A BRIEF SKETCH

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Peabody Education Fund.

A BRIEF SKETCH

OF

GEORGE PEABODY,

AND A HISTORY OF

THE PEABODY EDUCATION FUND

THROUGH THIRTY YEARS.

BY

J. L. M. CURRY.

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1898.

TO THE TRUSTEES

OF

The Peabody Education Fund,

THROUGH WHOSE INTELLIGENT AND PATRIOTIC LABORS
THE FUND HAS ATTAINED ITS GREAT USEFULNESS,

AND

WHO HAVE GIVEN TO THE GENERAL AGENTS SUCH HELPFUL
AND GENEROUS CONFIDENCE,

THIS VOLUME

IS AFFECTIONATELY AND GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED.

TRUSTEES

OF THE

PEABODY EDUCATION FUND.

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TRUSTEES OF THE PEABODY EDUCATION FUND.

(Continued.)

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(To whom communications may be addressed.)

PREFACE.

IT seemed to the writer that a History of the Peabody Education Fund would be very incomplete without a brief mention of the career and characteristics of the remarkable man by whose generosity it was founded. His life, both in this country and in England, although that of a successful man of business, had in it much to stimulate youth and excite patriotism. Scattered through many books may be found pleasant notices of what he did to benefit and please his countrymen. In President Felton's "Familiar Letters from Europe," I have just read an account of his being a guest "at a splendid and costly entertainment," given in 1853, at which Van Buren and "many very distinguished persons" were present. "It was really a most superb and *recherché* dinner, with every luxury of earth, sea, and air; and, to crown the whole, a concert, in which the best musicians of the Italian opera — Grisi, Mario, etc. — performed." Several persons of each sex have kindly furnished some incidents, which are now, for the first time, put in print.

The full History of the Fund is contained in the four published volumes of the Board, and in the subsequent annual Reports. Much misapprehension as to the plans and purposes of the Trustees, and no little ignorance of the Foundation, exist, as is apparent from numerous inquiries

and misstatements. It seemed therefore appropriate to link together scattered details and give in the brief compass of a single volume what has been accomplished by this most remarkable of modern benefactions.

For the use of the engraved portrait of Mr. Peabody, which serves as a frontispiece to this volume, the Trustees are indebted to the Massachusetts Historical Society, for one of whose volumes it was originally prepared.

April, 1898.

HISTORY

OF THE

PEABODY EDUCATION FUND.

CHAPTER I.

ON the 18th of February, 1795, in the south parish of old Danvers, five miles northwest of Salem, in Massachusetts, was born George Peabody. His parents, humble but respectable, were of English origin, Lieutenant Francis Peabody of St. Albans, England, who came to New England, in the ship "Planter," in 1635, being an ancestor.[1] He attended, for a short time, the common village school, such as schools were from 1803 to 1807. At eleven, he was apprenticed as a shop-boy in a grocer's store, and received, as he said himself, "parental kindness and such instructions and precepts, by endeavoring to practise which in after life I attribute much of my success." Wishing a wider field, he left the store and spent a year at Post Mills Village, Vermont. On his return he paid for a night's entertainment in Concord, N. H., by sawing wood the next morning. His attachment to Post Mills Village was shown by a visit late in life and the gift of a library. In 1811, he went as clerk with his brother David, who kept a dry-goods store in Newburyport. Here he earned the first money he ever made, outside of his busi-

[1] Proceedings of Mass. Historical Society, vol. xi. p. 25.

ness, by writing ballots for the Federal party, printed ballots not being then in use. A fire destroyed the store and caused the failure in business of the brother; and so, at the age of sixteen, George was an orphan without money, employment, or influence. In May, 1812, he sailed for Georgetown, District of Columbia, with his uncle, and the two soon established themselves in business. He showed such industry and capacity that in 1814, at nineteen, he became a partner with Mr. Elisha Riggs, the latter furnishing the capital and young Peabody supplying what was better, practical and astute management of affairs. Beginning life very poor, he toiled assiduously for what he gained, and learned that economy and thrift which became a habit of his life, ingrained into his very nature, and made him, when he had amassed a fortune, refuse to yield to the exactions of those who presumed upon his wealth. "Free-handed generosity lay side by side with much tenacity of insistence on any right, small or great." When he was dispensing millions he insisted, one day, on walking in London, because the cabman he called wanted more than his lawful fare. While engaged in his store, his active mind foresaw what was afterwards to be developed into the wonderful express-system, which reticulates our entire country. He offered to forward packages to Baltimore, and made an appeal to merchants and shippers for their patronage, and thus began a successful enterprise of parcel delivery. Of industrious nature, he had a contempt for the idle and the profligate, was systematic in his work, and with "thrifty shrewdness and world-wisdom" combined a talent for detail, which is of the essence of administration. The simple and frugal manner of living, necessitated by limited means, grew into fixed habits, confirmed tastes, even into some petty economies, which changed not when he was able to live luxuriously and indulge extravagant

fancies. To the end of a long life he preserved unblemished the modest simplicity of life and manners formed in his youth. In 1815, the house of Riggs & Peabody was removed to Baltimore, and other houses were established in Philadelphia and New York. From change of partners, the name of the firm was changed to Peabody, Riggs & Company. He became deeply attached to Baltimore and Maryland, and was fond of recalling "the home of his early business and the scene of his youthful exertions." There, he gained the first $5,000 of the fortune with which Providence rewarded him, and in 1866, when welcomed to the city, he said with unconcealed emotion, "I never experienced from the citizens of Baltimore anything but kindness, hospitality, and confidence."

Mr. Peabody first visited England in 1827 and made several voyages in the next ten years, to make purchases of English goods for the firm; and, in 1829, Mr. Riggs withdrew, leaving him the head of the house. In 1837, he established himself permanently in London as a merchant and money-broker. Here, among strangers, without advantages of birth or inheritance or education or public position, he rose to respect and distinction and established a credit and a character for business shrewdness and integrity surpassed by none in the world's metropolis.

In 1852 the town of Danvers held its bi-centennial celebration. Mr. Peabody was invited to be present. In reply, regretting his inability to participate in the festival, he alluded to his school-boy days and the affection he retained for his native town. He expressed a strong hope for the growth of the country, "if we plant the New England institution of the common schools liberally among the immigrants who are filling up the great valley of the Mississippi." On the envelope of a sealed letter he wrote a request that it might not be opened until the day of the

celebration. At the dinner it was opened, and in it was found the sentiment,

"*Education. A debt due from present to future generations.*"

This memorable expression is inscribed upon the seal of the "Peabody Education Fund." It accompanied his earliest large public benefaction, which for some years had occupied his mind. From this gift, subsequently increased, there sprang a lyceum, a public library, and the Peabody Institute, in the last of which have been deposited various memorials of its founder and other tributes which had been most prized by him in life.

Mr. Peabody was a thorough American, and sought every proper opportunity for showing his love of country and people. Speaking of the house established in London, which sustained a world-wide credit, he said at Danvers, "I have endeavored in the constitution of its members and the character of its business to make it an American house and to give it an American atmosphere, to furnish it with American journals, to make it a centre for American news and an agreeable place for my American friends visiting London." He rendered good offices to his fellow-countrymen, negotiated, without profit to himself, loans for cities, promoted the convenience and enjoyment of travellers, and brought together at the social board hundreds of his own countrymen and his English friends. In 1852–1858 inclusive, he gave to Americans in London and to prominent Englishmen "Fourth of July" dinners which drew to the host a large popularity. In 1851, there occurred near London the first of the long series of most useful International Exhibitions. Other countries made the representation of products a government affair, and voted money to defray the expenses of exhibitors. Our Congress did nothing. Our exhibitors found the space assigned them unprepared for the specimens of art and

industry which they had brought, and they had not the means to make it ready. Mr. Peabody stepped forward, and put in proper order the American Department, which subsequently contributed so much to the utilities of the Crystal Palace Exhibition that a leading London journal admitted that England derived more real benefit from the contributions of the United States than from those of any other country. In a most generous international banquet, he brought together the most prominent of his countrymen then in London, the chairman of the Royal Commission, and other persons of consideration in England, and in a loving-cup, made of old Danvers oak, pledged them, on both sides, to warmer feelings of mutual goodwill than they had before entertained. (See Proceedings at Danvers, p. 63.)

His residence, wide acquaintance, and large interests in England created a strong attachment for the country, and he was active in removing causes of unpleasantness and cementing the bonds of friendship between the Old Land and the New. He took the liveliest interest in the inter-oceanic telegraphic communication; and in April, 1858, writes to a friend, "We are making rapid preparations to lay the Atlantic cable in June, and before the first of September, I think the electric spark will pass from England to America," and with some humor and an eye to business, he added, "What say you, and *how much?*"

Mr. Peabody never married. Writing from London in 1855, he denied a reported engagement with a young lady, and said, "I never had any idea of matrimony but once, and that was full fifteen years ago." In the same year he wrote jocularly to Mr. Corcoran, "I am quite prepared to like him"—Mr. Buchanan, just appointed Minister to England—"*particularly as he is unmarried.*" Lord Bacon said, "Surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men,

which have sought to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed." "Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the public."

After a twenty years' absence, in 1856, he revisited his native land. Friends in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other cities tendered cheerful hospitalities. As his desire was to visit every section of the Union, and see with his own eyes the evidences of prosperity, he declined all invitations except that from his native town. There, on 9th October, a reception was given him, with procession, banners, banquet, addresses — an ovation such as royalty never received, for it was the spontaneous, affectionate, universal tribute of a grateful and admiring people. Municipal and State authorities united in the greeting, and Edward Everett, the most famous of our orators, in what may be styled an American type of oratory, delivered the chief address. Peabody had left Danvers a poor boy, with no capital but a good character and his inherent energy. Prayers and best wishes had followed him, and he constantly showed his love for place and people. The weighty concerns of a great business in the world's capital did not make him forget, nor did it chill the warmth of his boyish love. Every worthy enterprise had received his ready aid. When the house of worship which he attended in childhood was burned, his liberality in the rebuilding was prominent. His bounty helped largely in erecting the granite pile in memory of the Revolutionary fathers. Besides what he had previously done, he instituted a system of prize medals for the High Schools.

Mr. Peabody's commercial credit never suffered any serious reverse. His sound judgment kept him from unsafe ventures, although he dealt largely in various kinds of securities. During the fearful financial panic of 1857,

large manufacturing firms in England suspended; private bankers refused to discount the best paper; drafts of the best houses were dishonored; remittances from America ceased, and he asked a loan of 1,000,000 pounds from the banks in England. This request for accommodation arose under peculiar circumstances, and illustrates his pride and the principles on which he did his large business. Having reluctantly yielded to persistent requests of American friends to grant commercial and other credits, on the pledge of sacrificing all their property and applying the proceeds to carrying their bills rather than bring him under cash advances, Mr. Peabody found that they failed him in the crash; and he was called on to provide immense sums of money to meet the maturing acceptances, which he had not anticipated, and at a time when money could only be had through the Bank of England. He offered securities intrinsically good, but unavailable at the moment; and the Directors of the Bank, some of whom were rivals in business, thought they had found an opportunity of getting rid of a formidable competitor. After some negotiation, it was proposed to J. S. Morgan, then a partner, that the accommodation sought might be granted, provided George Peabody & Co. would agree to cease doing business in London at the close of 1858. When Mr. Morgan brought this message to Mr. Peabody, he was in a rage, like a wounded lion, and told Mr. Morgan to reply that he dared them to cause his failure. In the mean time, the Governors had decided that the bank must suspend specie payment, which would make money easy again. As the endeavor to bluff had not succeeded, the accommodation was granted without conditions, especially as the securities were so satisfactory; and afterwards George Peabody & Co. had no further difficulty. To this triumph of commercial integrity he refers with proper pride in a letter to his niece, written from London, 13th November, 1857: —

"My promised letter has been postponed in consequence of my constant engagements and the unparalleled difficulties and gloom which prevail among commercial men and bankers both here and in the United States. What is to be the result, Heaven only knows, for want of confidence and distrust appear almost universal. I trust that my house will be able to weather the storm and sustain itself, and I *think* — although a large number of our correspondents and friends are failing very largely in our debt — that it will do so; but if not, I will bear it like a man, for my conscience tells me that I have never deceived or injured a human being. It is not yet three months since I parted from you, and left the country prosperous and people happy. Now is all gloom and affliction. Nearly all the American houses in Europe have already suspended, and nothing but great strength can save any. You will understand that it is the loss of the *credit* of my house that I fear. Under any circumstances I cannot lose but a small part of my large property, and shall have enough left for all required purposes." [1]

Later, he continues, on another sheet, the unfinished letter: —

MY VERY DEAR NIECE, — The three pages enclosed, as you will see from the date, were written three weeks ago when I felt (from the inability of our principal correspondents in the United States to remit, and who had then brought us under a cash advance of nearly two millions of dollars) that the credit of my house was in danger. When about adding a few more lines and sending away, I thought to myself, Why should I make my good niece unhappy, however so my miserable self? and consequently declined to send the letter, and I am glad that I did not.

A few days after I felt it to be my duty to apply to the banks for a loan of money sufficient to carry my house through the crisis,

[1] Hayward, in a letter to Gladstone, vol. i. p. 317. says, 27 Nov., 1857, "The commercial panic in London has abated; but Kirkman Hodgson told me that the Americans owed us £32,000,000 on the balance, much of which would never be paid. Peabody was very hard run, having £800,000 to pay on one day." "The crisis was chiefly due to the over-trading of the Americans, and became so severe that the Government suspended for a time the Bank Charter of 1844."

proposing security for the full amount required, which was four millions of dollars. It was a severe test to my pride, but after a week spent with the Committees and Directors of the Banks I finally succeeded, and I doubt not that my house is now free from all danger, and although *here* the name of my house has not appeared in the public papers, it has been referred to in a way which does not admit of any mistake, and high honor has been awarded to it for the course pursued and for the great resources which the security given so fully displayed. Don't you hold your head less high or your *heart* worth less than you did before, for your Uncle George has done nothing but what among sensible persons will raise him higher than before. It was the breaking down of the most wealthy houses in the United States, who could not remit to my firm as they promised to do, that obliged him to resort to this course for relief to sustain his credit.

Mr. Peabody's habits of business were methodical and his punctuality proverbial. During any day in London, it was well known where he could be found — at his counting-room punctually every morning at ten, over his desk until twelve, in conference with his confidential clerk, or in conversation with visitors until past one, in the bank between one and two, then on 'Change until three, and back at his desk until four.

In a letter of 12th March, 1862, Mr. Peabody, after alluding to what he had previously bestowed in America — at Danvers, the place of his birth, and at Baltimore, the first scene of his active life — for institutions adapted to promote the intellectual, moral, and social welfare of his fellow-countrymen, proceeds to say that, in pursuance of a long-cherished determination to attest, by a similar gift, his gratitude and attachment to the people of London, among whom he had spent the last twenty-five years of his life, he would devote £150,000 "to ameliorate the condition of the poor and needy" of the great metropolis. In 1866, he added £100,000, in 1868, £100,000, and, in 1873, £150,000, making a total of £500,000. The total

fund, including rent and interest, on 31st December, 1896, was £1,198,126. Mr. Peabody imposed on the Trustees, whom he selected, three unchangeable conditions: *first*, limiting the uses, absolutely and exclusively, to such purposes as might be fitted directly to ameliorate the condition and augment the comforts of the poor; *secondly*, excluding rigidly from the management any influences calculated to impart to it a character either sectarian, as regards religion, or exclusive in relation to local or party politics; and, *thirdly*, making as the sole qualification for participation in the benefits of the fund an ascertained and continued condition of life, bringing the person within the description of the poor in London, combined with moral character and good conduct as a member of society. Allowing to the Trustees utmost latitude and discretion in giving effect to his purposes, Mr. Peabody suggested whether it might not be conducive to the realization of the stated conditions to apply the fund, or a portion of it, "in the construction of such improved dwellings for the poor as may combine, in the utmost possible degree, the essentials of healthfulness, comfort, social enjoyment, and economy." This mode of employment was adopted by the Trustees, as the low rents, at which this healthful accommodation could be given, would annually supplement the original fund, and thus create a source whence similar advantages might continue to be derived for an indefinite period. Nothing, perhaps, is better suited to raise the dignity of the workman, to create and preserve his sense of independence and self-respect, than to remove his family from the squalor and discomfort of a dilapidated and unwholesome home to a dwelling cheerful with light and air, and replete with facilities for cleanliness, health, and every domestic operation, and all at a cost less than he had been accustomed to pay for the filth and malaria he had left. At the end of 1895, the Trustees had provided

for the artisan and laboring poor of London, 11,367 rooms, besides bath-rooms, laundries, and lavatories, occupied by 19,914 persons. These rooms comprise 5,121 separate dwellings. Drainage and ventilation have been insured with the utmost care. The passages are all kept clean and lighted with gas without any cost to the tenants, and what gratifies the tenants as much as any other part of the arrangements are the ample and airy spaces which serve as play-grounds for their children. What has been called Peabody Town has for one of its boundaries the famous Bunhill Fields Burial-ground. Upon the land formerly occupied by property of a very low order have been erected these dwellings, and in place of narrow lanes and dirty courts there are several wide, well-paved, and well-scavenged streets. The average rent of each dwelling is 4*s.* 9½*d.* per week, and of each room 2*s.* 2*d.*, the rent in all cases including the free use of water, laundries, sculleries, and bath-rooms. Improving the housing of the poor of London has proved a needed benefaction; and the demand for rooms and the health of the tenants show how well the want has been met.

In recognition of this princely benefaction, the British Government offered him a baronetcy, which, although highly appreciated, he felt bound, as an American citizen, to decline. The Queen gave him a portrait of herself, and, in 1869, when he left England unexpectedly, his departure being communicated only to a few friends, she paid him the delicate compliment of an autograph letter.

WINDSOR CASTLE, June 20, 1869.

The Queen is very sorry that Mr. Peabody's sudden departure has made it impossible for her to see him before he left England, and she is concerned to hear that he is gone in bad health. She now writes him a line to express her hope that he may return to this country, quite recovered, and that she may then have the opportunity, of which she has now been deprived, of seeing

him and offering him her personal thanks for all he has done for her people.[1]

This note, coming from the Queen's heart, as well as her hand, was transmitted by the Clerk of the Privy

[1] A lady of rare intelligence and refinement, in a recent letter, kindly furnishes me some interesting contemporary reminiscences: "Mr. Peabody was a welcome guest at my father's house, near Liverpool. I believe they had had business relations in Baltimore before my father's marriage. To me Mr. Peabody was a benevolent fairy in a high black-satin stock. I did not understand why I, a child of eight years, should be endowed with a valuable sable muff, nor why, on a later holiday visit to London, the same little girl was taken to see the notabilities in Hyde Park by Mr. Peabody, in his cabriolet, with tiger in top boots standing behind.

"His visit to the United States, after the successful inauguration of his London charities (acknowledged by a gift from Queen Victoria of her portrait), was an ovation. My father called to see his old friend immediately on arrival, congratulating him on the carrying out of his benevolent plans and on their gratifying acknowledgment by the British Government. In all the confusion of open trunks in a small room (Mr. Peabody never condescended to a valet, nor allowed himself personal luxuries), the old man replied quietly, 'Humphreys, after my disappointment long ago, I determined to devote myself to my fellow-beings, and am carrying out that decision to my best ability.' These expressions made to my father, and, as far as I am aware, to him alone, referred to an incident which had had, in its day and among the circle of Mr. Peabody's friends, its certain halo of romance. Mr. Peabody's own touching reference to it can, after the lapse of so many years, be recorded without indiscretion, as showing his own reading of an important page in his life's history.

"We were all invited to be present at the opening of the case containing her Majesty's likeness, at the house of Mr. Samuel Wetmore. The British consul was among the favored few, and edified the company by kneeling before the picture, as if in actual presence of his royal mistress.

"The precision of business habits and a long old bachelorhood, combined with constitutional shyness, caused Mr. Peabody, at times, to appear to disadvantage, but geniality prevailed over awkwardness, and years imparted dignity. Later, the old gentleman became autocratic, one might say. He had himself accomplished so much, could already see such magnificent results, derived from his far-sighted philanthropy, that he felt expressed wishes on his part should become instantaneous facts — his small due from those around him. Nevertheless, the ruthless serenity with which their guest countermanded luncheon and advanced the dinner hour to meet business exigencies, carried dismay to the hearts of the most devoted hostesses. I do not suppose Mr. Peabody ever thought of giving trouble, and certainly no one ever thought of remonstrating."

Council, who was commanded "to be sure and charge Mr. Peabody to report himself on his return to England." While he lived, the people of London erected a statue, which, in front of Merchants' Exchange, was publicly unveiled, "with words of reverence and honor," by the Prince of Wales, who, while surrounded by the best and noblest of the Empire, designated Mr. Peabody as "a great American citizen and philanthropist — that citizen of the world." This "spontaneous expression, the free-will gift of a generous and grateful people, and the testimony of homage to a good and philanthropic citizen," stands in the metropolis of the world, in the centre of finance and commerce; and the inspiration awakened by it, must have a potent and wholesome influence in favor of economy, integrity, fidelity to engagements, broad-souled philanthropy and doing good while living, upon those who give tone and law to the financial, mercantile, and commercial world. In a letter to Mr. Corcoran, Mr. Peabody thus refers to the statue: "I shall leave for Rome about the 15th of January, where I have promised three or four weeks' sitting to Story for the statue which the city of London and the Nobility and Bankers and Merchants have so liberally subscribed for."

Simple and frugal as was his habitual life, he had a vein of occasional display, amounting almost to ostentation. Sometimes the routine of assiduous attention to business was diversified by sumptuous banquets, bringing together illustrious and congenial guests, whose companionship and intelligent conversation served to enliven the hours and neutralize the earthward gravitation of more secular pursuits. His charities were not Pharisaic, nor were they always so secret as to forbid their light shining so that others could see his good works. In some instances, to have remained unknown as the giver would have been impossible. His was not posthumous philanthropy, nor did he

clutch his treasures until Death should release the grasp. What he gave, he gave from principle. His generosity was not a sudden impulse, the gush of a momentary sensibility, but the outcome of thoughtful inquiry and premeditation as to the best method of accomplishing a superior good. To leave a vast sum for distribution after his death, provoking expensive and hostile litigation, was alien to his wishes and purpose. He was no believer in casual eleemosynary relief, no inconsiderate almoner of bounty, scattering his money profusely among mendicants, the persistent and the unworthy. He founded libraries, institutes, museums, boards of trust, to stimulate self-help, to cultivate and refine tastes, to promote the study and love of literature and art and science, and to secure higher scholarship. In his attempt to benefit humanity, he sought to prevent rather than to cure; instead of trying to lop off corrupt or unfruitful boughs, he struck at the root of the evil. He believed in the reformatory and elevating power of a clean and pure home, of a cultivated mind, of habits of thrift and industry. While not condemning hospitals, and almshouses, and homes for inebriates and incurables, he preferred other channels of beneficence. The homes in London were not for vagrants and paupers, but to offer comfortable and healthy surroundings to those willing to work. He was not made mean or miserly by great riches; he regarded the distribution of his earnings as a pleasure and privilege, and "furnished an example, never known in the world before, of a man who united all the love of money which makes men richest and most men meanest, with all the scorn of its dominion which burns in the noblest soul." For his kindred, generous provision was made, but his aims were wider than bestowing his wealth on individuals or a narrow circle of relatives. Besides his larger gifts, specifically mentioned, his contributions were numerous and

liberal to many other objects. It is known that he gave $25,000 to Kenyon College, Ohio, $20,000 to Massachusetts Historical Society, large sums to Yale, Harvard, Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology, Washington and Lee University, and smaller gifts for libraries and churches. His reputation for wealth and liberal giving caused him to be overwhelmed with applications for money, from Europe and America and from every conceivable class of applicants. When a friend in Boston referred to his various gifts, he said, "I have not sought to relieve pauperism, but to prevent it" — a principle which, perhaps, is the explanation why he turned a deaf ear to many appeals to his feelings and fortune.

Sometimes it has been said that Mr. Peabody possessed no element of heroic greatness, nor, in an exceptional degree, any of those shining qualities which the world is quick to recognize and admire. On the other hand, it might be suggested that in the whole range of philanthropies there is no better example of largeness of purpose or trueness of manhood. When Dr. Kane, amid misgivings and forebodings of evil on the part of many, started, in 1852, on his perilous journey of science and humanity, Peabody came to his aid with "a liberality and in a spirit of which there is reason to believe the whole story has never been told." Dr. Kane remembered gratefully the timely help to his enterprise, and gave the name of "Peabody Land" to a portion of the Arctic shores. In 1837, in the days of her financial weakness, Maryland sought a loan of $8,000,000 in the London market. Mr. Peabody remembered, with tenderness, the attachment he felt for "the home of his early business and the scene of his youthful exertions," and having a pride in the honor and good fortune of his adopted State, he threw his fortune and soul into labors for the restoration

of her credit, successfully negotiated the loans, led the way to their being accepted in other financial quarters by taking a large amount of them on his own account, and refused any compensation but the pride and the pleasure of the great good he had assisted in consummating. For this signal service in the days of her financial necessities, the State expressed, in grateful words, on imperishable legislative records, her sense of its value. Mr. Peabody's gifts enlarged his desire and purpose to do more largely and beneficently, and, on the 12th of February, 1857, he committed to the hands of his selected agents $300,000, which "under his accumulating bounty has swollen" to over one million. This gift, in pursuance of a purpose long entertained, was for the preparation of a building and appliances for an institution for the improvement of moral and intellectual culture, and the enlargement and diffusion of a taste for the fine arts, so as to place the means of higher culture within the reach of all. The corner-stone of the Peabody Institute was laid in Baltimore on the 16th of April, 1859, and, on the 25th of October, 1866, was dedicated in the presence of the founder and a great concourse of people, including 18,000 school-children. The Institute, including Library, Lecture and Music Departments, and a Gallery of Art, has been of incalculable benefit to Baltimore and other portions of the country.

The life of Mr. Peabody would be useless as an example and stimulus if the impression made by this narrative was that he was free from the weaknesses and errors to which frail humanity is liable. He was far from being faultless. What he attained to of wisdom and generosity and love for his fellows came to him as the hard-won victories after much struggle. He loved to accumulate, and was not free from pride at his gains and financial standing. His frugality and desire to have a *quid pro quo* for the money

which passed from his hands, tended to penuriousness and parsimony. He used his strong will and integrity of character to resist the temptation to avarice, and he vanquished the constantly recurring enemy. It was a masterful struggle, and therefore a more glorious victory. It would be untrue and unwise to rob him of whatever merit belongs to his having overcome so successfully innate tendencies, made stronger by his early poverty and the trials which accompany extraordinary gains. To set his last days over against his earlier days, to contrast straitened means and close saving of young manhood with acquired habits of premeditated benevolence, is to bring into conspicuous and honored prominence the heroism and the virtues of Mr. Peabody. A life of saving was transmuted, sublimed, into a life of giving. Acquisitiveness was satisfied and transformed into bounteous munificence. The system, the prudent methods, which had caused the growing enrichment, were continued and found illustration in the effort to leave himself, when he should die, without a great fortune. "He made benevolence his business, and dealt with it as such," and discrowned himself of that which had more than kingly power and dominion.[1] Mr. Moody, the Evangelist, relates this incident.

"I was a guest of John Garrett once, and he told me that his father used to entertain Peabody and Johns Hopkins. Peabody went to England, and Hopkins stayed in Baltimore. They both became immensely wealthy. Garrett tried to get Hopkins to make a will, but he would n't. Finally, Garrett invited them both to dinner, and afterward asked Peabody which he enjoyed most, the making of money or giving it away. Hopkins cocked up his ears, and then Peabody told him that he had had a struggle at first, and it lasted until he went into his remodelled London houses and saw the little children so happy. 'Then,' said Peabody, 'I began to find out it was pleasanter to give money away than it was to

[1] See the admirable address of S. Teackle Wallis, Esq., on Mr. Peabody.

make it.' Forty-eight hours later Hopkins was making out his will founding the university and the hospital."

The great gift of Mr. Peabody was that which originated the Peabody Education Fund. As stated, his benefactions were not spasmodic, nor sudden ebullitions of charitable impulse, excited by some object of pity. Nor had he any gorgeous schemes, enthralling the imagination and provoking the applause of the multitude. In his calmest moments, with his best thoughts, after mature investigation, he devised and planned and executed. In 1851, in a letter to "dear Corcoran," he said, "However liberal I may be here, I cannot keep pace with your noble acts of charity *at home;* but one of these days I mean to come out, and *then* if my feelings regarding money don't change, and I have plenty, I may become a strong competitor of yours in benevolence." In one of his confidential conversations with Mr. Winthrop, after unfolding his plans and telling substantially all he designed to do, filling his interlocutor with admiration and amazement at the magnitude and sublimity of his purposes, he continued with that guileless simplicity which characterized so much of his social intercourse and conversation, "Why, Mr. Winthrop, this is no new idea to me. From the earliest years of my manhood I have contemplated some such disposition of my property; and I have prayed my Heavenly Father, day by day, that I might be enabled, before I died, to show my gratitude for the blessings which He has bestowed upon me, by doing some great good to my fellow-men." In May, 1866, he again consulted Mr. Winthrop, and in October of the same year, the third day, at Mr. Winthrop's summer residence in Brookline, he communicated confidentially, and only for consultation, the benefactions he was proposing to bestow, and advised with him in regard to their arrangement and organization. Seated in the hall, under the portrait of Benjamin Franklin, as Mr. Winthrop

graphically relates, "taking from his capacious wallet a budget big enough for a Chancellor of the Exchequer, or a Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, he read to me privately that long schedule of appropriations for Education, Science, and Charity which soon afterwards delighted and thrilled the whole community. 'And now I come to the last,' said he, as he drew forth yet another roll with a trembling hand. 'You may be surprised when you learn precisely what it is; but it is the one nearest my heart, and the one for which I shall do the most, now and hereafter,' and he then proceeded to read the rude sketch of the endowment for Southern Education, of which the formal instrument bears date, February 7, 1867," and is here inserted in full: —

To Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, of Massachusetts; Hon. HAMILTON FISH, of New York; Right Rev. CHARLES P. McILVAINE, of Ohio; General U. S. GRANT, of the United States Army; Hon. WILLIAM C. RIVES, of Virginia; Hon. JOHN H. CLIFFORD, of Massachusetts; Hon. WILLIAM AIKEN, of South Carolina; WILLIAM M. EVARTS, Esq., of New York; Hon. WILLIAM A. GRAHAM, of North Carolina; CHARLES MACALESTER, Esq., of Pennsylvania; GEORGE W. RIGGS, Esq., of Washington; SAMUEL WETMORE, Esq., of New York; EDWARD A. BRADFORD, Esq., of Louisiana; GEORGE N. EATON, Esq., of Maryland; and GEORGE PEABODY RUSSELL, Esq., of Massachusetts.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to address you on a subject which occupied my mind long before I left England, and in regard to which one at least of you (the Hon. Mr. WINTHROP, the distinguished and valued friend to whom I am so much indebted for cordial sympathy, careful consideration, and wise counsel in this matter) will remember that I consulted him immediately upon my arrival in May last.

I refer to the educational needs of those portions of our beloved and common country which have suffered from the destructive ravages, and the not less disastrous consequences, of civil war.

With my advancing years, my attachment to my native land has but become more devoted. My hope and faith in its successful and glorious future have grown brighter and stronger; and now, looking forward beyond my stay on earth, as may be permitted to

one who has passed the limit of threescore and ten years, I see our country, united and prosperous, emerging from the clouds which still surround her, taking a higher rank among the nations, and becoming richer and more powerful than ever before.

But to make her prosperity more than superficial, her moral and intellectual development should keep pace with her material growth, and, in those portions of our nation to which I have referred, the urgent and pressing physical needs of an almost impoverished people must for some years preclude them from making, by unaided effort, such advances in education, and such progress in the diffusion of knowledge, among all classes, as every lover of his country must earnestly desire.

I feel most deeply, therefore, that it is the duty and privilege of the more favored and wealthy portions of our nation to assist those who are less fortunate; and, with the wish to discharge so far as I may be able my own responsibility in this matter, as well as to gratify my desire to aid those to whom I am bound by so many ties of attachment and regard, I give to you, gentlemen, most of whom have been my personal and especial friends, the sum of one million of dollars, to be by you and your successors held in trust, and the income thereof used and applied in your discretion for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, or industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the Southern and Southwestern States of our Union; my purpose being that the benefits intended shall be distributed among the entire population, without other distinction than their needs and the opportunities of usefulness to them.

Besides the income thus derived, I give to you permission to use from the principal sum, within the next two years, an amount not exceeding forty per cent.

In addition to this gift, I place in your hands bonds of the State of Mississippi, issued to the Planters' Bank, and commonly known as Planters' Bank bonds, amounting, with interest, to about eleven hundred thousand dollars, the amount realized by you from which is to be added to and used for the purposes of this Trust.

These bonds were originally issued in payment for stock in that Bank held by the State, and amounted in all to only two millions of dollars. For many years, the State received large dividends from that Bank over and above the interest on these bonds. The

State paid the interest without interruption till 1840, since which no interest has been paid, except a payment of about one hundred thousand dollars, which was found in the treasury applicable to the payment of the coupons, and paid by a mandamus of the Supreme Court. The validity of these bonds has never been questioned, and they must not be confounded with another issue of bonds made by the State to the Union Bank, the recognition of which has been a subject of controversy with a portion of the population of Mississippi.

Various acts of the Legislature — viz., of February 28, 1842; February 23, 1844; February 16, 1846; February 28, 1846; March 4, 1848— and the highest judicial tribunal of the State have confirmed their validity; and I have no doubt that at an early day such legislation will be had as to make these bonds available in increasing the usefulness of the present Trust.

Mississippi, though now depressed, is rich in agricultural resources, and cannot long disregard the moral obligation resting upon her to make provision for their payment. In confirmation of what I have said, in regard to the legislative and judicial action concerning the State bonds issued to the Planters' Bank, I herewith place in your hands the documents marked A.)

The details and organization of the Trust I leave with you, only requesting that Mr. WINTHROP may be chairman, and Governor FISH and Bishop MCILVAINE Vice-Chairmen, of your body: and I give to you power to make all necessary by-laws and regulations; to obtain an Act of Incorporation, if any shall be found expedient; to provide for the expenses of the Trustees and of any agents appointed by them; and, generally, to do all such acts as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of this Trust.

All vacancies occurring in your number by death, resignation, or otherwise, shall be filled by your election as soon as conveniently may be, and having in view an equality of representation so far as regards the Northern and Southern States.

I furthermore give to you the power, in case two-thirds the Trustees shall at any time, after the lapse of thirty years, deem it expedient, to close this Trust, and, of the funds which at that time shall be in the hands of yourselves and your successors, to distribute not less than two-thirds among such educational or literary institutions, or for such educational purposes, as they may

determine, in the States for whose benefit the income is now appointed to be used. The remainder may be distributed by the Trustees for educational or literary purposes, wherever they may deem it expedient.

In making this gift, I am aware that the fund derived from it can but aid the States which I wish to benefit in their own exertions to diffuse the blessings of education and morality. But if this endowment shall encourage those now anxious for the light of knowledge, and stimulate to new efforts the many good and noble men who cherish the high purpose of placing our great country foremost, not only in power, but in the intelligence and virtue of her citizens, it will have accomplished all that I can hope.

With reverent recognition of the need of the blessing of Almighty God upon this gift, and with the fervent prayer that under His guidance your counsels may be directed for the highest good of present and future generations in our beloved country, I am, gentlemen, with great respect,

Your humble servant,

GEORGE PEABODY.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7, 1867.

Never was gift more timely. It came, white-winged messenger of peace and fraternity, in the hour of gloom, poverty, and despondency. The *National Intelligencer*, a staid and conservative Union journal, on the day of the first meeting of the Board, denounced the military satrapy over the South, as subordinating all civic power, legislative, executive, and judicial, under military domination.[1]

[1] On 2d March, 1867, it was enacted that the States should be divided into military districts and placed under military rule. On 23d March, a supplemental act was passed completing the plan of reconstruction. These laws annulled the State Governments then in operation; enfranchised the negro; disfranchised a large number of the most capable citizens, and provided all the machinery necessary for commencing new governments on the ruins of the old. Until the several States should be admitted under these new governments into the Union, the military officers in command were to have absolute power over life, liberty, and property; except that death sentences were to have the approval of the President. These acts were passed over the President's veto, and Mr. Garfield, then in the House of Representatives, interpreted them as putting the bayonet at the breast of every Southern man to force the adoption of negro suffrage.

Mr. Peabody had lived at the South, transacted there a large business, laid the foundations of his fortune, contracted friendships, and was esteemed and honored. In 1857, he made an extensive tour through the Southern States, visiting Richmond, Charleston, Mobile, New Orleans, Natchez, and St. Louis, whose people gave him gratifying receptions, and he wrote: "I have received the most kind and flattering attentions from every city I have visited." When he returned to England, the country was united, but with audible mutterings of sectional discord. Coming events were casting their dark shadows upon our national pathway. While he was in Europe, war began and continued fiercely for four years. When he returned, in 1866, the noise of drum and fife and cannon, in hostile demonstration, was no longer heard, but the great chasm was unclosed, and the animosities of the strife were active in press and in legislation, in minds and in hearts. Pacification and reconciliation were slow of birth and growth. So sensitive were men and women on both sides that words kindly spoken and acts kindly performed were misunderstood and served the contrary end, of kindling afresh ill feeling and making slowly-cicatrizing wounds to bleed again. Mr. Peabody longed for the restoration of harmony, and with a big and patriotic heart coveted the opportunity of doing something to consolidate the Union and make it one, not of coercion and hatred, but of affection and helpfulness. He seized the occasion, coming but once in a lifetime, and interposed most effectually. His loyalty to the Union was undisguised, his desire for the success of her armies was openly, not offensively, proclaimed, his condemnation of the error of the seceding States was frank — writing thus to George Eustis in 1862, "mad as I think my countrymen have acted in bringing about the dreadful war that now exists;" — but he entered a manly protest against confounding error with crime,

difference in construction of the organic law with treason, and asserted in no equivocal phrase his respect for the integrity and manhood of the vanquished and subjugated. In Baltimore he used words that find a parallel only in the farewell address of the Father of his Country: "Never during the war or since have I permitted the contest, or any passions engendered by it, to interfere with the social relations and warm friendships which I had formed for a very large number of the people of the South. . . . And now, after the lapse of these eventful years, I am more deeply, more earnestly, more painfully convinced than ever, of our need of mutual forbearance and conciliation, of Christian charity and forgiveness, of united effort to bind up the fresh and broken wounds of the nation."

While seeking to meet the educational needs of the people to whom he was "bound by so many ties of attachment and regard," there was running through the Letter of Gift the clear conviction, repeatedly iterated, that "the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, or industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the Southern States" was a necessary means for securing the highest good of the whole of his beloved country. When he added his second gift from exuberant patriotism, the hope was again expressed that the sphere of usefulness of the Trust would be enlarged "and prove a lasting boon, not only to the Southern States, but to the whole of our dear country, which I have ever loved so well but never so much as in my declining years." "This I give to the suffering South for the good of the whole country" were the memorable words which he spoke with much emotion as, in 1869, he placed his second great donation in the hands of the Trustees. "Here was the key-note to all his words and acts relating to the Southern Education Fund."

He would realize the idea of Whittier: —

"A school-house plant on every hill,
Stretching in radiant nerve-lines thence
The quick wires of intelligence;
Till North and South, together brought,
Shall own the same electric thought;
In peace a common flag salute,
And side by side, in labor free,
And unresentful rivalry,
Harvest the fields wherein they fought."

The Fund has been a most potent agency in creating and preserving a bond of peace and unity and fraternity between the North and the South. It initiated an era of good feeling; for the gift, as said Mr. Winthrop, "was the earliest manifestation of a spirit of reconciliation toward those from whom we had been so unhappily alienated and against whom we of the North had been so recently arrayed in arms." No instrumentality has been so effective in the South in promoting concord, in restoring fellowship, in cultivating a broad and generous patriotism, and apart from its direct connection with schools it has been an unspeakable blessing in cementing the bonds of a lately dissevered Union.

Our country has been distinguished by princely benefactions for colleges, universities, and science. These liberal gifts, of incalculable advantage, have not been primarily for the many but for the few. Mr. Peabody, with rare insight into educational needs, gave to the destitute and neglected, to the masses. His philanthropy was practical, helpful, for the greatest good of the greatest number of his countrymen, and stands out unique, uncompanioned, in the annals of charity. He planned his benevolence as he would have done any commercial enterprise. It is on record that his endowments in Danvers, Baltimore, and elsewhere were in pursuance of purposes long entertained, and conferred upon with friends. He gave from principle, to accomplish a large good. His thoughts and intents

took a wide sweep. He had broader aims than to promote the welfare of a single family, or town, or institution. His sympathies were not hemmed in by a single generation, or a narrow religion. He was the benefactor of communities, States, posterity. He sought the elevation of the people. In 1869, as to another plan attributed to him, he said with feeling and emphasis: "Nothing was more preposterous, nothing could be farther from his design, than giving a college education to the sons of gentlemen. What I desire is to aid in giving elementary education to the children of the common people." Akin to this large-heartedness was the repose of confidence in those chosen to administer the Trust. In matters of administration he committed to them, in their wisdom, equity, and fidelity, an absolute discretion. Some rich persons entail their estates, or encumber with distrustful conditions. Some seem to try to continue to succeeding generations their sagacity and skill, and would control from the grave what they could not carry with them. Mr. Peabody honored his Trustees by their selection and the more by placing the Fund without reserve in their hands. He abdicated both the possession and the government of his immense riches.

Mr. Peabody addressed his Letter of Gift to sixteen gentlemen — the name of Admiral Farragut was unintentionally omitted in the first publication — nearly all of whom had been his personal and especial friends, and on the 8th of February, 1867, ten of them, having been previously notified, assembled in a little upper chamber of Willard's Hotel at Washington.[1] Mr. Winthrop communicated the letter constituting them and their associates Trustees for the direction and management of the gift. Deeply sensible of the honor conferred, and of the responsibility and

[1] It is much to be regretted that repeated efforts on my part have failed to identify this historic chamber.

magnitude of the Trust, and realizing their dependence on the guidance and blessing of God, whose favor had been invoked by Bishop McIlvaine, they received their credentials and the securities from the hands of Mr. Peabody himself, accepted the obligations prescribed, and inaugurated the work committed to them. Mr. Winthrop, with deep emotion, accepted the chairmanship, to which he had been designated by his friend, and entered upon that long career of fidelity and devotion, commanding every useful energy of his being, and linking his name indissolubly with that of the Great Founder of the Education Fund. The distinguished men from North and South, selected as almoners of this munificent beneficence, with names "already historic as shining lights of patriotic endeavor, public usefulness, and private excellence," coming together under the magic of this munificence, to "interchange those assurances of mutual regard and respect which are the best and only pledges of permanent and perpetual union, and to devise means for building up again the waste places which the war had left behind it, and to institute measures for the moral reconstruction of the desolated States," put on record their grateful appreciation of the unprecedented generosity which had been exhibited.

"*Whereas*, Our countryman and friend GEORGE PEABODY has, in a letter to the undersigned, made known his determination, out of a grateful sense of the manifold goodness with which God has prospered his life, and of an earnest desire to promote the best interests of his fellow-citizens, to devote a munificent donation of property for certain most wise and beneficent uses indicated in said letter, and has requested us to take in trust the charge and management of the same; therefore

"*Resolved*, That the undersigned, being the Trustees assembled in Washington, deeply sensible of the honor conferred on them by a trust of such eminent importance and responsibility, and realizing their dependence on the guidance and blessing of God, to be enabled to discharge its duties with such wisdom and faithfulness

as may best secure the benevolent design of the giver, do hereby accept the office of Trustees of the same, and promise our best exertions in its behalf.

"*Resolved*, That we hereby express to Mr. PEABODY our grateful appreciation of the enlarged and unprecedented generosity, which, after having bestowed upon the poor of the City of London a bounty that drew forth the admiration of Europe, and after having exceeded the same, in his recent return to his native land, in benefactions to institutions of learning and education, in the Middle and Eastern States of the Union, has now crowned the whole with this last deed of patriotism and loving-kindness, so eminently calculated to bind together the several parts of our beloved country in the bonds of mutual well-doing and regard.

"*Resolved*, That we express to Mr. PEABODY our respectful and affectionate prayer, that, in the gracious providence of our Heavenly Father, his valuable life may be long spared to witness the success of his benevolent contributions to the happiness of his fellow-citizens in all parts of his native and beloved land, and that many of those whom God has blessed with large possessions may be induced to follow his example of wise and noble employment of wealth for the good of man and the glory of God."

After appointing Committees on Finance, and for Inquiry and Investigation, the Board adjourned to meet in New York. The announcement of the enormous benefaction filled the country with amazed delight, and thrilled the despairing South with hope and joy. The public press was emphatic in declaring that his name would be held perpetually in most grateful remembrance by the children of the Republic who are to enjoy "the fruits of his benefactions on the banks of the Ohio and the head waters of the Chesapeake, amid the busy haunts of New England, and from the homes of the Sunny South." The President of the United States made him a special visit, and in an interview, impressive and affecting, expressed his deep gratitude for the large-hearted benevolence that had laid the foundations of a permanent blessing to an extensive and

needy portion of our common country; and Mr. Peabody afterwards referred to President Johnson's visit as one of the proudest incidents of his life, and to his course as the Chief Executive as "light coming at the eventide." On the 15th of March, Congress voiced the universal gladness by the adoption of these Resolutions: —

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 GEORGE PEABODY, of Massachusetts, for his great and peculiar beneficence in giving a large sum of money, amounting to Two Million Dollars, for the promotion of Education in the more destitute portions of the Southern and Southwestern States; the benefits of which, according to his direction, are to be distributed among the entire population without any distinction, except what may be found in needs or opportunities of usefulness.

SEC. 2. *And be it further resolved*, 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. PEABODY, in the name of the People of the United States.

Approved, March 16, 1867.

In execution of the second resolution, the Congress prepared and presented an elaborate and costly gold medal, on one side of which was a portrait, on the other, an inscription, "The people of the United States to George Peabody, in acknowledgment of his beneficent promotion of universal Education."

On the 19th of March, the Trustees reassembled in New York, at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, thirteen being present. What form should be given to the practical workings of the Trust excited most anxious discussion and the frankest interchange of variant views. Mr. Peabody expressed his desire that, at the outset, as much as possible should be done for common-school or rudimentary education, and

that such measures might be adopted as would give such an education to the greatest number of young children. His purpose explicitly declared was that the benefits of his gift should be "distributed among the entire population of the more destitute portion of the Southern and Southwestern States of our Union." By formal resolution the promotion of such education was declared to be the leading object of the Board in the use of the fund placed at their disposal. As was obviously a necessity, it was further resolved to appoint a general agent, "of the highest qualifications," to whom should be entrusted, under the Executive Committee, the whole charge of carrying out the design of Mr. Peabody in his great gift, under such resolutions and instructions as the Board might, from time to time, adopt. Mr. Winthrop has stated, that while weighted with anxiety as to the primary action of the Board, he casually met Dr. Sears, the President of Brown University, at the old Wednesday Evening Club in Boston. Entering into private conversation, and giving his own views, and listening to what was said, he begged Dr. Sears to furnish in writing the results of his best reflection and judgment on the whole matter. Early the next morning, Dr. Sears, before he left Boston, called and said he had passed a sleepless night in pondering over what had been told him, and that he would soon comply with the request which had been made. The next mail brought from Providence the following letter: —

PROVIDENCE, March 14, 1867.

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP:

MY DEAR SIR, — At your request, I give you such thoughts as have occurred to my mind, in the brief time that has intervened since I saw you, on the subject of the use that it is expedient to make of the Fund which Mr. Peabody has placed at your disposal.

1. Too much importance cannot be attached to the policy and measures that shall be adopted. Besides the care that can be

bestowed on the subject by the Trustees, who, it is supposed, can give but a limited amount of time to it, I think, with you, that it is desirable to have an executive officer, a superintendent, who can comprehend the whole subject, and work whatever machinery is necessary with unity of design and with effectiveness.

2. As to plans and methods, much is to be created. We have nothing exactly like what is to be undertaken. There are no examples before you. There has been no experience directly in this line of action. Much must come by time and by actual trial. Principles may be laid down, but there must be room for variation in details.

3. There are two general methods to be considered: The one is that of originating and carrying on a system of schools. The other is that of disbursing funds in aid of others who shall have the schools in charge. The former method would require an extensive system of agencies. *Work* will not go on well without an ever-present and active superintendence and vigilance to prevent and correct abuses arising from negligence or selfishness. The latter is simpler, easier, and is attended with fewer risks.

Now, if time shall show that the two methods must be, to some extent, combined, it would seem to be safer and more convenient to begin with the second, as the transition to the first could be made, without trouble and to any extent, whenever it should appear expedient. Any change in the other direction would be more difficult, as the first method commits one largely for the future.

4. I should think it might be as well to begin with a single agent, whose first business it should be to furnish aid where it is most needed, in strengthening and resuscitating schools, and, perhaps, aiding others to open new ones. For a time, he might find judicious and active friends of education, who, in different localities, would gladly render him the aid he shall need. Thus he would soon, as he proceeds, learn not only what kind and amount of help is needed, but he would come to know the men who could best render it. If it be necessary to have local agents, this would perhaps be the best way of introducing them.

5. Of course, *effective schools*, that shall be permanent, is the great *desideratum*. This is not only the best thing for the young, but they furnish to the people at large the strongest argument in

favor of popular education. Let good schools, springing up on the soil, growing out of the wants of the people, and meeting those wants, be sprinkled all over the South, as examples, and be made the *nuclei* for others, and let them be established and controlled, as far as possible, by the people themselves, and they will in time grow into State systems.

Beside direct aid in the support of such schools, which would, no doubt, be the first work to be done, there are various indirect ways of reaching the same end. Normal Schools, especially for training female teachers for the primary schools; higher education given in the form of Scholarships to a limited number of young men, who should obligate themselves to teach for as long a period, at least, as that during which they received aid, or to refund the money; encouragement to Teachers' Associations (County or State Associations) by giving them fifty or a hundred dollars to pay for the lecturers at their meetings; aid to the Editors or Publishers of Journals of Education for the benefit of Teachers, — these might be some of the indirect methods to be used.

6. I will state a little more particularly here some of the objections to the first plan mentioned in No. 3. There will not only be a great amount of supervision and direction of the work on the hands of the Trustees and their agents; but many official reports from all the schools, whose forms must be prescribed, which must be examined, collated, and possibly printed, as is now done by Boards of Education. All this formidable official procedure, by a body of men in some sense foreign to the different States, will only serve as a barrier, keeping the schools from the public sympathies. The ownership of lots and buildings by the Trustees will tend to make the people indifferent or jealous. The ultimate transfer of such property to the towns and cities will be an awkward business to transact. The permanent care of a large number of houses, their security, proper occupancy, and repairs, will be troublesome. Property jointly held by the towns and the Trustees would occasion still more trouble. At the utmost, I should think, one or two or three Normal School buildings might be owned by the Trustees. Even these it might be better to induce the *people* to build, and then carry on the schools for them for a longer or shorter time, either wholly or in part. Places for other schools, especially primary schools, could be obtained with-

out building or purchasing them, certainly for the present. But on these and other similar points, experience would soon be the best teacher. These are first thoughts, which, for that reason, may have but little value.

Very respectfully and sincerely,

Your ob't serv't,

B. SEARS.

This letter, in clearness of statement, in breadth of view, in comprehensiveness of plan of work, in fulness of detail and suggestion of methods, in grasp of the whole subject, was so complete and admirable that "it has proved a perfect chart of the course" of the Trust "as the writer of it proved to be a perfect pilot." When the Trustees, five days after the letter was written, heard it, by a common impulse it was thought, who is so proper a person to carry out the plan as he who devised it?[1] Dr. Sears, in response to a telegram, met with the Trustees, united freely in their deliberations, took charge of the voluminous mass of letters and papers which had been sent from all parts of the country, but gave no intimation that he would accept the trust to which he had been unanimously chosen. Governor Fish and Mr. Evarts were appointed to procure from the State of New York an Act of Incorporation; Samuel Wetmore was elected Treasurer; an Executive Committee and a Committee on Finance were appointed; and the promotion of Common School Education was declared to be the leading object of the Board in the use of the fund. Mr. Peabody sent a second letter, explanatory of his wishes and intentions.

[1] It is a singular coincidence that in 1846 the Regents of the Smithsonian Institute, then about to be organized, requested Professor Henry to give his views as to the best method of realizing the intentions of the founder. He gave an exposition of the will, and of the method by which it might most efficiently be accomplished. On account of this satisfactory exposition and his scientific reputation, he was invited to accept the office of Secretary.

GENTLEMEN, — Understanding that a doubt has been expressed in regard to my intentions and instructions on the subject of the distribution of the fund entrusted to your care for the purpose of education in the Southern and Southwestern States, I desire distinctly to say to you, that my design was to leave an absolute discretion to the Board of Trustees, as to the localities in which the funds should from time to time be expended.

I hope that all the States included in that part of our country which is suffering from the results of the recent war may, sooner or later, according to their needs, receive more or less of the benefit of the fund.

But it was not my design to bind my Trustees to distribute the benefits of the fund upon any measure or proportion among the States, or to create any claim on the part of any State to any distributive share.

Still less did I design to submit the Trustees, collectively or individually, to any responsibility to those intended to be benefited, or to any individual responsibility of any sort, for the management of the fund committed to them.

I have entire confidence that they will discharge the Trust with wisdom, equity, and fidelity; and I leave all the details of management to their own discretion.

With great respect, your humble servant,

GEORGE PEABODY.

NEW YORK, March 20, 1867.

After the adjournment, in compliment to General Grant and the other Trustees, Mr. Peabody gave a magnificent banquet in the large dining-room of the Fifth Avenue Hotel, which was fully described in the papers of the next day. In the presence of a large number of ladies and gentlemen, invited to partake of the hospitalities of the occasion, the Chairman, at the request of the Board, communicated these Resolutions, which had been unanimously adopted: —

Resolved, That we tender to our distinguished and noble friend, Mr. PEABODY, our sincere thanks for his munificent hospitality to

us during our sittings, while organizing the Board, both in Washington and New York.

Resolved, That we consider our appointments as Trustees of this grand charity as a very high honor, and one which we acknowledge most cordially.

Resolved, That our friend, being about to leave his native land for England, we hope that a kind Providence will take him under its guidance and protection, and return him once more to us. We trust he will then be able to see the fruits of the good work of his great charity and remarkable wisdom.

Dr. Sears, pondering profoundly the proposition submitted to him, wrote, on the 14th of March, to Mr. Winthrop: "The College [Brown University] has never been in a more prosperous condition. There has never been a time when I could labor here with so much advantage. . . . My duties are a perfect luxury, and my associates all that I could desire. The Corporation does everything for me and supports me in everything I propose. I have therefore no cause to seek a place, and none save one [alluding to apprehensions as to health from confinement], to think of a change." It was not until the 9th of April that, "with great diffidence as to his ability to meet expectations," he signified his decision and sent his letter of acceptance, dated on the 30th of March, but held back on account of misgivings. At a third meeting in New York, on the 28th of May, Mr. Evarts submitted the Act of Incorporation, which "with promptness, courtesy, and liberality" had been granted by the Legislature of New York. An organization under the Charter having been perfected, and a Common Seal for the Corporation having been authorized, the Board adjourned to meet in Richmond, Virginia.

With great energy and tact Dr. Sears entered upon his delicate, difficult, and onerous duties. Having studied in Germany after his graduation from Brown, and having had

varied educational and professional experience as Professor in Newton Theological Seminary, as Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts, and as President of Brown University, he brought to the discharge of his work accurate scholarship, unusual fulness of historical and pedagogical information, a minute practical and intelligent acquaintance with the principles and details of State school systems, imperturbable temper, patient and laborious inquiry, a ready and thankful willingness to learn and to modify opinions and judgments formed from partial knowledge, a broad and tolerant patriotism, impressive courtesy and dignity of manner, firmness of action, tenderest sympathy for the unfortunate, and a steadfast, inextinguishable faith in the feasibility and indispensableness of universal education. It may well be doubted whether any other person could have been found who had such adaptedness to the work, because of his rare combination of personal, intellectual and moral qualities. Reference has been made to the bankruptcy of the South and the timeliness of the benefaction. The truth of history requires the cumulative statement that while many resolutely accepted the situation, and with courage and subdued hope turned their faces to the future, a majority dwelt in the mournful past, grieved with unutterable sadness over "the lost cause," adjusted themselves slowly and with ill-temper to the new environments, and were not restraintful in the bitter and almost savage expression of their discontent. To conciliate opposition, to quiet offensive hostility, to avoid irritation, to put a charitable construction upon hasty speech and rude action, to help in dissipating despair, to be listened to in suggesting and urging a permanent policy of free schools, offering equal advantages to the late masters and the emancipated slaves, and in direct opposition to the traditions and practices of the whole past, required what few men possessed; and this history would have been very

different but for the wonderful skill and ability with which Dr. Sears, transferring his home and citizenship to Virginia, surmounted obstacles, changed adverse opinions and convictions of the people, made the Peabody Education Fund a most popular trust, and became himself imbedded in the confidence and affections of the South.

A meeting of the Trustees was held in Richmond on the 21st of January, 1868, Governor Fish presiding in the absence of Mr. Winthrop, who was in Europe. Dr. Sears made his first report, which recited rather the beginning of operations than the completion of any of its parts. "The field was wide and varied; the enterprise, in many of its features, was entirely new; the most perplexing questions to be disentangled and settled were encountered at the very beginning." For about three months he gave almost his entire time to the study of proposed plans of action which were of the most diverse character, to consultation with intelligent men, and to a wide and varied correspondence. It became necessary to correct a widely-prevalent notion that the Fund was a mere charity to the poor, for equal distribution, and to be used as a temporary relief. It was soon settled in his own mind that what was needed was the adoption of a comprehensive plan for the establishment and maintenance of systems of public schools — as the provision for primary and general education was very defective, and in many places could be hardly said to exist at all. Instead of aiding a large number of inferior schools, it seemed advisable to concentrate effort on a few good ones, centrally located, and sustained by an intelligent public sentiment. He gave it as his best judgment, which subsequent history has amply confirmed, that the best policy of the Board was to act in conjunction with State authorities, rather than with individuals, or religious denominations, or private corporations. A great point to be gained was to stimulate a governmental interest, as

well as a popular one, in the cause of general education. Great firmness was required in resisting appeals, sometimes deceptive, often founded on real necessity, and backed by strong political, official, social, denominational, and personal influence, and here the wisdom and courage of the General Agent had opportunity for conspicuous and persistent exercise. The Trustees sustained their Agent, and it soon was recognized that the fixed purpose was so to administer the Trust as to make it a helpful and instructive agency in securing systems of free schools in all the Southern States, adapted to their peculiar condition of inhabitancy by two races, distinct in origin, color, history, separated by an impassable chasm, and yet predestined to continuous joint occupancy of the same territory. In order to a right understanding of the aim and the work of the Fund, it needs to be iterated and kept constantly in view that when Mr. Peabody made his gift there were not, and there had never been, any State systems of compulsory and tax-sustained public schools. Convinced that the welfare of the people was inseparably connected with free schools, and knowing that mistakes would not be easy of reparation, time was taken to obtain exhaustive information and to mature plans which would stand the test of experience. Dr. Sears made extensive journeys, visited and addressed schools, colleges, Teachers' Associations and Legislatures. The greatest immediate want, as disclosed by this personal inspection, was a proper supply of competent teachers, and, to meet this want, it was recommended that aid should be given to Normal Schools. Strictly speaking, there was not a Normal School in the whole area covered by the Fund; but they sprang up with facility, and applications were numerous and urgent for adoption and support of Colleges and Academies as Normal Schools. The Normal departments were mere annexes, and the teachers were not experts. At the close

of his first Report, Dr. Sears embodied his opinions in distinct recommendations.

"1. That in promoting 'Primary or Common School Education,' we confine ourselves, as far as possible, to Public Schools.

"2. Instead of supporting small schools in the country, or helping to support them by paying the tuition for poor children, we limit ourselves to rendering aid to schools where large numbers can be gathered, and where a model system of schools can be organized.

"3. That, other things being equal, we give the preference to places which will, by their example, exert the widest influence upon the surrounding country.

"4. That we aim at the power and efficacy of a limited number of such schools in a given locality rather than at the multiplication of schools languishing for want of sufficient support.

"5. That we make efforts in all suitable ways to improve State systems of education, to act through their organs, and to make use of their machinery wherever they are proffered us.

"6. That we use our influence in favor of State Normal Schools, on account of their superior excellence over Normal Departments in Colleges and Academies, which will be overshadowed by the literary and scientific departments, and fail to win the regards and excite the enthusiasm of students or the interest of the general public.

"7. That we give special attention to the training of female teachers for Primary Schools, rather than to the general culture of young men in Colleges, who will be likely to teach in the higher schools for the benefit of the few.

"8. That, in the preparation of colored teachers, we encourage their attendance at regular Normal Schools, and, only in exceptional cases, at other schools which attempt to give normal instruction.

"9. That we favor the appointment and support of State Superintendents, the formation of State Associations of teachers, and the publication of periodicals for the improvement of teachers, and, where it shall be necessary, contribute moderate amounts in aid of these objects."

It will be observed that Dr. Sears was confirmed in his judgment, that the aided schools, whether normal or for primary education, should be under State auspices. No other policy would be safe, nor promise thoroughness, efficiency, and permanency.

These propositions, accepted by the Board, stereotyped the policy of the Fund. The conditions precedent to aid brought the States into willing co-operation and gave stability to the plan. Fixed principles, rather than temporary and illusory expedients, were to govern. "Free Schools for the whole people" was the aim of the Trust, and everything was to be subordinated to this inflexible object. The free education of the children of the South — "without other distinction than their needs and the opportunities of usefulness to them" — was the design of Mr. Peabody in establishing the Trust, "and he did not fail to enforce that design in his latest conversations, as well as in his earlier public letters." A purpose, however wise and far reaching, is not self-executing. Rules and methods must be prescribed and administered. After mature deliberation, and with the approbation of the Founder, the Trustees determined to confine the benefits of the Fund to *public free schools*, and in no case to meet the entire cost of maintaining them. A small part of the current expenses, rarely more than one fourth, was placed in the hands of proper school officers, by way of aid and encouragement. On the 21st of September, 1869, Dr. Sears writes to Mr. Winthrop, "Our maximum for white schools has been $300 for one hundred pupils; $450 for one hundred and fifty; $600 for two hundred; and we have paid in Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia $4,000 in each State for a little more than two thousand pupils. I am inclined to adopt that rule, namely, $300 for one hundred white pupils, and $200 for one hundred colored. It costs less to maintain schools for the colored children than for the white. Some

will find fault with our making any *distinction* between the two races. What do you think of my plan, and of this objection to it?" No Procrustean rule was workable, and later, instead of a proportionate distribution according to population or poverty, as was demanded by many unwise persons, a limited number of the larger towns, such as would exert the widest influence upon the surrounding country, was selected, and for any locality the maximum appropriation was $2,000, and the minimum number of pupils was one hundred, that being the smallest number that would admit of a graded system. In the larger towns there is, also, generally more enterprise, or more ambition to carry the schools to a high degree of excellence. These models of well-organized and well-conducted schools, showing the people what a good graded school was, did more to enlighten the people, disarm opposition, and create a sound public educational sentiment, than all verbal arguments that could have been used. The chief benefit did not arise from what the Fund gave, but from what it induced others to give and to do. The homely rule of helping those who help themselves, of requiring a larger sum than was furnished to be raised by local tax or contribution has marked the entire administration of the Fund, and has had a most salutary influence in increasing fourfold what has been given for education, and in indoctrinating tax-payers with the sound economic principle that there is no more legitimate tax on property than that which is levied for the education of the masses. In many instances, the towns soon assumed all the expense, the schools became self-supporting, and thus the timely and judicious aid gave permanence to schools which continued to flourish after the fostering external help was withdrawn. Attention was then given elsewhere, and soon the feebler rural districts were reached. This experiment of partial succor, conditioned on larger self-help, had a wide and happy

influence in bringing about an organized, corporate State system, which included both urban and rural schools.

Perhaps this session of the Trustees was the most crucial of any in the life of the Fund. The General Agent, in his report, had outlined a comprehensive and systematic plan, which would eventually secure the establishment of a general system of free schools by all the States. To this cautious and progressive method, some of the Southern Trustees, notably, two of great influence who had held high positions, offered earnest objection, and urged, with pathetic appeal, because of the destitution prevailing in the South, an immediate distribution, not simply of the income, but of a large portion of the then capital, at least as much as $400,000, in aid of schools in poor neighborhoods. After a discussion, participated in by eight of the Trustees and by Dr. Sears, the scheme of doling out charitable aid to all in want of the means of education was fortunately defeated, and the principle of distribution, which has since so wisely obtained in the administration of the Fund, was definitively settled. Nothing regarding this debate is given in the official account of the proceedings, not so much, in fact, as an indication that there was a debate.

During this meeting, the Constitutional Convention of Virginia, which was in session, invited the Board to visit the body. There was not time for them to accept; but, on the day after their adjournment, Dr. Sears made an address to the Convention, arguing, with unanswerable logic and wealth of illustration, in favor of a thorough and well-sustained system of free schools. Mr. Stuart pronounced it one of the ablest and most effective ever delivered on that subject, and said that it aided materially in giving shape and impulse to the admirable system of public schools which was soon thereafter put upon the statutes of Virginia.

In July of the same year, the Board met in New York;

and death had already begun to thin the ranks of those personally selected by Mr. Peabody. William C. Rives had died since the last meeting. Born in Nelson County, Virginia, on the 4th of May, 1793, he was educated liberally at Hampden-Sidney, and William and Mary colleges. Entering public life at an early age, he was soon distinguished for his faultless courtesy, for refinement and grace of manner, for a happy blending of conservatism and progress in his opinions and actions, for studious and scholarly tastes and habits, for eloquence and ability in debate, and was honored by being chosen Representative in Congress, Senator, Minister to France, discharging these high functions with credit to himself and benefit to his country. In the selection of those to carry out the provisions of his Trust, Mr. Peabody sought to constitute an able and congenial company of accomplished gentlemen, and his choice of Mr. Rives, a typical Virginian of the old school, introduced into the body a prudent counsellor, and a model of courtly propriety and personal integrity. Dr. Sears, in his first Report, describing his first visit to the South, said that Mr. Rives generously rendered all the aid he needed, and introduced him, under the most favorable circumstances, to the public men. "It is but a simple act of justice to say that my reception in Virginia, through his agency, not only rendered my visit agreeable and successful in a high degree, but gave a tone to public sentiment in respect to the value of our enterprise at the very beginning which has been of great service to us in the other States which I subsequently visited."

The General Agent diligently employed the months intervening between meetings of the Board in visiting the Atlantic and Gulf States, and studying the educational problem. In his first acquaintance with some of these States he encountered "a political struggle," in no sense "antagonistic to his aims and plans," but awakening the

most anxious apprehensions in regard to the future. It was "to the credit of the people of those States that men of all parties, who rarely co-operated in other things, met and consulted and acted together" on the school subject "with singular unanimity." In the transition period after the war, in the chaotic condition of society, many persons holding office were incompetent, or unfaithful and corrupt. Money raised for schools was diverted to other purposes. School funds once existing were "among the things of the past." In one State, $420,000 of stock belonging to the Educational Fund was disposed of for less than half its value, and squandered upon favorites. In another State, the entire permanent school fund of the parishes disappeared, and a Trust Fund of $1,300,500 was diverted from its legitimate use and passed, at a heavy discount, into the hands of jobbers and brokers. Time and labor were needed "to bring the people to a clear apprehension of what was needed in the practical work of setting public schools in operation;" and those most interested were frank to say that, "without any experience in such matters, they could not devise a plan of action unless they had the assistance of some one who had knowledge and experience in such things." It was just in such a crisis that Dr. Sears stood pre-eminent among the men of his day as "a leader of public opinion, as an organizer of schools, and as an exponent of the best methods of instruction."

History cannot furnish a parallel to the state of affairs which existed at the South from 1865 to 1874. It required no superior foresight or sagacity to see that the inevitable result of causes in action, moral, social, and political, would require almost superhuman prudence and wisdom to prevent disorder, anarchy, terrible excesses, race conflicts, and semi-rebellion and warfare. Instead of anticipating and guarding against what was most likely to occur, it is not, at this day, improper to say that the measures adopted

for restoring the loyalty of the States, for extinguishing the embers of secession, for giving full citizenship and suffrage to the emancipated negroes, were not always the outcome of calm reason, or large information, or broad patriotism, but were predestined failures. The indebtedness of the States, under the reorganized governments, was increased enormously and without adequate consideration; State bonds were issued recklessly, and sold at heavy discount; State expenditures were swelled a hundred-fold by sinecure offices, extravagant salaries, and wildly lavish appropriations; illiterate men, many of whom could not read their commissions, were appointed constables, sheriffs, and justices of the peace. Incompetency and fraud ran riot, debauching public morals and degrading public honor. There was a saturnalia of misgovernment and ignorance, of passion and crime, of wrong and robbery. The outrages of those in authority were of such a character that Senator Hale of Maine was constrained to declare that "the infamy and disgrace of certain Southern State governments have been constantly on the increase. . . . There have been bad men in those States who have bought power by wholesale bribery, and have enriched themselves at the expense of the people by peculation or open-handed robbery. Corruption and anarchy have occupied and possessed these unfortunate States."

This sombre recital of the condition of affairs at the South is necessary to make plain what nicety and delicacy were required in adjusting the action of the Board to that of all the States concerned. Civil government was in an anomalous condition, and never were patience and prudence and wisdom more needed. Old systems had to be laid aside. Into the administrations of civil government were incorporated strange and inharmonious elements. Common schools may have worked well elsewhere, but they had not been tried at the South. It was a difficult

task to secure approval for them, when State treasuries were empty, the shrinkage in property values was enormous, and every day might bring forth a collision between angry elements.

In 1868, Mr. Peabody informed Mr. Winthrop, in London, that he purposed to visit his native country again, and make a considerable addition to the Fund. Having, the next spring, serious apprehensions as to his health, which were confirmed by his medical advisers, he resolved to come earlier and complete his designs. Mr. Winthrop, Governor Clifford, and Dr. Sears met him at the station, on his arrival in Boston; and he informed them that the first desire of his heart, that which he had crossed the Atlantic especially to gratify, was to meet the Board once more, and increase their means for carrying on the great work in which they were engaged. He conferred long and anxiously with Dr. Sears, who had an opportunity of giving him full and minute information as to the policy and plans which had thus far been adopted and pursued. In the conference about the condition and wants of the South in regard to education, there necessarily came up the fact that two years from the date of the instrument of Trust there expired the power of expending any portion of the principal. Aid rendered to schools had multiplied their number. The advantages which had accrued from judicious help increased the popular sentiment in favor of good schools and the need for a larger use of means. The embarrassment growing out of adjusting the scale of expenditure to the income simply, and the depression produced upon the friends of popular education by this reduction of appropriation, so operated upon the mind and heart of Mr. Peabody, that he was induced to make his second donation without further delay. The Board, at his immediate request, held a special meeting at Newport,

Rhode Island, on July 1, 1869, and the Chairman presented the following letter: —

GENTLEMEN, — When I established the Trust of which you have charge, it was my intention, if its results and progress should prove satisfactory, to return in three years to my native land, and to make further provision for carrying out the plans which experience should have shown to be productive of encouragement and benefit to the people of the South.

My precarious state of health has rendered it imprudent for me to wait for the full period of my intended absence; and I have now come among you in order to proceed at once to the fulfilment of my purpose.

I have constantly watched with great interest and careful attention the proceedings of your Board, and it is most gratifying to me now to be able to express my warmest thanks for the interest and zeal you have manifested in maturing and carrying out the designs of my letter of Trust, and to assure you of my cordial concurrence in all the steps you have taken.

At the same time I must not omit to congratulate you, and all who have at heart the best interests of this educational enterprise, upon your obtaining the highly valuable services of Dr. SEARS as your General Agent, — services valuable not merely in the organization of schools and of a system of public education, but in the good effect which his conciliatory and sympathizing course has had wherever he has met or become associated with the communities of the South, in social or business relations.

And I beg to take this opportunity of thanking, with all my heart, the people of the South themselves for the cordial spirit with which they have received the Trust, and for the energetic efforts which they have made, in co-operation with yourselves and Dr. SEARS, for carrying out the plans which have been proposed and matured for the diffusion of the blessings of education in their respective States.

Hitherto, under the system adopted by your General Agent, and sanctioned by you, four of the Southern States have not been assisted from the Fund placed in your charge, and I concur with you in the policy thus pursued; as I am sure will the citizens of those four States, and all who have at heart the highest permanent

good of our beloved country. For it was most necessary that, at the outset, those States and portions of States which had suffered most from the ravages of war, and were most destitute of educational means and privileges, should be first and specially aided.

I believe the good sense and kind feeling of the people of these States will continue to acquiesce, for the present, in your course of devoting, under the care of Dr. SEARS, the greater part of the Fund to the same States which have received its benefits for the past two years, with perhaps the addition of Texas, which State I am advised the General Agent will visit during the coming autumn or winter, to ascertain its educational requirements, and to give such aid as shall be requisite and can be afforded, where it shall be most needed.

I have the same sympathy with every one of the States; and, were all alike needing assistance, I should wish each alike to share in the benefits of the Trust.

As the portions aided shall respectively grow in prosperity and become self-sustaining in their systems of education, their respective allotments of the Fund will be applied to other destitute communities; and thus its benefits will, I earnestly hope and trust, ultimately reach every section of the vast field committed to your care.

It is my hope and belief, and this opinion is fully confirmed by my interviews with Dr. SEARS, that, with the additional amount which I now place in your hands, the annual income of the Fund alone may be found sufficient to sustain and extend the work you have so well begun; and it is my desire that when the Trust is closed, and the final distribution made by yourselves or your successors, all the fourteen Southern States, including Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Texas, shall share in that distribution according to their needs.

In accordance with what I have already said of my intention, at the time I established this Trust, to add thereto, if its success were such as I am now well assured has attended it, I now give to you and your successors the following securities; viz.: —

$190,000 Belvidere and Delaware Railroad Company's 6 per cent bonds, first mortgage; dividends 15th June and 15th December, due 1877; principal and interest guaranteed by the Camden and Amboy Railroad Company and New Jersey Transportation Company.

$301,025 Syracuse and Binghampton Railroad Company 7 per cent bonds ($198,500 due in 1876, dividends October 1st and April 1st; $4,525 payable October 1st, 1870; $98,000 dividends from 1st June, due in 1887). This is an excellent road, and the stock at par, but the security is rendered perfect by the guarantee of both principal and interest by the Lackawana Coal Company of Pennsylvania.

$79,200 Alabama State 5 per cent bonds. ($16,200 due 1886; $21,000 due 1872; $42,000 due in 1883. Dividends from November 1st.)

$35,300 Mobile city 5 per cent bonds; dividends from July 1st. Principal to be gradually paid off.

$79,000 city of Louisville 6 per cent bonds; dividends April and October; due 1883.

$69,600 Louisiana Consolidated Bank 5's, fully guaranteed by State of Louisiana, and payable in 1870, 1872, 1874, and 1876.

$88,000 Ohio and Mississippi Railroad first mortgage 7 per cent bonds; dividends 1st July and 1st January, all payable July 1, 1872.

$90,000 Columbus, Chicago, and Indiana Central Railroad first mortgage bonds, 7 per cent; dividends 1st April and 1st October. Due in 1908. Guaranteed by Pennsylvania Central Railroad Company.

$30,000 Pittsburg city 4 per cent bonds; dividends January and July. Due in 1913.

$8,000 Pittsburg city 5 per cent bonds; dividends January and July. Due in 1913.

$19,000 Louisiana State 6's; dividends January and July.

$10,000 New Orleans city 6's; dividends January and July.

$875 cash.

Amounting in all to one million of dollars. These stocks are all of the very highest character for security, and the dividends are certain to be promptly paid.

The principal sum of one million dollars, given by my first letter of trust, is still intact; the interest on which being added to that of my present gift makes the annual revenue of the Trust upwards of one hundred and thirty thousand dollars; a sum which, in the opinion of your honorable Chairman and your General Agent, is amply sufficient to meet all the requirements of the Trust, without

infringing upon the capital, until the time arrives for the final distribution, as before stated.

In addition to the foregoing, I give to you Florida 6 per cent bonds, which, with overdue coupons, amount to about $384,000.

These bonds, like the Mississippi bonds in my first gift, must before many years be paid.

The territory of Florida obtained the money on these bonds in Europe at about par, and loaned it to the Union Bank as capital.

The territory received for some time a high rate of interest, but, after the bank suspended, paid the bondholders nothing, but referred them to the Union Bank, saying, "Obtain what you can from the Union Bank, and it will then be time enough to come to us." Large amounts of these bonds were purchased by planters at about fifty per cent, and used to pay mortgages held by the Union Bank, until there was nothing more left to be paid; and the small amount of these bonds now outstanding (not exceeding, I believe, two millions of the original bonds) must, I think, before long induce Florida, as an act of justice long delayed, to make provision for their payment.

All the stocks I have given as above are to be held in trust by yourselves and your successors, for the same purposes, and under the same conditions as the funds given you by my original letter creating your trust.

I do this with the earnest hope, and in the sincere trust, that, with God's blessing upon the gift and upon the deliberations and future action of yourselves and your General Agent, it may enlarge the sphere of usefulness already entered upon and prove a permanent and lasting boon, not only to the Southern States, but to the whole of our dear country, which I have ever loved so well, but never so much as now in my declining years, and at this time (probably the last occasion I shall ever have to address you) as I look back over the changes and the progress of nearly three-quarters of a century. And I pray that Almighty God will grant to it a future as happy and noble in the intelligence and virtues of its citizens, as it will be glorious in unexampled power and prosperity.

I am, with great respect,

Your humble servant,

GEORGE PEABODY.

SALEM, June 29, 1869.

On motion of Bishop McIlvaine, the letter was referred to Governor Graham, Governor Aiken, and Mr. Watson, who reported the following Resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by rising: —

"*Resolved*, By the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, that we receive with the highest gratification the letter of our munificent friend, Mr. PEABODY, announcing so large an addition to our means for carrying on his noble designs for education in the Southern States; that we thankfully recognize in this act, as well as in the express language of his letter, his approbation of the policy we have thus far pursued, and his appreciation of the success thus far achieved; and that we hasten to assure him of our deep sense of the great liberality and wisdom of his endowment, and of our warm personal gratitude for the confidence he has reposed in us.

"*Resolved*, That in accepting this second princely gift, we pledge ourselves to proceed in the execution of the trust committed to us, with renewed resolution that nothing on our part shall be wanting to secure the entire success of an enterprise so full of interest and importance in itself, and which cannot fail to produce the most valuable and lasting influences upon the harmony and welfare of our whole country.

"*Resolved*, That we heartily and affectionately congratulate Mr. PEABODY on being permitted to return in safety to his native land to fulfil this cherished purpose of his heart; and that we implore our Heavenly Father that his strength may be restored and his life spared until he shall have witnessed still more of the fruits of his beneficent plans, and shall have enjoyed still longer the respect and gratitude of his country and of the world."

This additional bounty gave a second million of dollars to the cash capital of the Fund, besides adding largely to the deferred securities which had been included in the original donation, all of which he had the fullest faith would at no very distant day become productive. This second gift was so well-timed, evinced a patriotism and humanity so comprehensive, a munificence so surpassing,

that the Trustees hastened to assure him of their deep sense of the great liberality and wisdom of the endowment, of warm personal gratitude for the confidence reposed in them, and of their renewed purpose to labor for "the entire success of an enterprise so full of interest and importance in itself, and which cannot fail to produce the most valuable and lasting influence upon the harmony and welfare of the whole country." It is fairly within bounds to say that this second grand act of philanthropy produced an effect upon the sentiments of the Southern people even greater than the first.

In consequence of continued feebleness, Mr. Peabody and Dr. Sears passed the hot summer months at the White Sulphur Springs in West Virginia, arriving there on the 18th of July, 1869; and here Mr. Peabody was brought into direct communication with many Southern men. Being the guests of the proprietor, the best cottage was placed at their disposal. From Dr. Sears' letters a few extracts are taken: "Mr. P. is delighted with the establishment and with the gentlemen he has met. More attention and respect he could not wish, and yet (as he just said to me), they are very delicate in their attentions and do not weary him. Everything is as you desire. The people have received him as their benefactor. I regret to say he has not improved in health. Many persons have called on him just to take his hand. General Lee and General Beauregard, who are very attentive to him, and familiar with us all, are but secondary characters to him just now. He, both on account of his unparalleled goodness, and of his illness among a loving and hospitable people, receives tokens of love and respect from all, such as I have never before seen shown to any one. This visit among the best families from all the Southern States will, in my judgment, do more for us than a long tour in a state of good health. This warm sympathy, added to the love and respect, will make

coldness and jealousy, *from any quarter*, hereafter impossible. A whisper of dissatisfaction would wound the sensibilities of the whole people. . . . Yesterday he went to the public dinner-table with us (about 1500 persons are here and dine in a long hall), and then sat an hour in the parlor, giving the ladies an opportunity to take him by the hand, and he is the better for it to-day." The writer of this memorial here saw Mr. Peabody for the first and the last time, and, like all others brought into personal contact with the great philanthropist, was deeply impressed by his benignant countenance, his cordial manner, his tender sympathy, his broad intelligence, his wide patriotism, and his profound interest in the Southern people.

The generous action was none too timely. Mr. Peabody sailed in the "Scotia" for Liverpool on the 29th of September, and died at Eaton Square, London, on the 4th of November, 1869. No uncrowned man ever had such funeral honors. His remains found a temporary resting place in Westminster Abbey. Eloquent tributes were paid by high prelates and the highest Minister of the Crown. The Press, the surest chronicler and reflector of public joy, or public grief, gave utterance to the universal sorrow. By order of the Queen, the body was conveyed in Her Britannic Majesty's iron-clad steamer, "Monarch," which was accompanied by the United States ship-of-war "Plymouth" as an escort. The President assigned to Admiral Farragut the honorable service of receiving the remains when they should arrive on our shores, and sumptuous ceremonies, naval and civil, were paid at Portland. Agreeably to his own desire, the Benefactor was buried, near to the graves of his father and mother, in his native town of Danvers, which now bears the name of Peabody. On the 8th of February, 1870, Mr. Winthrop delivered an oration on the character and general services of Mr. Peabody, by invitation of the Committee of Arrangements,

a number of the Trustees being present to unite in the last tribute to their venerated and beloved friend. This oration, published separately, is included in the first volume of the Peabody Proceedings. Mr. Charles Francis Adams, one of the pall-bearers, declared it to be the most eloquent discourse he had ever heard. His Royal Highness, Prince Arthur, was full of compliments, and asked for a copy for his mother, and the newspapers were specially laudatory of an address, delivered under peculiarly adverse circumstances.[1]

The death was most sincerely lamented in all the Southern States, and called forth from the Press, from public authorities, from schools, from individuals, the tenderest expressions of gratitude and love.

On the 18th of February, the Hon. S. Teackle Wallis delivered a kindred discourse in the Hall of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore, which was repeated before the Legislature of Maryland, it being the feeling of the members that the State ought to emphasize its sense of obligation by giving an official sanction to the tribute of the Peabody Institute.[2] The Trustees, at their meeting in February, which had been postponed from January until after the funeral should have taken place, claiming the privilege of those who knew him in the confidential relations of the great Trust to speak with special testimony, recorded their profound veneration for his character, and his eminent philanthropy and their painful sense of the bereavement occasioned by his death.

"1. *Resolved*, That this Board, having been honored by our lamented and beloved friend, the late GEORGE PEABODY, with the trust of the greatest of his great gifts in America, do hereby record our profound veneration for his character and his eminent philan-

[1] The address may be found in 1 Proceedings of Peabody Education Fund, pp. 151–167, and 3 Winthrop's Speeches and Addresses, pp. 36–50.

[2] Selected Addresses, Lectures, and Reviews. By S. T. Wallis, p. 47.

thropy, with our painful sense of the bereavement to his friends, and the loss to his country, occasioned by his death. Participating to the utmost in that appreciation of his worth and works which has united two great countries of kindred blood in such tributes to his memory as were never paid before to individual merit, it is the privilege of those who knew him in the confidential relations of this great Trust, to speak with special testimony of that shining purity of motive, and of that careful consideration of duty to God and man, which gave birth, form, and direction to all his bountiful gifts. We take a mournful pleasure in recording our loving homage to a beneficence as admirable in heart as in deed; so wise and comprehensive in the choice of its objects; too thoughtful to be profuse, too maturely planned to be impulsive. Enlarged beyond all sectional and national boundaries, it has created a bond of peace between the North and South of his own land, and between them both, as one nation, and their venerated mother-land, which we pray may never be broken. His native country, which he so dearly loved, will fondly remember the son that so adorned her history; whose institutions of learning and of general education he so enriched, and, after having given her children an example how inflexible integrity and unselfish enterprise may accumulate wealth, added the more-needed lesson, how, in their own lifetime, and by their own hands, it may be wisely and nobly dispensed; who, by riches so obtained and used became the benefactor of nations in both hemispheres, and taught the poor in each to call him blessed; whose most enduring monuments will be found in countless schools for the poor and ignorant, and in cheerful, comfortable homes for the destitute and wretched; who, amidst all the flattering homage of the great and the applause of the multitude, preserved unblemished, to the end of a long career, the modest simplicity of life and manners inherited in his youth. It was fit that the mortal remains of such a man, having been attended by dignitaries of the Church, and ministers of the Crown of England, to a temporary resting-place assigned them among the sepulchres of the wise and great, should be carried by the joined hands of Great Britain and America, and with their united honors, to the burial he desired, in his own native village and near the graves of his father and mother.

"2. *Resolved*, That for his well-ordered philanthropy and

princely munificence he deserves to be ranked among heroes and sages, the inventors of useful arts, and the founders of States, the admitted benefactors of preceding ages, whose labors or contributions have marked eras in the amelioration and progress of mankind; and that his name and memory should be cherished among those of the great Americans who have given renown to their country and done good for its people.

"3. *Resolved*, That, in the unexampled tributes which have been paid to the life and character of GEORGE PEABODY, we rejoice to recognize an emphatic testimony of nations and governments to the greatness of simple virtue and beneficent philanthropy — especially in the faithful stewardship of riches — which eminently redounds to their honor, and gives additional weight to a lesson of wisdom and duty for all generations.

"4. *Resolved*, That this Board, deprived, by the afflicting dispensation of Divine Providence, of the advice and countenance of our departed friend and Founder, will ever remember our gratification on the last occasion of his presence with us, and especially in his satisfaction then expressed with our administration of his trust, not only in assuring words, but by the large addition then made thereto; teaching us to feel more than ever our responsibility to God for the talents committed to our care, while we look for guidance and blessing to Him from whom all good counsels and just works proceed."

It was at this meeting, the full term of three years having expired since the Board was originally organized, that the Chairman presented an Introductory Address, the first of that remarkable series of papers which have constituted a marked feature of the Annual Proceedings. These addresses, models of English composition, were a *résumé* of the year's work, and forecasted, with delicate suggestiveness, the action of the session. They contain a full and most authentic account of the original institution of the Trust, and, from time to time, as the occasion required, gave appreciative sketches of the Trustees who had died during the vacation. Mr. Winthrop said playfully, in 1890, that "Our annual pamphlet of Proceedings would hardly know

itself, after a habit of so many years, without a prefatory page or two from the Chairman," and that the omission might almost seem like the opening of a session of Congress without any Executive message. The death of the donor made no change in the administration of the gift. The report of the agent furnished gratifying evidence of a growing sentiment in favor of Free Public Schools. Still, the condition of affairs was unfavorable to systematic, vigorous, or liberal action on the part of the States. The Superintendent of North Carolina said: "The State Fund will not exceed $300,000. There are about 750,000 children to be provided for." The schools in South Carolina were not unlike those in the sister State. No schools were in operation under the new law. With the exception of Charleston, which levied taxes in its municipal capacity, no town was found which could support schools other than by voluntary contribution. In Georgia, no law establishing Public Schools had as yet been passed. Some of the larger towns were struggling manfully with the problem, but most of them were deterred by the reluctance or the inability of the people to submit to the taxation necessary for the purpose. Florida had on statute book a good system, but the revenue was inadequate. Alabama reported a school fund of $525,000 and about 4,000 schools in operation for four months in the year, with 160,000 of the 336,000 children in attendance. The people were beginning to understand and to see good results. Several towns under special school laws were doing excellent work, and the schools of the State were "perfectly free for all to attend, the whites in their schools and the colored in theirs." Owing to the unsettled condition of affairs in the Southwestern States, less was accomplished than otherwise would have been done. The policy and status of the States remained generally unsettled until 1875, and even after laws had been enacted it was impos-

sible to mature the right measures, or raise sufficient funds, for the maintenance of the schools. Months and years were required for enlightening public opinion, for making complete and uniform organization of schools, for habituating officers and people to an unfamiliar, untried system.

In 1870, Dr. Sears visited Texas, but found the school laws and the sentiment unsatisfactory. In 1871, public free schools were opened for the first time in the history of that State. The opposition was so strong that they had but a short life "during a period of fierce party strife." At the meeting in 1876 the Trustees manifested an earnest desire that measures should be taken for stimulating stronger interest in education in that "great and prosperous commonwealth." During the succeeding winter and spring, in company with Dr. Burleson, "a pioneer in education," thoroughly familiar with the geography and the people of the State, Dr. Sears made a canvass of the State, and spoke in all the principal cities and towns. In a letter to Mr. Winthrop, he thus writes: —

"My work in Texas was finished more than a week ago, and I trust all reasonable expectations have been realized. The appointments and other arrangements made by our agent, Rev. Dr. Burleson, turned out to be excellent. He published the list of appointments, corresponded with the local authorities, and then accompanied me, and followed my addresses with excellent remarks and suggestions of his own. Being an old, well known, popular, and eloquent citizen, he has an influence which no stranger, and few Texans could have. I am cordially received by the people, and am welcomed by the city governments. My friends here say great good has been done by this effort in behalf of education."

Dr. Burleson published an address in which he said:

"Dr. Sears has made this tour to Texas in compliance with the special request of Mr. Peabody, expressed shortly before his death. There never was such a canvass made in the great cause of education in Texas before, and never was there such enthu-

siasm awakened to commence a new and grand educational era in Texas. Dr. Sears has been heard with profound attention by our governor and supreme judges, our greatest educators, our mayors, our editors, our merchants, and leading minds in all our professions and occupations. One sentiment universally prevails — and that is, that it will be a burning shame on Texas not to provide better educational facilities."

It is thus seen that the burdens upon Dr. Sears were very heavy and trying. It was necessary to visit towns and make personal examination of the condition and the wants of schools; to originate plans; to direct and superintend the work of others; to keep up an extensive and sometimes an annoying correspondence; to deal with all sorts of people, from cranks and imbeciles to governors, legislators, and congressmen; to negotiate with municipal and school officers; to obtain from trustworthy sources the evidence that the conditions made had been accepted and faithfully fulfilled; to make payments and keep accounts of moneys received and disbursed; and to prepare all necessary papers and reports. This was a transition period. Experiments were tentative, sometimes requiring abandonment, generally modification. To clear away doubts, overcome opposition, instruct as to principles and details, awaken faith in free schools, place new systems beyond failure, was a task, incessant and Herculean. After the people and governments had adopted State-established, State-controlled, State-supported systems of education, the adjustment of plans of operation to a thousand varying conditions of territory, population, wealth, opinion, demanded almost superhuman tact and wisdom. With best intentions, legislation was undertaken by those who had no experience to guide them. Officers were sometimes not provided, sometimes needlessly multiplied; success was prevented by divided responsibility, and not unfrequently the organization was ignorant, indifferent, or

hostile. What helped to save from disastrous failure was rigid adherence to a fixed, clearly-defined policy, and keeping in view permanent results, rather than temporary relief. Helping those who help themselves was practical wisdom, derived from highest human philosophy, but enforcing it, conditioning a gift on the raising of a much larger sum, was almost like requiring an increased tale of brick without furnishing the needed straw. Over and over, in reiterated phrase, with saddened heart, Dr. Sears recounts "the impoverished condition of the people," State, municipal, and individual bankruptcy, the debts which hung with crushing weight over the States, and the cruelty of increasing the taxes. In the midst of these embarrassments and heroic strugglings to put civilization in alignment with the new order of things, there arose an agitation and a demand which threatened, not simply to reverse the growing sentiment in favor of universal education, but to undo and make odious what had been accomplished, and to plunge society into bitterest race-antagonism and maddening chaos. One or two States undertook to make laws and enforce them for mixed schools. Some persons, not to "the manner born," took the lead in organizing a crusade for the co-education of the races. One man, imperious and dictatorial, a late immigrant, sought to inflame sectional prejudice and political hostility against Dr. Sears, declaring that he had imbibed the Southern prejudice against the negro, and was "one of the veriest dough-faces in the whole Southern region." William Lloyd Garrison made an assault, in this connection, on Mr. Peabody, as "conservative by structure, taste, affinity, and association." As the writer may not view this question impartially, he prefers to let his predecessor describe the contention and the certain results if it succeeded. The question of "mixed schools" was repeatedly presented and pressed in Congress, and Mr.

Sumner, on the 25th of February, 1865, moved a resolution in the Senate, offering both political and civil rights in Louisiana, regardless of color or race. In 1869, Dr. Sears wrote, in reply to a New Orleans paper: —

"I will now state our position, which is perfectly well known to you. We assume no control whatever over the arrangement of the schools to which assistance is accorded. We have nothing to do with any party questions, or with the policy pursued by Municipal or State authorities. *We only wish to aid in the work of universal education.* If separate schools are provided for the two races, and both of them are pleased with the arrangement, we can have no embarrassment in co-operating with the State authorities. If the law requires mixed schools, and the children, whether white or black, generally attend them, we shall have no difficulty in our work. But if the State supports only mixed schools, and the white children do not attend them, we should naturally aid, *not* the colored children who enjoy, exclusively, the benefit of the public school money, but *the white children who are left to grow up in ignorance.* If it be said that the white children ought to attend the mixed schools, and that it is their own fault, or that of their parents, if they do not, we reply that we are not called on to pronounce judgment on that subject. Let the people themselves settle that question.

"If a State government ventures upon an experiment which works badly, we cannot help it. We leave the responsibility where it belongs. We must go our way, and do our duty, helping the needy and uneducated 'among the entire population, without other distinction than their needs, and the opportunities of usefulness to them.' Our proper business is to encourage universal education; not to meddle with any party question, nor to encourage or discourage any political body. While we disclaim, therefore, all interference with State legislation, or the administration of laws regarding schools, we think it reasonable, on our part, to desire the liberty to perform the duties of our trust, according to the known will and express language of the donor, who has not only defined, clearly, the powers and the duties of the Trustees, but has read all that I have written upon this subject, and approves of every word."

In 1870, he wrote to Mr. Winthrop, "South Carolina, like Louisiana, is afflicted with the curse of trying to have mixed schools." In his Annual Report in 1874, he thus placed the subject before the Trustees: —

"Seven years' personal intercourse with all classes of men in the South, and an opportunity which few have enjoyed of knowing the opinions and feelings of the people in regard to schools, have led to the conviction, clear, strong, and unwavering, that any authoritative interference with the schools of these States would be disastrous to the dearest interests of education, and would be by far the most unfortunate for that class of citizens in whose behalf such measures have been proposed. Foreseeing the dangers which threatened the destruction of the State systems of free schools in the South, in all of which provision is made for the education of one race as much as the other, and standing, in some sense, as the guardian of the interests committed to your care, I could not remain a passive spectator, while men in power were unwittingly, as we are bound to believe, urging on a measure which, if carried out, would undo nearly all that you have done at the expenditure of so much treasure and assiduous labor. On the contrary, I felt constrained to go twice before committees and leading members of Congress, and utter a voice of earnest warning against a futile attempt to enforce 'mixed schools,' and to show, as best I might, what would be the necessary operation of such a law,—a law that would prove a nullity if not followed by another requiring each State to maintain public schools of a given character, and still another requiring the attendance of white children.

"At no time since the war has the party of progress been in so critical a condition as it has been since the agitation of the question of 'mixed schools' in Congress. Even the shadow of coming events has had a disastrous influence. In one or two States, contracts with mechanics for school-houses, and with teachers for opening schools, were immediately suspended; and the highest and best school officers of the State, seeing that their fondest expectations were likely to be blasted, were looking around for other more hopeful spheres of labor. Already an amount of mischief has been done which it will take years to repair. Confidence has been shaken;

and men who stood firm before have become despondent, and are retiring from the field.

"Upon no part of the community would the threatened calamity fall so heavily as upon the colored people. Others can, without any personal sacrifice, return to the old system of private schools. Having none but their own children to provide for, they would be relieved of the great expense of maintaining schools for the blacks. These, on the other hand, would in most places be left completely destitute of schools. Southern charity will be dried up, if the negro is made the instrument of breaking up the existing systems of public instruction. Religious societies which have founded theological schools will have enough to do to educate ministers, without undertaking to educate the immense body of the colored people. The latter have neither the funds nor the intelligence necessary to carry on the work successfully. Nothing but public schools, maintained, organized, and controlled by the State, can meet their wants.

"Let us look at this question in the light of their interest simply. What advantages of education have they now in fact or in law? The same that the white people have. If there is, in certain localities, any difference, it is purely accidental and temporary; and is quite as often to the prejudice of the white children as of the colored. The laws in all the States require the same provision to be made for both. Nor can any distinction be safely made in administering them. The colored people are of sufficient importance in every State to make it unsafe for men in authority to abuse their power. From the very nature of the case, the State governments must, in the end, adopt and carry out the same rule for both races. This grand provision for the education of the whole colored population, chiefly at the expense of others, is secure as long as the present school systems shall be preserved. But let them be disturbed by any unhappy excitement, and the disaffected will seize upon the opportunity to abolish the public schools and to return to their favorite plan of private schools, each man paying what he pleases for the education of his children. The colored children will, of course, be left to grow up as ignorant as the brutes. We will not speak of the political bearings of the subject, except to say that any measure, no matter how plausible in theory, which shall in fact take the light of knowledge from the negroes of the

South, will come with an ill grace from those who have given them the boon of liberty."

A report from Messrs. Evarts, Clifford, and Wetmore, adopted unanimously by the Trustees, sustained the views of the General Agent, and pronounced emphatically, as the result of their responsible consideration of the whole subject, that compulsory legislation by Congress in favor of "mixed schools" would be most pernicious to the interests of education in the communities to be affected by it, and that the colored population would suffer the greater share of this disastrous influence. (1 Proceedings, 437–439.) To Mr. Winthrop, who was in Europe, Dr. Sears expressed without reserve his deep anxiety concerning the mad project, and wrote an interesting account of his own labors, and of the action of others, in giving a quietus to Congressional interference. On the 8th of January, 1874, he writes from Staunton, Virginia: —

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP:

DEAR SIR, — I have just returned from Washington, where I felt obliged to go to secure the omission or modification of that clause in General Butler's Civil Rights Bill which relates to schools. I am satisfied with the result. My first aim was to see its friends (Butler, Hoar, Dawes, and others), and induce them to omit the clause altogether, or to require only *equal privileges* of education without mixing the two races in the schools. I think I convinced them all that the Bill would overthrow the State systems of free schools, and leave both the blacks and the poor whites, who are now provided for by the rich chiefly, destitute of schools altogether, as private schools would be substituted for public schools, and that if Congress itself should for a shadowy abstraction entail popular ignorance upon the South, after giving universal suffrage, and after all the States had established a free school law, somebody would have a terrible responsibility, which the Southern people of all parties would be slow to forget. Every man admitted the force of the argument. Butler himself said the Bill should

be re-committed, and that he was willing to make a reasonable compromise.

In the next place I saw leading Senators — not Sumner nor his trained negroes, but Morton, Buckingham, and others, who will see that the objectionable clause is left out or changed, or that the Bill is defeated in the Senate. Lastly, I saw the President, who viewed the subject as you and I do, and told General Butler, while I was at the White House, that it was unwise to attempt to force mixed schools upon the South.

I was able to say that the negroes themselves think it best to have separate schools; that a delegation of colored preachers and a colored lawyer had just called on me in Memphis, expressing this view strongly, and that the mixed schools of Louisiana are now separating of their own account. I further said that, for no valuable consideration, they were wounding people of the South in their most sensitive parts, as they cared much more about their schools than about hotels, theatres, steamboats, etc.

Of course I did not fail to say that the Bill would not only undo our work for the last six years, but leave us without a promising field of action, by taking away public schools and leaving nothing in their place. The people would, of course, resort to private schools, and all the friends of general education would be discouraged, and their enemies would triumph.

Excuse this apparent egotism, as I was anxious that you, who are so deeply interested in the matter, should know the facts.

Very sincerely yours, B. SEARS.

The "Civil Rights Bill" was passed without the clause covering co-education of the races, and the States moved on with greater confidence and courage. They put their school systems in better condition, removed incongruities and defects, increased the appropriations from public revenues, authorized and encouraged towns, school districts, and counties to levy local taxes, and began to realize the need for improved teaching, and to adopt Normal Schools and Teachers' Institutes as indispensable agencies for perfecting the schools, now under the exclusive control of the civil authorities. It was fortunately reserved for the

devoted agent to see the work of the Fund in a most prosperous condition, and systems of State schools, steadily kept in view as the end to be attained, irrevocably established. On the 6th of July, 1880, at Saratoga Springs, the Scholar, the Educator, the Patriot, the Christian, fell asleep. The funeral services occurred at the Baptist Church in Brookline, Massachusetts, and his remains were deposited in Walnut Street Cemetery. The Trustees adopted resolutions as "a testimonial of the value of his services as their chief executive officer, and of their appreciation of his many virtues and estimable qualities as a private citizen." They spoke of him as "a gentleman of rare intellectual endowments, improved by laborious culture, and polished by intercourse with most refined society," and as pre-eminently qualified for the duties of the responsible position he had held in connection with the Trust. They declared that they had "lost a personal friend who, by his spotless integrity, cultivated intellect, genial temper, uniform courtesy, and numerous social and Christian graces, exhibited throughout their long intercourse with him, had attached them to him by strong ties of respect and affection; and they will never cease to cherish a kind remembrance of the virtues and accomplishments which were so conspicuously displayed in his life and character."

Mr. Stuart, his neighbor, and as Trustee brought into closest relations, in a felicitous speech, quoted from Dr. Sears a sentence which, unconsciously, but with a master's hand, sketched what must be recognized as a portraiture of his own noble character: "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 go down from generation to generation pouring their blessings on mankind."

The death called forth many tributes in all parts of the Union. By a happy allotment, the last words he wrote and the last paper he prepared had to do with educational progress in this country, and that paper — Fifty Years of Educational Progress — was read the day after his death before the American Institute of Instruction, the association for which it was prepared. That was typical of his whole life; and shortly before he died he said his life had been very much as he would have chosen, and the latter part had been pre-eminently the best. It was therefore most fitting that the most touching expressions of respect and sorrow should come from schools and institutes and public officers. The highest commendation of his work is to be found in the pervasive, potential influence he exerted in behalf of popular education. School superintendents bore their strong and cheerful testimony to his rare insight into the educational needs of the South, and to his influence in stimulating to proper and wise action. The constitutional provision for common-school instruction in Virginia was framed according to his opinions. Dr. Ruffner, inseparably identified with the free school system in Virginia, says he aided efficiently in the establishment of free schools in Richmond and Petersburg, before the creation of the school system, and that when he submitted the first draft of the school law to Dr. Sears valuable suggestions were given.

President Battle, of the University of North Carolina, with the concurrence of Governor Vance, wrote in 1877: "The Normal School is a great success. Without your co-operation and advice we might have blundered and failed. The wisdom of the plan you recommended is now universally admitted." An extract from a Mississippi letter must serve as a sample of what hundreds wrote. "I cannot impress you with the lethargy that prevailed here before your visit, nor can I convey to you the spirit that

is abroad at this time." To him, more than to any other man, it would not be extravagant to say, every State in the South is indebted for general and efficient government school systems in place of the inefficient, expensive, and partial provision for education in private schools.

Barnas Sears was born in Sandisfield, Massachusetts, November 19, 1802, and was reared under the wholesome influence of a New England home. Like most remarkable men, his character was disciplined by early struggles, and he was not ashamed to tell how in his young days he laid stone and taught school to defray the expense of his education. When a student in Brown University, from which he was graduated in 1825, he went to Boston to secure some help, but, being too poor to pay his fare by stage-coach, he walked all the way, forty-one miles, and after getting the help returned in the same manner. He was prepared at Newton Theological Seminary for the ministry, and then became pastor of the First Baptist Church in Hartford. In 1829, he was elected a professor in Madison University. In 1833, he went to Germany to pursue his literary and theological studies, and while abroad acquired that familiarity with the German language, literature, and philosophy which was so pleasant and useful in after life. He baptized Oncken one night, as the civil authorities forbade his peculiar denominational views, and afterwards constituted the first Baptist Church at Hamburg. On his return, he became a professor and subsequently the President in Newton Theological Seminary.

Dr. Hovey, the distinguished President of that Institution, says he was an attractive teacher, and brought all his varied attainments to bear upon the students' minds with remarkable skill, and succeeded wonderfully in stimulating thought and research. He made his pupils feel the richness of the treasure to be found in the domain of inspired truth. The great charm of his teaching was due in

part to his enthusiasm, in part to his confidence in the ability of his pupils to judge for themselves, and in part to the amplitude of his knowledge and the interesting manner in which he directed them to his sources of knowledge. He gave instruction in history, and few could marshal facts, arrange them, generalize them, and breathe life into them as could he. Chronology, topography, events and the philosophy of events, responded to his touch as the keys to the pianist.

In 1848, Dr. Sears was made Secretary of the Board of Education and its Executive Agent, succeeding Horace Mann. Those familiar with the work of both have pronounced that of Sears in no respect inferior to that of Mann. Less aggressive, less iconoclastic, less obtrusive and imperious, he was more patient in waiting for results, and not less enthusiastic or intelligent in the duties of his office. He was particularly successful in stimulating teachers to aim at higher attainments in knowledge, and at greater enthusiasm and thoroughness in their work. Under his supervision Teachers' Institutes were made frequent and useful. It was through his influence that agents were appointed to visit towns, inspect schools, instruct school officers, and hold Institutes; and after forty years of satisfactory experience this kind of service is continued. It would be difficult to point out any serious defect in his service from 1848 to 1855, and his Annual Reports bear a strong resemblance to his Reports as General Agent for clearness of statement, accuracy of knowledge, practicalness and wisdom of suggestions, and use of pure, undefiled English.

In 1855, he was elected President of his *Alma Mater*, Brown University, a position he filled with eminent success until he was persuaded to take the office of General Agent of the Peabody Education Fund. It was a bold undertaking to follow Dr. Wayland, who for twenty-five years

had filled that high place with such transcendent ability that the Hon. Andrew D. White, late President of Cornell, and a distinguished author and Diplomatist, pronounced him the ablest college president this country has produced. Dr. Sears' administration enlarged the usefulness of the historic institution, brought it into harmonious relations with city and State, founded a system of scholarships for needy and meritorious students, and extinguished a burdensome debt. In his intercourse with the students, he impressed himself as a teacher and a sympathizing friend. One of them says he was a "loved President." The young men were led, not driven. They were made to feel the immense worth of true scholarship and culture, embracing both mind and heart, were taught that learning should be sought for its own sake; and they can never forget, says a surviving student, "the general tenor of his instruction, which sought to imbue them with a love of truth and goodness, and to make the good life appear the only true life." It is a singular proof of his power as a teacher, that the distinguished men who succeeded him at Madison, at Newton, and at Brown had all been his pupils. It was this man, always and everywhere a Christian gentleman, so providentially fitted for the duties, by his varied experience and rare combination of nobility, humility, and delicate considerateness, that justified Mr. Winthrop in saying of him that he did not believe there "was another man in the country who could have conducted our Trust with so much ability, devotion, and success." Mr. Peabody highly appreciated the very able labors of Dr. Sears and his devotion to the work which he loved so well. More than once, tempting inducements were offered to leave for recreation temporarily, or entirely for more lucrative positions. A committee once asked him to accept an appointment with a salary of $10,000, and he replied that he would not leave a work such as his, or "sever a connection formed under

such peculiar and almost sacred circumstances." To the author of this sketch he wrote, 2d February, 1880, with his characteristic modesty and self-depreciation, "I shall be happy, indeed, if after I shall have done some of the rougher work, in sailing near the rocks and quicksands of the coast, my successor shall be sailing in an open sea. I am sure a grand work is before him. I do not regret being a pioneer. I only hope the pioneer work will be well done. I want no higher honor; I could have had no greater joy. I think our outlook was never so bright, and I wished to tell you so."

During the extreme illness of Dr. Sears, and after his death, until the meeting of the Trustees, Mrs. Fultz, his daughter, acted as General Agent, under the direction of Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Stuart. Her familiarity with the principles and details of administration, having often acted as her father's assistant, enabled her to continue the work. When the Board met in Washington, at the Riggs House, 2d February, 1881, she submitted a clear statement of operations since the last meeting, and thanked the Trustees for the unvarying confidence and kindness extended to her father. The salary of Dr. Sears was continued up to the meeting, and a sum of $1,000 was voted to Mrs. Fultz for the extra services admirably rendered in managing the work, and in preparing a Report for the year.

The death of Dr. Sears, and the transfer of the management to other hands, may be considered as closing the first chapter of the History of the Fund, as, said the Chairman, "a recognized turning-point in our policy and proceedings." The inauguration of the work, the gradual change to a fixed policy, the success, under gravest complications and difficulties, in securing the establishment, in the States receiving the benefaction, of State free school systems, the creation of a public opinion in favor of sustaining general education from State and local revenues, the

stimulation of the people to increase their own exertions in the cause of popular education, the extraordinary efforts and influence of Dr. Sears in enlarging the sphere of the Trust, have been narrated imperfectly but sufficiently, perhaps, to give a clear idea of the inestimable value of Mr. Peabody's gift. Obviously, the burden of the work devolved on the General Agent, demanding his utmost physical and mental energies, the consecration of his fully developed powers; but no one more readily, or more frequently and earnestly, than himself, acknowledged his great indebtedness to the confidence, the counsel, the sagacious suggestions, the indispensable support, of the Chairman and his colleagues.

It seems fitting that mention should be made of the changes which occurred in the Board during the first period of its history. In the narrative reference has already been made to the fact that to the name of Rives was attached the first star in the annual publication of the Proceedings. The Hon. Samuel Watson, of Tennessee, was elected as his successor.

On the 14th of August, 1871, occurred the death of our great naval commander, Admiral Farragut. He had been present at the organization, and entered heartily into the plans for executing the Trust with which Mr. Peabody had honored him. It has been already mentioned that he was assigned by the President to the command of the fleet for receiving the remains of Mr. Peabody on their arrival in this country. The zeal he exhibited, and the exposures he encountered, standing bareheaded on the Portland pier on that wintry day, were remarked upon as of a piece with his self-forgetfulness and the gallantry of the many heroic acts which won for him the title of the Nelson of our Navy. The Trustees, in recording their sense of loss sustained in the death of David Glasgow Farragut, speak of his scrupulous attendance upon the meetings, of the fidelity in the dis-

charge of his duties as Trustee, of his sincere and sagacious counsel, of the frank avowal of intelligent and well-considered convictions, of his modest and simple manners, and of the personal qualities which endeared him to his friends. The Hon. A. H. H. Stuart, of Virginia, was put in his place.

The failing health of Edward A. Bradford, of Louisiana, induced him to tender his resignation, which was regretfully accepted. His colleagues gratefully acknowledged the intelligent interest and aid which, under the disadvantages of remote residence and feeble health, he contributed to the work. Mr. Bradford was a citizen of exemplary worth, and a lawyer of conspicuous learning and ability; and he said of the Fund that "its creation was well-timed, and was the expression of a patriotism so comprehensive, and a munificence so surpassing as, to overpower all prejudice and silence all cavil." General Richard Taylor succeeded him.

At the eleventh meeting, in 1873, was announced the death of one of the most marked personalities of the corporation, which had occurred at Florence, Italy, on the 13th of March. In the original letter of endowment, Rt. Rev. Charles P. McIlvaine was named as the second Vice-Chairman of the Board, and from the session of the organization until his death he was the active head of the Executive Committee. No Trustee ever realized more fully the responsibility of a personal connection with the Trust, or discharged his obligations with more diligence, intelligence, and efficiency. The good Bishop had the confidence and affection of Mr. Peabody to such a degree that to him, in 1859, then in England, was communicated, among the very first, the purpose of making the gift for the poor of London; and he had an important part in the original arrangement of that London endowment. At Mr. Peabody's request, he entered into confidential correspondence with Lord Shaftesbury, in regard to the particular

form the Gift should assume when the scheme was consummated. He was taken in counsel when the letter to the Lord Mayor was prepared. "No presence at the Board was more welcome; no counsel was more judicious; no speech more conciliatory; no social intercourse was more winning and inspiring than his." Surgeon-General Joseph K. Barnes was chosen for the vacancy.

Charles Macalester died in Philadelphia, the city of his birth, on the 9th of December, 1873, in his seventy-sixth year. An old and valued friend of Mr. Peabody, he was included in the original nomination. The good sense and practical experience in business affairs which secured the confidence of Mr. Peabody, commended him to the Board as a member of the Finance Committee, where he rendered most valuable service. To a cheerful spirit and a strong constitution, he added sound judgment, scrupulous integrity, and Christian principle. Chief-Justice Waite became his successor.

George N. Eaton, of Maryland, died in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1874, after much feebleness and suffering, which interfered, in his later years, with his attendance upon the meetings. Of sterling integrity and tried business capacity, he gave, during the earlier years of the organization, much zeal and energy to his duties, and rendered valuable assistance. Rt. Rev. H. B. Whipple was chosen in his place.

William A. Graham, of North Carolina, of honored Revolutionary ancestry, died on the 11th of August, 1875. He had held distinguished positions in the service of his State and of the United States. As member of both branches of the Legislature and Speaker of the House, as Governor, as Senator, as Secretary of the Navy, as a candidate of the old Whig party for the Vice-Presidency, he had won a wide-spread reputation and regard. Mr. Winthrop, on whose recommendation he was appointed a Trustee, spoke

feelingly of his sterling qualities as a friend and a gentleman, and of their friendship as one of the privileges of his Washington life. Governor Graham, having the highest appreciation of the value of the Fund to his own needy section, labored, with conscientious zeal and decided opinions, to make it all that the generous donor desired. His public character, and his hold upon the confidence of all sections, was of the greatest importance in securing for the Board the sympathy and co-operation of men of credit and influence in the country, and in furthering the adoption of systems of public education. Dr. Sears bore testimony to his pure character, uniform courtesy, and fidelity to duty; Governor Clifford to his thorough fidelity, manly frankness, and great usefulness; and Mr. Stuart, who had known him in private and official life for more than thirty years, to his high moral and intellectual endowments, saying: "I have rarely met a wiser, and never a better man." Hon. Henry R. Jackson, of Georgia, was chosen in his place.

At the recurring meetings there were constant reminders that the number of the original Trustees was constantly lessening; and, in 1876, the Chairman, in tenderest words, called attention to the death of a beloved associate. John H. Clifford, of Massachusetts, successively a Representative, a member of her Senate and President of the body, District-Attorney, Attorney-General, and Governor, acquitted himself in all these relations with such wisdom, patriotism, and legal and administrative ability as to win universal respect and confidence. In the deliberations and doings of the Board, he took an active, earnest, intelligent, and efficient part. No one contributed more to the harmony of the councils, or added more to the social satisfactions and enjoyments. The Trustees felt they had lost the services and co-operation of one of their most useful members, and been deprived of the society of a gentleman of dignified and affable manners, genial temper,

liberal attainments, and eminent talents. Theodore Lyman was elected to fill the vacancy.

Samuel Watson, of Tennessee, the first addition to the list as presented by the Founder, died in 1876. As a classmate and warm personal friend and judicious coadjutor of Dr. Sears, his selection was most fortunate and kept up the *personnel* of the body. He was a cultivated Christian gentleman, honest and true, and universally respected and esteemed. He had been prominent in business, and particularly active in his efforts to secure the adoption of a free school system. As President of the State Teachers' Association, Trustee of the University of Nashville, member of the State Board of Education, he labored to establish free popular education in his State. In bringing the Normal College into existence, and in the troubles which attended and imperilled its early life, he was particularly active and useful; and Dr. Sears, in his private letters, makes frequent and grateful mention of his helpful friendship and "invaluable assistance." The Trustees put on record a formal expression of their respect for his character and of gratitude for his services. Ex-President Hayes was chosen as the successor.

On the 12th of April, 1877, General Richard Taylor, of Louisiana, died. He had had a varied history. Educated at home and abroad, an aide-de-camp of his father in Mexico, his private secretary when he was President, a State Senator, a Colonel, a Brigadier-General, a Lieutenant-General in the Confederate Army, a large sugar-planter, much-traveled, widely-read, a brilliant conversationalist, a favorite in courtly and royal circles, few of our countrymen possessed such brilliant accomplishments. He entered readily and heartily into the work of the Trust, and by his wise counsel and varied capacity became a most valued and popular Trustee. Judge Thomas C. Manning was chosen to succeed him.

CHAPTER II.

ON the 2d of February, 1881, the Trustees met at the Riggs House in Washington City. After the announcement of the death of Dr. Sears, an event known for many months and yet coming home to them, under the circumstances, "with the force of a fresh sorrow," and the transaction of the usual routine of business, the Trustees thought it proper to inquire into the whole matter of administration, and to define more particularly the salary, the term of service, and the duties of the office of General Agent. The committee appointed on the subject reported resolutions which were approved, making the tenure of the office "during the pleasure of the Trustees," and providing for salary and contingent expenses. And as "under the wise labors of the lamented Dr. Sears such a general interest had been awakened in the cause of education as to guarantee the perpetuity of public schools in the Southern States," and as the benevolent designs of the Founder of the Trust would be best secured by the education of teachers for the public schools, it was determined, as the future policy, to apply the income to the education of teachers in such Normal Schools as might be selected; but the Executive Committee was authorized to continue to use a sum not exceeding two-fifths of the annual expenditure in assisting such public schools as might in their judgment require the aid. There is the recorded opinion of the Trust, that in thirteen years one of the most marvellous revolutions of the century had been quietly accomplished, namely, the incorporation,

into organic and statute laws, of systems of free public schools, backed by a sustaining public sentiment. Those most familiar with the antecedent educational history of these States and the work of the Fund will be the readiest to concede that the Peabody Education Fund had been the most potent agency in bringing about such a salutary change, so essential to the well being of the Republic and the prosperity of the inhabitants. While setting up a memorial of this gigantic progress, there was the further declaration of an intent to accomplish what had been resolved upon on the day of the organization of the Trust. As promotive of primary or common-school education, it was from the first declared, with the assent of Mr. Peabody and Dr. Sears, that the Board would have in view the furtherance of Normal School Education. Public schools having been established, the advanced step was to make them a success by the professional training and better preparation of teachers, and this seemed feasible only by liberal co-operative support of the Normal College in Nashville, and of efficient Normal Schools in all the other States.

The Chairman then invited action upon the most important object of their assembling, and laid before the Trustees testimonials of those who had asked, or been suggested for, appointment as General Agent. The vote was taken by ballot, and J. L. M. Curry was unanimously chosen, and a telegram, informing him of his election, was immediately forwarded to Richmond, Virginia. The next morning he appeared before the Board, thanked them for his appointment, declared his approval of the general plan of the Trust, with which he was familiar from intimate counsel with the late General Agent, and his intention of carrying it out to the best of his ability. It may not be indelicate to state that students, faculty, and trustees of Richmond College, in which the new agent had been a professor, passed most complimentary resolutions as to

his past services, and regrets at the severance of the cordial relations which had subsisted between them.

In entering upon such responsible duties, obviously the first thing to be done was to get both a general and a minute accquaintance with the previous administration. In this necessary attempt, one could not fail, as his knowledge became more perfect, to be impressed with admiration at the wisdom and ability of Dr. Sears, his marvellous adaptedness to his difficult and delicate work, and the extent of his achievements. In rightly estimating his services, it should be borne in mind that a plan, broad in its scope and wise in its details, had to be originated and matured. The plan must receive the adoption of States throwing off effete customs and institutions, and in the midst of a struggle to take on a new civilization, and to adapt governments and laws and modes of thought to a revolution suddenly wrought. To adjust these plans into harmony with the new life of the Southern States was the special and laborious work of the General Agent. Aided by wise and good men, he accomplished it. Frequent visits were made; conferences were held with public functionaries and influential citizens; the Press was used, and addresses were delivered. He identified himself with the interests of the section where he labored, helped to create a sounder public sentiment, broke down the prejudices against free schools, demonstrated their indispensableness, and awakened an enlightened approval of teacher-training.

It would be a hasty judgment to conclude that the work was finished during the period of his agency, or that free schools had been established beyond the possibility of destruction. There were many considerations which would have made it foolish to relax vigorous efforts for keeping alive and strengthening the favoring educational sentiment; and making irrepealable what had been put upon the statute books. Much as had been done, much

remained to be done, in order to put free schools, adequate for universal education, upon a permanent basis. Some excellent men had deep-seated convictions, arising from political, social, or religious reasons, adverse to gratuitous State education. The experiment of free schools was not, in all localities, so successful as to clear away doubts and prejudices, and reverse those traditional habits of thought and action which the experience of all peoples has shown it to be difficult for the mind to free itself from. Time was also needed to pass from private to public schools, to quiet or overcome the selfish opposition of those engaged in private teaching, and to transfer education to the control of cities and States. Prejudice, interest of teachers, sparseness of population, impatience of taxation, financial depression, were serious hinderances. School-houses had to be built and furnished, teachers to be trained, schools to be graded, friction to be overcome, and an unfamiliar system to be accommodated to environments. The whole work of introducing a new system and improved methods of teaching was beset with many difficulties, one of the chiefest of which was insufficiency of means to pay competent teachers and continue the schools in session for longer periods.

Something besides mere office-work was needed to aid in averting possible evils, and to carry out far-reaching plans. The mere distribution of the annual income among selected schools was a very narrow duty, and a very superficial view of the enlightened aim of the Gift. To be simply a channel for conveying benefactions would have been dishonoring to the Agent, and a degradation of the beneficent and humane purpose of the Philanthropist. His vision and aim were not limited to the bestowment of alms upon the destitute. Few men saw more clearly the needs of the South, and what was necessary to supply them. "A permanent and self-sustaining system of pop-

ular education" was not the work of a day, nor to be accomplished by the expenditure of any sum of money, however large or helpful. It would require time, perseverance, sagacity, the mastery of prejudices, the education of public opinion, wise and constantly improving legislation, patriotic and liberal levy and collection of taxes, the establishment of model schools with the most improved methods, the elevation of the profession of teaching and the training of men and women in that art and science.

The Fund, viewed in all its aspects, has wide ramifications, numerous correlations. It is interested in the development of Southern industries, increased wealth being both cause and consequence of general education. With enlarged and diffused facilities for education follow, as light the coming of the sun, better citizenship, invention, discovery, skilled labor, and profitable industries. With advancing prosperity come corresponding ability and inclination to foster general education and endow colleges and universities and departments of science. With increased taxable property, school revenues increase.

Next after his desire for the improvement of the masses, perhaps the strongest and most characteristic impulse of Mr. Peabody was his intense and catholic patriotism. He loved his country, the whole country, with a patriotic earnestness and devotion that expressed itself in strong words and stronger deeds. He often gave judicious and timely counsels in favor of peace and conciliation. The General Agent has therefore conceived it to be an official, as well as a personal, obligation — duty and sentiment combining — to utilize all educational agencies, and all his privileges as an almoner, to restore fellowship and fraternity between alienated sections and classes, and to cultivate a reverent and unquenchable love for the Constitution and the Union. A Southwestern journal, some years ago, declared that the Trustees and the General Agent of

the Peabody Education Fund had done more to promote the actual welfare of the Southern States, and to cement the bonds of the American Union, than all that statesmen and politicians have been able to effect. As the Gift was the first olive-branch of peace and love held out to the subjugated South after the surrender at Appomattox, every agency connected with it, every thought it inspired, every aspiration it evoked, should harmonize with and be promotive of concord and patriotism. There can be no union of concurring hearts, of sympathizing co-laboring States, no assurance of perpetuity of representative institutions, unless the citizenship is restrained and disciplined and elevated by intelligence and morality. Universal education is an impossible dream, unless it be furnished by revenues drawn from taxation, and be controlled by civil authority. "Free governments," said Mr. Winthrop, in 1887, "must stand or fall with free schools. Republican institutions can rest safely on no other foundation than education for all. . . . The security for a second century of prosperous constitutional existence must be sought in the American common-school room. It can be found nowhere else."

Property and intelligence have responsibilities as well as rights and privileges. No educated person should live for himself exclusively. Every college is a light set upon a hill. Science, scholarship, intelligence, opportunity, has an imperative call to leadership. So the Fund has striven to be an educatory force, a beneficent factor, a great broad-minded leader, keeping up a constant pressure in the direction of instructed opinion, and helping in the solution of all educational problems. Nowhere has the Fund been more decided and consistent than in seeking to create and preserve an advanced sentiment as to the obligation and benefit of universal education. It has diligently sought to be a pioneer in calling for and working out beneficent reforms, especially in the South.

The General Agent has had the singular honor and satisfaction of addressing more legislatures than any other American ever did. Repeatedly has he been invited to speak before Southern legislatures in session, and many of these speeches were reported and published by the bodies for gratuitous distribution. His purpose has been, along the lines indicated, to infuse a hopeful, healthful, progressive spirit, and to mould broad and beneficent legislation. Everywhere has he pleaded for the free education of all the children, for reconstruction on the basis of free schools, free for both races. Mr. Peabody required that the benefits of his Gift should "be distributed among the entire population, without other distinction than their needs and the opportunities of usefulness to them." Requiring the inclusion of the entire population, he would not interfere with State laws, nor break down social barriers. Everywhere the negroes have shared in the apportionment of the income, according to numbers or the prospects of usefulness. Not the least memorable or honorable chapter in the history of this Fund is that which makes mention of what Founder and Trustees and General Agents have done in building up a healthy sentiment and encouraging or securing a legislation favorable to the negroes. In an address before the North Carolina Legislature in January, 1891, the General Agent said: "No part of the history of the Southern States is more honorable than what they have done in the face of legislation whose obvious result was to place three of them in the control of the lately servile race. In the seventeen States in which slavery existed, statistics show an attendance of 1,140,405 negroes in the public schools; 5,349 in normal schools, and 5,066 in colleges. Who can say what would have been the condition of the negroes if this effort for their uplifting had not been made? Nearly the entire burden of public schools in its terrible heaviness falls

upon the white tax-payers. The whole subject of negro education needs to be treated on broad and far-reaching principles, which shall aim to regenerate personal life, home life, social life, industrial life, political life, and religious life. Is the negro a man capable of moral distinctions, responsible for conduct, able to make contracts, criminally liable for violations of rights of person and property, with legal capacity to bear arms, hold office, serve on juries, and vote? Has he will-power? Can he compare, analyze, abstract, generalize, classify, form concepts? As to his capability of mental development, we should stultify ourselves by questioning."

The principal work of the Board is necessarily delegated to the General Agent, who, by visits to the various States, observation of school-work, conference with executive and school officers, by advice and counsel, enforced the importance of extending and improving the school systems, and afforded such practical information and explanation as were necessary. With a field of operations stretching from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, untiring diligence was needed to meet all the demands upon heart and brain and body. In laboring to stimulate and exalt the free school idea, "the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove" were called into requisition to repel attacks and defeat legislation, sometimes plausible on its face, and yet containing the elements of destruction. Public men and newspapers have, in several States, advocated the throwing upon each race the burden of educating the children of that race. Confining the school revenues *pro rata* to the race paying the taxes, as punitive of certain alleged political offences, was a discrimination, originating in vulgar prejudice, or weak demagogism, and wholly unworthy of Christian statesmen or wise patriots. The scheme, if successful, would have consigned the negroes to hopeless ignorance and would have reacted with in-

calculable injury upon the white race. Fortunately, in the resistance to a policy narrow, unwise, suicidal, the Supreme Court of North Carolina came to the rescue, and decided that "a law which directs the tax raised from the polls and property of white persons to be devoted to sustaining schools for white persons, and that raised from the polls and property of negroes to be used for the support of their schools, is unconstitutional and void." (Riggsbee *vs.* the Town of Durham, 94 No. Ca. Reports, p. 800.) In addition to this watchful oversight of the whole field, and guarding against what was destructive of everything involved in the effort to make property educate the masses, every school aided was under constant superintendence, and reports from principals secured the proper appropriation of the funds, and brought the schools and the Fund into helpful sympathy and co-operation.

One of the principal means used in the improvement of teacher-training has been the Teachers' Institutes. This modern device has been described as a locomotive Normal School. At a given place, in smaller or larger geographical areas, the teachers of the district are assembled in periods, varying from one week to two months, to get the advantage of the experience and the methods of more successful co-laborers. This is not a substitute, but rather a temporary expedient, for Normal Schools; and teachers who have not had the benefit of longer and more scientific instruction find great profit from the instruction of men and women who are "apt to teach," and who have tested theories in the school-rooms, or made improvements in methods. The Institutes have been gradually introduced into all the States, until they have become a recognized part of the educational machinery, and under trained experts as conductors or teachers are doing a most valuable work in dignifying the office and lifting up the standard of teaching. Nearly all

the States make annual appropriations for Institutes, which are not only aids in practical teaching, but very helpful in stimulating ambition and the acquisition of knowledge, and in imparting capacity for oversight and direction, for organizing and supervising graded schools, and for dealing with new questions, as they constantly arise, "in a spirit of judicial and philosophic fairness." Aid given by Trustees to these Institutes, under restrictions increasingly exacting, has brought about a visible improvement in organization, management, and instruction. The General Agent has given unusual attention to this instrumentality, and, despite many obstacles, has succeeded in bringing it up to high excellence. Imperfect notions of the true ends and aims of Institutes, incompetence of conductors and instructors, shortness of sessions, want of continuity in the courses, partial and uncertain attendance of teachers, and other causes, have interfered with success; but with the zealous and intelligent co-operation of superintendents, and the lectures and teaching of some distinguished educators, the Institutes have been incorporated into school systems, and the States, by continuing the compensation of teachers while attending, or by gentle compulsion, have increased the efficiency and enlarged the benefits of these tried agencies.

In the earlier administration of the Fund, aid was given to schools, located centrally or at radiating points, on condition of a larger sum being given by individuals or by municipalities. Model schools had a pervasive missionary effect in enlightening as to what could be done, how it could be done, and the advantages of doing. From these small beginnings, the next step taken was to give help partially to schools, which were a part of the Public School System, on the condition of local support from the generosity of citizens or by local taxation. In course of years, the condition of Peabody assistance was

that the free schools, in addition to the State revenues, should be sustained by local taxation. This progressive scheme had in view the demonstration of the capability to sustain a school, and of the superiority of good schools; then of the need and duty of free public schools organized and controlled by the civil authorities; and, lastly, of the value of sustaining universal education by both general and local taxation. The next and final step was to withdraw aid altogether from public schools, and confine appropriations to the work of teacher-training, as accomplished by Teachers' Institutes and the different Normal Schools.

Encouraging Normal Schools has had the favor of the Fund from the beginning, but until the States had committed themselves thoroughly to the duty of organizing and perpetuating public free schools, this was held in comparative abeyance. It was, however, regarded as the ultimate goal. The establishment of the Peabody Normal College is related elsewhere. To make certain, adequate, and permanent provision for teachers, it was indispensable to have Normal Schools established, and this is the proper function of the State. Mr. Winthrop, in 1879, said that the Board, having accomplished its primary purpose in awakening the attention of the Southern States to the subject of common-school education, should now make provision for raising the standard by the professional training of teachers, and by planting Normal Schools and Colleges for this purpose wherever they are wanted. In 1880, Dr. Sears, in his last Report, his legacy to the Board, said: "Our new policy of concentrating our efforts mainly on Normal Schools is received with great favor." Recapitulating many things that were needed to be done, he stated that, at that time, every State, except one or two, needed better Normal Schools. The Fund, therefore, promised in advance to the legislatures co-operative aid,

and as soon as the schools were instituted, they were recognized and aided. Texas was the first State to respond to the proffer of substantial assistance; and, in 1878, the Sam Houston Normal was established at Huntsville, and at the end of 1897 it had 422 students and sixteen teachers. The total enrolment during eighteen sessions has been 5,264, and the number of alumni since 1884, a three years' course being required, reaches 1,159. The Legislature makes cheerfully an annual appropriation of $25,000. At the same session a colored Normal School was established at Prairie View, and it has been useful in elevating the colored teachers in the State. Virginia has now three Normal Schools; but the first, at Farmville, authorized in 1884, had its origin in the personal labors of the Agent with the Education Committee and other members of the Legislature, and in the promise of a liberal sum from the Peabody Fund. Besides a useful Practice School, it has an industrial department. The school has graduated 284; its faculty includes a president and thirteen teachers, and its enrolment for 1897 was 250. The State Normal and Industrial School at Greensboro', North Carolina, established in 1891, has had a marvellous success, and now numbers thirty-one teachers and officers, and 434 enrolled pupils. The General Agent addressed school committees and the legislatures, pleading earnestly for the School, and promised substantial aid to the Institution. For a number of years the State has made appropriations for colored Normal Schools. In South Carolina, the Winthrop Normal and Industrial College bears eloquent testimony, in its name, and in its growth and usefulness, to the indebtedness of the State to the Peabody Fund. The Report for December, 1896, shows twenty-five teachers, 403 students in the College classes and 86 in the Practice School. The birthday of Mr. Winthrop is observed every year. Georgia and Alabama and Louisiana every year receive

assistance which is regarded as of essential importance to the well being of their schools for teachers. West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Arkansas have Normal Schools for the preparation of negro teachers, and these have had practical and appreciated contributions from the Fund. In South Carolina and Tennessee, by arrangement between the States and several Institutions under the control of denominational organizations, aid has been given for the training of colored teachers.

At the meeting of the Board in 1885, the Chairman referred to "the impending retirement from our work of one who has conducted it for more than four years past so ably and successfully," and that the loss would be a great one for the Trust, and for himself, officially and personally. This had reference to the acceptance, by the General Agent, of an appointment from the Government as Minister to Spain. He expressed the satisfaction he had had in the performance of duties, not easy as he interpreted them, but which had been a labor of love, and his most grateful appreciation of the confidence, and the personal regard, and the kindness and generous support with which he had been honored by every Trustee. Less reluctance was felt in the resignation, because the policy of the Board was so well established, and the method of administration had been so simplified, that the withdrawal would involve no serious inconvenience. The Trustees entered on their records the "deep sense which they entertained of the fidelity and devotion with which the Agent had discharged his duties, and of the great success which had attended his labors." The Executive Committee was authorized to make temporary arrangements during the ensuing year, and Samuel A. Green was assigned to, and kindly undertook, that service. At the next meeting, the Chairman and Dr. Green again referred

to "the invaluable services" of the former Agents, and the latter said of his immediate predecessor, "Until I assumed these temporary duties, I was not aware how much his educational labors had accomplished at the South, through speeches and writings, not only by stimulating thought in the direction of public instruction, but by raising the standard of methods and setting forth the need of trained teachers."

For three years, Dr. Green carried on the work of the Fund in the most acceptable manner. By visits to the South and active correspondence, he endeared himself to superintendents and principals of schools, and so impressed his personality, his sound views, his liberal culture, his unsectional patriotism, upon communities, that to this day he is spoken of with respect and affection. The years of his administration were full of usefulness, and compare most favorably with any equal period in the history of the Fund. His gratuitous services showed his unselfishness, and fidelity to his engagements marked him, with his versatility of gifts, as having ready adaptedness to most difficult and varied spheres of labor. In 1887, the Chairman mentioned the desire of Dr. Green to be relieved of the duties, and both concurred in the opinion that an effort should be made to induce the former Agent to resume his relations to the Board. Under these circumstances, Dr. Green accepted a re-election and continued, with the thanks of the Board, his most valuable labors.

At the session of 1888, the Chairman, in his Introductory said: "Dr. Green has come to the conclusion with me that for the entire success of our work there is now a positive need of committing our General Agency anew to an accomplished Southern man of large personal experience in educational matters in the Southern States, and of special gifts for communicating the results of that experience to his fellow-workers in the same field." "With

the full understanding of what was hoped and expected, authority was given to me at our last meeting to appoint a General Agent, under the advice of the Executive Committee, whenever I should think it best to do so. Under that authority, Dr. Curry has been appointed, and has accepted the appointment. With him once more at the helm, I feel assured that we shall hold on our track successfully to the end." The former Agent, being re-elected, entered upon duties, not wholly laid aside, even during his diplomatic engagements, and was greeted with the generous welcome of State superintendents, school officers, teachers, executives, and the Press, and he gladly and gratefully acknowledged his indebtedness to their cordial co-operation, and the kindly assistance of the leading railways. At the session of 1891, the Chairman stated that the General Agent had been made one of the Slater Trustees, with a full share of the responsibility of the management of that Trust. He therefore proposed, in view of the new relations of the Peabody and Slater Trusts, that as long as the incumbent should remain as General Agent, he should be an Honorary Member of the Board, with all the privileges and dignities of membership, and subject to be appointed as a Member, or as Chairman, of the Executive or other Committees. "Such a position will be a great convenience to him and to ourselves, in the execution of our respective duties, and will give him substantially the same standing in relation to the Peabody Trust, as has been wisely assigned him in relation to the Slater Trust." On motion of ex-President Hayes it was unanimously resolved: "That the Hon. J. L. M. Curry be henceforth, as long as he remains General Agent of the Peabody Trust, an Honorary Member of our Board."

Occasion has been frequent for ascribing to the Fund direct influence in official and general instruction as to the

superior economy of public schools, the best methods of organizing and conducting them, and the obligation of States to furnish free education; and it has been claimed as due, in no inconsiderable degree, to this potent and persistent influence that free education has been incorporated into mental habitudes and civil organisms as thoroughly and indestructibly as popular elections and trial by jury. It was natural that the great example of munificence should be productive of fruit and following. Frequent letters to General Agent and Trustees from persons contemplating gifts have furnished proof of how minds have been turned to initiation of beneficent plans, and have given opportunity of suggestions as to the management of such gifts. Mr. Peabody was not without an earnest hope that his example might call forth some public-spirited man who would make supplementary provision for Southern Education. In 1882, Mr. John F. Slater made a great gift of a million of dollars, in trust for "the uplifting of the lately emancipated people of the Southern States" so as "to make them good men and good citizens." Two of the Peabody Trustees were appointed among the administrators of his Trust, and in his letter he said: "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." Another illustration of honorable munificence, more local in its benefits, was the gift of Paul Tulane "for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, and industrial education among the white young persons in the city of New Orleans, and for the advancement of letters, the arts and sciences therein," from which has sprung the Tulane University. The letter of Mr. Tulane furnishes internal evidence, corroborated by the statement

of counsel who drew the papers, that the gift of Mr. Peabody, and the administration of the Fund, afforded wise suggestion in shaping the terms of the gift. General Gibson, the friend and attorney, consulted with Mr. Winthrop, and received "highly prized information and advice," and afterwards frankly wrote: "I have now the pleasure to inform you that the plan suggested, and your own course with regard to the munificent donation of the late Mr. Peabody, were adopted." A surmise, not without some evidence to support it, may be stated that Anthony J. Drexel, a late honored Peabody Trustee, was much influenced by admiration of the Peabody benefaction, and its management, in the execution of his noble charity in the endowment of the "Drexel Institute of Art, Science, and Industry" in Philadelphia.

In order to stimulate the efficiency of the Normal Schools, in 1876 the Chairman was requested to devise a testimonial medal to be distributed as an incentive to proficiency in qualifications for teaching among the pupils of these schools. A medal, in bronze and in silver, was struck at the United States Mint from dies executed by an experienced artist. The profile head was copied from the bust by Hiram Powers, now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The legend, on the reverse side, was from Mr. Peabody's own pen, on the occasion of his first large public donation. "Education: a debt due from present to future generations." These medals were to be awarded by the General Agent, under the direction of the Executive Committee. The sentiment of the Board was soon in favor of a wider distribution of these medals, even among the common schools, as incentives and rewards, and as perpetuating the memory of the Founder in a most agreeable and careful way. In 1881, a distribution was authorized of fifty silver medals annually to graduates of Normal Schools, and five hun-

dred bronze to pupils of the common schools. Beautiful as are these testimonials, the distribution has been partial and unsatisfactory. The weight and size of them, engraving of names, opposition of some teachers to such incentives and rewards, trouble imposed on hard-worked and poorly paid superintendents, and other causes, have prevented anything like uniformity of action or evidence of much utility. Some schools value highly and are eager for them. The majority seem indifferent.

In 1877, at the first great Paris Exposition, a gold medal was awarded to the Board for what had been accomplished for education in the South. It and the accompanying diploma were deposited in the fire-proof cabinet at Peabody, where the unique enamelled portrait of Queen Victoria, presented by herself, the exquisite gold medal presented by his grateful country, the gold box which accompanied the admission to the freedom of the city of London, an autograph note from the Empress Eugénie, a photograph of Pope Leo, inscribed by his own hand, together with other precious memorials, were arranged during Mr. Peabody's lifetime, and at his own request.

George W. Riggs died on the 24th August, 1881. He was born in Georgetown, 4th July, 1813, when Mr. Peabody was bookkeeper for his father. In 1840, he formed a partnership with W. W. Corcoran as bankers, under the firm name of Corcoran & Riggs. The house, at an early period of its career, did an extensive business, and became particularly prominent through connection with the first Mexican War Loan. During many years a close business connection, cemented by former ties of intimate friendship, existed between Corcoran and Riggs and Mr. Peabody in London, and the former gentlemen were naturally consulted and identified with the generous munificence of the latter in this country. Having well earned and preserved the respect of the community in which

he lived, and the confidence and warm regard of Mr. Peabody, Mr. Riggs was chosen as one of the original "personal and especial friends" in the administration of the Southern Educational Fund. He was a most useful member, and his peculiar acquirements, his experience and skill as a banker, were of the highest value, and especially in connection with the Finance and the Auditing Committees. He was a man of singularly unostentatious nature, of kind and charitable impulse, possessing a fondness for literature, keeping up early habits of studious research, and profiting by his liberal and classical education. Anthony J. Drexel fittingly succeeded him.

General Joseph K. Barnes died on April 5, 1883. He belonged to the Medical Department in the army, having been commissioned as a surgeon in 1840. His career was long, active, and varied, and for meritorious services he was successively promoted until he became Surgeon-General with the rank of Brigadier. He had much administrative ability, and his professional services were recognized by diplomas from distinguished foreign societies. The Trustees recorded their tribute to his deep interest and hearty co-operation in their work. James D. Porter was chosen for the vacancy.

At the same session, George Peabody Russell, who had been the Secretary, withdrew from further connection with the Board, because of his protracted absence from the country; and the Board assured him of grateful remembrance for his valuable services for many successive years. Samuel A. Green was made his successor and the Secretary.

Samuel Wetmore died on the 27th of March, 1884. Mr. Peabody selected him for the responsible office of Treasurer. A long and intimate personal and business acquaintance discovered in him those methodical habits, that care and caution, that strict integrity, which fitted him for taking care of the capital and income, and rendering a fair and

intelligible statement of his operations. Giving no bond and receiving no salary nor commissions, it was his pride to watch with vigilance and fidelity over the endowment.

Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan was chosen to fill the vacancy; and, in 1890, the Chairman made a handsome reference to the financial skill and ability he had displayed in placing at the disposal of the Board for immediate use a considerably larger income than had been at their command for many previous years.

Gen. Ulysses Grant died on the 23d of July, 1885. In this place, it would be a work of supererogation to recall his distinguished military and civil services, with which the whole world is familiar. They have been recorded imperishably on the pages of American history. In his relations to the Fund, it may be proper to say that he accepted the appointment as Trustee, although Commander-in-Chief at the time, with undisguised pleasure. He promptly attended the first meeting without a moment's hesitation, and the next morning found him at the formal organization, in his undress uniform, with nothing but the stars on his shoulder straps to indicate his exalted rank and station. While President, he gave a banquet to the Trustees assembled at Washington. He set a "special value on the endowment, as the first practical manifestation, on a grand scale, of that spirit of conciliation and magnanimity which he himself had displayed so signally in the very flush of victory." Earnestly and cordially he labored with his associates. He gave a watchful attention to all the proceedings, often made motions, served cheerfully on committees, and took much delight in the annual meetings. He gave great influence to the action of the Board, and, by the esteem, and reverence, and gratitude in which he was held by his countrymen, enhanced the respect which the Trust enjoyed.

Grover Cleveland was elected to supply the vacancy.

At the meeting in October, 1887, the Trustees were called upon to deplore the loss of William Aiken, of South Carolina. The regard in which Governor Aiken was held was of peculiar tenderness. Mr. Winthrop, in one of those graceful tributes which no one could pay more appropriately, and Governor Fish in the Resolutions prepared for the Board, have left little to be added.

"The Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund have listened with profound regret to the sad notice in their President's Address of the death of their much-beloved associate, the late William Aiken.

"Named by Mr. Peabody as one of the Trustees on the original foundation of the Trust, Governor Aiken's interest in its objects has from the beginning been zealous and efficient. The history of the Trust records his untiring devotion to its aims; no one was in advance of him in the advocacy of its high purposes, and no one was ready to give more of personal attention, or to sacrifice more of personal convenience, in their advancement.

"Tender and warm in his affections, kind and genial in his intercourse, scrupulous in truthfulness and integrity, free from vanity or pretension, generous in his judgments as in his life, he was beloved because the kind gentleness of his intercourse was an inseparable part of his nature, and because the happiness of others was with him an object of life, and formed a large part of his own happiness. The pleasure of others was his enjoyment.

"Governor Aiken's was a moral and highly religious character: exemplary and beautiful in the varied walks of life, a devoted husband, a kind and affectionate father, a loyal and generous friend. Called to many high positions in public life, he fulfilled all their trusts with dignity, integrity, and ability; and when the disasters of a civil war surrounded him, its attendants — adversity, misfortune, and loss of property — diminished neither his calm cheerfulness, his hospitality, nor his warmth of heart.

"His associates in this Board, who well know his virtues and his high qualities, deeply deplore his loss, and record this feeble but sincere tribute to the worth of a dear friend."

William Aiken was born at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 29th day of January, 1806, and died at Flat Rock, North Carolina, on September 6, 1887. He was educated at schools in Charleston, and at the South Carolina College at Columbia, where he was graduated in 1825. Soon after his graduation he made a tour of Europe in company with Mr. Gouverneur Wilkins, of New York.

On his return to Charleston, the nullification controversy was at its height, and he joined the Union party. He married, not long after his return, Harriet Lowndes, daughter of the Honorable Thomas Lowndes. About 1836, on the death of his father, he came into the possession of a large fortune, — for that day one of the largest in the South, and perhaps in the United States. In the summer of 1837, just after the panic and great fire in New York, he visited that city, and was there advised by his friend, Mr. De Pau, who had been a merchant in Charleston, to buy the square of land in New York on which stands the lower Stewart building on Broadway, and which could then have been bought at a very low price. Mr. Aiken for a long time hesitated between the purchase of that piece of property, and the purchase of Jehossee Island, an extensive rice and cotton plantation on the Edisto River in South Carolina. He decided in favor of the latter, influenced chiefly by the opportunity for entering into politics, which was then offered by the ownership of an estate in South Carolina, but also by financial reasons. Nothing can illustrate more forcibly the fallibility of judgment in such matters, and the uncertainty of investments, than the contrast between the present values of the two pieces of land. In order to render his purchase of land available, Mr. Aiken became the owner of about one thousand slaves, and was the second largest slave-owner in South Carolina. As a master, his conduct satisfied the most exacting rules that the most benevolent moralist can

frame for a person in that position. His relations to his slaves were those of a patriarch and not of a despot. The assertion may be ventured that never once in his life did he exercise his power with injustice or unkindness. Indeed, it has always been difficult to make clear to those who have not had practical acquaintance with slavery at the South, how generally the possession of power over slaves was veiled by kindliness of manner, and its exercise tempered by humanity and religion. One winter, while Mr. Aiken was in Washington, in attendance on Congress, cholera broke out at Jehossee, and he immediately went there, at great risk to his life, and devoted himself to the sick and the dying.

In 1838, 1840, and 1842, Mr. Aiken was elected to the General Assembly of South Carolina; but as he had none of the gifts of oratory, his career in that body was not conspicuous. That he became popular with his colleagues is shown by the fact that in 1844 he was elected, by the General Assembly, Governor of South Carolina, and served in that office for two years. Those were years of political quiet, and almost the only duties of the Governor were to review the militia and to exercise the pardoning power.

From 1851 to 1857, Mr. Aiken was a member of Congress from Charleston. His home in Washington became an important social centre. He was the intimate friend of such men as Mr. Fish and Mr. Robert C. Winthrop; and although he was silent in Congress, his influence there became very considerable on account of his high character, good sense, and charming manners. His friendship extended to many who differed widely from him in political opinion, and he often spoke with pleasure of his friendly personal relations with Gerritt Smith. In 1855, he was the democratic candidate for the speakership, and after a contest of several weeks was defeated by three votes by General Banks. The cordial personal relations between the

two candidates were not disturbed by their rivalry. After Mr. Aiken's retirement from Congress in 1857, he never again took part in politics. He was devoted to the Union, and was out of sympathy with the dominant party in his State. In the excitement of those days he was one of the few Southerners who formed a correct judgment of the political forces in play; and it is a remarkable circumstance that, prior to 1851, he expressed to a friend the opinion that slavery would be extinguished in twenty years. He was opposed to secession by South Carolina, but submitted to its action. He was one of the few men in South Carolina who did not believe that the measure would succeed. After the capture of Charleston in 1865, he was prominent at a meeting of citizens which expressed reprobation of the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. During the summer of that year he was arrested by the military authorities and was sent to Columbia, but was soon after released. As an original Trustee of the Fund, he was greatly interested in the work and a faithful attendant at the meetings.

His last years were spent in Charleston, striving to save fragments from the wreck of his fortune. Perhaps no one in the South suffered such heavy losses as he — his reverse of fortune was dramatic — and certainly no one bore losses more bravely. He was a life-long member of St. Paul's Church in Charleston.

The character of Mr. Aiken was a striking one, and deserves to be remembered for its value as an example. He combined courtesy and marked cheerfulness of manner with great dignity; charitable feeling towards all men, with keen insight into character; good sense and firmness in his opinions, with modesty in asserting them, and invariable respect for the opinions of others. His long life was irreproachable in its every act and word, and won him a great reward in the respect and honor shown him in his

life-time, and in the affectionate and reverent regard of all who having known him have survived him.

Gen. Henry R. Jackson, of Georgia, on his appointment as Minister to Mexico, in 1885, tendered his resignation. He was requested to withdraw it, and it lingered without final action until 1888, when, at his urgent request, it was accepted, but reluctantly. General Jackson is prominent in his State as a lawyer, enriched by literary taste and culture (he was early a votary of the muse of poetry), and has served his country well in military and diplomatic positions. For twelve years, with zeal and fidelity, he acted as Trustee, and the Board would not sever so pleasant an association "without reciprocating his assurances of regard and regret." Judge Somerville supplied the vacancy.

Theodore Lyman, at the session of 1888, offered his resignation, because bodily infirmities left him no other course. The affection of his physical powers originated from exposures to which he was subjected while performing assiduous and gallant service on the staff of General Meade, during the war. Colonel Lyman, a graduate of Harvard, one of the overseers, Representative in Congress, with scientific tastes and pursuits, had eminent qualifications for service and distinction in varied positions. He was a man of independent convictions, of great decision of character, hospitable, public-spirited, liberal, a manager of public trusts, a Commissioner of Inland Fisheries, a member of many scientific associations, and the author of scientific publications. He served the Fund as Secretary *pro tempore*, and as a member of the Auditing and Finance Committees, and all its interests had his watchful care and best powers. His genial nature, sparkling conversation, and broad culture made him a charming colleague. He died on the 9th of September, 1897. General Devens became his successor.

Thomas C. Manning, while our Minister to Mexico, returned on leave, attended the session in 1888, and died a few days afterwards in the fifty-sixth year of his age. After graduating at Chapel Hill, he removed from North Carolina and practised law with such eminent success in Louisiana that he became the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court. He was Trustee for seven years, and performed so ably special service in connection with the defaulted bonds of Florida and Mississippi that he received therefor the formal thanks of his associates. He was a gentleman of fine physique, of courtly address, of large reading, of high sense of honor, and took a deep interest in the Trust. Senator Gibson succeeded him.

Morrison R. Waite was an efficient Trustee for nearly fourteen years. His high positions, as President of the Constitutional Convention of Ohio, as one of the counsel of the United States in the Geneva Tribunal of Arbitration, and as Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, have made him one of our historic characters, and tribute to his worth and attainments is superfluous. He had the integrity and the judicial virtues which have made our courts of justice bulwarks of personal rights and liberties. His services in the administration of the Fund it would be criminal to forget. "The constant service which his presence in the Board, his counsels, his wisdom, his zeal, his watchful attentions, rendered to the great charitable enterprise, cannot be exaggerated," and the Trustees felt deep grief that the important interests in their charge were to miss the participation of his active energies and his solicitous care. Chief-Justice Fuller succeeded him.

Charles Devens was associated with the Trust only two years, and died on January 7, 1891; but he had already excited the liveliest hopes of prominent activity and usefulness. He was a gallant soldier, an able lawyer and judge, an eloquent speaker, a genial companion, a pure

patriot, and his death dashed fondest hopes of what he was to become in connection with the Peabody Corporation.

Mr. Winthrop, in mentioning his death, spoke of it as a vacancy from Massachusetts, for Mr. Peabody, to him personally, had claimed, almost enjoined, three Trustees from his native State. In that view he mentioned Judge Endicott to fill the place, and his wish was readily enacted into law. At the last meeting, Judge Endicott's resignation was approved and accepted, his failing health disabling him from public duties. The Judge represents one of the families of earliest days in the Colony, and by his learning, integrity, and varied ability, has enhanced the reputation of, and the public indebtedness to, his distinguished ancestry. The Hon. Richard Olney was chosen to succeed him.

Rutherford B. Hayes' election was peculiar and specially complimentary; and he subsequently said that nothing since he had entered upon the duties of the Presidency had so gratified him. When it became necessary to fill the vacancy of Mr. Watson, of Tennessee, Mr. Stuart said that the nomination of a member from the South would, under ordinary circumstances, have been proper; but there was a man of Northern birth, so eminent at that moment for patriotism and for wise statesmanship, and so honored in the South for his well-directed endeavor to restore peace and prosperity in the nation, that his name seemed naturally suggested. Therefore, with the consent of his Southern colleagues, he nominated President Hayes, of Ohio, who, by ballot, was unanimously chosen. Three times a Representative in Congress, three times Governor of Ohio, a Brigadier-General in the Union Army, and President of the United States, in all these offices he was the pure patriot, the courteous gentleman, the wise public servant. As Trustee of the Peabody Education Fund for fifteen years, as President of the Slater Fund from its origin, and in other positions related to public charities and philan-

thropy, he was deeply interested in all that pertained to the social, moral, and intellectual welfare of the country, and his counsels and influence were of the highest value. The lowly, the destitute, the ignorant, the oppressed, the outcast, awakened his sympathies and commanded his time and energies. In this life of sacred duty, he worked in the spirit of the maxim "that no man becomes great or really good who does not give his heart and mind to perform what his hand finds to do." After retiring from the highest station in the land, with conscientious devotion he gave himself to philanthropy and education. His directness, simplicity, kindliness of disposition, fidelity to every engagement, freedom from self-seeking, his punctuality, patience, careful attention to details, discharging wisely every duty which devolved upon him, his unsectional patriotism, make him most worthy of remembrance as a model American. President Daniel C. Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, was chosen to fill the vacancy.

Randall Lee Gibson died on the 14th of December, 1892. His grandfather was a Revolutionary soldier, and his father a sugar-planter in Louisiana. Graduating from Yale with high honors, by the study of law, and foreign travel, and diligent reading, and connection with the Legation at Madrid, he became a full man with unusual accomplishments. He was a Brigadier-General in the Confederate Army, and afterwards a Representative and a Senator in Congress, where he made himself very useful as a practical and sagacious legislator, and was highly esteemed and admired by his associates. As a Trustee, he was watchful, faithful, and intelligent. Through such men, chivalrous, cultivated, patriotic, fond of letters, advocating high and universal education, the Board has sustained the character and preserved the unique prominence stamped upon its original composition. Charles E. Fenner, of New Orleans, was chosen to fill the vacancy.

Anthony J. Drexel died in June, 1893, at Carlsbad, where he went every year to repair his wasted energies, and recuperate for the work which his large financial enterprises involved. He was among our leading bankers, and established houses, at home and abroad, which gave him the highest financial standing. He founded the Drexel Institute of Art, Science, and Industry in Philadelphia, which nobly commemorates his munificence and love of learning, and watched over its growing usefulness with paternal concern that it might long diffuse, in his native land, the blessings of knowledge. As a Trustee, he was always ready to give to the Board the benefit of his presence and valuable experience. His services on Committees were always cheerfully rendered. Modest, courteous, prudent, liberal, intelligent, he made close friends, and his benefactions were for the general good. Mr. George W. Childs, of Philadelphia, widely known and respected for his generous hospitality and beneficence, and his public spirit, was chosen to fill the vacancy; but he died, on the 4th of February, 1894, without taking his seat; and the Hon. George Peabody Wetmore, of Rhode Island, was appointed in his place.

Alexander H. H. Stuart was born in Staunton, in 1807, was educated at William and Mary College, and took the law course at the University of Virginia. He soon acquired distinction as an advocate, being fluent, clear, and persuasive. His taste being rather for politics than law, he was for several years a member of the House of Delegates. In 1841, he was elected, as a Whig, a Representative to Congress, by a decisive majority, and took his seat in the famous extra session of that year. In September, 1850, he was nominated as Secretary of the Interior, and the duty of organizing a new department devolved mainly on him. He was elected as a Union man, in 1861, to the State Convention; but when the ordinance of secession was

passed, he acquiesced in the decision. The war ended, he sought by every proper means to relieve the pressure upon the people; and when the spirit of repudiation was rife in the State, he exerted himself to the utmost to maintain the honor of the Commonwealth, and do justice to her creditors. He was efficient in promoting internal improvements, was a Director of State Charitable Institutions, Rector of the University, and President of the Virginia Historical Society. He was a devoted friend to the cause of free school education. Dr. Sears, soon after his appointment, located in Staunton, and Mr. Stuart gave him a cordial reception and valuable assistance. In February, 1871, he was elected a Trustee, and continued to serve until 1889, when he resigned on account of advancing age and increasing infirmities, and his friend, William Wirt Henry, was chosen as his successor. Mr. Stuart was surpassed by none in the efficiency of his services; but his most important contribution to the Proceedings was his elaborate and admirable report on "Education for the Colored Population of the United States," which bore the signatures of Mr. Evarts and of Chief-Justice Waite. This unanswerable argument in favor of National Aid for the removal and prevention of illiteracy had the unanimous sanction of the Board, and, being printed in pamphlet form, was widely circulated, every member of Congress being supplied with a copy. Mr. Stuart died in the house in which he was born, the 13th of February, 1891, having lived a long and honorable and useful life.

On the 7th of September, 1893, Hamilton Fish died. Of a Revolutionary ancestry, he was conspicuous, through a long life, for his patriotism and his broad and true Americanism. He was Representative and Senator in Congress, Governor of New York, and, for eight years, Secretary of State. In the last position, he was especially distinguished for most valuable services. He negotiated with Spain a treaty

which settled the Virginius case, which had disturbed most seriously our relations with Spain, and came near involving the country in an unnecessary war. The most important service performed by him in the State Department was the treaty of Washington, which resulted in the arbitration at Geneva and the settlement of the Alabama Claims. In less conspicuous matters he showed equal firmness, sense of justice, adherence to principle, and true Americanism. His treatment of questions involving the rights of our citizens in foreign countries, brought out in clear light his best qualities. While supporting vigorously all proper demands, he rebuked and discouraged the exorbitant claims and the discreditable pretensions which have so often reflected injuriously upon our country. Governor Fish was the President-General of the Society of the Cincinnati, and was one of the original Trustees appointed by Mr. Peabody. In 1891, he resigned because of the infirmities of years; but the Board postponed its consideration with the hope that he might consent to remain as adviser and counsellor. He filled all positions with ability, with dignity, with the hearty approval of the people. Joseph H. Choate, of New York, was appointed to fill the vacancy.

And now came the greatest calamity which has befallen the Trust. Hitherto, the useful members had been lopped off, but now fell the active, directive, vitalizing head. Robert Charles Winthrop was born in Boston, May 12, 1809, bearing one of the most illustrious names in the annals of New England, with which were blended those of Temple and Bowdoin. Biographer and historian, from full material, will depict and portray him in various positions of public distinction and public usefulness; and few men had such exalted ideas of public duty as he had, or discharged the obligations with more conscientiousness and ability. Of him, as presiding officer in State and Federal House of Representatives, as Representative and Senator in Congress,

meeting courageously the great questions of his period in the spirit of Washington — whom he most admired and revered of all our public men — as effective political speaker, attracting and charming the most intelligent audiences, as the rival and equal of Webster and Everett in what may be called a national product — the American Oration — as meeting the duties of hospitable host, as President of Historical Society, as member of many Boards of Trust, as private citizen, nothing needs to be written here. In this memoir, a self-imposed restriction considers him simply as the great educational statesman, and as giving the best thoughts of the best years of his useful life to the most solicitous concern for the success of the Peabody endowment.

It was a sagacious act in Mr. Peabody to spread before Mr. Winthrop his far-reaching scheme of beneficence, and to consult him as to the preparation of the immortal Letter of Gift of the 7th of February, 1867. It was no less wise to place the administration of the Trust under his watchful eye as Chairman, thereby securing his unfaltering, loving devotion, his consummate wisdom, his unfailing tact and courtesy, and that complete confidence which the Trustees and the public have reposed without a moment's withdrawal. Mr. Peabody perpetuated in Mr. Winthrop his own spirit in the foundation, and added thereto the inspiration and power which came from Mr. Winthrop's large intelligence, broad catholic patriotism, national popularity, his absorbing desire for the upbuilding of the South and for the restoration of perfect fraternity between lately alienated sections. He was not satisfied with the perfunctory performance of his duties as Chairman. The office for him was no idle ceremony. For twenty-seven years he threw his whole being into the work, and was familiar with the minute details of every aided school. He watched with careful consideration the giving of every dollar, and, while

liberal in a large degree in the execution of the purposes of the Trust, he was unwilling to assent to the slightest departure from the terms of the Letter of Gift, or the well-established rules and principles which have marked the history of the Fund. No Southerner, to the manner born, could have felt deeper concern for the welfare of the Southern people, and for such a use of the splendid charity of the Founder, as would make it accomplish the highest good, according to the well-defined intent of the Giver. Whatever may be said of the utility of the Trust, of the unparalleled good it has wrought, of its direct and collateral influences for the promotion of education, or even of gratitude due to Mr. Peabody, it is impossible to dissociate the name and work of Peabody from the co-operation and equally beneficial work of Winthrop. He was an ardent advocate of the elevation of the lately emancipated race; and all the efforts of the General Agent to have the negroes made, proportionately with the white people, the beneficiaries of school privileges called forth his encouragement and praise. When the Trustees, in 1879, presented to Congress that State paper of unequalled excellence in behalf of government aid for the education of the negroes, he was in fullest sympathy with the wise recommendation and the unanswerable argument. "Slavery," he said, "is but half abolished, emancipation is but half completed, while millions of freemen with votes in their hands are left without education." When national aid for the prevention and removal of illiteracy broadened into a more general scheme, while he disapproved of some of the features, he gave his adherence to the object and the means, and deprecated the hostility of Congress, and the apparent indifference of men and of parties to a most perilous menace to our free institutions. When his death occurred, schools and colleges and Press paid generous and grateful tribute to his memory. One of these colleges fitly bears his name

— the Winthrop Normal and Industrial College, at Rock Hill, South Carolina. Massachusetts was the first State in the Union to establish a Normal School. On the 14th of January, 1837, in the House of Representatives, it was ordered that the Committee on Education consider the expediency of providing by law for the better education of teachers. In April, Mr. Winthrop, for the Committee, reported a Bill which became a law; and thus the State, nearly sixty years ago, by the modest beginning at Lexington, was the pioneer in establishing Normal Schools.

One of the most remarkable phases of educational thought and action of modern times is the fixed conviction that manual training, because of its educational and economic value, should be established and sustained as an inseparable part of our public schools. It has been long felt that instruction in school and college has been too much restricted to literature, or to purely mental development and culture. Pupils are educated away from productive industry and the ranks of labor; and, as a necessary and deplorable consequence, trained skill and high compensation are monopolized largely by the foreign-born, who owe their success to the practical and better-rounded education obtained abroad. Many of our most thoughtful educators have considered a reorganization of education as especially needed in the peculiar condition of the South, so as to be adapted thoroughly to industrial and economic needs. Schools for teaching particular industries, trade schools, are most useful, and have been largely encouraged in Europe and certain portions of our own country, but to give special training in mechanic arts is not what is usually understood by manual training. As the term is limited, it is not a teaching of a specific occupation, a specializing the work of elementary schools in the direction of economic productions; nor is it a substitute for mental training, nor simply to enable the students to make a living, — although

this is a result not to be despised. It is to give a general training, a dexterity, to the hands, instruction in the nature and use of the fundamental tools, and in their application to the chief materials used in the common industries. Skill will thereby be more readily acquired in any of the mechanic arts. Hand, eye, and brain are brought into effective co-operation, honest toil is dignified, and productive capacity is greatly increased. This auxiliary in education has had such a demonstrated value that the Fund has encouraged and insisted upon its incorporation into the course of instruction of our aided colored schools; and it has been gradually extended into white Normal Schools, such as Greensboro', Rock Hill, and Farmville. The concurrent experience is that this manual training has helped scholarship, discipline, accuracy, and the building up of a self-reliant manhood and womanhood. The efficient President of Hampton says: "The effect of the manual training has shown itself in improved work in the school-room; and in the shops and on the farm many a young man, to whom fractions as taught in the class-room were an insoluble mystery, has mastered them with slight difficulty with the help of the manual training."

In his Annual Report in 1891, the General Agent said: "As 1892 will be a quarter of a century since the foundation of the Trust, would it not be a most fit and graceful recognition of Mr. Peabody's unparalleled bounty, if the States which have been the beneficiaries of the Fund should, by combined action, contribute a bronze or marble statue to be placed, by consent of Congress, in the old Hall of the House of Representatives, where are collected the images of so many renowned Americans." A few years afterwards this suggestion received favorable consideration; and South Carolina took the initiative and made an appropriation, inviting the co-operation of the other Southern States. Virginia promptly responded. Other States,

delayed by biennial sessions, are considering favorably the proposition, and it is hoped that such a grateful recognition cannot be long delayed. The Trustees, on the matter being informally brought to their attention in 1895, expressed their deep satisfaction at the movement. It is sad irony in human history that men are seized with a strange fascination, converting atrocious guilt into objects of admiration, and lavishing the honors due to the benefactors of the human race most profusely upon their destroyers. The madness of mankind has surrounded with false glory the exploits of men whose ambition has led them to schemes of conquest, inflicting untold miseries on the human race. It would reflect imperishable honor on the people, if they shall spontaneously embody in durable form their gratitude to one who gave the Southern people, "richly to enjoy," in their poverty, the continuing benefits of his unselfish and unexampled bounty. At the banquet given by Mr. Peabody to the Trustees of the Fund and to General Grant, in 1867, Mr. Winthrop accompanied resolutions with some remarks in which he said: "It was once said by Daniel Webster that if an inquiry was made as to what America had ever contributed to the world, it was enough to say that she had contributed the character of George Washington. And we, of this day and generation, may now answer for that inquiry, that she has not only contributed the *character* of George Washington, but also the *example* of George Peabody."

CHAPTER III.

IN his Letter of Gift, Mr. Peabody entrusted his chosen Trustees with "the power, in case two-thirds shall, at any time, after the lapse of thirty years, deem it expedient, to close this Trust." At the session of 1895, it was resolved: "That in view of the authority given by the Founder to liquidate the Peabody Trust, and to distribute the principal at the discretion of the Trustees on or after the expiration of thirty years, a committee of three, together with the Chairman, First Vice-Chairman, and the General Agent, be appointed to consider the whole question and report its conclusion at the next meeting." The Committee, at the time appointed, reported that they had considered the whole matter, and they recommended that the distribution be deferred. When the action of the Board, appointing a committee to consider the expediency of closing the Trust, transpired, there were two rather singular results, which were most complimentary to the Trustees. From every superintendent of education in the South, from many educators familiar with the administration of the Trust and deeply interested in the great work of Southern education, and from every Southern Normal School and College, with one exception, came earnest and emphatic protests against the liquidation, or cordial expressions of gratification at the action of the Trustees in postponing the consideration of the subject. Another very decided expression was, that while the disbursement of the income, in co-operation with the public authorities of the States, so broad and judicious and salutary, had been of incalculable value to the South, yet that

the beneficial influence of the Fund had been greater, although indirectly and not made prominent, as a constant educator in public policy, always adapting itself to the conditions of the South and the environments of the schools. The influence exerted in awakening the people from their apathy, in making them feel the full weight of their responsibility for the support of schools, in arousing the South to grapple with its own great problem of illiteracy, in moulding school legislation, in helping the despairing, in suggesting other kindred benefactions, in its varied and practical utility, cannot be measured nor described. The work committed to the Trustees was unique. The amount given and the purpose of the gift were unexampled; and no Board of Trust ever represented so much of character, ability, varied experience, honored station. The majority have been in exalted public stations. Among the Trustees have been at different times: three Presidents of the United States; two Chief-Justices of the Supreme Court, and several distinguished members of State judiciaries; famous military men, both of the Union and the Confederate armies; two Bishops; and several members of Congress, Cabinet Ministers, Foreign Ministers, Mayors of Cities, Governors of States, distinguished financiers, authors and men of letters, and a generous representation of men of substance and character. Such an array of worth, identified with common-school education, administering a sacred trust, never failing of a quorum in thirty-five meetings, guarding with jealous vigilance the Fund committed to their hands, inspire a confidence and give assurance of fidelity and wisdom that could not possibly attach to any other agency into whose hands and guidance the money and objects might be confided.

The Fund, from its beginning laboring for universal education through the only possible means of reaching that end, namely, public schools organized, controlled,

supervised by the States, placed itself in close sympathy and co-operation with State school officers. The General Agents, having practically the administration of the Fund, had necessarily to keep themselves thoroughly informed as to school legislation and revenues, local and State needs, and the best means of accomplishing the end had in view. Under the conditions for aid such as have been described, the Agents decided what amounts could be wisely and efficaciously used. These sums were included in requisitions, carefully made up and submitted for the approval of the Executive and the Finance Committees. The latter instructed the Treasurer to place the amount in bank to the credit of the General Agent for the purposes mentioned. The sums were drawn out in favor of the State superintendents for the colleges or schools within their States, receipts being given by them and used in the annual audit of the Agent's accounts. As the superintendents received no compensation for this service, and were burdened with heavy labors, they deserve recognition and thanks for the readiness and cheerfulness with which they disbursed the funds. All money sent out by the Peabody Education Fund, except what is paid directly to the Normal College at Nashville, passed through the hands of the superintendents. Justice demands an acknowledgment of the patience, willingness, self-sacrificing energy, cheerful co-operation, zeal for the cause, with which these men have aided the Peabody Board. Mischievous as is the policy of rotation, and criminal as is the appointment of school officers as a reward for party services, the mischiefs have been in a large degree averted by the ability and devotedness of these officers. The writer of this regards it as a privilege to make mention of the efficient services of his co-laborers, and to record that official intercourse has in every instance ripened into permanent friendship.

It is but scant justice to the very accomplished and scholarly head of the Department of Public Instruction, the Hon. William T. Harris, to acknowledge indebtedness for his aid and counsel, always promptly and usefully rendered, on the slightest intimation of a wish from the General Agent. It is proper, also, in this day of popular prejudice against railways, to make mention of the readiness with which the Managers of these Corporations have recognized the close connection betwixt education and material development, and given cheerful and generous aid to the work of the General Agent.

Perhaps the most significant fact in connection with the aims and purposes of the Trust was, that at its origin, not a single Southern State within the field of its operations had a system of free public schools, and only in a few cities were any such schools to be found. No State organizations existed through which the funds could reach the people. The illiteracy of the inhabitants was appalling, and by no means confined to the "freedmen," but embraced a large per cent of the white population. The Trustees decided, and most wisely, to make a vigorous and persistent effort to induce these States to include free and universal education among their permanent obligations; and the effort was rewarded by early success. One of the best evidences of progress, and of the influence of the Fund, is found in the fact that every one of the Southern States has now a public system of schools more or less complete, and Normal Schools for both races, sustained by general and local taxation. More than one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, subtracted since the war from hard earnings, and devoted to the education of black and white children, is a proof that cannot be questioned nor belittled as to the conviction of Southern people in reference to free education. These educational improvements have not been merely nominal, existing only on the statute books,

for local and State revenues have been more and more liberally appropriated, and, what is better, there has been every year a sounder and more generous public opinion. The statistics on the following pages, obtained from the Bureau of Education, which has been a willing and efficient coadjutor of the Fund throughout its history, present in tabular form the marvellous progress which has been made in the States which have been grateful recipients of the beneficence of Mr. Peabody. In making comparisons of statistics of education in the South, it has been necessary to take 1870 as a starting-point, the previous returns being so meagre and unsatisfactory.

Judge John Lowell, who was made Trustee in the place of Mr. Winthrop, had but a short period of service, attending only one session. He impressed his colleagues most favorably, and gave promise of being a most useful member of the Trust. He was born in 1824, graduated from Harvard, and he served with great eminence as Federal Judge, and died universally regretted. Senator George F. Hoar was elected in his stead.

PUBLIC SCHOOL STATISTICS IN SEVERAL SOUTHERN STATES.

[FIGURES IN PARENTHESES AND ACROSS THE LINE INDICATE THAT SEPARATE RETURNS FOR WHITE AND COLORED WERE NOT MADE.]

STATE.	DATE.	SCHOOLS.		TEACHERS.		PUPILS.		REVENUES (excluding balances).	
		White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	STATE.	LOCAL Revenues (including poll taxes).
Alabama	1871	2,399	922	2,497	973	[g] 86,976	[g] 54,336	$581,389	
Arkansas	1870	(2,537)		(2,302)		[e] (107,908)		[a] 454,636	
Florida	1870					[e] 8,254	[e] 4,524		
Georgia	1870	719	97			[e] 34,558	[e] 5,208	[b] 432,283	
Louisiana	1870	(23)		(524)		([f] 23,223)		[e] 496,401	
Mississippi . . .	1870	(3,450)		(3,520)		([g] 98,600)			
North Carolina . .	1870	(1,398)		(1,415)		([h] 29,303)		[a] 42,862	
South Carolina . .	1870	(769)				([e] 30,448)		[d] 50,000	
Tennessee . . .	1870	(1,932)		(2,141)		([e] 82,970)			
Texas	1871	(1,324)		(1,578)		([e] 63,504)		[b] 136,097	
Virginia	1870					([e] 50,775)			
West Virginia . .	1870	(2,357)		(2,405)		([e] 87,330)		[f] 262,892	

[a] Total amount paid to teachers. [b] Total available fund, 1871. [c] Total apportionment for 1870.
[d] $50,000 appropriated by Legislature in addition to amount raised by poll tax. [e] Number attending.
[f] Amount expended — incomplete. [g] Enrolment. [h] Estimated number in school.

State.	Date.	Schools.		Teachers.		Pupils.		Revenues (excluding balances).	
		White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	State Revenues.*	Local Revenues (including poll taxes).*
Alabama	1893–94	4,439	2,248	4,412	2,196	190,305	115,709	$415,627	141,431
Arkansas. . . .	1894–95	([a] 5,066*)		5,124	1,796	216,863	82,429	396,308	860,000
Florida	1893–94	1,775	629 (285*)	2,151	772 (1,045*)	59,503	37,272	100,874	445,967
Georgia	1894	4,941	2,727	5,398	2,898	260,084	169,404	1,268,618	375,043
Louisiana . . .	1895	1,999	895	2,576	961	98,400	65,917	206,041	598,005
Mississippi . . .	1894–95	3,611	2,653	4,591	3,264	162,830	187,785	698,039	401,717
North Carolina .	1893–94	4,811	2,296	5,285	3,075	242,572	128,318	386,118	272,750
South Carolina .	1894–95	[b] 2,421	[b] 1,631	2,696	1,869	103,729	119,292	332,698	196,491
Tennessee . . .	1894–95	6,050	1,648	6,812	1,778	377,626	100,499	1,240,176	not reported
Texas	1894–95	[a] 7,724	[a] 2,207	10,279	2,729	463,039	128,729	1,190,485	790,615
Virginia	1894–95	6,035	2,243	6,211	2,081	235,533	120,453	930,548	805,025
West Virginia . .	1894–95	[b] 5,502.*		6,066	233	210,059	7,649	318,506	1,089,197

* Both races. [a] In 1893–94. [b] No. of schoolhouses.

ILLITERACY IN TWELVE SOUTHERN STATES, 1870 AND 1890.

State.	White.					Colored.				
	1890		1870			1890.			1870.		
	Illiterates.		Total.[1]	Illiterates.		Total.[1]	Illiterates.		Total.[1]	Illiterates.	
	Number.	Per Cent.		Number.	Per Cent.		Number.	Per Cent.		Number.	Per Cent.
	1,171,295	16.0	4,306,086	1,064,991	25.0	4,315,306	2,663,605	62.0	2,750,918	2,383,076	87.0
Alabama . . .	107,335	18.2	377,967	92,059	24.4	479,430	331,260	69.1	328,835	290,953	88.1
Arkansas . . .	93,090	16.3	256,488	64,095	25.0	217,454	116,655	53.6	85,249	69,244	81.2
Florida . . .	18,516	11.3	68,371	18,904	27.6	119,034	60,204	50.6	62,748	52,899	84.1
Georgia . . .	114,691	16.3	462,718	124,939	27.0	600,623	404,015	67.3	373,211	343,654	92.1
Louisiana . . .	80,939	20.1	264,033	50,749	19.2	392,642	283,245	72.1	262,359	225,409	85.9
Mississippi . .	45,755	11.9	276,132	48,028	17.4	516,929	314,858	60.9	305,074	265,282	87.0
North Carolina	173,722	23.0	497,132	166,397	33.5	392,589	235,981	60.1	272,497	231,293	84.8
South Carolina	59,443	17.9	213,794	55,167	25.8	470,232	301,262	64.1	289,969	235,212	81.8
Tennessee . .	172,169	17.8	665,390	178,727	26.9	309,800	167,971	54.2	225,482	185,970	82.4
Texas	132,389	10.8	401,110	70,895	17.7	336,154	176,484	52.5	169,965	150,808	88.7
Virginia . . .	105,058	13.9	527,432	123,538	23.4	455,682	260,678	57.2	362,624	322,355	88.9
West Virginia .	68,188	13.0	295,519	71,493	24.2	24,737	10,992	44.4	12,905	9,997	77.4

Percentage of total illiteracy in 1890: Alabama, 41.0; Arkansas, 26.6; Florida, 27.8; Georgia, 39.8; Louisiana, 45.8; Mississippi, 40.0; North Carolina, 35.7; South Carolina, 45.0; Tennessee, 26.5; Texas, 19.7; Virginia, 30.2; West Virginia, 14.4.

[1] Population of ten years of age and over.

CHAPTER IV.

PEABODY NORMAL COLLEGE.

IT is the concurrent experience of all countries which have established systems of public instruction, that they are very incomplete and defective, if they do not embrace professional schools, where the science of education and the art of education are regularly and thoroughly taught. Acting on this conviction, the Trustees, in the first year of the Trust, made provision for training teachers, and assistance was given to private schools in Louisiana and Virginia for that purpose. Before the first year of the service of Dr. Sears had expired, he urged that the influence of the Trust should be used in favor of State Normal Schools, on account of their superiority over Normal Departments in colleges and academies, which were likely to be overshadowed by the literary and scientific departments. The only safe policy, the one which alone promised thoroughness, efficiency, and permanency in the training of teachers, was that of inducing the several States to establish their own Normal Schools. A complete theoretical and practical course, illustrated in all the branches to be taught, with their environments, was found nowhere out of the Normal Schools. Early and adequate provision for the systematic training of teachers, male and female, black and white, was urged upon the States composing the sphere of the action of the Fund, as indispensable to the accomplishment of their wishes. In the persevering effort to procure the establishment of State systems of public schools, the lack of capable teachers was one of the chief obstacles to be surmounted. In the whole South there was not a single

Normal School. Many annexes and departments with the name were hastily originated; but these were in denominational or private institutions, and rivalries and jealousies soon compelled a resort to the principle of confining aid, on the part of the Peabody Trustees, to such schools as were under State control. In the course of a few years they resolved to devote a considerable portion of the annual income to stimulate the establishment and aid in the support of Normal Schools, in which young men and women were to be qualified to carry forward the work of free education. The only way to prevent disastrous results from the mere teaching of the words and formulas of books, and to make the schools the pride of the people, was for a State to make provision for thoroughly training a large body of teachers. In a letter to the writer, 27th September, 1876, Dr. Sears said: "We had a good meeting, and an uncommonly full and satisfactory discussion about our general policy. While the course thus far pursued was heartily approved, there was a feeling that it was about time to diminish our contributions to the larger cities and the Northern tier of States, especially Virginia, West Virginia, and Tennessee, and do more for Normal Schools and for awakening a general interest in education in the more southerly States." In another letter, in 1877, he wrote, "North Carolina has appropriated $2,000 a year for two years for a white Normal School to be connected with the State University, and I was called on to suggest a plan. I wrote to the Governor, and also to President Battle, that a single lectureship, with a small attendance, furnishing no graduates during the two years, would prove so little inspiring to the public that the appropriation would not be likely to be renewed. I recommended a temporary Normal School, of six or seven weeks, during the summer vacation, when two or three experienced Normal instructors could be brought in from

abroad, and when all the teachers in the State could be invited to attend." While intent on this scheme for training teachers, Dr. Sears, in 1875, visited Nashville, and had consultations with Judge Watson, a Trustee, and the Hon. James D. Porter, who, fortunately, was then the Governor of the State, and Drs. Lindsey and Jones, and other liberal and sagacious friends of Education. On invitation, Dr. Sears addressed the Legislature, and subsequently sent a note to the Governor, to be communicated to the Legislature, containing a proposition for the establishment of a Normal School. Through the energetic efforts of Governor Porter and others, the Legislature, on March 3d, adopted the plan with some modifications. A Board of Education was appointed to organize the school, and carry the law into effect. Although the Trustees offered to give the sum of $6,000 annually, provided the State would do as much, the Legislature was not willing to appropriate anything, either to give life to the school or to aid in its support. The enterprise would have failed if the Trustees of the University of Nashville had not generously come to the rescue and offered to substitute the Normal School for their literary department, and to grant the use of grounds and buildings, together with the income from its fund thus tendered. The University included a large number of well-constructed stone and brick buildings, and a campus of sixteen acres, to which have since been added a residence and offices for the Chancellor, a janitor's dwelling, and a gymnasium. This disposition of the property has since been made perpetual by the University Board, with the single condition that it shall be used for Normal College purposes. The State Board formally accepted the proposition of the University, and invited the Trustees of the University, in co-operation with the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, to take the necessary steps for organizing and opening the School. These gentlemen conferred immediately with Dr.

Sears, and requested him to nominate a President. Dr. Sears selected Dr. Eben S. Stearns, a teacher of great accomplishments, and succeeded in getting his acceptance. Dr. Stearns entered upon his difficult task with much experience, and an enviable reputation as an educator which he had achieved in Massachusetts. The prospect which confronted him on his arrival was far from cheering. Ignorance of the objects of the School, indifference, and hostility were as pronounced and patent as the friendship he met. Grounds, buildings, furniture, appliances, were all uninviting and uninspiring. The School was opened on the 1st of December, 1875, with thirteen female pupils, one little room sufficing for chapel, class-room, and all class-work. Nothing daunted, the courageous President had the inauguration exercises in the Representative Hall at the Capitol. The ever-faithful Porter and Watson and Jones, with other prominent persons, were present to cheer and bid God-speed. During the first year the School grew in favor, and the President, to whose energy and taste the College owes so much for its present attractions, kept the first anniversary by a memorial tree, — planting which, it is said, was the first occasion of the kind in this country. At their meeting in 1876, the Trustees of the Peabody Fund established a limited number of scholarships for the benefit of all the beneficiary States, worth $200 a year for two successive years. The liberal conditions were at first reluctantly accepted; but the scholarships are now eagerly sought after, and are distributed as follows: Alabama and Arkansas each, 17; Florida, 8; Georgia, 22; Louisiana, West Virginia, and South Carolina each, 12; Texas and North Carolina each, 20; Mississippi, 13; Virginia, 18; Tennessee, 33; total, 204. In 1850, there were 137 students in the College; in 1885, 165; in 1890, 359; in 1894, 508, and in 1897, 544; 1436 persons have been graduated. The College receives

at nominal tuition all who desire to prepare themselves for teaching. The total scholarship payments from October 1, 1877, to October 1, 1897, have been:

For Alabama	$35,529.28
" Arkansas	31,599.22
" Florida	14,091.15
" Georgia	51,874.47
" Louisiana	22,203.16
" Mississippi	23,695.25
" North Carolina	38,625.58
" South Carolina	27,046.65
" Tennessee	40,648.79
" Texas	38,127.93
" Virginia	40,602.00
" West Virginia	19,540.62
	$383,584.10

The Peabody Trustees, notwithstanding the demonstrated need of the College, and its growing popularity and usefulness without any State aid, had not purposed to charge the Fund with its entire support. The contracting parties to the agreement previously entered into did not feel authorized to promise any hope of relief to the increasing need for more teachers and better facilities for instruction. The Legislature persisted in declining to render aid. The Trustees of the University felt they were doing more than could be required of them. Affairs were rapidly coming to a crisis. The Peabody Trustees did not feel warranted in continuing large appropriations without a corresponding amount from the State, and they therefore determined upon removing their interest to another State, in order to secure permanent support for the future.

In 1879, they continued their appropriation, but instructed their General Agent to report to an adjourned meeting whether it would be desirable to continue the appropriation longer, or whether some institution elsewhere should

be adopted as the receiver of the contributions of the Board. In 1880, as the Legislature and the people of Tennessee had shown so little interest in the success of the College, the Executive Committee and the General Agent were entrusted with the consideration and settlement of the Normal School question. Dr. Sears was instructed to proceed to the settlement at once. The State of Georgia, keenly alive to the opportunity, had invited the Board to transfer the appropriation to her, and offered a large sum annually to aid the School, with other liberal inducements in grounds, buildings, etc. Dr. Sears, upon a careful survey of the whole matter, after consultation with the Governor and the educational authorities, would probably have concluded a satisfactory negotiation if Georgia had not been hampered by a provision in the Constitution which subordinated in some form all appropriations of money for educational purposes to the University, and necessitated a kind of supervision by the Chancellor. The possibility of the removal of the College deeply excited the citizens of Nashville, who protested against it as a lasting injury to the State School System, and offered, by a prompt and liberal subscription of money, to guarantee the payment of the running expenses until the Legislature should make an appropriation for its support. The Trustees of the University at the same time proposed to remove the Montgomery Bell Academy to another building, and to raise $10,000 to erect and repair buildings. A committee, headed by Governor Porter, submitted a strong memorial to the Legislature, praying enlightened legislation of the State so as to act generously and promptly in this undertaking. These offers, looking to a satisfactory adjustment of the difficulties, were accepted by Doctor Sears, who unfortunately died before they were matured by the State. It was a cheering thought to him, who had been oppressed by so much

anxiety, that the College was settled permanently in Nashville on a firm foundation. The agreement seemed the harbinger of peace and prosperity. His final answer to the propositions was probably his last official act.

The new General Agent, immediately on entrance upon his duties, had committed to him the perfecting of the negotiations respecting the permanent location of the College. The problem was embarrassed by the want of a proper adjustment of the somewhat undetermined relations to the College of three distinct Boards of Trust, — of Education, of the University, and of the Peabody Education Fund. The Trustees of the University began at once to fulfil their stipulations. The Agent visited Nashville, made an address to the Legislature, and, on a second visit, by conference with the Trustees of the University and the Board of Education, reached an understanding which has worked with harmony and enabled the College to attain its great eminence. In the spring of 1881, the Legislature made an appropriation of $10,000, but coupled it with such conditions that only $5,000 were secured for College purposes. The first instalment was drawn in November of that year, — the College having been in operation and supported by the University and the Peabody Fund for six years. In 1882, on the recommendation of the General Agent, the Peabody Trustees allowed a proportionate number of scholarships to Tennessee so long as the State would give annually to the College $10,000 free from all incumbrances. He had reported that the University Trustees had removed the Bell Academy to a new house erected for its occupancy, and had built a commodious residence for the President. On 30th March, 1883, the Legislature accepted without any drawback the offer which had been made by the Peabody Trustees, and thus manifested a willingness to continue friendly aid to an Institution which, while a blessing to the

public schools, was steadily growing into an imperishable monument to the South's greatest benefactor. Since 1891, the State appropriation has been $15,000. Gymnasium, repair of buildings, library, laboratories, teachers, ornamentation of the campus, increased the usefulness of the College, and State superintendents gave intelligent and generous co-operation.

In 1885, in his annual address, Mr. Winthrop designated the School as our "great Normal College." By gradual evolution it had developed in strength and usefulness and fame. Few imagined that from the humble beginning of 1875, amid so many embarrassments, it would grow into such a stately institution. It has proved its ability to survive neglect and opposition. It has pursued its successful career, even when Death had removed such friends as Sears and Watson, and now came an additional blow. On the 11th of April, 1887, Eben Sperry Stearns, the President of the College, and the Chancellor of the University, died in Nashville. He was, in 1841, graduated from Harvard University, father, grandfather, and great-grandfather having had diplomas from the same venerable institution. Dr. Sears, as Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, had placed him, in 1849, at the head of a State Normal School in that State. Familiar with his unusual qualifications and excellent services, he selected Dr. Stearns as the most desirable person for organizing and making successful the Normal School at Nashville. For eleven years and more Dr. Stearns gave untiringly his energies and ability to the infant enterprise; and what it became was largely due to his zeal, his paternal watchfulness, his brave hopefulness, and his administrative and scholarly capacity.

Institutions are often but the embodiment of the brain and heart of men. The College being under the substantial supervision of the Peabody Trustees, drawing much of its vital force from them, it became a question, worthy of

the most thoughtful consideration, who should be chosen as President to carry on to ideal consummation the work of the "Peabody College for all the Southern States." The advice and counsel of the late Agent, "fortunately at hand," said Mr. Winthrop, on a leave of absence from Madrid, were asked. He visited Boston, conferred with Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Green, and proceeded at once, practically giving up his vacation, in search of a suitable person for the Presidency. It should be said that as soon as Dr. Stearns died, Mr. Winthrop had written to Mr. Curry in Spain, and urged him to "look out" for a proper man. This journey, therefore, was undertaken in order to see and have conferences with several men. Going to Ann Arbor, he ascertained that William H. Payne, Professor of the Art and Science of Teaching in the University of Michigan, was absent, holding Teachers' Institutes in Indiana. Following to the town where the Institute was in session, he had a long, frank, and earnest interview with Dr. Payne, and finally offered him, as far as he was authorized conditionally to do, the Presidency of the College, forewarning him not to disclose his denominational or political tenets, as he preferred when he should be asked as to the views of the President-elect on these points, to answer truthfully that he did not know. This selection, which both parties understood to be merely tentative, was confirmed on the 29th of August, 1887, by the Chairman and Secretary, they having acted on the suggestion of Governor Porter and several of the members of the Tennessee Boards. After visiting Nashville, and thoroughly considering the whole subject, Dr. Payne accepted, — a conclusion he has repeatedly said that he never regretted. The Trustees of the University and the Board of Education had looked to the Peabody Trustees to select and nominate a suitable successor for Dr. Stearns, and they therefore, having had Dr. Payne nominated to them, promptly and

unanimously expressed their assent to his selection. The Peabody Trustees, at their annual meeting in October, confirmed what had been done by their executive officers. On the 5th of October, 1887, Dr. Payne was inaugurated as President of the College and Chancellor of the University, many prominent educators and citizens and the two local Boards witnessing and taking part in the ceremony, and cordially welcoming the Christian gentleman and scholar. In his inaugural address, the President outlined his views of what the College should be, and what he should strive to attain unto.

Among other things, he said: "The primary and fundamental qualification for teaching is generous scholarship, a confirmed love for the scholarly vocation, a high degree of intellectual training. . . . But academic work of a high grade does not of itself constitute a Normal College. This is a distinctively professional school in its constitution and purpose, and so the instruction it offers must be in part professional. The teacher must be a scholar and something more — more by that special kind of knowledge which fits him for his specific duties. This special knowledge is the theory, the history, and the art of education. Pupils must learn the theory and history from lectures and books; but for the purposes which this school must keep in view, the practice of education will be best learned from good models. I trust the time is not far distant when upon this campus there shall be a model school building, accommodating the several grades of a model school, which the pupils of this College may reproduce, wholly or in part, when they undertake the actual work of teaching."

Bringing to his position high culture, a philosophical mind, and an honorable ambition, regulated by an enlightened conscience, Dr. Payne began at once to stamp his impress upon the College, which, by action of the Governor and the State Board of Education, was christened

anew with the distinctive name of "The Peabody Normal College." The intent of this change was to connect indissolubly the name of the Founder of the Trust with the Institution, and to relieve it from the local character implied by the term "State." Courses of study in the theory, history, and art of education were organized, and the preparation of teachers for the higher positions in the school service became the characteristic aim. Steadily the end has been pursued of giving to teachers a professional education of the collegiate type, the education of teachers of teachers having a manifest superiority over the education of merely teachers of children. As State Normal Schools, constantly increasing, undertake the work of primary instruction, it seemed well to educate a body of professional teachers, having a clear insight into the complex educational problem, capable of dealing with vexed questions in a spirit of judicial and philosophic fairness, and of moulding public opinion over wider areas than an isolated school-room.

In accordance with these views, as fast as a sound management would permit, the School has been raised to a College grade, resulting in a marked growth in professional spirit and in breadth of culture. The course of study has been revised and recast so as to introduce new subjects and to secure a wholesome expansion and growth. The revised course, by a wise elasticity, adjusts itself to a predilection of the students, and introduces three degrees: (a) Bachelor of Arts, giving prominence to ancient languages and mathematics; (b) Bachelor of Science, in which precedence is given to physical sciences; and (c) Bachelor of Letters, which omits the ancient languages, but makes prominent the study of modern languages and literature and history. There has been induced a growing tendency on the part of students to prolong their connection with the College until in addition to the ordinary degree of

Licentiate of Instruction they shall have taken some University degree. The fact that in one year fifty-nine out of the one hundred and thirty-four graduates received such degrees is full of significance, as showing that the School has developed into a real College, and that the graduates are entitled to the fellowship of scholarly men.

In his opening address, Dr. Payne expressed the hope for the early addition of a Model School. Continually, he re-affirmed his conviction of the urgent need of such a school, as being of the same importance as a clinic to a medical school. A Committee of the Board visited the Normal School, and, having power to act, appropriated $12,000 to erect on the College grounds a building for a Model School, and $1,000 to pay the salary of a teacher to be appointed by the President and the General Agent. The action was approved at the regular meeting in 1890, although a departure "for the first time since our organization from the policy of buying nothing and building nothing." The Committee and the Board were careful to exclude a conclusion, and therefore in distinct terms said that the appropriation for a Model School building and Library was exceptional, to meet a present exigency, and was not to be regarded as a departure from the uniform policy, adverse to the purchase of, or investments in, property for schools. The new building served the important purposes of a faculty room, President's office, class-room, and studio, and furnished facilities for some training in drawing and art study. This Winthrop Model School, under the strong views of the President, has been used as a school of observation, where pupils may observe in actual use the most approved modern methods of instruction, rather than as a school where students may practise. He has extended the course of instruction so as to cover the first eight years of public school life. Other educators prefer to combine observation and practice; but Dr. Payne expresses himself as

pleased with the results obtained. The scholarship plan has been a great success, and has furnished to the States many of their best teachers and school officers. The liberal aid furnished by the Fund soon made these scholarships very attractive, and, as early as 1885, the feasibility of diminishing the sum was suggested. Dr. Stearns was rather decided in his fears that a reduction would cut off "the great majority of the beneficiaries." To Dr. Payne and the General Agent it became increasingly apparent that a reduction of the individual allowance would not be attended with such evil consequences, and both concurred in recommending the change. It was their opinion that there would be the same competition for the privileged places, and that a successive reduction might be gradually made, so that the funds expended on scholarships might be used in raising the quality of the School. The attracting motive, drawing the student, should not be so much the pecuniary compensation, as the excellence of the instruction. In 1890, the sum given to scholarship students was reduced to $100 and travelling expenses; and the amount saved was used in increasing the number of scholarships. After no inconsiderable labor, a new apportionment to the States was adopted, and the applications were so numerous as to vindicate in the first year the wisdom of the Trustees. A reduction by one-half of the sum given, the selection of the students by State superintendents after rigid competitive examinations, enlarged courses of instruction and higher standards of graduation, have tended to elevate the character of the College and the value of the diplomas. Giving to all the Southern States the benefit of improved Normal instruction widened the College from a local State institution into a college for the South. An example of model teaching and school organization by a master of the art, one trained as a leader, has had a more beneficial effect upon the public at large than the support of half-a-dozen ordinary schools. This en-

largement proved to be a wise measure; for while increasing the local dignity and importance, it has given national celebrity and influence to the College. Auxiliary to this modification was a request to State superintendents to give preference to the students from their States who had maintained themselves for one year at the College at their own expense, and had there gained a creditable record for scholarship and deportment. The President thinks it of greater importance to have the College equipped with competent teachers and with necessary facilities for instruction, than to have an addition to the number of students; and he suggests that appropriations should be in the order: 1, Of salaries to secure competent teachers; 2, for the Library; 3, Lectureships; and, lastly, Scholarships.

Any profession, any scientific pursuit, too exclusively followed, has a narrowing influence upon the mind. Teaching furnishes many illustrations of this cramping tendency, and there is need that a schoolmaster should be more than a schoolmaster. One of the best preventives of contractedness is healthy and wide reading. To create and cultivate a habit of reading should be the constant aim of the Normal teacher. The right use of a well selected library gives information, culture, expansion of view, a desirable intellectual tone, and a love of letters. Appropriations have been made for the library; librarians have been appointed; the rooms have been made attractive. Books and magazines and newspapers, carefully selected and arranged, are commended to the pupils, with suggestions as to the best mode of using them, and the place, with its surroundings, has added to the intellectual life of the students, and has quickened and cultivated a growing love and appreciation of good books.

After the removal of the hindrances which prevented perfectly harmonious action between Tennessee and the College, the State has evinced the kindliest interest.

Appropriations have been made, sometimes increased cheerfully, and sometimes unanimously. This moral and material co-operation of the Legislature has enabled the State Board to elect additional teachers, raise meagre salaries, give money for books and apparatus, and go to the very limit of its resources. The University Board, from its first act, which made the existence of the School a possibility, has evinced a paternal regard, a tender solicitude, a generous magnanimity, beyond all praise. The able President is now assisted by a corps of twenty-nine efficient instructors.

The College has more than repaid all the kindness shown and sacrifices made in its behalf, and illustrated afresh the reactive benefits upon the giver. Tennessee has had a rich return of the more than two hundred and fifty youths, who confer upon their State the richest of all earthly blessings, — improved teaching of the children. Other States have shared in a similar benefit, for many who received the scholarships have conducted Institutes, become city superintendents, or principals and teachers in the best schools. Membership in the College with free tuition is not restricted to scholarship students, nor to States having these privileges. Any white youth, of either sex, with the prescribed qualifications, will be received and educated for the teacher's profession. In establishing the College there was no intent to favor Tennessee above other Southern States. The training of teachers for all the Southern States was the object. As the munificence of Mr. Peabody was the stimulus and the means for establishing systems of public schools in the States, so the Normal College has pointed the way and aroused the effort for the organizing of more local but indispensable Normal Schools.

National Aid.

I have had frequent occasion to mention that in the effort to organize and put in successful operation a new and untried system of Public Schools, adequate to the needs of the entire population, the Southern States were under the weight of a debt beyond their ability, in their impoverished condition, to pay. To add the expense of free education to this crushing weight was, in their financial condition, a perplexing and almost impossible task. Free schools was a new question, untried, and to be administered by novices in this work. To recognize the freedom, the equality of citizenship, of a large class, lately the slaves of the white people, was not easy, because of conflict with traditions, prejudices, social customs, legal rights, of a few years preceding. To impose voluntarily heavy burdens on the scant property which survived the desolations of the war, so as to educate gratuitously their own children and the children of their late African slaves, was a test of patriotism, of humanity, of civic duty, which no other people ever encountered. We are apt to forget that the negroes were first emancipated, next citizenized, then enfranchised, or invested with suffrage — three distinct steps, neither the legal nor logical consequence of the preceding — and that these privileges or rights had not been the voluntary action of the Southern States, but coerced conditions imposed by conquerors. Under these and other burdensome circumstances, it demanded the utmost fortitude and magnanimity to grapple with and adopt, as a permanent policy, engrafted into organic law and daily practice, systems of public education. The States courageously undertook the work, levied taxes on property, more than 90 per cent of which belonged to white citizens, for the establishment of a dual system of schools, giving

like and equal advantages to both races; and there were, of consequence, a muttering of discontent, a complaint of over-taxation, a criticism upon the efficiency of inchoate schemes, and efforts to overthrow the education, which was unfamiliar to teachers and people. History may hereafter do justice to those who felt that free schools were of the very essence of free institutions, and that apart from what might be due to the negroes, the white people could not afford to have the lowest stratum of society, to which they were indissolubly tethered, remain in ignorance and poverty and thriftlessness and semi-barbarism.

Very naturally, those who regarded universal education as an imperative necessity thought that it would be wise for Congress to come to the aid of impoverished States, and make temporary provision for the removal and prevention of perilous illiteracy. This was not simply a local duty, nor a sectional question, for the want of good schools anywhere was a direct and positive injury to the whole Union. It was a national necessity of the highest exigency, so wrote Dr. Sears, that something should be done without delay to qualify, for its intelligent discharge, those on whom the elective franchise, for better or for worse, has been bestowed by one of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States. Again and again, he adverted to the same subject and to the growing necessity for action, as the chief obstacle to free schools, for both white and colored children, was found, not so much in the apathy of the people, as in their inability to provide means for their support. The appeals for National Aid so impressed Mr. Stuart that he asked for a committee to consider and report upon it deliberately. This was in 1879, and Mr. Stuart, Chief-Justice Waite, and Mr. Evarts were thus appointed. At the succeeding session, Mr. Stuart presented an able and elaborate report, which came from his pen, but had undergone the revision of his colleagues on

the Committee, and was therefore entitled to the consideration of all patriots, lawyers, and statesmen. As a State paper, it ranks among those for which our country is so distinguished. It presented the alarming fact that half a million of voters, eligible to all positions of honor, trust, and emolument, and yet, from illiteracy, notoriously incompetent to the intelligent discharge of the public duties entrusted to them, were scattered over half the Union. The infusion of so large an element of ignorance into the constituent body was a source of weakness to our system of government. Such a multitude of illiterate voters constituted an important factor in national politics. Carefully collected statistics showed two millions of children in the Southern States without the means of instruction. Neither individual charity nor the resources of impoverished States were sufficient to meet the emergency. During the decade from 1860 to 1870, the aggregate of values in these States had decreased $1,872,284,724. As the colored race was an exceptional class of the population, the Board memorialized Congress to grant a portion of the public lands, for purposes of education, using the officers of the school systems of the respective States as the agencies in the application of the funds. As free, universal, common-school education was the daily bread of any system of self-government, the Trustees were unanimous and urgent in their appeals to the Government. Writing to me, 2d February, 1880, Dr. Sears said: "We meet in Washington on the 18th, and hope to exert an influence on Congress in favor of helping the Southern States educate their colored population." Mr. Winthrop and ex-Presidents Grant and Hayes gave frequent expressions to their strong convictions. Others were not less emphatic and earnest. The subject assumed larger proportions in the public mind. The General Agent presented an additional Memorial, declaring the inability of the Southern States to sustain the

heavy burden of universal education, and asking for aid in co-operation with the existing school systems. From manumission and enfranchisement there was a resulting obligation to secure to those suddenly exalted to citizenship and suffrage that amount of education which was necessary to enable them to discharge intelligently the new duties devolved. Mr. Winthrop had condensed the argument into a statement which has been popularized into an educational apothegm. "Slavery is but half abolished, emancipation is but half completed, while millions of freemen with votes in their hands are left without education." In his Yorktown Centennial Address, he further said: "We cannot fail to recognize within those States a peculiar class of population, upon whom the full rights and responsibilities of free and equal citizens have been cast by our National Government without the slightest provision for educating them to an understanding of those rights, and for the discharge of their responsibilities. . . . To remove illiteracy and qualify a large class for the prerogatives of American citizenship is a paramount national question. No argument is needed to prove that ignorance is the parent of poverty, waste, and crime, and that an ignorant people can never work out a noble civilization." The Board, in 1883, renewed their petition, and requested the General Agent to present it to the two Houses of Congress. He furnished every member a copy, and, by invitation of the House Committee on Education, appeared twice before them and enforced the petition. The Congress did not see fit to aid in the education of the illiterate masses on whom the elective franchise was so suddenly precipitated; and the States have had to struggle unaided, and, of course, inefficiently in the attempt to provide for the needs of the children. This education is sadly incommensurate with what should be given, as is evidenced by short sessions, incommodious school-houses,

and an insufficient supply of trained teachers. It would not be difficult to show how from ignorant votes and uneducated citizens proceed, logically and almost unavoidably, vice, improvidence, corruption, violence, and the many evils which have been connected with Southern elections.

Following the Memorial of the Trustees came a persistent and able effort in Congress to appropriate from the public lands, or from the public Treasury, what would have been most needed and valuable aid to the States in their efforts to educate their entire population. For ten years this measure was discussed with remarkable ability and the broadest patriotism. Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, was most conspicuous in his advocacy of this great scheme. Seventeen of the twenty-two Senators from the States most in need of this aid gave him their zealous co-operation. For the first time in the history of our Government, did our public men boldly grapple with the education of the whole people in public schools, by the co-operation of the Federal and the State Governments; and this gave a new impulse to the whole subject of popular education. The scheme proposed was in connection with the State systems, and was a temporary grant of national aid, chiefly for elementary instruction, according to the relative illiteracy of the people over ten years of age. The bounty was to be conditioned upon, and proportioned to, local effort; and this created a sentiment which had not previously existed in favor of local taxation for education. Unfortunately, the Congress would not rise to the height of the great argument, nor appreciate the unremoved national peril, and the refusal seems a little short of national folly and wickedness, when our policy toward a few Indians and Alaskans is contrasted with our cruel neglect of millions of negroes.

Mississippi and Florida Bonds.

In his first Letter of Gift, Mr. Peabody said: "In addition to this gift, I place in your hands bonds of the State of Mississippi, issued to the Planters' Bank, and commonly known as Planters' Bank bonds, amounting, with interest, to about eleven hundred thousand dollars, the amount realized by you from which is to be added to and used for the purposes of this Trust.

"These bonds were originally issued in payment for stock in that Bank held by the State, and amounted in all to only two millions of dollars. For many years, the State received large dividends from the Bank over and above the interest on these bonds. The State paid the interest without interruption till 1840, since which no interest has been paid, except a payment of about one hundred thousand dollars, which was found in the treasury applicable to the payment of the coupons, and paid by a mandamus of the Supreme Court. The validity of these bonds has never been questioned, and they must not be confounded with another issue of bonds made by the State to the Union Bank, the recognition of which has been a subject of controversy with a portion of the population of Mississippi.

"Various acts of the Legislature — viz.: of February 28, 1842; February 23, 1844; February 16, 1846; February 28, 1846; March 4, 1848 — and the highest judicial tribunal of the State, have confirmed their validity; and I have no doubt that at an early day such legislation will be had as to make these bonds available in increasing the usefulness of the present Trust.

"Mississippi, though now depressed, is rich in agricultural resources, and cannot long disregard the moral obligation resting upon her to make provision for their

payment. In confirmation of what I have said, in regard to the legislative and judicial action concerning the State bonds issued to the Planters' Bank, I herewith place in your hands the documents marked A." [1]

In his second Letter of Gift, Mr. Peabody said: "In addition to the foregoing, I give to you Florida 6 per cent bonds, which, with overdue coupons, amount to about $384,000.

"These bonds, like the Mississippi bonds in my first gift, must before many years be paid.

"The territory of Florida obtained the money on these bonds in Europe at about par, and loaned it to the Union Bank as capital.

"The territory received for some time a high rate of interest, but, after the bank suspended, paid the bondholders nothing, but referred them to the Union Bank, saying, 'Obtain what you can from the Union Bank, and it will then be time enough to come to us.' Large amounts of these bonds were purchased by planters at about fifty per cent, and used to pay mortgages held by the Union Bank, until there was nothing more left to be paid; and the small amount of these bonds now outstanding (not exceeding, I believe, two millions of the original bonds) must, I think, before long induce Florida, as an act of justice long delayed, to make provision for their payment."

The failure of Mississippi to meet her obligations caused the Trustees to give unusual consideration to the consequent loss which the Fund was sustaining; and the Finance Committee was early entrusted with full powers over the whole subject. In 1871, a Memorial to the Legislature was authorized, and, in the hope of some response to a

[1] Mr. Peabody, writing to Mr. Corcoran in May, 1851, said: "There have been no Mississippi Planters' Bank bonds on the market for the last six months. I have a large amount, and during the last year I have occasionally sold them at Natchez at 70 to 75 *on principal and interest*."

respectful petition, the Finance Committee was charged anew with power over the collection, adjustment, and settlement of the bonds. Mr. Winthrop prepared the Memorial, appealing to the State, in justice to the interests of the living and the memory of the dead, to take proper action for the redemption of the claims. No response was made by Governor or Legislature, and three Southern members of the Board were appointed to ascertain what steps could properly be taken to secure the long-deferred settlement. In 1881, the renewal of the Memorial to the Government authorities of Mississippi was committed to Judge Manning, who had with the Governor a correspondence, which he submitted at the next annual meeting. From this it appeared that, in 1875 and 1876, the State Constitution had been so amended as to exclude from legislative consideration the question of the payment of these bonds. The only method of reaching the matter was by a proposition to amend the Constitution. It thus appears, said Judge Manning, that the repudiation was made nearly ten years after Mr. Peabody's donation, and at a time when the children of Mississippi were receiving their full proportion of the Fund, derived from bonds and other investments upon which interest has been paid. The Treasurer, in his statement of securities held by the Fund for the education of Southern children, was compelled, in conspicuous notice, to report the Mississippi and Florida bonds as inactive. Confiding in the intelligence and patriotism of the people of Mississippi, Judge Manning visited Jackson during the session of the Legislature, and made a calm and argumentative address to that body, reminding them that eleven years had passed, while the Trustees were waiting for some answer to their former respectful Memorial. He reminded them that their State had received near $70,000 from the Peabody Fund, while that Fund had not received any portion of income from

interest on bonds which Mr. Peabody, with trustful confidence, declared would soon be "available in increasing the usefulness" of his gift. "Up to the time he wrote these words, their validity had not been questioned; but notwithstanding these various acts of the Legislature, and that the highest judicial tribunal of your State have confirmed their validity, an amendment to your Constitution has been adopted, prohibiting their redemption or payment." Judge Manning concluded that there was no probability that Mississippi would ever voluntarily revoke a repudiation, confirmed by both political parties, notwithstanding the illustrious patriot, "prompted alone by a benevolence as capacious as the needs of those he sought to help were urgent, crowned a life full of noble benefactions by this, the noblest of them all" — his gift to the South — and as "a part of that benefaction made Mississippi, which was debtor to him, debtor to her own children, and to other children whose fathers had passed through the same ordeal as her citizens, and had shared the same fate." Unwilling to act hastily, another year was given for reflection and revocation. The Board, in 1884, felt constrained, not as a punitory measure, but simply as a matter of justice to the children of other States, not to allow Mississippi to profit by her own wrong. Up to 1871, when the Trustees presented their first Memorial, the validity of the bonds had never been questioned, but subsequently they were repudiated. Deliberately withholding the income she owed, there was no unwillingness to receive a portion of what accrued from other sources. It was therefore determined to eliminate the State from the field of operations of the Board, and the General Agent was instructed to omit Mississippi in the distribution of the income until she pays the annual interest on the bonds, or makes some settlement or adjustment of her debt to the Board.

The payment of the Florida bonds was nearly as vexatious a question as grew out of Mississippi's persistent refusal. Various committees were appointed to consider and adjust; and finally Gen. Henry R. Jackson was requested to visit the State, and confer with the proper authorities in order to facilitate a settlement. No session of the Legislature being held, he could not present formally the Memorial which had been prepared, as in the case of Mississippi; but he sought the views of distinguished Floridians upon the subject-matter. These gentlemen protested against the assimilation of the Florida default to Mississippi repudiation. No acts of the Legislature, no decisions of courts, or of any tribunal, had affirmed the validity of the bonds; but the Territorial Council, the people, and the State had always denied their obligatoriness. The Peabody Board did not recognize the force of the arguments adverse to the payment, as the Territory obtained the money on the bonds in Europe, and loaned it to the Union Bank as capital. The General Agent was instructed, in 1885, in view of the obligations to the children of other Southern States and of their needs, to place Florida on the same footing with Mississippi. In historical accuracy, it should be stated that the act of withdrawal of aid from these States never had unanimous approval, one of the Trustees saying that the children should not be punished for their fathers' sins, and another contending that the infidelity of the State to solemn obligations only increased the duty of educating the children. The Chairman, with his loyalty to Mr. Peabody's Trust, and his unwillingness to allow any discredit to be cast on his scrupulous integrity, could not refrain from expression of feelings of sincere regret at missing Florida and Mississippi from the list of Mr. Peabody's beneficiaries. While they deprived themselves of their share of Peabody aid, he uttered the earnest wish that some arrangement could be

made which would leave the schools of no one of the States impoverished by the civil war out of the continued reach of annual assistance, and more especially out of the final distribution of the principal of the Fund.

This exclusion of the two States as beneficiaries of the Fund remained until 1890, when, in answer to an application from the Board of Education of Florida that the schools of that State should be placed in harmonious relations with the work of the Trust, a Committee was appointed to which was referred the whole question connected with the bonds issued by the States of Florida and Mississippi. The Committee, in 1892, through Mr. Evarts, reported in favor of admitting to a participation in the scholarships, and leaving to the General Agent to make such a general distribution as he should find useful. On motion of ex-President Hayes, it was unanimously voted that the two States be reinstated as beneficiaries.

The following tabular statement is not a cold array of figures, but is full of life and suggestiveness, and shows, in clearest manner, the results of the administration of the Trust for nearly the third of a century. It was prepared by Mr. J. L. Thompson, who, in helpful intelligence and painstaking carefulness, has been, from the beginning, associated with Mr. Wetmore and Mr. Morgan in the charge of the financial accounts of the Fund.

PEABODY EDUCATION FUND.

Tabular statement of the Distribution of the Income from the year 1868 to September 30, 1897.

	Alabama.	Arkansas.	Florida.	Georgia.	Louisiana.	Mississippi.	North Carolina.	South Carolina.	Texas.	Tennessee.	Virginia.	West Virginia	Normal College, Nashville.	Scholarships, N. College, Nashville.	Totals.
1868	1,000	.....	....	8,562	8,700	1,338	2,700	3,550	.....	4,800	4,750	.....	.....	.....	35,400
1869	5,700	4,300	1,850	9,000	10,500	9,000	6,300	7,600	.....	11,900	12,700	10,900	.....	.....	90,000
1870	5,950	11,050	6,950	6,000	5,000	5,600	7,650	2,950	1,000	15,050	10,300	13,000	.....	.....	90,500
1871	5,800	9,200	6,550	3,800	12,400	3,250	8,950	2,300	.....	22,650	15,950	9,150	.....	.....	100,000
1872	9,900	12,250	6,200	6,000	11,500	4,550	8,250	500	.....	23,250	29,700	17,900	.....	.....	130,000
1873	6,000	11,400	7,700	13,750	.....	6,800	9,750	1,500	.....	27,800	36,400	15,750	.....	.....	136,850
1874	9,700	3,600	9,900	6,500	2,750	6,700	14,300	200	1,000	33,100	31,750	15,100	.....	.....	134,600
1875	2,200	1,500	1,800	9,750	1,000	5,400	16,900	100	1,350	24,150	23,350	10,500	3,000	.....	101,000
1876	5,500	1,000	1,000	3,700	2,000	9,950	8,050	4,150	4,450	7,100	17,800	8,600	3,000	.....	76,300
1877	4,600	6,300	5,900	4,700	3,000	5,990	5,100	4,400	7,150	7,050	17,850	6,810	15,000	1,900	95,750
1878	800	5,900	3,200	5,400	4,750	500	4,100	2,250	8,050	4,100	13,450	5,100	5,000	1,900	64,500
1879	2,800	8,250	2,600	4,400	7,000	2,600	6,900	5,000	9,000	3,100	8,850	4,000	11,000	12,300	87,800
1880	350	3,000	1,000	1,300	4,100	3,600	2,450	1,300	15,250	1,900	5,700	3,000	13,000	10,400	66,350
1881	1,090	2,500	300	1,600	4,200	1,400	3,335	2,000	9,050	2,500	4,150	2,000	4,000	25,975	64,100
1882	3,110	3,300	1,900	4,390	3,400	1,400	4,900	3,800	14,950	3,800	2,059.41	2,350	8,000	16,150	73,509.41
1883	3,700	2,800	1,925	3,500	1,700	1,900	6,150	4,075	12,600	3,400	2,625	2,550	9,500	20,700	77,125
1884	3,900	2,000	1,100	2,500	800	1,400	3,900	2,750	5,500	1,750	4,000	2,000	9,900	21,200	62,700
1885	3,800	1,500	1,500	2,000	2,800	.....	3,230	4,400	4,500	1,700	4,565	2,000	10,100	20,970	63,065
1886	6,900.59	3,300	.....	2,500	4,000	.....	4,400	11,400	2,500	1,200	6,000	3,800	10,000	18,500	74,500.59
1887	3,500	2,400	.....	2,000	4,000	.....	3,000	5,500	2,500	1,200	4,500	3,000	10,500	24,300	66,400
1888	4,200	1,500	.....	1,200	2,500	.....	1,000	6,000	1,500	1,200	2,000	1,500	7,800	17,800	49,200
1889	7,800	2,000	.....	1,853	4,500	.....	4,050	7,947	2,600	1,000	5,200	2,800	10,950	26,450	77,150
1890	5,700	2,400	.....	2,026	4,700	.....	3,750	8,900	6,500	1,000	4,500	3,900	28,250	21,474	93,100
1891	7,900	3,000	.....	3,600	5,300	.....	5,000	7,650	5,774	2,000	5,800	3,500	14,350	23,726	87,600
1892	7,000	6,000	.....	4,200	5,500	.....	6,000	7,000	6,500	2,000	7,000	3,600	14,000	23,600	92,400
1893	5,200	7,000	1,400	4,250	4,150	2,500	4,600	3,800	4,500	2,000	4,700	3,400	13,200	26,450	87,150
1894	4,900	3,800	1,400	2,000	3,650	3,000	3,750	3,800	3,750	2,000	4,550	3,000	11,600	25,188.25	76,388.25
1895	4,100	2,750	1,000	2,300	3,200	3,000	3,500	3,700	3,500	1,200	4,050	2,250	20,300	35,131.73	89,981.73
1896	7,500	3,300	1,000	4,700	3,800	4,000	5,700	5,019	4,000	1,200	5,400	3,400	6,212.25	19,008.21	74,239.46
1897	5,400	1,800	1,200	5,050	4,300	3,000	5,300	5,700	4,500	1,200	5,300	2,650	9,900	5,567.69	60,567.69
	146,000.59	129,100	67,375	132,531	135,200	86,878	173,015	129,441	141,974	216,300	305,949.41	167,510	248,562.25	398,690.88	2,478,527.13

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land; hospitalities tendered him in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other American cities; declines all invitations except from Danvers; municipal and State authorities unite in his greeting at D.; his bountiful benevolence to his native town; his commercial credit never suffered impairment, — 6; owing to heavy losses from American friends whom he had aided in the financial panic of 1857, is forced to ask a loan from the Bank of England; refuses indignantly the terms stipulated by the governors of the Bank; afterwards receives the accommodation without conditions; his letter to his niece giving account of his embarrassments and of his final complete success, — 7–9; business habits methodical, and his punctuality proverbial; his princely benefaction to the poor of London begun in 1862, amount and conditions of same, — 9–11; the British government offers him a baronetcy, which he declines; the queen presents him her portrait, and writes him an autograph letter, — 11, 12; reminiscences of him by a lady (*Note*), 12; statue erected to him in London, unveiled by the Prince of Wales; goes to Rome for sittings to the sculptor Story; gives occasional sumptuous banquets to illustrious and congenial guests; his benefactions not Pharisaic, but not secret nor posthumous, — 13; his philanthropy based on principle, not on sentiment; his generosity aimed to prevent poverty rather than to relieve it; was not made mean or miserly by his great riches, but delighted in distributing them; while he made generous provision for his kindred, he had larger thoughts for humanity, — 14; some of his comparatively smaller gifts mentioned; his reputation for wealth and liberality brought him many applications for money; the elements of heroic greatness sometimes denied to him, but his range of philanthropies proves his largeness of purpose; his liberality to Dr. Kane's Arctic enterprise in 1852; his assistance in placing a loan for Maryland in the London market, — 15, 16; he founds the Peabody Institute in Baltimore with a large donation; his wise generosity and bountiful philanthropy were hard-won victories over himself, — 16, 17; anecdote of him related by Mr. Moody, 17. His greatest benefaction that of the Peabody Education Fund, which, like all his charities, was long and carefully considered; consults Mr. Winthrop in regard to it, — 18; his Letter of Gift and formal instrument of endowment, 19–22; his interest in the South, and knowledge of its needs, based on residence and travel there; after the civil war, he longs for restoration of harmony between the two sections; strongly desires to do something signal to promote mutual good feeling between North and South; while loyal to the Union, he has charitable consideration for the error of secession, — 23, 24; his belief that intellectual, moral, and industrial education was the special need of the South; desired that his great benefaction should inure to the welfare of the entire country, — 24, 25; largeness of the plan and scope of his benevolence, 25, 26; confidence he reposed in the Trustees selected by him to administer the Fund, 26; resolutions adopted by the Trustees, at their first meeting, in appreciation of his gift, 27, 28; response of the nation to his large-hearted benevolence, 28; resolutions of Congress in his honor, and its presentation to him of a gold medal, 29; his second letter to the trustees, explanatory of his wishes and intentions in his gift; gives a magnificent banquet, in New York, in honor of the Trustees and of General Grant;

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