies had been displaced and every Protestant religious sect save two had adopted special plans.

It was inevitable that those great ecclesiastical bodies should all, in time, come to see that the field of denominational missionary effort for the final evangelization of the 6,000,000 of the freedmen and the legitimate propagandism of their own churches was such as had never before been opened. In place of sending the missionaries of the cross beyond the sea to distant heathen or Mohammedan lands, all under foreign governments which were not always friendly to such enterprises, here was a new American citizenship of 6,000,000 of our own freedmen, just emerging from two hundred and fifty years of bondage, needing almost everything, with an ardent desire to "learn their letters," and receive aid and comfort of all kinds from the North and the nation to whom they were indebted for their new-found freedom.

The report of the Freedman's Aid Society referred to declares, however, that they were more anxious to have schools for the freedmen and their children than even to consider the founding of missions. This was very natural, since during the period of their former slavery the negroes had all nominally been converted from paganism to about as much of Christianity as was possible for a people in their condition of ignorance and dependence. Their new religious zeal, as usual, took the form of a direction to their own former denominational bodies, largely Baptist and Methodist, and often became a superstitious and fanatical caricature of the more enlightened denominational spirit of these great Christian sects.

The desire to preach was very pronounced among the leading class of the freedmen, and it was soon apparent that one of the first uses of their liberty was to be the formation of great religious denominational bodies which, under the old names, really were the beginning of a church organization founded upon and representing the then existing condition of religious and moral culture among these people. The white clergymen of the South, although often greatly honored for their zealous "labors of love" among the slave population, were generally dispensed with at this crisis in the new life of the race. It was therefore natural that all the Northern churches and clergy of the evangelical type should hasten to provide for the then vacant pulpits and buildings, and on the strength of such work as they had done before the war, and their patriotic services during the four years of the sectional conflict, endeavor to take the reins and direct the civilization of the rising race. In the words of the report, "The control of the educational work connected with missions was as necessary to success as the work itself, and this necessity, soon observed by every denomination that entered the inviting field presented by the South, was the chief care and guidance of denominational schools."

Of course, by this decision, the church abandoned the ground already taken by the northern American people, that the most effective and reliable moral agency for educating and training American children and youth was the undenominational common school. This conclusion had been slowly reached through the

experience and perpetual conflicts of the two hundred and fifty years since the passage of the original public-school statute by the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1647. While a majority of the ecclesiastical organizations did favor the establishment of the American common school in the reconstructed States of the South, and the more advanced of them retired from the support of primary schooling for the negroes as fast as it was supplied by the States and communities where they labored, and made it a permanent feature of their policy to train teachers for all grades of these schools, the schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church were, at first, as far as possible, connected with churches. In 1868 the majority of the school teachers were the missionary workers, the same buildings being used for the school houses and churches, and the administration of the entire enterprise was so interlocked that it would be impossible to separate in any way the exclusively educational plant.

But the inevitable tendency of American thought and action in respect to universal education planted every Southern State, by 1870, on the American policy of an unsectarian common school, and, outside a few Southern communities, the attempt to subsidize denominational schools in these States has not been a success. In obedience to this condition of affairs and urged by the impossibility of educating 6,000,000 people, all in 1866 practically illiterate, by Northern Christian charity, all these great mission schools, like the denominational colleges and academies of the North, have modified their sectarian character, and to some extent conformed to the policy of similar institutions of learning in the new South. Still, in testing this plan of school education among the negroes, it should always be understood that the only just and correct point of view is the whole field and its necessities as surveyed and organized by the larger Protestant Christian sects, and that the educational was always subordinate and tributary to the need of the religious uplift and moral reformation of these people.

It is not strictly in line with the purpose of this essay to give an elaborate record of the doings and results of this great missionary movement in the South for the past thirty-five years. As a feeder to the common-school system, on which the race must more and more rely for the training of its children and youth for reliable manhood and womanhood and good American citizenship, it has maintained, and must for a considerable period to come continue to maintain, a vital and necessary connection with the founding of the American common school. It will be observed that, more and more, its academical and normal schools are conforming to the methods of instruction and discipline and especially of industrial training that are best known under the general title of "The new education." Still, the fundamental purpose of all these great and useful bodies is the same as that of the churches by which they are supported and also mainly relied on to shape their policy, and whose teachers are chiefly found in all important positions in their school work.

It is not necessary that the most earnest advocate of the American common school in all its departments should look with disfavor or in any spirit of hostile criticism on any of these great schools, which are regarded by their workers in conformity to popular nomenclature as "Christian" instead of "secular." The great work of the moral and spiritual uplift of mankind is the radical motive of these schools, as of the Christian churches, and much as we may deplore the inevitable results of these sectarian divisions and the hindrance to educational development by the contentions and rivalries of the denominational system of schooling in general, there was never a better work done by any people in any land than has been achieved by the results of forty years of missionary and educational activity in the type of schools now under consideration, and there has been no expenditure of time, money, and effort for the general uplifting of God's "little ones" that has resulted in more benefit than has been achieved by the disbursement of more

than \$50,000,000 through the schools and churches in the social and industrial improvement of the colored and white people of the humbler class in 16 States.

The churches of the Methodist Episcopal body of the North responded to the original appeal with remarkable promptitude, although the country was in the agonies of one its periodical spasms of "financial depression." In the seventeen months ending March 31, 1868, \$58,477.69 (\$54,231.73 in cash) was collected, of which \$35,815.83 was expended in field work in 9 States. There were 59 schools with 124 teachers, and, in 1868, 7,000 pupils. Only half the teachers drew full support from the territory and the remainder cost \$10 per month. A large number of the teachers were ministers of the gospel who labored both in church and school, and all the teachers served in the Sunday as well as the day schools. The general outcome of the work could not be better described than in the words of the superintendent:

Our schools have rendered essential aid in the work of restoring social order; in bringing about friendly relations between the employers and laborers; in promoting habits of cleanliness, industry, economy, purity, and morality; rendering more emphatic the grand distinctions between right and wrong, falsehood and truth; enforcing fidelity to contracts; portraying the terrible consequences of intemperance, licentiousness, profanity, lying, and stealing; teaching them to respect the rights of others while they are prompt to claim protection for themselves. The teachers have furnished for the freedmen a vast amount of valuable information in regard to the practical matters of life which could be obtained nowhere else. The schools have met a great want which no military or political organization could supply, and without which it will be impossible for peace and harmony to be restored. Our teachers have been pioneers in the work of reconciliation, and are laying a foundation upon which the most enduring superstructure can be reared.

In fact the only fair and appropriate way of estimating this peculiar combination of church, school, and home in the Southern educational work during the past generation among the negroes is to regard it as a vast university of all work; a continental training in the new American civilization to which the younger generation of the freedmen had been so wonderfully summoned. Like the lyceum of the old and the Chautauqua assembly and summer school of the later times, it was a characteristic development of our American educational life, as sincere and praiseworthy in motive, in social and religious as in industrial and political affairs. As the years go on and the educators of the colored race come to a full recognition of their opportunities and obligations in respect to this class of pupils, much of what was an imperative necessity in the first generation will be dropped and the more important of these seminaries will become the permanent academical, industrial, and collegiate foundations for the increasing numbers of this race. And then it may be seen that the apparent presumption of naming a school of 500 boys and girls in the elements of useful knowledge, the first generation of their people ever gathered in a schoolroom, a "college" or "university," has been justified by giving to the country half a century later a class of institutions of the higher education in the best sense, seminaries of the higher Christian civilization, "universities" more in accordance with the grand ideal of John Milton than are yet to be found in any of the great educational institutions of to-day.

The report for 1868, from which these facts are drawn, was accepted with marked favor by the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church for that year, and from that day to the present the Freedman's Aid Society has gone steadily forward along the high road to success. The conference took a wide and practical view of its duties in the situation. In its announcement it says: "When the Southern States are fully reconstructed and a wise common-school system is established, and a returning prosperity shall enable the maintenance of free schools, the work of this society may possibly be superseded. Already the society reports the establishment of three normal schools at Nashville, Tenn., Huntsville,

Ala., and Columbia, S. C.' These early normal schools were as yet rather academies, where the superior young colored people received the schooling necessary for a teacher's work, with but little of what is regarded the professional training now everywhere demanded in the teachers of the people's schools. The necessity of help for teachers and preachers is noted in the report. Arrangements were made for the employment and assistance of Dr. Rust, of Cincinnati, Ohio, as corresponding secretary, whose services during many years were so valuable over the entire field of Southern educational work; also Rev. J. M. Walden, afterwards most widely known as the chief traveling bishop of his church, was assigned to this work.

Another decade passes, and in 1878 the eleventh annual report of the Freedman's Aid Society opens a view over a wider field with greater results. The Methodist Episcopal Church has now 28 conferences in the South, 14 largely of white and 14 principally of colored members.

These 28 conferences already contained 396,000 members, although the Methodist Church South and several great organizations of colored Methodists were working in the same field. In this territory there were 6,323 traveling and local preachers, of whom 3,365 were colored. There were 4,381 Sunday schools, with 240,671 scholars, of which 2,022 schools and 96,474 scholars were colored. The church property developed by this ten years' work was valued at \$8,732,716, of which \$1,868,503 was in use by the colored members. Already this great school missionary effort by the different churches of the North had borne abundant fruit. The negroes themselves had not been deficient in zeal, and report 448,000 members of the African Zion and Colored Methodist Episcopal churches of America. One of the shadows cast by the denominational "pairing off" of Northern Christians into church missionary associations was the development of the sectarian spirit in the negro race, while the church parochial school, adopted as a necessary expedient in the early stages of educational work, was now, after a generation, found often to be a positive and obstructive hindrance to the building up of the effective system of common-school instruction, which always must be the agency of civilization to the negro race.

The school work of the Freedman's Aid Society had not lingered behind the church enterprise. Five chartered institutions, with three denominational theological schools, two medical colleges, and ten seminaries of the academical grade were reported, with an attendance of 2,040 students, 1,000 of whom were classed as normal, in 11 States. It was estimated that 64 per cent of the colored people of school age were abiding in the darkness of ignorance. "Of the 5,000,000 colored people of the country—one-third, perhaps, seem to have risen to a higher degree of comfort and a higher phase of life—one-third have sunk down to a lower plane, and one-third are left the victims of circumstances." The report brings to notice the vast field of Christian work open to women in the reformation of the family. "The great opportunity for the women of America is presented in this work, which God has placed at our door." In two of the schools a medical education can be obtained. The financial side of the society gives the least favorable account of itself, reporting \$63,402.85 expended in 1878—only \$3,000 more than ten years before. In the eleven years of its operation the Freedman's Aid Society had disbursed \$715,852.40; 100,000 pupils had been taught by teachers educated in the schools of the society. For reasons not explained the public-school attendance had fallen off in 6 of the Southern States during the year. Even in Kentucky not half the school population had ever been enrolled in the common school. There was still a great field of labor awaiting the fit workers in the building for the children of the South.

In 1880 the writer of this essay began the first of a series of annual visitations among the schools of all sorts in all the Southern States that has continued under

the name of "a ministry of education" until the present day. In the Clark University, Atlanta, Ga., founded by Bishop Gilbert Haven, he found the most successful attempt to introduce industrial training in the mechanical and domestic arts outside the Hampton Institute. This feature has since been developed in the schools of the Freedman's Aid Society to a remarkable degree. On the same college campus as Clark University we now find the Gammon Theological Seminary, the most important of this class in the South, endowed and with belongings even superior to the average of "divinity schools" in the North.

Another decade has passed and the report of 1888 reveals a steady progress. "One theological school, 13 institutions of college grade, 2 medical, 6 normal, 3 legal, and 12 with industrial departments, with 28 academies, have been supported and aided. In these 41 centers of intellectual and moral power 328 teachers have faithfully done their work and 7,682 different students have been instructed, an increase of 10 institutions, 40 teachers, and 715 students over the preceding year." The race question is practically settled on the American policy of "local option." (1) "One society and administration for all people and conferences. (2) Schools among colored and white people, to be so located as to best serve the interests of the conferences to be benefited. (3) There is to be no exclusion on account of race, color, or 'previous condition.' Supervision in schools, as in conferences, is to be by the choice of the people themselves." It is noted that while the attempt to employ the educated class of the colored race as teachers in the mission schools "has resulted only in a partial success in a few fields," the general field open to the colored graduate has been greatly enlarged by the Freedman's Aid Society. During the year a new chapel has been built at Clark, and 8 schools have been designated as centers where college studies could be pursued. The Gammon Theological School has been declared the center of this department, with arrangements for practical theological training, while the 12 academies are restricted to the sections nearest them. Four colored schools, admitting white pupils, were also undertaken. Different courses of study were arranged for every class of schools. In all these institutions there were 4,048 in the collegiate, 269 in the theological, 66 in the medical, 67 in the legal, 1,455 in the industrial, and 3,569 in the academical departments. The teachers in the "collegiate centers" make reports to the superintendents of the pupils pursuing college studies. The society was already in debt \$132,619.41, largely due to the purchase of lands and "building." The managers plead for an annual income of \$280,000, of which the schools were expected to pay in tuition and rent \$48,179. According to an estimate of the society, the population of the 16 slave States was estimated at 12,784,612. Of these 4,715,331, 10 years of age and over, were illiterate, 3,042,435 of the colored race. In the conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South there were 447,016 members, of whom 226,833 were colored. There were 7,326 preachers, teachers, and workers employed. These people were gathered in 48 conferences, 32 consisting of colored and 16 containing only white people.

In the central mountain regions of the South, where the white people were generally loyal during the war, the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1890, had 100,000 members, organized in 7 conferences. One hundred and fifty thousand volunteers went into the United States Army from that territory. The negro population in this region was very small. There were then 100 Grand Army posts in this region and the U. S. Grant University at Chattanooga was in effective operation. Largely by donations from the Slater fund, under the management of Dr. Atticus G. Haygood, the industrial work in the schools had greatly increased. The society seemed to be fully alive to this important annex to its educational forces. The Woman's Home Missionary Society was founding schools of domestic economy in five of the larger institutions, and the local missionary work had been greatly aided by the establishment of a missionary home located among the people, to be

the residence of the woman missionary and the model for the imitation of the well-to-do colored people. One of these college centers, Claflin University, at Orangeburg, S. C., one of the largest of the schools for colored youth in the South, was for several years a department of the University of South Carolina, under the direction of the same board of trustees as the old college of South Carolina and the military school at Charleston for white youth.

It is unnecessary to continue the record of the great work of the Freedman's Aid Society, the deeply interesting details of which have been written in the annual reports and a bimonthly publication devoted to this work of the association. The Methodist organization, discipline, and instruction in its mission schools are essentially the same as developed in the American Missionary Association. They do not vary in all these denominational schools, save in the polity, and, in some respects, the type of the membership. Few churches have done more of the proper personal school work than the Methodist Episcopal. During the first thirty years of its existence the Freedman's Aid Society expended more than \$6,000,000. Its chief school of the university type continues to be Wilberforce University, in Xenia, Ohio, established in 1857. The 65 institutions supported by all branches of the Methodist Church for colored students, as late as 1895, included 388 teachers, 10,100 students, \$1,905,150 property, and \$659,500 expended in administration. Dr. Hartzell, one of the ablest and most effective workers in the educational affairs of the society, has recently been elected to the office of bishop, and is now established in Africa.

The great development of the Methodist Episcopal Church in its educational policy is one of the notable features of the history of education in the United States during the past thirty years. The Chautauqua Assembly, established thirty years ago by the present Bishop Vincent, a native of Alabama, is one of the most characteristic and triumphant developments of American genius for all educational work. The new American University at Washington, D. C., will fitly crown this half century of effort.

In 1901 the Freedman's Aid Society reports: "From its humble beginning of more than a quarter of a century since, when there was only one teacher, with a borrowed capital of \$800, it has to-day 47 institutions of Christian learning, about equally divided between the negroes and the poor whites, in all the former slave States, with lands and buildings worth \$2,155,000." It is able to declare: "During all these years not a single student or graduate has ever been charged with crimes against virtue." The reports from the schools were most encouraging. The attendance was the largest since the financial panic of 1892-93 and the number of graduates the largest in the history of the society. It is encouraging to note that special stress is placed on the normal department and English branches. "Our aim has been not only to secure good English scholars, as opposed to Latin and Greek scribblers who can not speak their mother tongue, but especially to prepare well-trained teachers." It boasts that it has more teachers in the public schools of the South than any other benevolent institution doing work in that section. After a temporary interruption, caused by the financial panic, the society had taken up its industrial work with new vigor, and asserts: "We have more industrial students, teach more industrial pursuits, and have more graduates than any institution or set of institutions in the South. The total number of students in all the industrial schools the present year is 2,906." The society appropriates \$90,625 annually; \$79,975 to colored pupils, for 1 theological school, 2 medical schools, 10 institutions with the title of college or university, and 10 academies, with 3 universities and 22 academies for white students. It expended for colored schools during the year 1900, \$171,773.01; for white schools, \$47,815.66; total, \$219,588.67, besides a miscellaneous expenditure of \$136,216.79; its total receipts having been \$355,805.46. It still has an indebtedness of \$154,891.34. The presi-

dent of the society is Bishop J. M. Walden, who, with Vice-President R. M. Rust, D. D., and W. P. Thirkeld, corresponding secretary, have been for many years, with Bishop Hartzell, among the best known and most intelligent workers in the Southern educational field.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (NORTH) IN CONNECTION WITH THE SCHOOLING OF THE FREEDMEN.

The northern Christian denominational organizations which, at the close of the civil war, undertook work of education among the freedmen of the South, may be divided into two distinct divisions. The first includes the American Missionary Association, representing the Congregational; the Freedman's Aid Society, established by the Methodist Episcopal, and the educational organization through which the Baptist churches operated. Although these were missionary enterprises largely engaged in denominational propagandism, including the establishment of churches, yet in their educational work, which produced great independent and State institutions, of which Hampton, Va., and Tuskegee, Ala., are conspicuous examples, they put themselves at once into the most vital and sympathetic relations with the new common-school system for the colored race of every Southern State. And although for a period they somewhat failed to appreciate the importance of the normal and industrial training absolutely essential to the success of the colored teacher, yet they did furnish for ten years and more a large majority of the teachers for the more important free colored schools in these States. This tendency, despite a persistent ecclesiastical opposition in the management, is now so confirmed that these three great denominations, beyond comparison, retain their leadership in the Southern educational work and are to-day supplying probably the larger number of competent instructors, not only in the public schools, but in the State normal and industrial colleges throughout the South.

Another division of these religious bodies, like the Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, the Friends, and several of the smaller sects, adopted at first the same policy as the Catholic Church, not only making their mission schools for both races thoroughly sectarian, but inclined to favor what is called the parochial system of schooling all the way up from the primary school connected with the church to the university.

It was doubtless from the fact that these churches proposed to themselves this persistence in the old European method of education that their success in collecting funds for establishing schools has never been commensurate with their wealth and general importance as religious bodies in this country. The church school of every degree has its uses everywhere, especially in the secondary academical and higher collegiate and university departments. But the educator or churchman, however zealous and consecrated, who proposes the planting of a little parochial-school annex by the side of every colored church, to the exclusion of public schools, must be prepared for the indefinite postponement of even the elementary instruction and discipline of the vast majority of the more than 2,000,000 negroes under the age of 20 years. After thirty years of prodigious effort by the Southern people themselves, aided by great missionary effort from the North, more than 50 per cent of the colored people of the South to-day above the age of 10 can neither read the Bible nor write their own name in a business transaction. The only way out of the inevitable disturbance from such a condition of affairs is the hearty union of the whole people, even better if aided by some practical scheme of national aid, to lift up at least one-third the population of these 16 States, of both races, into line with the American life of the present.

Among the Protestant churches that adopted the parochial school system was the Presbyterian Church, North. As early as 1865 this church had put forth "a

declaration in favor of special efforts in behalf of the lately emancipated African race." Six years later (1871), in the first annual report of the "Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen," we read that the first five years' work in 1870 had resulted in a financial indebtedness of \$17,789.15, besides an additional burden of \$3,400 for real estate furnished. In preparing the schedule of school work for the year 1871, the committee "reduced it, with but three exceptions, to that which is strictly parochial, dropping with their teachers such schools as had no denominational church connections," with a view to scale the debt. They report \$70,934 as the value of church property. There were 67 churches, upon 6 of which there was an incumbrance of \$5,933. There were 6,220 scholars in the Sabbath schools.

In the year 1871 the entire number of schools was 45, with 58 teachers and 4,530 pupils. Biddle Memorial Institute, at Charlotte, N. C., a theological and normal school; Wallingford Academy, at Charleston, S. C., with 300 pupils; the Normal School at Winchester, Va., with 95, and Scotia Seminary, for colored girls, at Concord, N. C., with 45 pupils, were all the institutions that were supported outside the parochial schools. Complaint is made that the churches do not come to the help of the association, as was earnestly hoped they would, and the general assembly of the year 1871 at Chicago, "regrets to find that the work among the freedmen has not been sustained in a manner at all commensurate with its importance."

In 1872 the expenditures amounted to \$65,802.95. The churches still held back, and the debt was not wholly paid. The number of pupils in the schools had diminished by 1,000 since 1871.

At the Scotia Seminary, for colored girls, at Concord, N. C., industrial training, needlework, and domestic economy were pronounced features. Biddle Institute, at Charlotte, N. C., in 1872 had some 14 Presbyterian churches in charge, was situated amid 8 acres of well-cultivated grounds, the property valued at \$13,000, and had an able corps of teachers for its 100 students. In 1872 the Presbyterian General Assembly approved the work done and the call for \$90,000.

In 1876 the debt was finally paid. The high schools had been opened, the Chester, S. C.. Brainerd School had increased to 231 pupils, and an enterprising colored preacher had collected \$4,359 in scattered places for the work. The parochial type of the school keeping was still maintained. The most interesting of the new schools, in 1878, was located at Midway, Liberty County, Ga. Liberty County was first settled by a colony from Dorchester, Mass., which, after a long residence at Summerville, S. C., removed to the seacoast of St. John's Parish, below Savannah, some time before the war of the Revolution. They established there a famous academy and a Congregational church. At the breaking out of the Revolution the county distinguished itself by sending a local delegate, Mr. Lyman Hall, afterwards first governor of Georgia, to the Continental Congress in place of a Territorial delegate, and received its name, on the organization of the State, in honor of its patriotism. For many years it remained one of the foremost of the educational centers of the State and flourished under its religious organization. The close of the civil war found the county almost depopulated of its white people. In 1898 the report of the school authorities informs us that "the freedmen of this county, in mind, manners, and morals, are evidently superior to this race in general," a result attributed largely to their training in the district Sunday schools by their former masters and mistresses.

By 1880 the number of scholars in the Presbyterian schools had somewhat increased, and the expenditure was \$72,000. In 1881 it is noted that the negro population had largely increased since the war, the gain being 38 per cent; the white folk increasing only 34 per cent, while 22 per cent had been the average of colored increase during the last two decades of slavery. The colored population

of the South in 1881 was estimated at 6,577,151. The management urges the churches to labor with more fervor in the work, and points to the reports of other denominations as a stimulus to greater efforts. The school at Charleston, S. C., had organized a distinct department of industrial education, with an attendance of 100 pupils. There were 1,527 students in the 5 superior schools.

In 1883 the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church, North, authorized the incorporation of "The Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America." The annual income of the board had risen to \$108,120.85. The number of schools had increased to 65, with 6,995 pupils and 129 teachers; all the schools "strictly parochial." In 52 parochial schools there were 8,370 pupils, and 10,771 gathered in 158 Sabbath schools in 173 churches with a membership of 12,883. The board urges the fact that 76 per cent of the freedmen in the South are still illiterate, besides 1,000,000 voters, of whom 69 per cent could neither read their ballots nor write their names. In South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi the colored population was far in excess of the white. In 1885 a freedman's department of the woman's executive committee of home missions was organized. In 1886 the work had been extended to the treaty tribes of the Indians.

Ten years later, 1896-97, we find the work of this church for the Southern freedmen but little advanced. A debt had been permitted to accumulate, and the reports speak of schools suspended or cut down in their appropriations. The number of superior schools had increased to 6, the fine buildings of one, the Barber Memorial, at Anniston, Ala., having recently been destroyed by fire. The day schools numbered 67, with 204 teachers and 9,442 pupils. The school term of 13 of the 17 leading schools had been reduced one month; 12 in session only six months each; the parochial schools, maintained at the expense of the board, in session only four months in the year. The office of the treasurer was consolidated with that of the field secretary. The general receipts declined to a lower figure in 1897 than in the previous eight years. During the twenty-seven years of the existence of the board \$1,000,287 had been expended. A theological school for negro students had been opened in Alabama.

It is not easy to understand why the powerful and wealthy Presbyterian Church of the Northern States has fallen so far behind the Congregational and Methodist bodies in the support of its schools for the freedmen. It will be remembered that at an early date this religious sect had formed the backbone of the educational work for the white people of the Southern States, and has always been distinguished for the cultivation, ability, and Christian zeal of its ministry. Perhaps an explanation will be found in the fact that in this church the central purpose of training teachers for the common schools of the colored people of the South has been almost ignored, there being only five schools of this sort, none of them of the first class in numbers and importance, engaged in this work. Their day schools have been "strictly parochial," and, of course, out of touch with the general work of the American common school. The financial depression of several years previous to 1897 told on all these missionary school agencies, and those that were exclusively ecclesiastical were the first to suffer.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE EDUCATION OF THE COLORED RACE.

Prior to the establishment of the commission for the education of the colored race in the Protestant Episcopal Church the records of church work among this people in the different dioceses were not kept separately. In 1866 the sum of \$24,728 was expended in this work; in 1867, \$28,209; but in 1879 the support had fallen to \$8,519. In 1886 the sum total rose to \$18,423. In that year the commission for the colored race was established at the general convention of the church

in Chicago. At first it consisted of a board of 15 managers—5 bishops, 5 presbyters, and 5 laymen—the entire work in each diocese in charge of the bishop. In 1892 the membership of the commission was increased to 21—7 from each order—and all bishops were entitled to attend its meetings. In 1895 the number was again reduced to 15. The chairman of the commission is Right Rev. F. W. Dudley, D. D., bishop of the diocese of Kentucky, whose zeal and wisdom, as shown in his contributions to the literature of this work among the colored folk, are well established.

The work of the commission is entirely under ecclesiastical control. It declares that "our chief need in dealing with the education of the negro race is to provide educated and consecrated ministers fully alive to the conditions and wants of their bretheren, and anxious to labor with earnestness and devotion to dispel their prevailing ignorance and lift them to a higher plane of Christian intelligence and life." For this reason the work of the Christian commission is to so great an extent mingled with the general work of the church that it can not fairly be treated as separated therefrom. Of the five chief institutions that have been established since 1865, viz, in Raleigh, N. C.; Nashville, Tenn.; Washington, D. C.; Lawrenceville and Petersburg, Va., only two—St. Augustine, Raleigh, and St. Paul, Lawrenceville—cover the usual type of normal and industrial schools. These are evidently of the better class of their kind, containing in 1900 some 500 pupils and 23 teachers. The three theological schools have 32 students in preparation for the ministry.

During the twenty years from 1866 to 1886 the Protestant Episcopal Church expended \$351,514 in the entire church and school work among the negroes, and in the ten years from 1886 to 1896 the larger sum of \$441,494, the total for thirty years being \$793,008. The sum expended in 1895-96 was \$56,880, and in 1896-97 \$57,920. In the latter year the salary and office of general agent were abolished.

The schools supported by the commission are all, with the exception of the five before named, of the parochial type of this church. In the fifteen old slave States and District of Columbia, with a negro population of 8,000,000, these schools had in 1896 an average attendance of 4,346. There were 61 colored churches in the Southern dioceses and more than 60 white clergymen in the South actually interested in the colored work.

While the work among the vast colored population of the South by this church is perhaps more limited than that of the other leading Protestant churches, and only indirectly can it be said to affect the common school interest of the different States, it has yet, in one respect, a decided advantage above that of some of the churches that are doing more and are in nearer touch with the great central feature of popular education. The Protestant Episcopal Church, although divided during the period of the civil war, made haste on the advent of peace to close up its ranks and has wrought with great zeal and remarkable success as a united combination in every part of the Union. It concentrates its energies, to the great advantage of all the Southern churches of the body, in the work already described. Its bishops in all the fifteen former slave States and the District of Columbia are, in fact, the supervisors of the work of their own dioceses, and four of the five bishops, four of the five presbyters, and four of the five laity who compose the general commission are from the Southern States. The later organism, by which all the bishops are included as a sort of advisory committee in this commission, testifies to a growing interest in this important mission. The Spirit of Missions has given a large portion of its space to the subject, and the discussions of the foremost clergy and laity are every year more decided in regard to an increasing zeal in the cause of the colored people. The two normal and industrial and probably an increasing number of the parochial schools are every year more and more conforming to the

type of normal and industrial tuition represented by Hampton, Tuskegee, and the State institutions already described. In all ways it would seem that this church is in some respects more fully prepared than all others, save the Catholic and Congregational bodies, to concentrate its mind and treasure upon this point of missionary work as the years go on.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN THE EDUCATION OF THE COLORED PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH.

The record of the relation of the religious denomination of the Friends, or Quakers, to the institution of slavery is one of the most suggestive chapters of the educational history of the British Empire and its colonies in America. From the days of George Fox, the founder of the sect, its protest against negro slavery at home and in the colonies became stronger with every year. There were exceptions to the general sentiment of the body, and Friends at different periods became slaveholders; but as far as possible under the conditions, especially in view of the severe laws against the emancipation of slaves in Virginia and North Carolina, the two States of the South in which the greater number of the Friends lived, the protest may be said to have fairly represented the public sentiment of the body. Under discouraging circumstances, in many ways in the North and South they kept alive the agitation which, begun in a state of peace, finally kindled the flames of a civil war which ended in the complete emancipation of the enslaved race.

It is asserted that the first important demonstration in the United States to bring before the public the duty and policy of immediate and unconditional emancipation was by Charles Lundy, who was born in North Carolina in 1775 and died in 1850. He removed to Tennessee in 1806. In 1814 he assisted in the organization of a numerous antislavery society and spent several years in this work. In 1817 he removed to Ohio and published the Philanthropist. He gave up the use of all slave-grown produce and in 1842-43 worked with the antislavery forces in Indiana. His effort in the advocacy of unconditional and immediate emancipation preceded that of William Lloyd Garrison in the North. In 1821 Lundy removed from Ohio to Tennessee and for three years published the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, the paper afterwards being removed to Baltimore.

The result of these efforts was to strengthen the hands of the majority of the sect of the Friends who in Virginia and Maryland and through the South had steadily labored against the "peculiar institution." Besides emancipating their own slaves they had persuaded others to "go and do likewise," and several thousand negroes were sent through their aid to the North, although some of the Western States framed laws forbidding their reception.

But the most decisive result of this opposition to slavery was seen in the emigration of large numbers of the Friends from all the States of the South Atlantic to the new land of freedom in the Northwest. Begun in 1769 in Virginia, the movement was accelerated by the opening of the West, through the settlement at Marietta, Ohio, in 1788. As the years went on and the protests of the yearly meetings of the sect became of less effect, and even numbers of their people were still found among the slaveholders, the scattering departure of Friends changed to their migration by groups and in some cases of the entire membership of a yearly meeting. The tables compiled by Dr. S. B. Weeks, formerly of the U. S. Bureau of Education, in his exhaustive treatise on *The Southern Quakers and Slavery*, give the names of 2,178 persons, representing 1,000 families, who were recorded by the yearly meetings as "going West" from 1801 to 1860.

The majority of these people found their new home in Ohio and Indiana, and several of the most substantial counties in these States bear witness to the excel-

lent quality of this population, Wayne County, Ind., with Richmond as its county town, being a representative region of this description. Indeed, it is estimated that in 1850 one-third of its population was composed of white Carolinians and their children of the first generation. Although not all or probably the majority of Quaker ancestry, yet this denomination of Christians so largely represents the wealth, worth, and intelligence of many of these counties that their presence was not only a powerful influence against the growing power of slavery in the Union, but an encouragement of the immigration of large numbers of the nonslaveholding poorer class of Southern whites, for whom life in their native States had little of hope for themselves or their children. No class of immigrants to the West during the progress of the years has given a better account of itself in the development of distinguished characters than the southern Friends. Besides numerous eminent persons in public and professional life, many a prosperous community of the old East beyond the great central mountains has been indebted to them for leadership.

From an early period the question of the education of their children came to the front with increasing interest. In 1833 the celebrated Friends' Boarding School in Guilford County, N. C., was chartered. It was coeducational and received only the children of Friends, but its superiority broke down this limit and in 1865 70 per cent of the pupils were from families who sent their children on account of the merits of the institution. It opened in 1837 with 25 boys and 25 girls. In 1850 there were 94 and in 1858, 139, of whom only 60 were Quakers. In 1860 it found itself burdened with a debt of \$29,000, which the yearly meeting was unable to provide for. During the civil war it was conducted as a private school and came out intact in 1865. The influence of such an institution in a county so small could not be otherwise than great. In 1851 there were 854 Quaker churches in North Carolina and 1,038 young people were taught in 130 schools, all coeducational. Of 1,853 children only 8 over the age of 5 were out of school. In 1855, of 1,030 children between 5 and 21, none over 5 were growing up in ignorance.

At the close of the civil war the migration of the Friends broke forth with new energy. Between 1866 and 1872 10,000 people left North Carolina alone, among whom were many Quakers. An effort was made, responding to a request from high quarters, to prevent this wholesale departure of a people so reliable. The Baltimore Association of Friends, to assist and advise Friends in the Southern States, was organized in 1865. Large supplies of provisions were sent and some of the people were persuaded to return and others to remain in the old home. The president of the association made 35 journeys to North Carolina and labored with great zeal in prosecuting this work. The denominational schools were rehabilitated and in 1866 reported 160 students. A normal school for training teachers, the first in the State, was kept up for several months and the teachers thus instructed were in great demand. In 1866 \$22,534.51 was expended. In 1865 the Friends in North Carolina had been left destitute of schools. A superintendent was sent from Indiana, who labored for three years, followed by a second from that State for eight years. In 1866 30 schools had been reestablished, which received aid from the Baltimore association. In 1868 the number had increased to 40, with 2,588 pupils; 1,430 being children of Friends—the schools in session six and one-half months in the year. In 1871 the number remained the same. In central North Carolina the movement was hailed as "one of the most favorable evidences of reconstruction." In 1867 a normal school for the training of Sunday-school teachers was organized.

This movement eventually extended to the schools for the freedmen. In 1867 the committee of management reported 6 day and 22 Sunday schools, with 1,600 to

2,000 colored children in attendance. In 1869 24 day and 35 Sunday schools contained 1,707 pupils. Dr. J. M. Tomlinson, brother of one of the most successful of the group of able superintendents of the new graded schools of North Carolina, was appointed superintendent of these colored schools in 1869. In 1871 there were 800 pupils in 16 schools, educated at an outlay of \$1,308.61. After this the movement for the colored schools seems to have declined. The excellent character of the Quaker schools, always the most pronounced of all the Protestant sects in respect to parochial education, doubtless told against the rapid development of the common school for the negroes. Indeed, for a long time in all the Southern States the movement for popular education for white as for colored children was confined to the country and village district school, leaving the more ambitious of the colored students to find their opportunity for the secondary and higher schooling in the different institutions established largely and supported by the Northern churches, the majority of which, if they did not assume the name "college" or "university," contained a class in high-school and college studies. A positive addition to the facilities for the advancement of the negroes was a model farm, provided in 1867 in Guilford County, named after Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania. A great interest in improved agriculture was awakened thereby, and it was declared that the influence of this movement extended so widely that 15,000 acres of land had been put into cultivation from this experiment.

In 1872 the schools were placed under the general charge of the "Yearly Meeting." There were 33 schools, with 62 teachers and 2,358 pupils, and not a child of Quaker parentage in North Carolina or Tennessee had been overlooked. In 1880 it was said that probably no child of this sect between the ages of 7 and 21 in North Carolina was unable to read and write. The moneys sent to North Carolina during the eleven years of this movement exceeded \$133,300, \$130,000 of which was for schools. Guilford College, to which many of these schools were tributary, received the gift of a new normal building.

The Pennsylvania Friends engaged in the work for the freedmen in 1869 reported 29 day schools, 40 teachers, and 2,000 pupils schooled at an expense of \$6,000. The Friends of New York by 1874 had invested \$18,000 in schools for white and colored pupils, and established a seminary of the higher education later in North Carolina. The New England Yearly Meeting has a college for colored girls at Maryville, Tenn., and the Indiana Yearly Meeting one in another location. The first class of Guilford College was graduated in 1889. At present it ranks as one of the most prosperous in the State. In 1895 the Friends of North Carolina report 6 academies, taught eight months in the year, with an attendance of 530, at the cost of \$1,776.25, with 14 schools, all preparatory for Guilford College. At the last report there were some 6,000 in the schools in North Carolina alone. In Tennessee, Florida, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas there are also the traces of the persistent educational work of this body. In respect to all classes of her people North Carolina has been a great center of educational life, as from her have gone forth some of the most important leaders of education in several of the Western and Southwestern States.

Since the dissolution of the Baltimore association there seems to have been no general working arrangement of this sect for the support of their schools, although the effort has not closed, and probably funds to some extent have been collected. The Pennsylvania Friends still contribute to two of the best seminaries of the secondary, higher, and industrial training among the negroes. The work of Miss Martha Schofield in her normal and industrial school at Aiken, S. C., is well known. This is one of the most successful of all institutions of the sort in the South. At one time it was accepted by the public school authorities of the city, a noted place of winter resort, for the schooling of all the children of the colored race. This school was established in 1868 under the auspices of the Friends, and

for twelve years it remained a day school. In 1882 it was rebuilt and reorganized, and has now a large attendance. Its classes in printing and other departments of industrial training are recognized as of the most encouraging character. A flourishing school at Charleston, S. C., is also dependent on the Pennsylvania Friends for aid.

The reports of the Swarthmore Corporation of Friends at Swarthmore College in 1896 reveal a growing movement away from the exclusive devotion to the parochial school among the more educated Friends, among whom is Dr. De Gamo, at that time president of the college, but later a professor in Cornell University. It was urged that the directors should more fully incline themselves to favoring the common schools, thus giving to the college access to a more extended constituency outside the sect. The increasing demand of the great body of the well-to-do Friends for superior schools will doubtless more and more bring the leading educators among the Quakers into harmony with the great central arrangement of the American people for universal education.

THE BAPTIST CHURCH OF THE NORTHERN STATES IN THE EDUCATION OF THE
COLORED RACE IN THE SOUTH.

The Baptist Church of the Northern States was one of the earliest to enter the field in respect to the education of the freedmen. The Home Mission Society, established in 1832, originally had in view "the preaching of the Gospel in destitute regions, more especially in the West." But at the call of the exigency in 1861-1865 the society at once entered upon the "perplexing, difficult, hitherto untried experiment of providing for such a vast multitude a competent leadership, composed of men and women who had received some degree of training to fit them especially for the duties of teachers and preachers."

Naturally the work done in the schools founded by the mission societies for these people at first was crude, tentative, elementary, sometimes misleading and unsatisfactory; yet it proved on the whole to be of great value. Slowly, during the lapse of more than thirty years, these primitive schools have developed into institutions of learning modeled in large part after Christian schools of the North, but gradually adapting themselves in their ideas of instruction, discipline, and management to the peculiar necessities of the people for whom they were designed.

The changed conditions among the colored people, of which one of the influential causes has been the missionary work of the Northern churches, have been recognized by no board of management with more intelligence than by that of the Baptist Church. No church has given to the superintendency of its educational work a trio of more competent administrators than Morgan, McVicker, and Gregory, who since 1891 have been in constant touch with the schools for colored students and pupils. The reports of these gentlemen have discussed the real problems of negro education in the South with a fairness and consideration of the difficulties and hindrances attending it that have been a model for all missionary work in the same field. It was inevitable that the early missionaries, coming to this inviting and romantic work at the close of a revolutionary epoch, filled with patriotic ardor and religious zeal, but practically unacquainted with the history and social and industrial conditions of the South, many of them for the first time engaged either in educational or proper missionary work, should have rather attempted to impose a higher Anglo-Saxon civilization upon their credulous and childlike disciples than studied the nature, character, and actual history and possibilities of the first generation of a race that had never set its foot on the threshold of any schoolroom. We may commend the reports of these able and devoted men, published in the proceedings of the Baptist Home Mission Society

from 1893 to the present year, as among the most important documents amid the blinding cloud of literature in which the entire field of the education of the negro in the South has been enveloped.

In the report for 1896 attention is called to the unquestioned improvement made by the colored people during the past thirty years—"the dawn of a new day." The elements of this remarkable progress are noted as: (1) The establishment and support of a system of public schools for this race, including every grade of institution from the plantation primary to the industrial and normal college, supported by public taxation, as in all the public school States, at the expense of the general taxpaying class, 90 per cent of it being for the white population. It is believed by wise observers, all men of long experience and national reputation in common school affairs, that in due time this movement will "bring a common school education within the reach of all the colored youth of the country;" (2) the great service of the Peabody, Slater, and Hand funds in furnishing industrial and normal instruction for the colored people; (3) the missionary work of all the Northern churches, by which "many millions of dollars have been expended in the South in establishing distinctively Christian schools for the colored people;" (4) "the A. B. H. M. Society during this period of a generation has invested nearly \$3,000,000 in this great work, by which many thousands of colored youth have been taught and trained through periods of time varying from ten days to as many years."

On a careful inspection of the higher schools for the negroes of all the Christian missions in 1880-1884 by the author of this essay the most pressing need was found to be an adequate supervision of their educational work by experts thoroughly acquainted with common school affairs. The religious, social, and moral training in all these seminaries was conducted with great intelligence, good policy, and remarkable zeal and self-sacrifice in a way that greatly redounded to the credit of the workers in this department, and developed the marvelous genius for civilization that is the most hopeful characteristic of the negro race. But the management of the proper school work in the majority of these large seminaries was often little more than the transplanting of the college, academy, and district school methods of half a century ago by boards of denominational management not acquainted with the ideas and methods of "the new education" already in practice in the common schools of the principal educational centers of the country, sometimes prejudiced against any new departure from "the good old way." While these "old ways" were getting modified, especially in the Northern States, by the pressure of all the powerful agencies developed in a revolutionary epoch brought to bear on the school life of the new generation, many of them were almost pernicious when applied to a people like the freedmen. On the contrary, the vital spirit and methods of the new education were especially adapted to the schooling of a people whose only university up to a very recent past had been the life on a Southern plantation and the training of nature, with the undoubted powerful influence of the institution of American negro slavery as perhaps the most effective elevator from barbarism to the verge of civilization up to that time known in human history.

The movement for thorough superintendence of the school work in all these institutions, save a few which, like Hampton, had been piloted in the right way from the beginning, was appreciated and adopted with great effect by the Baptist management. The three superintendents above named, each in turn, brought to the work indomitable energy, clear intelligence, and a thorough comprehension of the existing condition of elementary education in the most progressive of the common-school States. Among the supervisors in this entire region of educational life, none has been more capable than Dr. McVicker, who, in 1890, was appointed general superintendent of schools by the Baptist Home Mission Society.

Dr. McVicker came to New York from an excellent training in the Dominion of Canada and, for several years, was president of the New York State Normal School at Canton, St. Lawrence County. In 1893 a most valuable contribution was made to the general board of management by the election of Gen. T. J. Morgan as general secretary and practically superintendent of the work. General Morgan, after a valuable military experience in the civil war, had already served as principal of State normal schools in New York and Rhode Island, followed by an administration of four years as the head of the Indian Department at Washington. At a later period, Dr. Gregory, who for many years had been known as one of the most distinguished educators in several of the Western States, was called to the office of superintendent of the Baptist educational work in the South.

The report of 1891, by Dr. McVicker, contains a list of 14 schools of the secondary and higher education, established by the Baptist Church movement in 12 States and in the District of Columbia, dating from the foundation of the Wayland Seminary in Washington, D. C. in 1865 to Spelman Seminary for girls in Atlanta, Ga., in 1888. There were also 15 academical schools in 13 States and the Indian Territory tributary to these. By the aid received from the John F. Slater fund 4 of these large schools had been able to introduce a course of industrial training and had made a decidedly forward step in their organization for training teachers. The vigorous superintendency of Dr. McVicker had already borne the fruit of an organization of schools aiming to facilitate the much-needed schooling of the masses of students and act as fitting schools to the institutions above them. The instruction of all the academical and industrial schools was carefully graded, especially for the aid of the colored people for whose benefit it was set up.

In discussing the vital question, to what extent the society should contribute to the prosecution of this work and what modification of its policy should be made, Superintendent McVicker rises above the local sectional and sectarian views which too often have embarrassed the operations of the Northern workers and reacted against the educational operations of the teacher. The great benefaction to education in the Spelman Seminary, Atlanta, Ga., by Mr. John D. Rockefeller had provided a gift that enabled this school to largely extend its work of secondary instruction. Still the friends of the cause understood the plain fact that a crisis had come in the educational affairs of the colored race in the South. After a prolonged inspection of all the schools established or aided by the society, Superintendent McVicker urged the establishment of secondary schools managed and largely supported by the colored people themselves and easily accessible for the more ambitious youth of the masses of the people, as a most effective agency in the impending crisis. He urges the all-important point that the next vital condition of the development of the negro race is a manhood and a womanhood Christianized by self-development, self-sacrifice, self-control, honesty, steadiness of purpose, and thrift. These are qualities which are not the production of mere knowledge nor of mere school instruction, however essential they may be considered. They are acquired rather through well-directed and persistent self-effort. It is self-evident that the colored people have now reached that stage of advancement that fits them properly for the exercise of a much higher degree of self-effort in educational matters than in the past.

The general conclusions of the superintendent are that "While remarkable progress has been made by a certain portion of the colored people during the past twenty-five years in everything that pertains to mental, intellectual, and moral advancement, it has been confined to a comparatively small number of the 6,741,951 colored population of the United States. The masses of these are still in a deplorable condition." Six present causes are named that explain this fact: (1) "Unfavorable and exacting conditions;" (2) "Indolent and improvident

habits;" (3) "The one-room cabin;" (4) "The unkind and in many cases cruel and criminal treatment given to the women and children by the men;" (5) "The comparatively low degree of the social and parental relation and the presence among the people of many ignorant and in some cases unprincipled leaders, ministers and others, who for purely selfish motives dominate over them." (6) "It is doubtful if sufficient emphasis is placed in the schools upon the phases of work that are most desirable and best fitted to render efficient help in elevating and instructing the masses of the negro race." He dwells with vigor upon a very notable fact—that while the students in these great schools are "the cream of the negro race," yet, too often, after all the expenditure of money, zeal, and self-sacrifice in their behalf, "their education fails to produce the self-sacrificing missionary spirit in any considerable number of them."

The pupils in the schools are younger than at first and more inclined to prefer technical scholarship to the neglect of the character and of the disposition to engage in hard work and render self-sacrificing and effective service in helping to better the condition of the suffering and oppressed. His idea of missionary work corresponds to that so aptly described by Gen. S. C. Armstrong, as pushed to the very degree of failure among the natives of the Sandwich Islands. While urging a broader training and development in the industrial arts and especially the quality of self effort, he still inclines to the fact that even this does not send forth young people with the spirit of missionary work for the vast body of the race. This is the most difficult and important work to be done with those who are coming forward as leaders of this people.

The superintendent also speaks a much-needed warning concerning the inadequacy of the teaching force. With all praise for the personal character and full appreciation of the work of the teachers in this great service, and full acknowledgment of the advancement, moral, social, and educational, due to this influence, he asserts that the time has come when the claims of students, their aspirations and needs, and the higher range of their life work demand a superior order of teaching. The investigations of the past year have brought out the fact that it is no longer possible to secure this higher grade of instruction by relying on the spirit of self-sacrifice and missionary zeal in the workers. The superior teachers, he says, in all these schools are now working for half the salaries they might command elsewhere, indeed many of them can hardly "make ends meet" through the long Southern summer vacation if compelled to return home for rest and recuperation. In one leading seminary in eleven years the teachers had given to the school in gratuitous service, often through the expense of long sickness contracted in the work, the large sum of \$70,729, an amount nearly equal to all that has been contributed to this school by the whole of New England. The plant of these schools should be again enlarged and especially the great work of training teachers and women missionaries should be extended. The total receipts for schools during the year 1893 were \$57,627.48.

The report for 1894 opens with an inspiring summons to the negro race: "Called as the negro is to compete with the white race in every department of activity, he must be prepared to compete on equal terms. He must not be handicapped by any inferiority of preparation. He must neither ask nor receive any favor on the ground of race and color, but in the stern conflict of life he must give and take on the basis of equal manhood." The place of Dr. Tupper in Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C., one of the most successful of the early founders of colored schools, had been taken by Prof. Charles F. Meserve, superintendent of one of the largest United States Government schools for the education of the Indians, a positive addition to the upper strata of male educators in the South. The expenditure for the year amounted to \$95,155 for salaries of teachers, the Home Mission Society contributing \$75,315 and the Woman's Baptist Home Mission Society \$19,840. In

addition there had been expended for buildings and other purposes, chiefly for the enlargement of schools, \$77,824, making a total of \$172,979 in a year of marked financial depression. The total attendance was 5,033, of whom 1,830 were preparing to teach. An important feature of the professional department was the nurse-training course at the Spelman Seminary for girls, in Atlanta, Ga. "A large proportion of the whole number have received systematic training in some line of industrial work." The society paid, in whole or in part, the salaries of 172 teachers, of whom 100 were women, 124 in the schools for colored youth. Fifteen of these schools were under the entire control of a board of colored trustees, three of the higher and twelve of the secondary, although subject to visitation by the superintendent of education. Thirty-nine of their 89 teachers were entirely supported by their own people, who, in 1894, contributed \$13,202 in this way.

The Baptist Board of Missions seems to have favored the inevitable tendency toward the instruction and management of colored schools by their own people earlier than the other Northern missionary boards. The public schools for children and youth, with the exception of a few in cities, are under the direct care of teachers of their own race, although in the majority of cases directly responsible to a school board of which the majority—sometimes all the members—are white, besides the general superintendency of the school system of the place. In the City of Washington, D. C., where the schools for the negroes are most completely developed, the general board, containing two colored members, governs the entire system, while a colored assistant superintendent has immediate charge of the colored schools. For many years this office was filled with great success by a member of the Cook family, noted for its early and continuous connection with the schools of the free negro people of the District. In the State colleges for the higher and industrial training of the race the same policy is pursued, the teachers being all colored, while the State superintendents and boards of education have complete control of the outside administration. In the States of Virginia and Alabama the famous institutions of Hampton and Tuskegee are subsidized to a limited extent by the State, while their general affairs are in charge of boards of trustees representing both sections of the country and both races.

The American Missionary Association, Freedmen's Aid Society, and Committee of Missions for Freedmen, of the Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches, respectively, the most conspicuous rivals of the Baptist Home Mission Society in this work, have pursued a more conservative policy in this respect, their teachers being almost entirely Northern white persons. The Hampton Institute has always relied on graduates from the most celebrated institutions for Northern white students for its teaching corps, with a very small mixture of colored instructors. Mr. Booker T. Washington, afterwards the celebrated president of the Tuskegee, Ala., Normal and Industrial Institute, was called to that work from a responsible position as the head of the Indian department at Hampton.

It was easy to foresee that here was a problem that would tax the wisdom of all these organizations from the North. It can hardly be supposed that these great religious bodies will go on forever at the present rate, paying out a million or more dollars a year for the support of a system of schools which is constantly growing upon their hands and capable of indefinite expansion. As to the very large investment in the buildings and furnishings of these schools, which are among the best in that section of the country, there comes a question of delivering up a property so valuable even to the white, much more to the colored people, to the South. Already in the Baptist, and to a less extent in all these schools, the question of promoting colored teachers to responsible positions has been considered and has threatened disturbing dissensions. Superintendent McVicker, while urging the necessity of making the colored people more self-dependent and competent for administration in education, throws in an early note of warning in his report of 1894. He says of certain institutions:

The management of these schools is not in many cases what it should be. The men charged with it are not always wisely selected. They are inexperienced and have only a very imperfect knowledge of what constitutes a good school and of the functions and duty of trustees. They are easily biased by persuasion of friends and neighborhoods in the selection of teachers and disposed to interfere unwisely in the management of the schools.

Such warnings from an educator so competent and experienced in school work were timely, not only for the mission, but in the administration of the public schools in the South for this race. A great deal of the inefficiency complained of in the common schools for colored youth in all the Southern States is due to a mistaken policy by public boards of education in giving their administration entirely into the hands of the colored members. While it would seem that this policy was dictated, as it doubtless often is, by a desire to treat the colored population fairly, yet the practical result is the same—almost inevitably plunging the entire administration of the colored school department into the vortex of petty jealousies and exasperating contentions that so largely interfere with the proper influence of their churches. It would seem to be the duty of such boards, while giving the colored race a fair representation through their wisest and best men and women, to insist that the schools shall not fall under the control of a group of contentious preachers or politicians, but that the children and youth should be defended, often against the inexperience and even more destructive defects that still characterize the administrative work of this people.

Attention was also called to the fact that in all these schools it should be impressed on the pupils that every year there should be sent forth an increasing number of young people who in some useful way could be missionaries of a true American civilization to their own families and neighborhoods, which often at great sacrifices and with greater expectations had given to their young what were to them extraordinary opportunities for superior training and culture. It was also shown that the 5,000 students in all these schools, one-half of whom were in the professional classes, were being instructed at a sum many hundred dollars less than the one city of Baltimore paid its teachers in either one of its high or large grammar schools.

The superintendent answers the question of the Eastern contributors whether the chief responsibility of superintendency and management in these schools should be placed upon the colored public teacher, by a decided "No." With all the encouraging signs in the material and other development of this people he declares that this policy would surely result in a rapid retrograde movement and lead to the ultimate ruin of the schools. The weak point of the colored people, even in the better educated class, is the lack of executive capacity and the danger from perpetual jealousy and contention fatal to the success of educational affairs. He returns to his former topic concerning the conditions of the masses of the freedmen after thirty years of liberty and a quarter of a century of American citizenship. It would seem that no argument was required on this point to any fair-minded educator after a careful observation of the entire field. It was always necessary to meet the persistent demand of a growing party among the colored people that this great amount of school property and appliances should be committed altogether to themselves. But here is the problem which, before another thirty years have passed, will tax the seamanship of these great educational bodies to keep this splendid fleet of educational craft afloat in the open sea. The State industrial and normal colleges will avoid this peril, from the fact that the entire public school system is under the superintendence of State and local boards which will be largely composed of white persons in all these States of the South.

But all these matters of administration fall into comparative insignificance before the previous question of the colored support of this sphere of education by

the Baptist Church. This church had ten years ago a colored membership of 1,400,000, more than one-third of the entire number of the denomination in the United States. In the fifteen years of the service of Dr. McVicker as corresponding secretary the schools had increased from 8 to 34, from 38 teachers to 200, from an attendance of 1,191 to 5,000 or 6,000 pupils. Thirty-five substantial buildings had been reared and a school property of \$1,000,000 placed on the ground. The schools had greatly improved in quality and the cost of their maintenance had accordingly increased. At least 7 of the larger schools put in an immediate demand for a stronger corps of instruction. In five years \$150,000 would be needed for the annual expenditure. The powerful competition of the schools of other churches would leave the schools of this sect in the background when left to the test of respective merits. The Home Mission Society has already found it impossible to meet this demand except by the sacrifice of important missionary and educational enterprises.

The society is steadily falling behind in pecuniary affairs. A reduction of 40 or 50 per cent in missionary appropriations should be made, if the schools in the South are kept up. It is safe only to appropriate \$50,000 a year for this important work. A permanent fund of \$1,000,000 is imperatively needed, as the present expenditure requires the income of \$2,000,000 at 5 per cent interest. In view of these facts, Superintendent McVicker urges the impossibility of supporting schools of any save the superior class. The training of leaders should be the chief if not the only work of the schools of the society. The graduates should be not only prepared as teachers and ministers, but trained for leadership in every department of life, industrial, social, civil, private, and public. All theological work should be confined to the school at Richmond, Va. Only a limited number of schools should be allowed to do proper college work, seven at the most, and not more than two schools be permitted to give a full professional training for which a normal diploma should be granted. A careful system of examination and inspection should be inaugurated in all the schools and the quality as well as quantity of the teaching force should be strictly considered. A large portion of the report deals with a bad condition of affairs in one of the institutions in Texas, and the burning by incendiary fires of several of their school buildings in Arkansas, Texas, and South Carolina.

In 1895 the Baptist church had made a hopeful advance toward the improvement of the school work in the appointment of an advisory committee in connection with the schools for colored people in the South supported by the Home Mission Society. The committee was to be only advisory, with no general or educational authority, but to have access to all schools and invited to present the results of their investigation to the two Home Mission Boards and the acting authorities of the institutions. This was a favorable movement toward what must inevitably come, the practical union and cooperation for all general purposes of the great educational missionary bodies, especially of the Protestant evangelical churches in both sections of the Union. Indeed, the practical beginning of this outward advancement toward some union of the sort is to-day evident to all observers competent to hold in one view the past experience and the inevitable burden that will fall upon these denominations if they continue the purely sectarian policy of expansion that has already brought the richest and most zealous of them to the brink of a financial crisis.

The amount expended in 1895 for schools was \$117,480.50, with a total expenditure of \$134,554.83. There were 232 teachers, of whom 130 were colored, with 4,358 students. The report for 1897 shows a singular condition of affairs in the work of schooling the colored race in the South. The 29 schools were supported at an expense of \$108,869.75. A gratifying feature in the case was the fact that the colored people, represented by the 5,000 students, supplied for teachers \$20,137.32, and the board, \$64,079.57. This sum, increased by other gifts to \$22,591.31, made

a total of \$106,808.20. There seemed yet to be no response to the call for the general endowment, regarded essential to the continued existence of the higher schools, although the secondary seminaries were aided by special gifts.

Beside this large expenditure now during forty years in behalf of the colored children and youth in the South by the churches of every sect in the Northern States, there has been a large amount of money contributed and a great deal of good work done by personal and private effort. Indeed, one of the most philanthropic divisions of the religious public, including the Unitarian and Universalist denominations, and perhaps the larger bodies of the Christian connection may be added, with a great number of semireligious benevolent associations, has never followed the example of other sects in establishing schools, although in proportion to its numbers and means it is probable that as much has been contributed, especially to Hampton, Tuskegee, and a variety of smaller enterprises, as by the great organized educational and missionary boards. Numbers of faithful men and devoted women, some of the best in the land, have through all these years kept alive, in the more destitute districts of the Southern States, schools, missions, churches, along with an amount of private charity which has done much to supplement the public efforts of the communities to which their beneficence has been directed.

Here ends the account of the special movement which for the past forty years has wrought every year in a growing connection with the greater labors of the Southern people, directly and indirectly, in building their first general system of common schools. It was essential to the truth of history and to a fair estimation of the interest by the North and the nation in the civilization and education of millions of the new colored citizenship that this should be put in permanent record. All this has been done by these educational boards in a spirit as praiseworthy as has often been found in the similar work of the Christian church in any age or land; and every year it has been better appreciated by the superior class in the States which have been the great field of their operation. Indeed, the time has already passed when this remarkable movement in behalf of the colored people is regarded with disparagement by any considerable class of people anywhere. There will still be inevitable differences of opinion concerning the best methods of educating a people in a condition so peculiar. It may be that at times and in special places the school instruction has been too far above the capacity of the majority of pupils to be thoroughly or very largely incorporated into the character and living, especially of large numbers who were too young and remained too short a time in school to be permanently affected thereby. But in the great rivalry of the educational agencies now at work all methods have an opportunity of being tested, and a general drawing together of the superior educational workers in these schools will inevitably bring to the front the most valuable elements and forces developed by the entire movement. The churches have still a great work before them; first of all, "to settle up" all their differences which refer to the past, especially those connected with the period of sectarian contention and sectional hostility, through the twenty years from 1860 to 1880. There is certainly, ahead, in the opening century, a vast field of effort among the destitute places of our own population at home and in our new possessions around the world in which the united energies of the National Government, the churches, and the whole people may be brought to bear for the extirpation of the illiteracy of the millions who bear the name of American citizen or aspire to the possession of American citizenship. And when the people are lifted above the deplorable strife of partisan politics and sectarian ecclesiasticism it may be revealed to them that there is no grander work than the training of our twenty millions still involved in the great national slough of illiteracy toward the broad upland of that American citizenship which is the loftiest position yet offered to a whole people in the history of mankind.

CHAPTER XLI.

SCHOOLS FOR THE COLORED RACE.

References to preceding publications of the United States Bureau of Education in which this subject has been treated: Annual Reports—1870, pp. 61, 337-339; 1871, pp. 6, 7, 61-70; 1872, pp. xvii, xviii; 1873, p. lxxvi; 1875, p. xxiii; 1876, p. xvi; 1877, pp. xxxiii-xxxviii; 1878, pp. xxviii-xxxiv; 1879, pp. xxxix-xlv; 1880, p. lviii; 1881, p. lxxxii; 1882-83, pp. xlvi-lvi, 85; 1883-84, p. liv; 1884-85, p. lxxvii; 1885-86, pp. 596, 650-656; 1886-87, pp. 790, 874-881; 1887-88, pp. 20, 21, 167, 169, 988-998; 1888-89, pp. 768, 1412-1439; 1889-90, pp. 620, 621, 624, 634, 1073-1102, 1388-1392, 1395-1485; 1890-91, pp. 620, 624, 792, 808, 915, 961-980, 1469; 1891-92, pp. 8, 686, 688, 713, 861-867, 1002, 1234-1237; 1892-93, pp. 15, 442, 1551-1572, 1976; 1893-94, pp. 1019-1061; 1894-95, pp. 1331-1424; 1895-96, pp. 2081, 2115; 1896-97, pp. 2295-2333; 1897-98, pp. 2479-2507; 1898-99, pp. 2201-2225; Introduction to Annual Report for 1898-99, pp. lxxxviii-xciii; 1899-1900, pp. 2501-2531; 1900-1901, pp. 2299-2331; 1901-2, pp. 191-224, 285-307, 2063-2095; Circulars of Information—No. 3, 1883, p. 63; No. 2, 1886, pp. 123-133; No. 3, 1888, p. 122; No. 5, 1888, pp. 53, 54, 59, 60, 80-86; No. 1, 1892, p. 71; Special report on District of Columbia for 1869, pp. 193, 300, 351-400; Special report, New Orleans Exposition, 1884-85, pp. 468-470, 775-781.

This chapter exhibits, so far as information could be obtained, the present status of negro education in the United States. The 15 tables require but little explanation. The amount of money expended each year since 1870 in the 16 former slave States and the District of Columbia for the public education of both races, and the separate enrollment of whites and negroes since 1877, may be seen from Table 1. It is estimated that at the present time about 20 per cent of the public school funds in the South is for the support of schools for the negroes. The table shows that for the year 1902-3 the sum of \$39,582,654 was expended for the schools of both races. The public school expenditure for the entire South since 1870 has aggregated \$727,867,089. It is estimated that at least \$132,000,000 of this sum has been expended to support common schools for the colored race.

Comparative statistics of the schools for both races will be found in Table 2 for the year ending June, 1903. Summaries of the statistics of public high schools for negroes will be found in Tables 3 to 6, while Table 13 gives a list of such high schools, with information in detail. Tables 7 to 12 summarize the statistics of private institutions devoted to the secondary and higher education of the negro race, Tables 14 and 15 giving in detail the statistics of these private schools.

TABLE 1.—*Sixteen former slave States and the District of Columbia.*

Year.	Common school enrollment.		Expenditures (both races).	Year.	Common school enrollment.		Expenditures (both races).
	White.	Colored.			White.	Colored.	
1870-71			\$10,385,464	1888-89	3,197,830	1,213,092	\$23,171,878
1871-72			11,623,238	1889-90	3,402,420	1,296,959	24,880,107
1872-73			11,176,048	1890-91	3,570,624	1,329,549	26,690,310
1873-74			11,823,775	1891-92	3,607,549	1,354,316	27,691,488
1874-75			13,021,514	1892-93	3,697,899	1,367,515	28,535,738
1875-76			12,033,865	1893-94	3,848,541	1,432,198	29,223,546
1876-77	1,827,139	571,506	11,231,073	1894-95	3,846,267	1,423,593	29,443,584
1877-78	2,034,946	675,150	12,093,091	1895-96	3,943,801	1,449,325	31,149,724
1878-79	2,013,684	685,942	12,174,141	1896-97	3,937,992	1,460,084	31,286,883
1879-80	2,215,674	784,709	12,678,685	1897-98	4,145,737	1,540,749	31,247,118
1880-81	2,234,877	802,374	13,656,814	1898-99	4,144,643	1,509,275	33,110,581
1881-82	2,249,263	802,982	15,241,740	1899-1900	4,261,369	1,560,070	34,805,568
1882-83	2,370,110	817,240	16,363,471	1900-1901	4,301,954	1,594,308	35,998,667
1883-84	2,546,448	1,002,313	17,884,558	1901-2 a	4,397,916	1,587,309	37,567,552
1884-85	2,676,911	1,030,463	19,253,874	1902-3 a	4,428,842	1,578,632	39,582,654
1885-86	2,773,145	1,048,659	20,208,113				
1886-87	2,975,773	1,118,556	20,821,969	Total			727,867,089
1887-88	3,110,606	1,140,405	21,810,158				

a Subject to correction.

TABLE 2.—Common school statistics of the South, 1902-3.

State.	Estimated number of persons 5 to 18 years of age.		Percentage of the whole.		Persons enrolled in public schools.		Per cent of persons 5 to 18 years enrolled.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama.....	346,241	296,136	58.90	46.10	a 239,055	a 126,116	69.04	42.59
Arkansas.....	333,290	128,458	72.18	27.82	249,694	87,895	74.92	68.42
Delaware.....	41,185	9,133	81.85	18.15	e 30,754	e 6,141	74.67	67.24
District of Columbia.....	42,968	20,660	67.53	32.47	32,987	15,758	77.00	76.27
Florida.....	99,355	75,812	56.72	43.28	a 69,541	a 42,843	69.99	56.51
Georgia.....	403,914	376,445	51.76	48.24	300,596	201,418	74.42	53.51
Kentucky.....	602,912	88,580	87.19	12.81	e 438,501	e 62,981	72.73	71.10
Louisiana.....	245,207	230,830	51.51	48.49	136,488	72,249	55.66	31.30
Maryland.....	271,969	71,686	79.14	20.86	f 175,747	f 48,257	64.62	67.32
Mississippi.....	221,981	332,141	40.06	59.94	192,881	210,766	86.89	63.46
Missouri.....	905,569	46,459	95.12	4.88	672,936	31,257	74.31	67.28
North Carolina.....	429,672	228,526	65.28	34.72	a 314,871	ag 149,798	73.45	65.26
South Carolina.....	188,423	294,962	38.98	61.02	134,330	154,383	71.29	52.31
Tennessee.....	508,552	161,919	75.85	24.15	398,542	99,234	77.38	61.29
Texas.....	865,979	234,655	78.68	21.32	558,061	142,075	64.44	60.54
Virginia.....	374,293	232,144	61.72	58.28	257,138	118,463	68.70	51.03
West Virginia.....	302,550	11,951	96.20	3.80	231,720	8,998	76.59	75.29
Total, 1902-3.....	6,184,060	2,840,497	68.52	31.48	4,428,842	1,578,632	71.63	55.55
Total, 1889-90.....	h 5,132,948	2,510,847	67.15	32.85	3,402,420	1,296,959	66.28	51.65

State.	Average daily attendance.		Per cent of enrollment.		Number of teachers.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama.....	ab 150,000	ab 90,000	62.75	71.36	a 4,451	a 1,852
Arkansas.....	159,225	54,147	63.77	61.60	5,986	1,488
Delaware.....	c 21,500	c 3,800	69.91	61.88	ed 693	ed 138
District of Columbia.....	25,918	12,120	78.63	76.91	925	446
Florida.....	a 46,283	a 29,881	66.55	69.75	a 2,129	a 670
Georgia.....	190,368	120,032	63.33	59.59	6,890	3,452
Kentucky.....	e 268,720	e 41,116	61.28	65.28	e 9,021	e 1,428
Louisiana.....	102,189	53,605	74.87	74.19	3,634	1,184
Maryland.....	f 112,803	f 22,712	64.18	47.06	f 4,198	f 838
Mississippi.....	115,079	118,096	59.66	56.03	5,524	3,398
Missouri.....	d 444,940	d 20,191	66.12	64.60	16,174	749
North Carolina.....	a 185,598	ag 83,405	58.94	55.68	a 5,898	ag 2,833
South Carolina.....	97,708	111,681	72.74	72.34	3,492	2,455
Tennessee.....	274,300	68,331	69.70	68.86	7,777	1,955
Texas.....	355,951	88,718	63.78	62.44	13,880	3,270
Virginia.....	157,075	67,694	61.08	57.14	6,871	2,173
West Virginia.....	149,512	5,924	64.52	65.84	7,071	291
Total, 1902-3.....	2,857,169	991,453	64.51	62.80	104,114	28,620
Total, 1889-90.....	h 2,165,249	813,710	63.64	62.74	78,903	24,072

a In 1901-2.

b Estimated by State superintendent.

c In 1899-1900.

d Estimated.

e Approximately.

f In 1900-1901.

g Including Croatan (Indians).

h United States census.

TABLE 3.—Teachers and students in public high schools for the colored race in 1902-3.

State.	Schools.	Teachers.			Pupils enrolled.								
		Male.	Female.	Total.	Total.			Elementary.			Secondary.		
					Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Alabama	3	6	11	17	58	127	185				58	127	185
Arkansas	5	9	18	27	72	186	258				66	174	240
District of Columbia	2	50	19	49	218	595	813				218	595	813
Florida	23	4	14	18	45	104	149	30	42	72	15	51	66
Georgia	4	5	4	9	67	116	183				65	91	156
Illinois	2	2	4	6	21	77	98				21	77	98
Indiana	6	10	5	15	119	227	346	56	78	134	63	149	212
Kentucky	6	18	5	23	137	413	550	1	22	23	136	391	527
Louisiana	1	3	2	5	41	52	93				41	52	93
Maryland	1	9	9	18	107	197	304				107	197	304
Mississippi	7	7	9	16	140	422	562				140	422	562
Missouri	19	32	20	52	310	695	1,005				310	695	1,005
North Carolina	1	1	3	4	16	49	65				16	49	65
Ohio	2	4	2	6	29	52	81				29	52	81
Oklahoma	3	5	2	7	20	43	63				20	43	63
Pennsylvania	1	1		1	8	9	17				8	9	17
South Carolina	6	7	2	9	87	152	239	45	59	104	42	93	135
Tennessee	11	17	8	25	198	415	613	25	31	56	173	384	557
Texas	29	39	25	64	489	930	1,419	215	333	548	272	597	869
Virginia	7	7	14	21	153	478	631	39	97	136	114	381	495
West Virginia	4	5		5	61	87	148	32	36	68	29	51	80
Total	123	221	176	397	2,396	5,426	7,822	443	698	1,141	1,943	4,680	6,623

TABLE 4.—Classification of colored students in public high schools by courses of study 1902-3.

State.	Students in classical course.			Students in scientific course.			Students in English course.			Students in business course.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Alabama							58	114	172	30	49	79
Arkansas		8	11				29	51	80			
District of Columbia	109	379	488							46	32	78
Florida				3	5	8	9	35	44			
Georgia	54	98	152				3	8	11			
Illinois				5	17	22	16	60	76			
Indiana	13	52	65	21	43	64	26	58	84	15	23	38
Kentucky	11	24	35	27	71	98	2	23	25			
Louisiana												
Maryland	56	76	132				14	36	50			
Mississippi				3	9	12	90	303	393	12	36	48
Missouri	19	55	74	169	435	604	59	124	183	5	17	22
North Carolina							16	49	65			
Ohio	17	39	56	7	21	28						
Oklahoma	9	30	39				6	9	15			
Pennsylvania	2		2									
South Carolina	14	21	35	11	53	64	36	50	86	6	4	10
Tennessee	2	4	6	59	131	190	25	55	80	2	2	4
Texas	75	187	262	99	234	333	52	104	156			
Virginia	9	20	29	34	83	117	105	356	461			
West Virginia							10	19	29			
Total	393	993	1,386	438	1,102	1,540	556	1,454	2,010	116	163	279

TABLE 5.—Number of normal students, manual-training students, and graduates in colored public high schools in 1902-3.

State.	Students, normal course.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Graduates in high school course.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Alabama				30	49	79	10	20	30
Arkansas				30	100	130	3	14	17
District of Columbia				105	191	296	31	112	143
Florida	1	4	5				6	9	15
Georgia	1		1	15	80	95	1	1	2
Illinois				15	58	73	2	7	9
Indiana							12	16	28
Kentucky							22	54	76
Louisiana							3	6	9
Maryland				103	177	280	16	20	36
Mississippi							11	40	51
Missouri		38	38	389	544	933	27	112	139
North Carolina	1	9	10		38	38	1	9	10
Ohio							5	9	14
Oklahoma							1	10	11
Pennsylvania								3	3
South Carolina	15	20	35	8	13	21	8	19	27
Tennessee	2	2	4				11	49	60
Texas		4	4				24	65	89
Virginia	3	32	35	5		5	15	77	92
West Virginia							1	4	5
Total	23	109	132	700	1,250	1,950	210	656	866

TABLE 6.—Financial summary of the colored public high schools, 1902-3.

State.	Number of schools reporting.	Volumes in library.	Number of schools reporting.	Value of grounds, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Number of schools reporting.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Number of schools reporting.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Number of schools reporting.	Total income for the year.
Alabama	1	\$175	1	\$1,800						
Arkansas	3	150	3	53,500						
District of Columbia	1	2,370	2	285,709					1	\$26,230
Florida	1	50	1	20,000						
Georgia	3	290	4	12,000	1	\$700			1	200
Illinois	2	629	2	23,550	1	2,000			1	2,000
Indiana	5	959	4	36,000	1					
Kentucky	5	770								
Louisiana	1	3,993	1	70,260						
Maryland										
Mississippi	4	807	5	29,500	3	5,340	1	\$200	2	5,340
Missouri	18	3,927	14	224,300						
North Carolina	1	630	1	8,000						
Ohio	2	700	2	12,000						
Oklahoma	3	275	1	1,500						
Pennsylvania	1	25							2	1,770
South Carolina	2	1,150	3	3,300	2	1,120				
Tennessee	7	1,549	9	60,150						
Texas	22	4,154	24	179,316	8	7,560	3	131	6	8,506
Virginia	3	952	1	15,000						
West Virginia	3	1,002	4	30,000	1	15,000			1	1,500
Total	88	24,557	82	1,065,885	16	31,720	4	331	14	45,546

TABLE 7.—*Teachers and students in secondary and higher schools for the colored race in 1902-3 (not including public high schools).*

State.	Teachers.			Students.												
	Schools.	Male.	Female.	Elementary.			Secondary.			Collegiate.			Total.			
				Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	
Alabama.....	14	134	154	288	1,923	1,873	3,796	870	1,288	2,158	90	74	164	2,883	3,235	6,118
Arkansas.....	5	21	28	49	432	471	903	159	184	343	61	26	87	652	681	1,333
Delaware.....	1	5	1	6	.....	.....	.....	17	17	34	11	9	20	28	26	54
Dist. Columbia.	2	76	23	99	80	68	148	169	132	301	410	138	548	659	338	997
Florida.....	5	19	30	49	263	387	650	88	85	173	0	0	0	351	472	823
Georgia.....	19	82	176	258	1,476	2,582	4,058	838	1,365	2,203	274	79	353	2,588	4,026	6,614
Kentucky.....	4	19	13	32	70	89	159	181	110	291	42	29	71	293	228	521
Louisiana.....	6	58	62	120	937	1,250	2,187	277	481	758	91	37	128	1,305	1,768	3,073
Maryland.....	5	22	29	51	47	176	223	171	176	347	2	1	3	220	353	573
Mississippi.....	8	35	67	102	771	820	1,591	237	375	612	15	6	21	1,023	1,201	2,224
Missouri.....	2	16	14	30	67	73	140	188	194	382	7	1	8	262	268	530
New Jersey.....	1	5	7	12	18	17	35	37	53	90	0	0	0	55	70	125
North Carolina.	19	86	120	206	731	1,243	1,974	800	1,201	2,001	572	119	691	2,103	2,563	4,666
Ohio.....	1	17	6	23	.....	.....	.....	48	69	117	107	163	270	155	232	387
Oklahoma.....	1	7	2	9	67	101	168	16	27	43	.....	.....	.....	83	128	211
Pennsylvania.....	2	14	6	20	74	106	180	24	82	106	208	0	208	306	188	494
South Carolina.	11	66	93	159	1,101	1,367	2,468	634	706	1,340	77	35	112	1,812	2,108	3,920
Tennessee.....	7	78	87	165	575	748	1,323	354	552	906	527	186	713	1,456	1,486	2,942
Texas.....	9	60	83	143	467	780	1,247	472	571	1,043	127	74	201	1,066	1,425	2,491
Virginia.....	12	80	122	202	967	1,270	2,237	399	481	880	74	16	90	1,440	1,767	3,207
West Virginia.....	2	14	11	25	40	64	104	72	86	158	.....	.....	.....	112	150	262
Total.....	136	914	1,134	2,048	10,106	13,485	23,591	6,051	8,235	14,286	2,695	993	3,688	18,852	22,713	41,565

TABLE 8.—*Classification of colored students, by courses of study, in secondary and higher schools, 1902-3.*

State.	Students in classical courses.			Students in scientific courses.			Students in English course.			Students in business course.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Alabama.....	15	19	34	31	23	54	1,324	823	2,147	15	17	32
Arkansas.....	27	19	46	12	8	20	401	401	802	22	7	29
Delaware.....	3	0	3	9	8	17	4	5	9	.....	.....	.....
Dist. of Columbia.	163	33	196	7	4	11	62	59	121	6	15	21
Florida.....	16	8	24	.....	.....	.....	87	83	170	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	76	89	165	22	55	77	260	421	681	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	1	3	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	2	5
Louisiana.....	32	7	39	64	87	151	205	225	430	2	13	15
Maryland.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	25	5	30	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	43	57	100	1	0	1	499	484	983	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	1	0	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	4	12
New Jersey.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.	160	49	209	88	75	163	533	687	1,220	39	30	69
Ohio.....	8	10	18	0	23	23	.....	.....	.....	29	12	41
Oklahoma.....	1	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	147	0	147	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	8	10
South Carolina.	118	76	194	3	0	3	639	656	1,295	127	97	224
Tennessee.....	90	84	174	0	2	2	148	227	375	9	6	15
Texas.....	136	89	225	64	59	123	226	317	543	41	23	64
Virginia.....	96	96	192	19	14	33	455	783	1,238	20	24	44
West Virginia.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50	46	96	10	5	15
Total.....	1,133	640	1,773	320	358	678	4,918	5,222	10,140	333	263	596

TABLE 9.—Number of colored normal students and graduates in secondary and higher schools, 1902-3.

State.	Students in normal course.			Graduates of high school course.			Graduates of normal course.			Graduates of collegiate course.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Alabama.....	302	531	833	48	18	66	27	38	65	9	2	11
Arkansas.....	54	89	143	2	2	4	5	7	141	10	5	15
Delaware.....	1	3	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia..	23	139	162	18	8	26	10	50	60	8	1	9
Florida.....	11	13	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	32	87	119	21	33	54	4	51	55	11	11	22
Kentucky.....	3	3	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	18	44	62	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	.....	.....	.....	25	40	65	6	14	20	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	91	130	221	5	0	5	1	9	10	.....	.....	.....
Missouri.....	147	159	306	19	30	49	2	9	11	10	0	10
New Jersey.....	0	4	4	16	6	22	9	2	11	2	0	2
North Carolina.....	182	311	493	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	0	0
Ohio.....	28	51	79	49	5	54	31	37	68	31	1	32
Oklahoma.....	13	22	35	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	7	46	53	2	8	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	215	238	453	30	21	51	74	80	154	1	3	4
Tennessee.....	159	273	432	17	8	25	14	39	53	26	7	33
Texas.....	246	415	661	71	43	114	81	48	129	12	2	14
Virginia.....	84	155	239	25	23	48	34	83	117	9	4	13
West Virginia.....	30	52	82	.....	.....	.....	11	18	29	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	1,646	2,765	4,411	348	245	593	322	500	951	130	37	167

TABLE 10.—Colored professional students and graduates in secondary and higher schools, 1902-3.

State.	Students in professional courses.			Professional students and graduates.											
				Theology.		Law.		Medicine.		Dentistry.		Pharmacy.		Nurse training.	
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.
Alabama.....	9	24	33	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	24	7
Arkansas.....	17	0	17	17	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delaware.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia..	392	23	415	71	12	83	20	150	27	48	7	33	17	30	13
Florida.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia.....	110	23	133	109	22	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	23	2
Kentucky.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	67	5	72	19	.....	.....	.....	43	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	7	3	10	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
Missouri.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	189	5	194	46	4	13	2	113	21	.....	.....	17	3	5	1
Ohio.....	15	1	16	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oklahoma.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	61	0	61	61	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	48	2	50	48	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Tennessee.....	349	30	379	27	.....	13	.....	339	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	116	15	131	116	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15	.....
Virginia.....	60	0	60	60	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	1,440	131	1,571	606	59	110	22	645	48	58	7	50	20	102	23

TABLE 11.—Industrial training of colored students in secondary and higher schools, 1902-3.

State.	Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.												
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
Alabama.....	1,796	1,778	3,574	488	308	107	36	14	73	82	29	59	1,350	556	985	
Arkansas.....	104	344	448	.....	40	.....	.....	.....	24	15	.....	26	343	109	.....
Delaware.....	20	16	36	4	20	6	1	.....	.....	4	.....	2	16	.....	.....
District of Columbia...	113	85	198	.....	54	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	54	61	.....	29
Florida.....	110	263	373	46	96	.....	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	263	78	.....
Georgia.....	725	2,357	3,082	57	230	8	2	19	49	34	19	86	2,091	364	569	
Kentucky.....	38	66	104	3	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	47	12	47
Louisiana.....	196	378	574	39	150	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	27	220	98	70
Maryland.....	138	251	389	85	7	.....	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	5	227	124	.....
Mississippi.....	687	850	1,537	240	244	17	46	.....	24	12	41	5	783	208	261
Missouri.....	14	200	214	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20	194	.....
New Jersey.....	23	71	94	6	23	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	44	19	2
North Carolina.....	549	1,016	1,565	31	132	72	1	4	23	12	8	22	65	722	251	524
Ohio.....
Oklahoma.....	83	128	211	.....	25	.....	.....	.....	13	25	.....	.....	128	.....	20
Pennsylvania.....	18	171	189	.....	18	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12	78	171	68
South Carolina.....	1,026	1,331	2,357	316	213	118	57	.....	13	43	15	66	1,183	221	302
Tennessee.....	251	665	916	29	94	.....	1	.....	12	16	.....	59	565	168	193
Texas.....	400	861	1,261	116	188	1	5	24	9	5	69	773	160	109
Virginia.....	918	1,464	2,382	1,055	196	18	18	24	9	20	45	21	1,303	568	10	
West Virginia.....	95	110	205	12	42	1	.....	.....	23	.....	.....	8	109	66	.....
Total.....	7,304	12,405	19,709	2,527	2,083	360	19	199	56	283	268	176	578	10,326	3,367	3,144

TABLE 12.—Financial summary of the 136 secondary and higher colored schools, 1902-3.

State.	Number of schools reporting.	Volumes.	Value.	Number of schools reporting.	Benefactions.	Number of schools reporting.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Number of schools reporting.	Amount of State or municipal aid.
Alabama	13	23,195	\$19,857	1	\$1,000	13	\$986,994	6	\$17,377
Arkansas	4	2,513	1,735	1	500	4	165,200	1	3,789
Delaware	1	500	500			1	27,000		
District of Columbia	2	42,604	100,800			1	1,000,000	1	42,100
Florida	4	1,900	1,900			4	79,000	1	4,000
Georgia	16	38,091	28,300	1	31,000	14	1,225,260	1	500
Kentucky	2	1,697	2,300			3	115,000	1	8,000
Louisiana	6	11,142	7,610	1	500	6	457,150		
Maryland	3	6,300	4,800	1	5,991	3	115,850	2	3,000
Mississippi	8	20,300	11,300	1	1,200	8	586,000	1	8,000
Missouri	1	300	300			1	55,000	1	16,175
New Jersey	1	400	400			1	2,000	1	6,000
North Carolina	15	33,909	26,670	1	10,000	15	738,950	7	18,505
Ohio	1	5,000	5,000			1	202,000	1	30,000
Oklahoma	1	700	500			1	33,994	1	21,000
Pennsylvania	2	20,500	9,000	1	271,000				
South Carolina	10	14,196	12,100	2	6,325	10	629,750	3	21,840
Tennessee	7	24,998	23,870	1	17,000	7	904,000	4	6,050
Texas	8	18,309	21,500	4	21,500	8	492,250	1	20,500
Virginia	10	28,395	22,487	2	80,461	10	1,555,675	1	20,000
West Virginia	2	7,500	7,000			2	165,200	2	28,500
Total	117	302,449	307,929	17	446,477	113	9,536,273	36	275,336

State.	Number of schools reporting.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Number of schools reporting.	Amount received from productive funds.	Number of schools reporting.	Amount received from sources unclassified.	Number of schools reporting.	Total income for the year 1902-3.
Alabama	10	\$12,899	5	\$23,573	10	\$220,975	12	\$274,824
Arkansas	4	4,500			4	13,422	4	21,711
Delaware					1	5,000	1	5,000
District of Columbia	1	16,206	1	9,904	1	7,479	1	75,689
Florida	2	1,519			2	14,500	3	20,019
Georgia	10	16,409	3	14,640	12	79,303	13	110,852
Kentucky	2	1,100	1	1,500	2	5,567	2	16,167
Louisiana	4	16,752	1	650	5	17,625	5	35,027
Maryland	2	2,641	2	563	2	2,700	3	8,904
Mississippi	4	12,700	2	900	5	56,568	5	78,168
Missouri	1	1,600			1	2,675	2	20,500
New Jersey	1	333	0		0		1	6,333
North Carolina	8	20,018	4	9,263	8	71,215	13	119,001
Ohio	1	4,000	1	1,400	1	6,000	1	41,400
Oklahoma					1	2,719	1	23,719
Pennsylvania	1	1,156	1	21,386	1	12,090	1	34,632
South Carolina	9	11,626	4	9,883	7	45,801	10	89,150
Tennessee	7	30,030	1	3,000	6	29,694	7	68,774
Texas	6	14,430	2	3,078	7	43,495	8	81,503
Virginia	9	10,384	5	55,344	11	171,497	12	257,225
West Virginia	2	436	1	1,132	2	5,719	2	35,787
Total	84	178,739	34	156,216	89	814,044	107	1,424,335

TABLE 13.—Public high schools for negroes—Teachers,

Location.	Name of school.	Teachers.		Pupils enrolled.						Students.			
		Male.	Female.	Total.		Elementary grades.		Secondary grades.		Classical course.		Scientific course.	
				Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
ALABAMA.													
1	Birmingham	2	1	30	49			30	49				
2	Mobile	3	8	28	65			28	65				
3	Tuscumbia	1	2		13				13				
ARKANSAS.													
4	Fort Smith	3	5	20	25			20	25				
5	Helena	1	1	6	12								
6	Hot Springs	1	5	3	14			3	14				
7	Little Rock	1	3	28	105			28	105				
8	Pine Bluff	3	4	15	30			15	30	3	8		
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.													
9	Washington	16	9	98	144			98	144				
10	do	14	10	120	451			120	451	109	379		
FLORIDA.													
11	Fernandina	1			11								
12	Gainesville	3	11	39	63	30	42	9	21			3	5
13	Jacksonville		3	6	30			6	30				
GEORGIA.													
14	Athens	1		2	25					2	25		
15	Madison	1	2	10	9			10	9				
16	Rome	2	2	52	73			52	73	52	73		
17	Sandersville	1		3	9			3	9				
ILLINOIS.													
18	Cairo	1	2	15	58			15	58				
19	East St. Louis	1	2	6	19			6	19			5	17
INDIANA.													
20	Evansville	3	1	14	54			14	54	9	41		
21	Jeffersonville	1		6	21			6	21				
22	Madison	2		5	14			5	14			5	14
23	Mount Vernon	1		4	11			4	11	4	11	4	11
24	New Albany	1	1	44	61	26	38	18	23			12	18
25	Vincennes	2	3	46	66	30	40	16	26				
KENTUCKY.													
26	Covington	1	2	12	31			12	31			12	31
27	Lexington	3		22	53			22	53				
28	Louisville	9	1	75	232			75	232				
29	Owensboro	2	1	15	40			15	40			15	40
30	Paducah	2		11	24			11	24	11	24		
31	Paris	1	1	2	33	1	22	1	11				
LOUISIANA.													
32	New Orleans	3	2	41	52			41	52				
MARYLAND.													
33	Baltimore	9	9	107	197			107	197	56	76		

* Statistics of 1901-2.

TABLE 13.—Public high schools for negroes—Teachers,

Location.	Name of school.	Teachers.		Pupils enrolled.						Students.				
		Male.	Female.	Total.		Elementary grades.		Secondary grades.		Classical course.		Scientific course.		
				Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
MISSISSIPPI.														
34	Columbus	Union High School.....	1	1	28	47			28	47				
35	Greenville.....	High School.....	2	2	16				2	16				
36	Jackson	Smith Robertson School.....	1	1	4	8			4	8				
37	Meridian	High School.....	1	1	38	76			38	76				
38	Port Gibson.....	High School No. 1.....	1		5	26			5	26				
39	Sardis	High School.....	1		3	9			3	9			3	9
40	Vicksburg	Cherry Street College.....	2	4	60	240			60	240				
MISSOURI.														
41	Boonville.....	Sumner High School.....	1	1	7	29			7	29	2	5		
42	Brunswick	B. K. Bruce High School.....	1		10	10			10	10			10	10
43	Carrollton	Lincoln High School.....	1		6	18			6	18				
44	Chillicothe	Garrison High School.....	1	1	4	16			4	16			4	16
45	Fulton.....	High School.....	1		6	14			6	14				
46	Glasgow.....	Evans High School*.....	2		27	22			27	22				
47	Hannibal.....	Douglass High School.....	2	2	15	28			15	28	2	20	4	13
48	Harrisonville.....	Prince Wepple School*.....	1	1	6	4			6	4				
49	Kansas City.....	Lincoln High School.....	4	3	49	127			49	127			49	127
50	Louisiana	Lincoln High School.....	1		12	18			12	18			2	6
51	Macon.....	Dumas High School.....	1	1	10	15			10	15			5	8
52	Marshall	Lincoln High School.....	1		5	12			5	12				
53	Mexico.....	Garfield High School.....	1		10	15			10	15			10	15
54	Moberly.....	Lincoln High School.....	2		10	15			10	15				
55	Richmond.....	Lincoln High School.....	1		5	10			5	10			1	5
56	St. Joseph.....	High School.....	1	6	20	58			20	58	15	30	3	20
57	St. Louis.....	Sumner High School.....	8	4	78	248			78	248			78	210
58	Sedalia.....	Lincoln High School.....	1		10	15			10	15			3	5
59	Springfield.....	Lincoln High School.....	1	1	20	21			20	21				
NORTH CAROLINA.														
60	Durham.....	Whitted High School.....	1	3	16	49			16	49				
OHIO.														
61	Gallipolis.....	Lincoln High School.....	2		10	18			10	18	10	18		
62	Xenia.....	East Main Street High School.*	2	2	19	34			19	34	7	21	7	21
OKLAHOMA.														
63	Guthrie.....	Lincoln High School*.....	2		6	25			6	25	6	25		
64	Kingfisher.....	High School.....	1	1	3	5			3	5	3	5		
65	Oklahoma City.....	Douglas High School.....	2	1	11	13			11	13				
PENNSYLVANIA.														
66	Carlisle.....	Lincoln High School*.....	1		8	9			8	9	2			
SOUTH CAROLINA.														
67	Central.....	Olive Grove School.....	1	1	30	36	18	22	12	14				
68	Columbia.....	Howard High School.....	2		8	49			8	49			8	49
69	Darlington	Mayo School.....	1	1	9	10			9	10	5	4		
70	Easley.....	Graded School.....	1		29	40	27	37	2	3	3	5	2	3
71	Spartanburg.....	High School.....	1		6	12			6	12	6	12		
72	Yorkville.....	Graded School.....	1		5	5			5	5			1	1
TENNESSEE.														
73	Brownsville.....	Dunbar High School.....	1		11	24			11	24				
74	Clarksville.....	High School.....	1	1	5	25			5	25				
75	Columbia.....	do.....	2	1	5	15			5	15				
76	Dickson.....	Wayman Academy.....	1		7	3			7	3				
77	Jackson.....	High School.....	1		5	9			5	9				

* Statistics of 1901-2.

students, courses of study, etc., 1902-3—Continued.

Students.						Graduates.	Pupils receiving manual training.		Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of State, United States, or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1902-3.	
English course.	Business course.		Normal course.		Male.		Female.	Male.								Female.
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
28	47					4	6				\$10,000	\$1,390				\$1,390
2	16					2	5			32						34
							5			125						35
						4	7			600	9,500	3,750	\$200			36
		12	36								3,000					37
											1,000	200				38
60	240					1	17			50	6,000					39
																40
5	24						1			400	5,000					41
						4	1			85	2,500					42
6	12						12	91	88	80	1,500					43
							33			500	7,000					44
6	14						4			138	3,500					45
							3	2		207	2,200					46
1	9						33	200	225	500	1,500					47
6	4						4	10	11	360	2,500					48
						2	14									49
10	12						1			500						50
5	8						1	2		67	4,800					51
5	12						1			50						52
10	15						3	4	10	300	10,000					53
							1			175						54
										60						55
2	8	5	17				3	9		150	18,000					56
					38		4	46	78	210	250	150,000				57
							3	5			50	800				58
3	6						4	9			60	15,000				59
16	49			1	9	1	9		38	630	8,000					60
							2	2		200	7,000					61
							3	7		500	5,000					62
							2			75						63
							1			50	1,500					64
							1	7		150						65
6	9							3		25						66
14	18	6	4	10	12				6	10						67
							5	7		150						68
4	6						1	4		1,000	2,000					69
7	9							4	2	3	300					70
6	12						2	4								71
5	5			5	5						1,000					72
11	24									50	3,500					73
							1	1		160	13,000					74
5	15									200	5,500					75
										60	2,500					76
										775	15,000					77

TABLE 13.—Public high schools for negroes—Teachers,

Location.	Name of school.	Teachers.		Pupils enrolled.						Students.				
		Male.	Female.	Total.		Elementary grades.		Secondary grades.		Classical course.		Scientific course.		
				Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
TENNESSEE—COL.														
78	Knoxville.....	Austin High School.....	2	1	14	33	.....	.....	14	33	.....	.....	8	14
79	McMinnville.....	High School*.....	1	.....	40	46	25	31	15	15	.....	.....	15	15
80	Memphis.....	Kartrecht High School.....	2	2	30	90	.....	.....	30	90	.....	.....	30	90
81	Murfreesboro.....	Bradley Academy.....	2	1	12	32	.....	.....	12	32	2	4	2	4
82	Nashville.....	Pearl High School.....	3	2	65	130	.....	.....	65	130	.....	.....	.....	.....
83	Rockwood.....	High School*.....	1	.....	4	8	.....	.....	4	8	.....	.....	4	8
TEXAS.														
84	Austin.....	Robertson Hill High School.*	1	.....	47	70	45	65	2	5	2	5	.....	.....
85	Bastrop.....	Emile High School*.....	1	.....	7	9	.....	.....	7	9	7	9	.....	.....
86	Beaumont.....	Central High School*.....	2	3	96	160	96	145	4	5	.....	.....	.....	.....
87	Bryan.....	High School.....	1	.....	6	18	.....	.....	6	18	.....	.....	.....	.....
88	Calvert.....	do.....	1	.....	4	16	.....	.....	4	16	1	3	3	13
89	Clarks ville.....	do.....	1	.....	26	37	19	28	1	9	.....	.....	.....	.....
90	Corsicana.....	do.....	1	1	6	10	.....	.....	6	10	.....	.....	.....	.....
91	Crockett.....	do.....	1	3	1	17	.....	.....	1	17	.....	.....	.....	.....
92	Cuero.....	do.....	2	.....	15	30	.....	.....	15	30	.....	.....	.....	.....
93	Dallas.....	do.*.....	1	1	9	57	.....	.....	9	57	9	57	.....	.....
94	El Paso.....	Douglass High School.....	1	3	9	15	.....	.....	9	15	.....	.....	.....	.....
95	Fort Worth.....	East Ninth Street School.....	2	1	12	31	.....	.....	12	31	12	31	.....	.....
96	Galveston.....	Central High School.....	2	1	15	26	.....	.....	15	26	.....	.....	15	26
97	Gonzales.....	High School.....	1	3	8	22	.....	.....	8	22	8	22	.....	.....
98	Hempstead.....	do.....	1	.....	10	15	.....	.....	10	15	.....	.....	.....	.....
99	Houston.....	do.....	4	1	37	108	.....	.....	37	108	.....	.....	11	72
100	Lagrange.....	do.....	1	1	10	15	.....	.....	10	15	.....	.....	.....	.....
101	Livingston.....	North End High School.....	1	.....	8	7	.....	.....	8	7	8	7	8	7
102	Mexia.....	High School.....	1	2	60	95	55	95	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
103	Navasota.....	do.....	1	.....	10	20	.....	.....	10	20	.....	.....	10	20
104	Palestine.....	Lincoln High School*.....	1	.....	10	10	.....	.....	10	10	.....	.....	10	10
105	Paris.....	Providence Street High School.....	3	1	20	36	.....	.....	20	36	8	23	.....	.....
106	San Antonio.....	Douglass High School.....	1	1	8	14	.....	.....	8	14	.....	.....	8	14
107	Sherman.....	Fred Douglass High School.....	1	.....	1	6	.....	.....	1	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
108	Terrell.....	High School.....	1	.....	9	15	.....	.....	9	15	.....	.....	9	15
109	Tyler.....	do.....	1	.....	10	13	.....	.....	10	13	10	13	.....	.....
110	Victoria.....	do.....	1	1	4	11	.....	.....	4	11	4	11	.....	.....
111	Waco.....	do.....	2	2	25	51	.....	.....	25	51	.....	.....	25	51
112	Waxahachie.....	do.....	1	.....	6	6	.....	.....	6	6	6	6	.....	.....
VIRGINIA.														
113	Danville.....	High School.....	1	1	23	54	16	30	7	24	9	20	.....	.....
114	Lynchburg.....	do.....	1	3	39	105	23	67	16	38	.....	.....	16	38
115	Manchester.....	do.*.....	2	.....	9	25	.....	.....	9	25	.....	.....	.....	.....
116	Petersburg.....	Peabody High School.....	1	1	17	38	.....	.....	17	38	.....	.....	17	38
117	Richmond.....	High and Normal School.....	.....	9	62	236	.....	.....	62	236	.....	.....	.....	.....
118	Staunton.....	High School.....	1	.....	1	12	.....	.....	1	12	.....	.....	1	7
119	Winchester.....	do.....	1	.....	2	8	.....	.....	2	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
WEST VIRGINIA.														
120	Clarksburg.....	Water Street High School.....	1	.....	11	16	.....	.....	11	16	.....	.....	.....	.....
121	Huntington.....	Douglass High School.....	2	.....	8	14	.....	.....	8	14	.....	.....	.....	.....
122	Parkersburg.....	Sumner High School.....	1	.....	8	16	.....	.....	8	16	.....	.....	.....	.....
123	Point Pleasant.....	High School.....	1	.....	34	41	32	36	2	5	.....	.....	.....	.....

*Statistics of 1901-2.

students, courses of study, etc., 1902-3—Continued.

Students.						Graduates.	Pupils receiving manual training.		Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of State, United States, or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1902-3.	
English course.	Business course.		Normal course.		Male.		Female.	Male.								Female.
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
6	9					1	11				\$750		\$20			\$670
							1			250						
1	2					2	7									
						2	8				2,400					
2	4	2	2	2	2	6	29			54	15,000					
											2,500	\$1,100				1,100
2	5					1	2			50						
7	9					1	2				8,000	1,300	\$50			1,350
						1	2									
						1	3			100	5,000					
						1	2			300	2,000					
26	37										2,000	1,470				1,470
											12,000					
1	17			4	4					25	3,000					
15	30											2,000				2,000
						1	13				35,000		35			
											12,900					
						2	5			300						
						1	1			400	1,500					
										75	2,500	1,500	75			1,575
										100						
						4	5			210	29,500					
										100	2,000					
						8	7			325	500	800				
										15	1,500	900	34			934
						1	2			30	3,000					
										2	4,316					
						4				512	8,000					
										167	30,000					
1	6						2			300	1,500					
										120	3,000	1,070	72			1,142
											2,500					
										200	1,000					
						2	7			250	5,600					
										125	3,000	1,200				
7	24					3	12									
16	38						8	5		416						
						3										
17	38					4	8									
62	236			3	32	3	33			300						
1	12						3			236	15,000					
2	8					2	5									
2	3						1			352	20,000	1,500				1,500
8	16					1	3			500	1,000					
										150	6,000					
											3,000					

TABLE 14.—Secondary and higher schools for negroes—

Location.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					Pupils enrolled.		
			White.		Colored.		Total.	Male.	Female.	
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
ALABAMA.										
	Athens	Trinity Normal School ^a								
1	Calhoun	Calhoun Colored School.....	Nonsect	2	11	5	5	23	147	226
2	Huntsville	Central Alabama Academy	M. E.			1	3	4	50	65
3	Irma	Kowaliga Academic and Industrial Institute.*	Nonsect			4	3	7	79	125
4	Marion	Lincoln Normal School	Cong		7		3	10	114	225
5	Mobile	Emerson Normal Institute*.....	Cong	1	5	0	1	7	110	156
6	Montgomery	State Normal School for Colored Students.*	Nonsect	2	3	5	16	26	424	647
7	Normal	Agricultural and Mechanical College.	Nonsect	0	0	20	23	43	222	246
8	Selma	Alabama Baptist Colored University.*	Bapt.....			4	9	13	125	286
9	Snow Hill	Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute.	Nonsect			16	9	25	180	220
10	Talladega	Talladega College	Cong	7	17	1	2	27	225	309
	Troy	Troy Industrial Academy ^a								
11	Tuscaloosa	Oak City Academy*.....	Bapt.....				1	1	40	50
12	do	Stillman Institute	Presb.	2		3		5	50	0
13	Tuskegee	Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.	Nonsect	0	0	59	32	91	1015	482
14	Waugh	Mount Meigs Colored Institute.	Nonsect	0	0	2	4	6	102	198
ARKANSAS.										
15	Arkadelphia	Arkadelphia Baptist Academy.	Bapt.....			1	1	2	40	35
16	Little Rock	Arkansas Baptist College*.....	Bapt.....	3		3	8	14	200	170
17	do	Philander Smith College	M. E.		5	5	6	16	246	275
18	do	Shorter University	Af. Meth.			4	5	9	72	115
19	Pine Bluff	Branch Normal College	Nonsect	2	0	3	3	8	94	86
	Southland	Southland College ^a								
DELAWARE.										
20	Dover	State College for Colored Students.	Nonsect			5	1	6	28	26
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.										
21	Washington	Howard University	Nonsect	49	4	26	11	90	646	276
	do	National Kindergarten Training School. ^a								
22	do	Washington Normal School No. 2.	Nonsect	0	0	1	8	9	13	62
FLORIDA.										
23	Jacksonville	Cookman Institute	M. E.	0	1	2	3	6	105	89
24	do	Florida Baptist Academy	Bapt.....			5	7	12	98	131
	Live Oak	Florida Institute ^a								
	Martin	Fessenden Academy ^a								
25	Ocala	Emerson Memorial Home	M. E.		3			3	0	60
26	Orange Park	Normal and Manual Training School.	Cong	2	7			9	56	61
27	Tallahassee	Florida State Normal and Industrial College.	Nonsect	0	0	10	9	19	92	131
GEORGIA.										
28	Athens	Jeruel Academy	Bapt.....			2	4	6	114	191
29	do	Knox Institute and Industrial School.	Cong			2	4	6	129	188
30	Atlanta	Atlanta Baptist College	Bapt.....	2	3	5	2	12	175	0
31	do	Atlanta University	Nonsect	5	8	2	1	16	97	183
32	do	Morris Brown College	A. M. E.			8	10	18	206	239
33	do	Spelman Seminary	Bapt.....	0	39	0	5	44	0	635
34	do	Storrs School	Cong	0	7	0	1	8	117	157
35	Augusta	Haines Normal and Industrial Institute.	Presb			4	12	16	180	400

* Statistics of 1901-2.

^a No report.

TABLE 14.—Secondary and higher schools for negroes—

Location.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					Pupils enrolled.		
			White.		Colored.		Total.			
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
GEORGIA—cont'd.										
36	Augusta	Paine College	M. E. S	3	1	3	4	11	103	145
	do	Walker Baptist Institute ^a .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
37	College	Georgia State Industrial College.*	Nonsect .....	.....	.....	13	1	14	328	81
38	Fort Valley	Fort Valley High and Industrial School.*	Nonsect	4	6	4	6	20	114	136
39	Lagrange	Lagrange Baptist Academy	Bapt. ....	.....	.....	1	2	3	76	89
40	McIntosh	Dorchester Academy	Cong	1	11	1	0	13	165	231
41	Macon	Ballard Normal School	Cong	1	7	0	4	12	175	430
42	do	Central City College	Bapt. ....	.....	.....	6	11	17	153	251
43	Savannah	Beach Institute	Cong	1	5	.....	1	7	91	179
44	South Atlanta	Clark University	M. E.	4	7	6	6	23	263	340
45	do	Gammon Theological Seminary	M. E.	3	.....	1	.....	4	48	0
46	Thomasville	Allen Normal and Industrial School	Cong	0	8	0	0	8	54	151
KENTUCKY.										
47	Cane Springs	Eckstein Norton University*	Nonsect .....	.....	.....	4	6	10	36	47
48	Frankfort	Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored Persons.	Nonsect .....	.....	.....	7	3	10	89	110
49	Lebanon	St. Augustine's Colored School	R. C .....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	28	19
	Louisville	Louisville Christian Bible School. ^a .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
50	do	State University*	Bapt. ....	.....	.....	8	3	11	140	52
LOUISIANA.										
51	Alexandria	Alexandria Academy	M. E. ....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	52	69
52	do	Central Louisiana Academy	Bapt. ....	.....	.....	1	2	3	93	97
53	Baldwin	Gilbert Academy and Industrial College.	Meth .....	.....	.....	10	6	16	108	109
	New Iberia	Mount Carmel Academy ^a .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
54	New Orleans	Leland University	Bapt.	7	6	14	16	43	712	959
55	do	New Orleans University	M. E. ....	.....	.....	20	8	28	87	34
56	do	Straight University	Cong	5	20	1	2	28	253	500
MARYLAND.										
57	Baltimore	Baltimore Normal School	Nonsect .....	.....	.....	2	1	3	29	56
58	do	Morgan College	M. E.	4	2	13	5	24	166	120
59	do	St. Francis Academy	R. C .....	.....	.....	.....	15	15	0	68
60	Laurel	Maryland Industrial and Agricultural Institute.	Nonsect .....	.....	.....	3	2	5	25	5
61	Melvale	Industrial Home for Colored Girls.	Nonsect .....	.....	4	.....	.....	4	0	104
	Princess Anne	Princess Anne Academy ^a .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
MISSISSIPPI.										
62	Clinton	Mount Hermon Female Seminary.	Nonsect .....	.....	6	.....	1	7	0	97
63	Edwards	Southern Christian Institute	Christian	2	6	2	1	11	70	60
64	Holly Springs	Rust University	M. E.	3	5	3	2	13	135	199
65	Jackson	Jackson College	Bapt.	3	4	1	1	9	29	78
66	Meridian	Lincoln School	Cong .....	.....	8	.....	3	11	120	180
	do	Meridian Academy ^a .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Natchez	Natchez College ^a .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
67	Tougaloo	Tougaloo University	Cong	6	17	.....	.....	23	230	272
68	Westpoint	Mary Holmes Seminary	Presb. North	0	11	0	2	13	0	220
69	Westside	Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College.	Nonsect	0	0	15	0	15	43	95
MISSOURI.										
70	Jefferson City	Lincoln Institute	Nonsect .....	.....	.....	10	7	17	192	194
71	Sedalia	George R. Smith College	M. E.	1	4	5	3	13	70	74

*Statistics of 1901-2.

^aNo report.

Teachers, students, courses of study, etc., 1902-3—Continued.

Pupils enrolled.						Students.										Graduates.						
Elementary grades.		Secondary grades.		Collegiate grades.		Classical course.		Scientific courses.		English course.		Normal course.		Business course.		High school course.		Normal course.		Collegiate course.		
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
	32	55	61	87	10	3																36
	100	41	200	30	28	10																37
	104	114	10	22	0	0	0	0	0	114	136	10	22	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	38
			76	89																		39
	143	214	22	17						22	17	12	9									40
	155	375	20	55	0	0	16	48		2	2											41
	56	49	96	201	1	1	1	1				1	2									42
	83	134	8	45	0	0			5	45												43
	176	227	70	94	17	19																44
			48	0																		45
	53	136	1	15								1	15									46
	23	31	11	14	2	2	1	3				3	3	3	2				3	1		47
	47	58	42	52															9	6		48
			28	19																		49
			100	25	40	27																50
	25	27	27	42						52	69	3	10									51
	78	79	15	18						8	10											52
	76	74	25	25	7	10	0	0	0	101	99	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	12	0	0	53
	610	870	87	85	15	4	19	7	37	61	41	25	14	15								54
			21	11	66	23	13	0														55
	148	200	102	300	3	0			27	26	3	22	0	4	2	13	2	3	0	4		56
	22	40	7	16																		57
			164	119	2	1																58
	0	27	0	41																		59
	25	5									25	5										60
	0	104																				61
	0	52	0	45									0	45								62
	55	44	12	14	3	2	5	5	1	0			5	7								63
	62	127	65	70	8	2	5	5	1	0	60	90	60	40								64
	12	69	17	9			6	5			23	73										65
	60	50	60	130			20	40														66
	192	235	34	35	4	2	12	7														67
	0	154	0	66	0	0					26	30	26	30								68
	390	89	49	6							390	89										69
	57	57	134	137	1	0	1	0					134	137								70
	10	16	54	57	6	1							13	22	8	4	8	0	6	0	2	71

TABLE 14.—Secondary and higher schools for negroes—

Location.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					Pupils enrolled.		
			White.		Colored.		Total.	Total.		
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
NEW JERSEY.										
72	Bordentown.....	Manual Training and Industrial School.*	Nonsect	2	1	3	6	12	55	70
NORTH CAROLINA.										
73	Beaufort.....	Washburn Seminary.....	Nonsect	1	4	1	6	70	77	
74	Charlotte.....	Biddle University.....	Presb			14	14	210	0	
75	Concord.....	Scotia Seminary.....	Presb	1	11		5	17	291	
76	Elizabeth City....	Elizabeth City State Normal School.	Nonsect			2	3	5	68	152
77	Fayetteville.....	State Colored Normal School..	Nonsect			3	2	5	46	79
78	Franklinton.....	Albion Academy, State Normal School.	Nonsect			5	5	10	145	173
79	do.....	Franklinton Christian College*	Christian	1	3	3		7	61	56
80	Goldsboro.....	State Colored Normal School ^a	M. E.		3	4	3	10	118	139
81	Greensboro.....	Bennett College*.....	Nonsect	2		12		14	167	0
	High Point.....	Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race. High Point Normal and Industrial School. ^a								
82	Kings Mountain..	Lincoln Academy.....	Cong	0	8	0	0	8	106	179
83	Liberty.....	Liberty Normal College.....	Nonsect	2	3			5	105	95
	Lumberton.....	Whitin Normal Institute ^a								
84	Peedee.....	Barrett Collegiate and Industrial Institute.	Nonsect	0	0	3	5	8	68	110
85	Plymouth.....	Plymouth State Normal School*	Nonsect	2	1	2	1	6	35	171
86	Raleigh.....	St. Augustine's School.....	P. E.	1	5	5	8	19	165	185
87	do.....	Shaw University.....	Bapt.	11	8	8	6	33	288	202
88	Salisbury.....	Livingstone College*.....	A. M. E. Z.			12	6	18	123	162
89	do.....	State Normal School.....	Nonsect			3	1	4	89	109
90	Wilmington.....	Gregory Normal Institute.....	Nonsect		10	0	0	10	125	225
	Windsor.....	Berlie Academy ^a								
	Winston.....	The Slater Industrial and State Normal School. ^a								
91	Winton.....	Waters Normal Institute.....	Bapt.			2	5	7	114	158
OHIO.										
92	Wilberforce.....	Wilberforce University*.....	A. M. E.			17	6	23	155	232
OKLAHOMA.										
93	Langston.....	Colored Agricultural and Normal University.*				7	2	9	83	128
PENNSYLVANIA.										
94	Lincoln University.	Lincoln University*.....	Presb	11	0		0	11	268	0
95	Philadelphia.....	Institute for Colored Youth*..	Friends	0	0	3	6	9	98	188
SOUTH CAROLINA.										
96	Aiken.....	Schofield Normal and Industrial Institute.	Nonsect	1	4	6	5	16	139	188
	Beaufort.....	Harbison Institute ^a								
	Camden.....	Browning Home School ^a								
97	Charleston.....	Avery Normal Institute.....	Cong	1	5	0	2	8	111	215
98	do.....	Wallingford Academy*.....	Presb			1	3	4	57	83
99	Chester.....	Brainerd Institute.....	Presb	1	5	1	1	8	76	118
100	Columbia.....	Allen University.....	A. M. E.			9	5	14	176	213
101	do.....	Benedict College.....	Bapt.	3	9	6	3	21	168	264
102	Frogmore.....	Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School.	Nonsect	0	2	4	8	14	178	102
103	Greenwood.....	Brewer Normal School.....	Cong	1	8	0	0	9	96	162
104	Lancaster.....	Lancaster Normal and Industrial Institute.	A. M. E. Z.			2	4	6	151	189

*Statistics of 1901-2.

^aNo report.

Teachers, students, courses of study, etc., 1902-3—Continued.

Pupils enrolled.						Students.										Graduates.							
Elementary grades.		Secondary grades.		Collegiate grades.		Classical course.		Scientific courses.		English course.		Normal course.		Business course.		High school course.		Normal course.		Collegiate course.			
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32		
18	17	37	53	0	0			0	0			0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	72	
65	61	5	16							70	77					3	2			16	0	73	
23	0	77	0	110	0	101	0	9	0	77	0					41	0					74	
0	255	0	36			0	0	0	14	0	277	0	14					0	4			75	
		68	152																			76	
		46	79																			77	
80	88	65	85															11	4			78	
48	38	13	18							5	6					1	0					79	
69	114	45	25	4	0	4	0			118	139	30	35	4	5			4	5	1	0	80	
				167	0					153	0									11	0	81	
102	169	4	10																			82	
30	20	30	35	45	40			20	10	10	12	12	13	5	0							83	
23	37	40	68	5	5	18	20	15	19	25	40	20	30	30	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	84	
14	83	21	88									21	88					4	1			85	
134	144	31	41									19	25			3	0	1	5			86	
0	0	75	136	213	66	21	13	44	32	75	136	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	87
		67	97	28	8	20	16					67	97									88	
		89	109															11	18			89	
115	177	10	48																			90	
		114	158					13	19	101	139	13	19			1	3					91	
		48	69	107	163	8	10	0	23			28	51	29	12							92	
67	101	16	27			1	1					13	22									93	
				208	0	147	0															94	
74	106	24	82									7	46	2	8	2	8					95	
134	186	5	2																			96	
55	100	56	115	0	0	12	30	0	0	34	95	0	20	25	24	4	4	0	20	0	0	97	
42	56	15	27							15	27	15	27									98	
69	112	7	6			5	1			2	6					1	1	2	1			99	
		168	209	8	4	8	4							15	19							100	
40	121	116	139	12	4	20	6			60	64	56	75			4	0	2	10	1	1	101	
116	66	62	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	62	36	30	12	0	0	0	0	6	3	0	0	102	
89	155	7	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7	0	0	103	
126	169	25	20					3	0	151	189	25	20					2	0			104	

TABLE 14.—Secondary and higher schools for negroes—

Location.	Name of School.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.					Pupils enrolled.		
			White.		Colored.		Total.	Male.	Female.	
			Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
SOUTH CAROLINA—continued.										
105	Orangeburg	Clafin University	Meth	5	8	12	13	38	300	310
106	do	Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural, and Mechanical College.*	Nonsect			13	8	21	360	264
TENNESSEE.										
	Jackson	Lane College <i>a</i>								
107	Jonesboro	Warner Institute*	Cong			1	2	3	51	69
108	Knoxville	Knoxville College	U. Presb.	8	10	2	3	23	189	218
109	Memphis	Le Moyne Normal Institute* ..	Cong	1	9	2	6	18	250	375
110	Morristown	Morristown Normal and Industrial College.	M. E.	6	9	3	3	21	143	228
111	Nashville	Fisk University	Cong	8	21	1		30	203	243
112	do	Roger Williams University	Bapt.	3	7	2	1	13	128	90
113	do	Walden University	M. E.			41	16	57	492	263
TEXAS.										
114	Austin	Samuel Huston College	M. E.			9	11	20	112	140
115	do	Tillotson College	Cong	3	10	1	1	15	64	96
116	Crockett	Mary Allen Seminary	Presb.	1	13		1	15	0	226
117	Hearne	Hearne Academy, Normal and Industrial Institute.	Bapt.			2	4	6	30	46
118	Marshall	Bishop College	Bapt.	4	9	6	4	23	210	231
119	do	Wiley University*	M. E.		2	6	8	16	242	260
120	Prairieview	Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College.	Nonsect	0	0	12	5	17	153	145
121	Seguin	Guadalupe College	Bapt.			9	7	16	125	187
122	Waco	Paul Quinn College*	A. M. E.			7	8	15	130	94
VIRGINIA.										
123	Alexandria	William McKinley Normal and Industrial School.	Nonsect			3	3	6	25	20
124	Burkeville	Ingleside Seminary <i>a</i>								
124	Cappahosic	Gloucester Agricultural and Industrial School.*	Nonsect	0	0	3	6	9	52	78
125	Claremont	Temperance, Industrial, and Collegiate Institute.	Nonsect			2	5	7	49	72
126	Hampton	Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.	Nonsect	26	55	11	11	103	550	534
	do	Spiller Academy <i>a</i>								
	Lawrenceville	St. Paul Normal and Industrial School. <i>a</i>								
127	Lynchburg	Virginia Collegiate and Industrial Institute.	M. E.	0	0	2	3	5	30	40
128	Manassas	Manassas Industrial School	Nonsect			4	5	9	35	59
129	Norfolk	Norfolk Mission College*	U. Presb.	4	7	1	4	16	228	431
130	Petersburg	Bishop Payne Divinity School ..	P. E.	2	0	1	0	3	18	0
131	do	Virginia Normal and Industrial School.	Nonsect			7	7	14	108	248
132	Richmond	Hartshorn Memorial College	Bapt.	1	7		3	11	0	135
133	do	Virginia Normal Institute	do	6	3	6	1	16	225	0
134	Suffolk	St. Paul's Universalist Mission School.*	Universalist ..			1	2	3	120	150
WEST VIRGINIA.										
135	Harpers Ferry	Storer College	Free Bapt ..	2	3	1	3	9	42	70
136	Institute	West Virginia Colored Institute.	Nonsect			11	5	16	70	80

* Statistics of 1901-2.

a No report.

Teachers, students, courses of study, etc., 1902-3—Continued.

Pupils enrolled.						Students.										Graduates.						
Elementary grades.		Secondary grades.		Collegiate grades.		Classical course.		Scientific courses.		English course.		Normal course.		Business course.		High school course.		Normal course.		Collegiate course.		
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
225	239	63	69	12	2	28	10					47	61			21	16	10	14	0	2	105
205	163	110	76	45	25	45	25			315	239	42	23	87	54			45	25			106
37	38	14	31	0	0	0	0	1	51	68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	107
116	150	58	59	15	9	14	8					48	51					4	6			108
170	275	80	100	0	0							80	100			0	0	3	9	0	0	109
118	143	25	85						97	159	25	85	9	6				4	5			110
82	99	54	118	67	26											12	4	0	12	14	7	111
52	43	47	44	29	3	29	2	0	1	0	0	6	25	0	0	5	4	3	7	12	0	112
		76	115	416	148	47	74					0	12									113
98	120	14	20							85	124	3	8	8	12							114
30	54	34	42	0	0	1	0	14	9							0	0	6	1	0	0	115
0	126	0	100									0	100					0	6			116
12	17	18	29					16	23	13	24			3	0							117
104	158	97	72	9	1	63	24			7	2	27	56			6	3	2	2	1	0	118
168	224	40	20	34	16	26	18			32	20	6	26	18	5	8	1	0	1	1	0	119
0	0	147	143	6	2	6	2	0	0	0	0	147	143	0	0	0	0	26	10	2	1	120
35	62	59	85	31	40	40	45	18	13	67	129	63	74	12	6	57	39	47	28	5	0	121
20	19	63	60	47	15		16	14	14	22	18	0	8						3	1		122
25	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	123
41	59	11	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	52	78	0	0	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	124
39	25	8	39	2	8	4	21	2	14	21	32	17	31	12	18	3	14	3	12	2	4	125
374	446	176	88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	31	5	0	0	0	23	27	0	0	126
19	8	11	32	0	0											0	0	0	3			127
35	59									35	59							3	3			128
206	359	22	72			22	72			206	359	6	20			5	4					129
5	0	13	0			5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	130
66	104	42	144	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	215	8	33	0	0	0	0	7	31	0	0	131
0	80	0	47	0	8											0	1	0	9	0	0	132
57	0	96	0	72	0	60	0	17	0	21	0					14	0			7	0	133
100	110	20	40			5	3			20	40	20	40			0	1	1	1			134
20	30	22	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	40	0	0	0	0	3	6	0	0	135
20	34	50	46							50	46	8	12	10	5			8	12			136

TABLE 15.—Secondary and higher schools for negroes—Professional

	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.										
							Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
ALABAMA.																	
1	Trinity Normal School ^a				122	184	306	286									
	Calhoun Colored School																
2	Central Alabama Academy																
3	Kowaliga Academic and Industrial Institute.*	0	0	0	20	35	55		35								
4	Lincoln Normal School				100	180	280										
5	Emerson Normal Institute*	0	0	0	10	70	80										
6	State Normal School for Colored Students.*	0	0	0	87	329	416		30								
7	Agricultural and Mechanical College	0	24	24	222	246	468		25		15		30	10	29	25	
8	Alabama Baptist Colored University.*																
9	Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute				35	32	67	4	9	2	2		3			2	
10	Tallahadega College				75	162	237	40	75				11			5	
	Troy Industrial Academy ^a																
11	Oak City Academy*																
12	Stillman Institute	9	0	9	50	0	50	50	40								
13	Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute	0	0	0	1015	492	1,507		94	105	19	14	29	72		27	
14	Mount Meigs Colored Institute	0	0	0	60	48	108	108									
ARKANSAS.																	
15	Arkadelphia Baptist Academy	4	0	4													
16	Arkansas Baptist College*				9	1	10										10
17	Philander Smith College	10	0	10	13	245	258										13
18	Shorter University	3	0	3	3	64	67										3
19	Branch Normal College				79	34	113		40				24	15			
	Southland College ^a																
DELAWARE.																	
20	State College for Colored Students				20	16	36	4	20	6	1			4		2	
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.																	
21	Howard University	392	23	415	113	85	198		54								54
	National Kindergarten Training School. ^a																
22	Washington Normal School No. 2	0	0	0													
FLORIDA.																	
23	Cookman Institute																
24	Florida Baptist Academy				29	68	97	21	22								
	Florida Institute ^a																
	Fessenden Academy ^a																
25	Emerson Memorial Home	0	0	0	0	60	60										
26	Normal and Manual Training School				56	61	117	25	56								
27	Florida State Normal and Industrial College	0	0	0	25	74	99		18		11	0	0	0		4	

* Statistics of 1901-2.

^a No report.

and industrial training—Equipment and income, 1902-3.

Students trained in industrial branches.			Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1902-3.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of State, United States, or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1902-3.	
Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.										
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
114	60	.....	Donation, endowment, and tuition. Freedman's Aid and So. Ed. Soc.	\$1,000	2,360	\$30,000	.....	\$977	\$762	\$21,220	\$22,959	1
.....	.....	.....	Northern philanthropy, tuition.	.....	300	15,000	\$260	100	.....	3,845	4,205	2
280	.....	.....	Amer. Miss. Assn.	.....	200	600	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3
80	.....	.....	do	.....	500	18,000	.....	1,407	.....	2,484	3,891	4
329	.....	87	State, Slater fund, Peabody fund.	.....	300	40,000	8,500	2,000	.....	4,900	15,400	5
98	62	174	State and United States.	.....	3,735	76,036	4,000	.....	.....	11,150	15,150	6
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	500	30,150	.....	2,200	.....	.....	2,200	7
8	14	23	Charitable sources	.....	2,500	35,000	35	945	114	15,358	16,452	8
162	72	.....	Endowment, benevolent gifts.	0	5,000	182,000	0	1,500	6,088	21,890	29,478	9
.....	.....	.....	Tuition	.....	.....	600	.....	270	.....	.....	270	10
.....	.....	.....	Presbyterian church	.....	3,000	20,000	0	.....	.....	3,000	3,000	11
211	300	626	State, endowment, donations.	.....	3,000	533,608	4,500	3,100	16,571	136,228	160,399	12
48	28	.....	Contributions	0	1,500	6,000	82	400	38	900	1,420	13
.....	.....	.....	Colored Bapt. Church.	.....	100	10,000	.....	150	.....	500	650	14
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	250	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15
245	109	.....	Freedman's Aid and So. Ed. Soc. M. E. Ch.	500	1,700	41,500	.....	3,200	.....	2,500	5,700	16
64	.....	.....	A. M. E. Church	.....	463	21,700	.....	821	.....	3,604	4,425	17
34	.....	.....	State and United States.	.....	.....	92,000	3,789	329	.....	6,818	10,936	18
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	19
16	.....	.....	State and United States.	.....	500	27,000	.....	.....	.....	5,000	5,000	20
61	.....	29	U. S. and endowment.	.....	41,754	1,000,000	642,100	16,206	9,904	7,479	75,689	21
.....	.....	.....	City	.....	850	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22
.....	.....	.....	Freedmen's Aid and So. Ed. Soc.	0	0	.....	.....	719	.....	.....	719	23
68	11	.....	.....	.....	600	10,000	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	24
60	.....	.....	.....	.....	200	4,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	25
61	.....	.....	Amer. Miss. Assn., tuition.	.....	500	25,000	.....	800	.....	2,000	2,800	26
74	67	.....	State and United States.	0	600	40,000	4,000	.....	.....	12,500	16,500	27

b From United States Government.

TABLE 15.—Secondary and higher schools for negroes—Professional

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.									
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
GEORGIA.																
28	Jeruel Academy			0	60	60										
29	Knox Institute and Industrial School.			54	90	144		36								14
30	Atlanta Baptist College.	36	0	36	16	0	16	16								
31	Atlanta University.	0	0	0	67	168	235	24					18			6
32	Morris Brown College.	26	9	35	206	239	445	10	8							
33	Spelman Seminary.	0	14	14	0	475	475									24
34	Storrs School.				0	131	131									
35	Haines Normal and Industrial Institute.				150	250	400									
36	Paine College.															
37	Walker Baptist Institute ^a . Georgia State Industrial College.*															
38	Fort Valley High and Industrial School.*	0	0	0	22	42	64	16	22		2		12	15		
39	Lagrange Baptist Academy.															
40	Dorchester Academy.				93	138	231		93							
41	Ballard Normal School.				0	206	206									
42	Central City Academy.				21	80	101									34
43	Beach Institute.				35	105	140									
44	Clark University.				41	261	302	41	29			19	19	19	19	8
45	Gammon Theological Seminary.	48	0	48												
46	Allen Normal and Industrial Institute.				20	112	132									
KENTUCKY.																
47	Eckstein Norton University*	1	0	1	10	47	57	3	3							10
48	Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored Persons.															
49	St. Augustine's Colored School. Louisville Christian Bible School. ^a				28	19	47									
50	State University*															
LOUISIANA.																
51	Alexandria Academy.															
52	Central Louisiana Academy.															
53	Gilbert Academy and Industrial College.				54	71	125	17	4		5					4
54	Mount Carmel Academy ^a . Leland University.				37	39	76	22	51							
55	New Orleans University.	55	5	60												
56	Straight University.	12	0	12	105	268	373		95							23

* Statistics of 1901-2.

^a No report.

and industrial training—Equipment and income, 1902-3—Continued.

Students trained in industrial branches.			Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1902-3.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of State, United States, or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1902-3.	
Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.										
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
51	.....	9	Jeruel Bapt. Assn. and A. B. H. Soc.	.....	350	\$10,000	.....	\$768	0	\$1,728	\$2,496	28
74	.....	20	Amer. Miss. Assn., tuition.	.....	100	5,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	29
.....	.....	.....	Amer. Bapt. Home Miss. Soc.	0	2,500	80,000	0	832	\$840	7,252	8,921	30
168	54	.....	Benevolent contributions, tuition.	\$31,000	11,500	251,000	0	2,500	1,800	100	4,400	31
239	48	140	A. M. E. Church benefactions.	.....	1,500	100,000	.....	1,275	.....	12,000	13,275	32
429	91	.....	W. A. B. H. Miss. Soc., Slater fund.	.....	3,937	293,427	0	0	0	21,208	21,208	33
131	.....	.....	Amer. Miss. Assn., tuition.	.....	290	5,000	0	1,565	0	2,300	3,865	34
.....	.....	400	Freedmen Board of N. Branch Presb. Church.	.....	1,200	15,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	35
.....	.....	.....	M. E. Church South.	.....	400	45,833	.....	.....	.....	10,260	10,260	36
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	37
42	20	.....	Tuition, State and donations.	.....	614	19,000	\$500	800	.....	5,000	6,300	38
.....	.....	.....	City	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	39
138	.....	.....	.....	.....	700	11,000	.....	829	.....	6,195	7,024	40
206	.....	.....	Amer. Miss. Assn., tuition.	.....	1,500	40,000	0	3,200	0	2,500	5,700	41
80	50	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	42
140	.....	.....	Amer. Miss. Assn., tuition.	.....	500	.....	0	1,340	.....	2,760	4,100	43
261	91	.....	Church and contributions.	.....	850	250,000	.....	3,300	.....	8,000	11,300	44
.....	.....	.....	Endowment	.....	12,000	100,000	.....	.....	12,000	.....	12,000	45
132	10	.....	Amer. Miss. Assn.	.....	150	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	46
47	12	.....	Contributions	.....	500	20,000	.....	900	.....	687	1,587	47
.....	.....	.....	State and United States.	.....	1,197	50,000	8,000	200	1,500	4,880	14,580	48
.....	.....	47	Colored Ed. Soc	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	49
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	45,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50
.....	.....	.....	Tuition, Freedmen's Aid.	.....	17	150	0	252	.....	50	302	51
.....	.....	.....	Bapt. Assn., tuition, contributions.	.....	100	5,000	.....	700	.....	475	1,175	52
15	10	70	Freedmen's Aid and So. Ed. Soc. of the M. E. Church.	0	2,525	76,000	.....	.....	.....	3,000	3,000	53
.....	.....	25	Endowment, contributions.	.....	3,000	150,000	.....	13,900	.....	6,100	20,000	54
.....	.....	.....	Freedmen's Aid, M. E. Church.	.....	3,000	126,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	55
205	63	.....	Amer. Miss. Assn. Slater fund and Daniel Hand fund.	500	2,500	100,000	0	1,900	650	8,000	10,550	56

TABLE 15.—Secondary and higher schools for negroes—Professional

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.									
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
MARYLAND.																
57 Baltimore Normal School.....				113	97	210	60	7			7		7			5
58 Morgan College.....																
59 St. Francis Academy.....				0	45	45										
60 Maryland Industrial and Agricultural Institute.	0	0	0	25	5	30	25									
61 Industrial Home for Colored Girls.	0	0	0	0	104	104										
Princess Anne Academy ^a																
MISSISSIPPI.																
62 Mount Hermon Female Seminary.				0	50	50										
63 Southern Christian Institute.....				48	44	92	19	12			3			12		5
64 Rust University.....	0	3	3	40	60	100		39								
65 Jackson College.....	7	0	7	0	69	69										
66 Lincoln School.....				40	130	170										
Meridian Academy ^a																
67 Natchez College ^a																
68 Tougaloo University.....				120	182	302	57	53	17				24			
69 Mary Holmes Seminary.....				0	220	220	10									
69 Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College.				439	95	534	154	140			43				41	
MISSOURI.																
70 Lincoln Institute.....				0	194	194										
71 George R. Smith College.....				14	6	20										20
NEW JERSEY.																
72 Manual Training and Industrial School.*	0	0	0	23	71	94	6	23								
NORTH CAROLINA.																
73 Washburn Seminary.....				25	76	101		25								
74 Biddle University.....	17	0	17	77	0	77	2	14	15						22	12
75 Scotia Seminary.....				0	22	22										
76 Elizabeth City State Normal School.				0	152	152										
77 State Colored Normal School																
78 Albion Academy, State Normal School.																
79 Franklin Christian College.*	6	0	6	12	28	40										
State Colored Normal School. ^a																
80 Bennett College*.....				0	70	70										
81 Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race.				167	0	167	7	32	30	1	2	6	12	5		
High Point Normal and Industrial School. ^a																

* Statistics of 1901-2.

^a No report.

and industrial training—Equipment and income, 1902-3—Continued.

Students trained in industrial branches.			Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1902-3.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of State, United States, or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1902-3.	
Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.										
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
73	69		State M. E. Church and tuition.	\$5,991	2,000 4,000	\$20,000 85,850	\$2,000	\$2,491	\$213	\$1,700	\$2,000 4,404	57 58
45	10		State		300	10,000	1,000	150	350	1,000	2,500	59
5	5		City and State									60
104	40											61
50	50				400	25,000		500	200	2,500	3,200	62
34	6		C. W. Board of Missions, tuition.		1,000	50,000						63
110	30		Freedmen's Aid and So. Ed. Soc. M. E. Church.	1,200	10,000	125,000		10,000		10,400	20,400	64
69			Amer. Bapt. Home Mission Soc.		1,200	40,000						65
130		40	Amer. Miss. Assn., tuition.		300	3,000		700		1,000	1,700	66
155	102		Amer. Miss. Assn.		4,000	125,000		1,500		16,700	18,200	67
220			W. M. Soc. Presb. Church.		700	50,000						68
15	20	221	State and United States.		2,700	168,000	8,000		700	25,968	34,668	69
194			State and United States.		300		16,175				16,175	70
			Freedmen's Aid and So. Ed. Soc. M. E. Church.			55,000		1,600		2,675	4,275	71
44	19	2	State		400	2,000	6,000	333	0	0	6,333	72
76			Amer. Miss. Assn.		200	6,000						73
		10	Presb. Church, board and tuition.		13,000	207,000		4,000	250	3,750	8,000	74
19	22		Presb. Board for Freedmen, tuition.		2,200	65,000	0	600		17,261	17,861	75
		152			609							76
												77
												78
25	25		Endowment and tuition.									79
70	17		Freedmen's Aid and So. Ed. Soc.		3,000	30,000						80
		72	State and United States.		929	88,000	12,500			31,189	43,689	81

TABLE 15.—Secondary and higher schools for negroes—Professional

Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.									
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
NORTH CAROLINA—cont'd.																
82 Lincoln Academy.....	0	0	0	0	16	16										
83 Liberty Normal College.....	0	0	0													
84 Whitin Normal Institute ^a				18	30	48	16	6	15							30
85 Barrett Collegiate and Industrial Institute.				21	171	192										
86 Plymouth State Normal School.*				21	171	192										
87 St. Augustine's School.....	0	5	5	85	91	176	6	29	12							25
88 Shaw University.....	166	0	166	94	142	236		26			2	17		3		
89 Livingstone College*.....																
90 State Normal School.....				50	180	230										
91 Gregory Normal Institute... Bertie Academy ^a	0	0	0	50	180	230										
92 The Slater Industrial and State Normal School. ^a																
93 Waters Normal Institute.....	0	0	0	0	38	38										
OHIO.																
94 Wilberforce University*.....	15	1	16													
OKLAHOMA.																
95 Colored Agricultural and Normal University.*				83	128	211		25					13	25		
PENNSYLVANIA.																
96 Lincoln University*.....	61	0	61													
97 Institute for Colored Youth*.....				18	171	189		18	12							12
SOUTH CAROLINA.																
98 Schofield Normal and Industrial Institute.	0	0	0	139	188	327	8	8			1				15	6
99 Harbison Institute ^a																
100 Browning Home School ^a				5	111	116	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
101 Avery Normal Institute.....	0	0	0	5	111	116	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
102 Wallingford Academy*.....																
103 Brainerd Institute.....	0	0	0	76	118	194	60	10			2					4
104 Allen University.....				79	105	184	12	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	30
105 Benedict College.....	48	2	50	79	105	184	12	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	30
106 Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School.				74	102	176	74	74								10
107 Brewer Normal School.....	0	0	0	0	162	162	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
108 Lancaster Normal and Industrial Institute.				25	20	45		12								
109 Clafin University.....				268	261	529	12	46	40		20		13	13		16
110 Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural, and Mechanical College.*				360	264	624	150	63	78		30			30		
TENNESSEE.																
111 Lane College ^a																
112 Warner Institute*.....	0	0	0	6	26	32	6									

*Statistics of 1901-2.

^aNo report.

and industrial training—Equipment and income, 1902-3—Continued.

Students trained in industrial branches.			Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1902-3.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of State, United States, or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1902-3.	
Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.										
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
.....	16	.....	Amer. Miss. Assn. of Cong. Church. Tuition.	.....	350	\$9,000	\$3170	.....	.....	.....	\$170	82
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	500	3,000	280	\$2,000	.....	.....	2,280	83
24	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,000	.....	.....	.....	\$1,150	1,150	84
.....	.....	192	State	.....	21	1,800	1,857	.....	.....	.....	1,857	85
150	150	.....	Tuition, contributions	\$10,000	2,500	70,000	0	3,900	\$2,733	13,501	20,134	86
140	.....	48	Amer. Bapt. H. M. Soc., Slater fund, tuition.	.....	1,500	92,500	.....	4,683	280	1,071	6,037	87
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8,000	125,150	1,600	3,350	6,000	1,350	12,300	88
180	.....	50	State	.....	200	5,000	1,858	.....	.....	.....	1,858	89
.....	.....	.....	Amer. Miss. Assn.	0	400	18,000	0	1,400	0	.....	1,400	90
38	.....	.....	Amer. Bapt. Home Mis. Soc., donations.	.....	500	12,500	240	85	.....	1,940	2,265	91
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,000	202,000	30,000	4,000	1,400	6,000	41,400	92
128	.....	20	Territory and Morrill fund.	.....	700	33,994	21,000	.....	.....	2,719	23,719	93
78	171	68	.....	.....	16,500	271,000	.....	1,156	21,386	12,090	34,632	94
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	95
188	57	44	Contributions	325	1,000	60,000	200	165	3,815	5,000	9,180	96
116	0	.....	Amer. Miss. Assn., tuition.	0	1,000	25,000	0	2,650	0	3,000	5,650	97
.....	.....	.....	Tuition and Miss. Board.	.....	.....	2,500	.....	162	62	.....	224	98
118	43	.....	Presbyterian Church	.....	400	20,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	99
.....	.....	.....	A. M. E. Church	.....	80	35,000	.....	1,298	.....	.....	1,298	100
97	20	21	Endowment, Am. Bapt. H. M. Soc., tuition.	3,466	200,000	.....	.....	1,741	6,000	8,866	16,607	101
102	48	.....	Contributions	.....	400	.....	0	260	6	2,581	2,847	102
162	0	.....	Tuition, benevolent contributions.	.....	200	12,000	0	1,200	0	0	1,200	103
30	18	.....	Church and State	.....	400	6,000	640	150	.....	600	1,390	104
170	35	164	Freedmen's Aid and So. Ed. Soc. of M. E. Church, Slater fund.	6,000	6,500	175,000	.....	4,000	.....	20,000	24,000	105
200	.....	73	State	.....	750	94,250	21,000	.....	.....	5,754	26,754	106
26	26	.....	Amer. Miss. Assn.	.....	24	6,000	320	12	0	480	812	107

TABLE 15.—Secondary and higher schools for negroes—Professional

	Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.										
		Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
	TENNESSEE—continued.																	
108	Knoxville College	4	0	4	23	120	143	23	45								22	
109	LeMoyné Normal Institute*.	0	0	0	170	275	445		25								22	
110	Morristown Normal and Industrial College.				46	159	205		22					12	16		12	
111	Fisk University	2	0	2														
112	Roger Williams University..	5	0	5	6	85	91	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	
113	Walden University	338	30	368														
	TEXAS.																	
114	Samuel Huston College.....				0	7	7											
115	Tillotson College	0	0	0	25	65	90		23								1	
116	Mary Allen Seminary	0	0	0	0	226	226											
117	Hearne Academy, Normal and Industrial Institute.	0	0	0	0	46	46											
118	Bishop College.....	24	0	24	117	161	278		117			3			9		27	
119	Wiley University	10	0	10														
120	Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College.	0	0	0	147	129	276	26	14	0	0	0	0	20	0	5	0	
121	Guadalupe College.....	82	15	97	49	135	184	28	24	1	0	2		4			24	
122	Paul Quinn College*				62	92	154	62	10								17	
	VIRGINIA.																	
123	William McKinley Normal and Industrial School.	0	0	0	10	15	25	0	0	0	0						15	
	Ingleside Seminary ^a																	
124	Gloucester Agricultural and Industrial School.*	0	0	0	52	78	130	130	11									
125	Temperance, Industrial, and Collegiate Institute.				18	25	43		14			13						
126	Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.				550	534	1,084	899	38	18	18	11		7	20	7	6	
	Spiller Academy ^a																	
	St. Paul Normal and Industrial School. ^a																	
127	Virginia Collegiate and Industrial Institute.	0	0	0	10	30	40	5										
128	Manassas Industrial School.				35	59	94	21	33					2				
129	Norfolk Mission College* ..				35	375	410									38		
130	Bishop Payne Divinity School.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
131	Virginia Normal and Industrial School.	0	0	0	108	248	356											
132	Hartshorn Memorial College																	
133	Virginia Union College.....	60	0	60	100	0	100		100									
134	St. Paul's Universalist Mission School.*	0	0	0	0	100	100											
	WEST VIRGINIA.																	
135	Storer College.....	0	0	0	25	30	55		20									
136	West Virginia Colored Institute.				70	80	150	12	22	1				23			8	

* Statistics of 1901-2.

^a No report.

and industrial training—Equipment and income 1902-3—Continued.

Students trained in industrial branches.			Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1902-3.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of State, United States, or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1902-3.	
Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.										
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	
120	32	.....	Presb. Church, State..	.....	2,500	\$115,000	\$5,000	\$300	.....	\$10,500	\$15,800	108
175	25	198	Tuition, benevolence.	0	2,700	45,000	50	4,500	.....	4,000	8,550	109
159	85	.....	Freedmen's Aid Soc.	.....	1,000	75,000	.....	1,884	.....	10,584	12,468	110
.....	.....	.....	M. E. Church, tuition, donation.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	Amer. Miss. Assn., tuition.	\$17,000	7,274	350,000	0	5,000	\$3,000	.....	8,000	111
85	0	.....	Amer. Bapt. Miss. Soc. of New York.	0	7,000	155,000	680	834	0	130	1,644	112
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,500	158,000	.....	17,500	.....	4,000	21,500	113
7	.....	.....	F. A. Soc. of M. E. Church, tuition.	3,000	1,100	50,000	0	1,118	0	1,500	2,618	114
65	.....	1	Am. Miss. Assn., tuition.	0	2,000	40,000	0	750	0	6,500	7,250	115
226	30	.....	Church contributions.	.....	500	50,000	.....	.....	.....	5,000	5,000	116
23	46	.....	Am. B. I. M. Soc. and Tex. Mis. Ed. Con.	500	300	7,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	117
133	16	.....	Am. Bapt. Home Miss. Soc., tuition.	13,000	4,000	150,000	.....	3,594	1,778	6,820	12,192	118
.....	.....	.....	Freedmen's Aid, S. E. Soc. M. E. Church.	5,000	4,500	65,250	.....	3,000	.....	10,000	13,000	119
74	43	94	State and United States.	.....	909	.....	20,500	0	0	0	20,500	120
153	25	.....	State associations	.....	5,000	80,000	.....	400	1,300	9,000	10,700	121
92	.....	14	Tuition and church	.....	.....	50,000	0	5,568	.....	4,675	10,243	122
.....	.....	10	Subscriptions	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	694	694	123
65	65	.....	Amer. Miss. Assn.	.....	.....	40,000	0	480	0	5,875	6,355	124
17	25	.....	Tuition, contributions	3,500	1,697	25,975	0	1,275	1,187	.....	2,462	125
515	246	.....	United States, endowment, contributions.	76,961	12,698	823,500	0	0	50,607	128,829	179,436	126
.....
30	35	.....	M. E. Church	0	300	53,000	0	480	0	150	630	127
59	43	.....	Donations	.....	300	26,700	.....	2,000	.....	2,700	4,700	128
257	86	.....	Church and tuition	.....	600	70,000	0	1,750	0	7,720	9,470	129
0	0	0	Endowment, contributions.	.....	500	.....	.....	.....	500	5,000	5,500	130
230	68	.....	State	0	2,500	165,000	20,000	1,200	0	600	21,800	131
.....	.....	.....	Missionary Societies.	0	1,500	50,000	0	1,124	0	5,429	6,553	132
.....	.....	.....	Am. Bapt. H. M. Soc., contributions.	.....	8,000	300,000	0	2,000	3,000	14,000	19,000	133
100	.....	.....	Universalist gen. convention.	.....	300	1,500	.....	75	50	500	625	134
30	20	State and Free Baptist Mission.	5,500	50,000	2,500	320	1,132	719	4,671	135
79	46	State and United States.	2,000	115,200	26,000	116	5,000	31,116	136

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