UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.

CHAPTERS FROM THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION

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CHAPTER XXX.

EDUCATION IN THE SEVERAL STATES.

ALABAMA.

[Letter of Dr. J. L. M. Curry to the gubernatorial candidates of Alabama.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 21, 1896.*

To the Hon. Joseph F. Johnston and Hon. Albert T. Goodwyn.

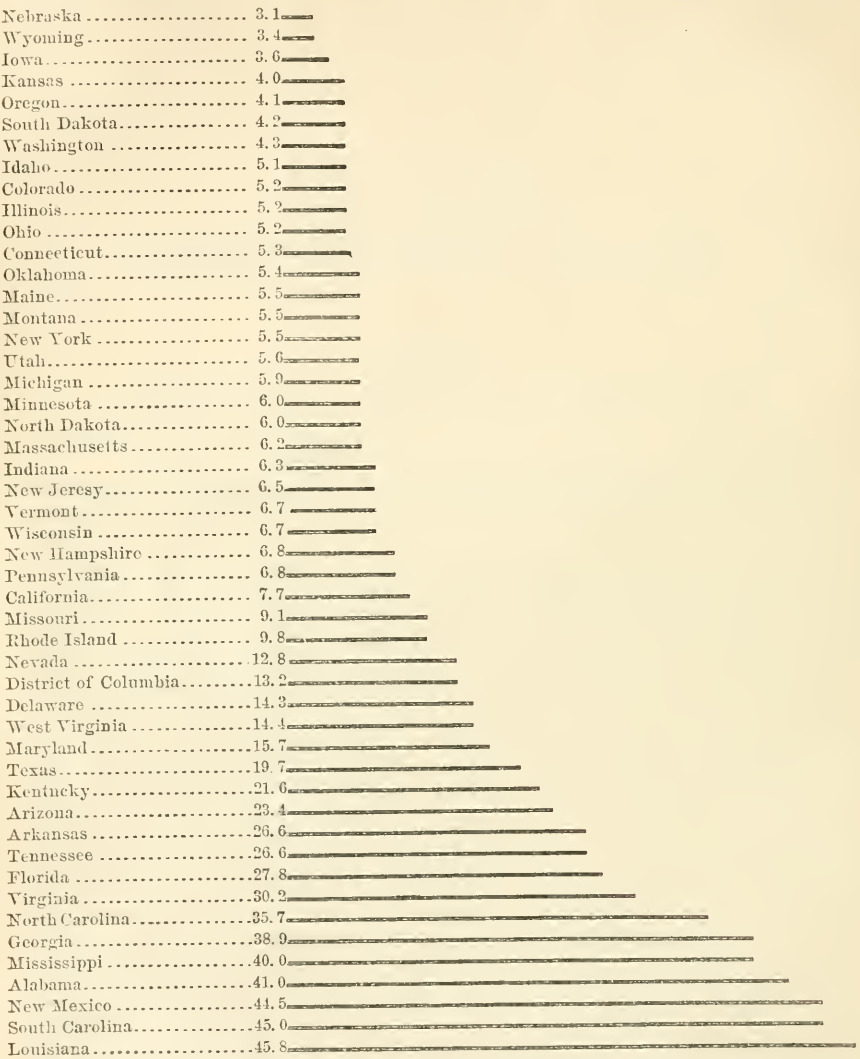
DEAR SIRS: I address this open letter to you as the accredited representatives of the two great parties seeking to control the government of the State. I need make no apology for my interest in Alabama or the cause which I seek to bring before you.

With the issues which divide the parties I have no concern in this letter. The subject of this communication is higher, far more important, more paramount than all the issues, Federal and State, which divide parties, local or national. It involves vitally every county, neighborhood, family, and citizen. It is not of temporary, but of permanent interest. It affects the people individually, socially, intellectually, and materially. All patriots should combine and labor incessantly until there be permanently established and liberally sustained the best system of free schools for the whole people, for such a system would soon become the "most effective and benignant of all the forces of civilization." Such a cause should enlist the best and most practical statesmanship, and should be lifted above and out of mere party politics, which is one of the most mischievous enemies of the public school system.

Mr. Jefferson is quoted by both parties on fiscal and currency and constitutional questions. Let us hear what he says on the education of the people. In 1786 he wrote to George Wythe: "I think by far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No surer foundation can be devised for the preservation of their freedom and happiness." To Washington he wrote: "It is an axiom in my mind that our liberty can never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves, and that, too, of the people of a certain degree of instruction. This it is the business of the State to effect and on a general plan."

The best test of a country's civilization is the condition of public instruction, said a French statesman. Tested by that standard, what is the rank of Alabama among civilized people? The total population of Alabama over 10 years of age by the last census is 1,069,545, and of these 107,355, or 18.2 per cent of the white people are illiterate, and 331,260, or 69 per cent of the negroes are illiterate. Of 540,226 children between 5 and 18 years of age 301,615, or 55 80 per cent are enrolled in schools, leaving only two States in this particular below her. In 1891–92 the percentage of school population (5 to 18 years) in attendance was 33.78 per cent with four States below. The average school term or session was seventy-three days.

This diagram shows graphically the rank of each State and Territory according to the rates of illiteracy in 1890:



This beggarly array does not fill up the dark outlines of the picture. These short schools are in many cases inefficient and inadequate, and the graduates of high schools, even, are three years behind the German graduates in the amount of knowledge acquired and in mental development. This inferiority is largely attributable to the shorter terms of school years, to the want of professional teachers, and to the small enrollment. In Prussia, under a compulsory law, 91 per cent are instructed in the public elementary, or people's schools, or only 945 of the children subject to the law were unjustly withheld from school. It is lamentable that in many cases a teacher in primary schools need not know much more than he is required to teach, and that knowledge may be confined to the text-book. This deficiency in teacher training is, with political and sectarian influence, the most vulnerable point in our school system. The lack of proper supervision and inspection of schools is traceable to this same pestiferous influence, and hence the officers charged with this duty remain too short a time in their places to be qualified for their work. Rotation in

office, narrow partisanship, inefficiency, are the direct fruits of making school offices not places of trust, but spoils of political victory. Our system of public instruction has acquired such dimensions, ramifies so minutely into every family and neighborhood, concerns so greatly every interest of the State, that its administration should be vested in officers of the highest intelligence and patriotism, of administrative skill and ability, of thorough acquaintance with school and educational questions. The state superintendent should remain in office long enough to be thoroughly familiar with the duties of his exalted position, and should be an expert, capable of advising executive and legislature, and school officers and teachers, and in full and intelligent sympathy with the educational problems that are so important and numerous. Greatly blessed is a State and are the children who have at head of school affairs such men as Mann, Sears, Dickinson, Draper, White, Ruffner, and our peerless Harris.

The statistics of defective schools and consequent illiteracy teach their own sad lessons. The calamities which, in the inevitable order of events, must result from having so large a portion of the people in ignorance, need not be elaborated, but they should fill every patriot with alarm and impel to the adoption of early and adequate remedies as an antidote for what is so menacing to free institutions and to general prosperity. While ignorance so abounds, how can we hope for purity in elections and safety from demagogism, immorality, lawlessness, and crime? "Whatever children we suffer to grow up among us we must live with as men; and our children must be their contemporaries. They are to be our copartners in the relations of life, our equals at the polls, our rulers in legislative halls, the awarders of justice in our courts. However intolerable at home, they can not be banished to any foreign land; however worthless, they will not be sent to die in camps or to be slain in battle; however flagitious, but few of them will be sequestered from society by imprisonment, or doomed to expiate their offenses with their lives."

Perhaps the argument most likely to reach the general public is the close relation between public free schools and the increased productive power of labor and enterprise. The political economy which busies itself about capital and labor, and revenue reform and free coinage, and ignores such a factor as mental development, is supremest folly; for to increase the intelligence of the laborer is to increase largely his producing power. Education creates new wealth, develops new and untold treasures, increases the growth of intellect, gives directive power and the power of self-help; of will and of combining things and agencies. The secretary of the board of education of Massachusetts in his last report makes some valuable statements and suggestions. No other State is giving as much for education, and yet each inhabitant is receiving on an average nearly seven years of two hundred days each, while the average given each citizen in the whole nation is only four and three-tenths of such years. While the citizens of Massachusetts get nearly twice the average amount of education, her wealth-producing power as compared with other States stands almost in the same ratio. This increased wealth-producing power means that the 2,500,000 people produce $250,000,000 more than they would produce if they were only average earners. And this is twenty-five times the annual expenditure for schools. The capacity to read and write tends to the creation and distribution of wealth, and adds fully 25 per cent to the wages of the working classes. It renders an additional service in stimulating material wants and making them more numerous, complex, and refined. We hear on every hand louder calls for skilled labor and high directive ability. It is a lack of common business sagacity to flinch from the cost of such a wealth-producing agency. This question is not, How can we afford to do it? but, Can we afford not to do it?

All experience shows only one means of securing universal education. Private and parish schools educate only about 12 per cent of the children, and if they could educate all there would remain insuperable objections to them in the way of management, classification, efficiency and support. Our institutions and rights demand free schools for all the people, and they must be established and controlled by the State, and for their support combined municipal, county, and State revenues are needed. Eighty-seven per cent of the children of the Union are now in public schools. In 1890 the entire costs for school purposes were estimated at $143,110,218, toward the payment of which the local school tax contributed $97,000,000. While furnishing education is a legitimate tax on property, whether the taxpayer takes advantage of the public schools or not, the history of education in the United States shows that with State revenues should be combined local taxation. This insures immediate interest in the schools, better supervision, greater rivalry, and, on the whole, better results.

The schools in Alabama are handicapped by a clause in the constitution limiting local taxation to an extremely low figure. If by general agreement among the friends of education the removal of this restriction could be separated from party politics, and local taxation could be brought to the support of schools, there would soon be an era of educational and material prosperity. What a commentary it would be on the capacity of our people for self-government, on their catholic patriotism, on the

subordination of private wishes to the public good, if, under the advice and leadership of those selected as fittest persons for the executive chair, the whole subject of free and universal education should be elevated to the plane of organic law, and be as sacred and irremovable as any of the fundamental muniments of liberty.

Yours, truly,

J. L. M. CURRY.

CALIFORNIA.

EDUCATING GIRLS.

[Communicated to the Boston Sunday Journal by President David Starr Jordan, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.]

The subject of the higher education of young women at present usually demands answers to these three questions:

1. Shall a girl receive a college education?
2. Shall she receive the same kind of a college education as a boy?
3. Shall she be educated in the same college?

First. Shall a girl receive a college education? The answer to this must depend on the character of the girl. Precisely so with the boy. What we should do with either depends on his or her possibilities. Wise parents will not let either boy or girl enter life with any less preparations than the best they can receive. It is true that many college graduates, boys and girls alike, do not amount to much after the schools have done the best they can with them. It is true, as I have elsewhere insisted, that "you can not fasten a $2,000 education to a 50-cent boy," nor to a 50-cent girl, either. But there is also great truth in these words of Frederic Dennison Maurice: "I know that nine-tenths of those the university sends out must be hewers of wood and drawers of water. But if we train the ten-tenths to be so, then the wood will be badly cut and the water will be spilt. Aim at something noble; make your system of education such that a great man may be formed by it, and there will be manhood in your little men of which you do not dream."

It is not alone the preparation of great men for great things. Higher education may prepare even little men for greater things than they would have otherwise found possible. And so it is with the education of women. The needs of the times are imperative. The noblest result of social evolution is the growth of the civilized home. Such a home only a wise, cultivated, and high-minded woman can make. To furnish such women is one of the noblest missions of higher education. No young women capable of becoming such should be condemned to a lower destiny. Even of those seemingly too dull or too vacillating to reach any high ideal of wisdom, this may be said, that it does no harm to try. A few hundred dollars is not much to spend on an experiment of such moment. Four of the best years of one's life spent in the company of noble thoughts and high ideals can not fail to leave their impress. To be wise, and at the same time womanly, is to wield a tremendous influence, which may be felt for good in the lives of generations to come. It is not forms of government by which men are made or unmade. It is the character and influence of their mothers and wives. The higher education of women means more for the future than all conceivable legislative reforms. And its influence does not stop with the home. It means higher standards of manhood, greater thoroughness of training and the coming of better men. Therefore, let us educate our girls as well as our boys. A generous education should be the birthright of every daughter of the Republic as well as of every son.

Second. Shall we give our girls the same education as our boys? Yes and no. If we mean by the same an equal degree of breadth and thoroughness, an equal fitness for high thinking and wise acting, yes, let it be the same. If we mean to reach this end by exactly the same course of studies, then my answer must be no. For the same course of study will not yield the same results with different persons. The ordinary "college course" which has been handed down from generation to generation is purely conventional. It is a result of a series of compromises in trying to fit the traditional education of clergymen and gentlemen to the needs of men of a different social era. The old college course met the special needs of nobody, and therefore was adapted to all alike. The great educational awakening of the last twenty years in America has come from breaking the bonds of this old system. The essence of the new education is individualism. Its purpose is to give to each young man that training which will make a man of him. Not the training which a century or two ago helped to civilize the masses of boys of that time, but that which will civilize this particular boy. One reason why the college students of 1895 are ten to one in number as compared with those of 1875, is that the college training now given is valuable to ten times as many men as could be reached or helped by the narrow courses of twenty years ago.

In the university of to-day the largest liberty of choice in study is given to the

student. The professor advises, the student chooses, and the flexibility of the courses makes it possible for every form of talent to receive proper culture. Because the college, of to-day helps ten times as many men as that of yesterday could hope to reach, it is ten times as valuable. The difference lies in the development of special lines of work and in the growth of the elective system. The power of choice carries the duty of choosing rightly. The ability to choose has made a man out of the college boy, and transferred college work from an alternation of tasks and play to its proper relation to the business of life. Meanwhile, the old ideals have not risen in value. If our colleges were to go back to threshing the cut straw of mediævalism—in other words, to their work of twenty years ago—their professors would speak to empty benches. In those colleges which still cling to those traditions these benches are empty to day or filled only with idlers. This to a college is a fate worse than death.

The best education for a young woman is surely not that which has proved unfit for the young man. She is an individual as well as he, and her work gains as much as his by relating it to her life. But an institution broad enough to meet the varied needs of varied men can also meet the varied needs of the varied woman. Intellectual training is the prime function of the college. The intellectual needs of men and women are not different in many important respects. The special or professional needs so far as they are different will bring their own satisfaction. Those who have had to do with the higher training of women know that the severest demands can be met by them as well as by men. There is no demand for easy or "goody-goody" courses of study for women except as this demand has been made or encouraged by men.

There are, of course, certain average differences between men and women as students. Women have often greater sympathy, greater readiness of memory or apprehension, greater fondness for technique. In the languages and literature, often in mathematics and history, women are found to excel. They lack, on the whole, originality. They are not attracted by unsolved problems, and in the inductive or "inexact" sciences they seldom take the lead. In the traditional courses of study, traditional for men, they are often very successful. Not that these courses have a special fitness for women, but that women are more docile and less critical as to the purposes of education. And to all these statements there are many exceptions. In this, however, those who have taught both men and women must agree. The training of women is just as serious and just as important as the training of men, and no training is adequate for either which falls short of the best.

Third. Shall women be taught in the same classes as men? This is, it seems to me, not a fundamental question, but rather a matter of taste. It does no harm whatever to either men or women to meet those of the other sex in the same class rooms. But if they prefer not to do so, let them do otherwise. Considerable has been said for and against the union in one institution of technical schools and schools of liberal arts. The technical character of scientific work is emphasized by its separation from general culture. But I believe better men are made where the two are not separated. The devotees of culture studies gain from the feeling reality and utility cultivated by technical work. The technical students gain from association with men and influences whose aggregate tendency is toward greater breadth of sympathy and a higher point of view.

A woman's college is more or less distinctly a technical school. In most cases its purpose is distinctly stated to be such. It is a school for training for the profession of womanhood. It encourages womanliness of thought as something more or less different from the plain thinking which is often called manly.

The brightest work in women's colleges is often accompanied by a nervous strain as though the students or teachers were fearful of falling short of some expected standard. They are often working toward ideals set by others. The best work of men is natural and unconscious, the normal product of the contact of the mind with the problem in question. On the whole, calmness and strength in woman's work are best reached through coeducation.

At the present time the demand for the higher education of women is met in three different ways:

1. In separate colleges for women, with courses of study more or less parallel with those given in colleges for men. In some of these the teachers are all women, in some mostly men, and in others a more or less equal division obtains. In nearly all of these institutions the old traditions of education and discipline are more prevalent than in colleges for men. Nearly all of them retain some trace of religious or denominational control. In all of them the Zeitgeist is producing more or less commotion, and the changes in their evolution are running parallel with those in colleges for men.

2. In women's annexes to colleges for men. In these, part of the instruction given to the men is repeated to the women, in different classes or rooms, and there is more

or less opportunity to use the same libraries and museums. In some other institutions the relations are closer, the privileges of study being similar, the differences being mainly in the rules of conduct by which the young women are hedged in, the young men making their own regulations.

It seems to me that the annex system can not be a permanent one. The annex student does not get the best of the institution, and the best is none too good for her. Sooner or later she will demand it, or go where the best can be found. The best students will cease to go to the annex. The institution must then admit women on equal terms or not admit them at all. There is certainly no educational reason why women should prefer the annex of one institution if another institution equally good throws its doors wide open for her.

3. The third system is that of coeducation. In this relation young men and young women are admitted to the same classes, subjected to the same requirements, and governed by the same rules. This system is now fully established in the State institutions of the North and West, and in most other colleges of the same region. Its effectiveness has long since passed beyond question among those familiar with its operation. Other things being equal, the young men are more earnest, better in manners and morals, and in all ways more civilized than under monastic conditions. The women do their work in a more natural way, with better perspective and with saner incentives than when isolated from the influence and society of men. There is less of silliness and folly when a man ceases to be a novelty. There is less attraction exerted by idle and frivolous girls when young men meet also girls industrious and serious. In coeducational institutions of high standards frivolous conduct or scandals of any form are unknown. The responsibility for decorum is thrown from the school to the woman, and the woman rises to the responsibility. Many professors have entered Western colleges with strong prejudices against coeducation. These prejudices have in no case endured the test of experience. What is well done has a tonic effect on the mind and character. The college girl has long since ceased to expect any particular leniency because she is a girl. She stands or falls with the character of her work.

It is not true that the standard of college work has been in any way lowered by coeducation. The reverse is decidedly the case. It is true, however, that untimely zeal of one sort or another has filled our Western States with a host of so-called colleges. It is true that most of these are weak, and doing poor work in poor ways. It is true that most of these are coeducational. It is also true that the great majority of their students are not of college grade at all. In such schools often low standards prevail, both as to scholarships and as to manners. The student fresh from the country, with no preparatory training, will bring the manners of his home. These are not always good manners, as manners are judged in society. But none of these defects are derived from coeducation, nor are any of these conditions in any way made worse by it.

A final question: Does not coeducation lead to marriage? Most certainly it does, and this fact need not be and can not be denied. But such marriages are not usually premature. And it is certainly true that no better marriages can be made than those founded on common interests and intellectual friendships.

A college man who has known college women is not drawn to women of lower ideals and inferior training. He is likely to be strongly drawn toward the best he has known. A college woman is not led by mere propinquity to accept the attentions of inferior men. Among some thirty college professors educated in coeducational colleges, as Cornell, Wisconsin, Michigan, California, whose records are before me, two-thirds have married college friends. Most of the others have married women from other colleges, and a few chosen women from their own colleges, but not contemporary with themselves. In all cases the college man has chosen a college woman, and in all cases both man and woman are thoroughly happy with the outcome of coeducation. It is part of the legitimate function of higher education to prepare women as well as men for happy and successful lives.

CONNECTICUT.

THE TENDENCY OF MEN TO LIVE IN CITIES.

[Address of President Kingsbury, of the American Social Science Association. Read September 2, 1895.]

Two or three years since I wrote this title as a memorandum for a paper which I wished to prepare when I should find time sufficient to make some necessary investigations, statistical and otherwise. I knew of nothing, or almost nothing, written on the subject, except by way of occasional allusion. I made many inquiries in various directions, personally and by letter, of those who would, I thought, be likely to give me information; I examined libraries and catalogues—and all this with very trifling results. To-day, when I again take up the theme, so much has been written

on the subject that the question has almost passed from the stage of generalization to that of specialization and detail.

In the April number of the Atlantic Magazine of the present year an article commenting on Dr. Albert Shaw's recent work, entitled "Municipal government in Great Britain," says:

"The great fact in the social development of the white race at the close of the nineteenth century is the tendency all over the world to concentrate in great cities."

Doubtless this is true; but it is not a new, or even a modern tendency, although, as we shall see, there is much in modern civilization which tends to increase and accentuate it. Still, when the earliest dawn of authentic history sheds its pale light on the impenetrable darkness which lies beyond, it shows us cities as large, as magnificent, as luxurious, as wicked, and apparently as old as any that the world has since known. The books speak of Babylon as the largest city the world has ever seen; but it was by no means the first, and may not have been the greatest even then. Nineveh, its great rival, Memphis, Thebes, Damascus, claiming to be the oldest of them all, Rome, in a later time, with its two or three millions of inhabitants, are but representatives of other cities by the thousands, perhaps larger and older than the largest and oldest here named, and are certainly sufficient to show that a tendency in men to live congregated together in large numbers is as old as anything that we know about the human race.

In our earliest literature, too, we find, apparently well fixed, some of the same prejudices against the city as a place for men to dwell in that now exist. These prejudices must have been already existing for a long time, and their influence must have been the subject of observation before even the possibly somewhat prejudiced people who did not live in cities should have arrived at such firmly settled conclusions in regard to their deleterious influence. Curiously enough, the prejudice appears in one of our earliest writings. There is no doubt that the writer of the Book of Genesis had what might be called an unfriendly feeling toward Cain. He gives him a bad character in every respect. He holds him up to the universal contempt of mankind, and visits him with the severest judgments of God. And, after he has said about him nearly every bad thing that he can think of, he adds as a climax to his enormities, "And Cain builded a city." Now, whether he meant to be understood that cities, having been first built by such an infamous scoundrel, had turned out to be very much what you might expect, or whether, the general character of cities having been already settled in his mind, it was adding one more black mark to Cain to mention this fact, is by no means clear; but this much is certain, that the writer was no admirer of cities, and that neither Cain nor cities were intended to derive any credit from his statement. From that day to this they have had their severe critics. They have been regarded as the breeding places of vice and the refuge of crime. Our own Jefferson—that is, Thomas, not Joseph—is said to have called them "ulcers on the body politic." Dr. Andrew D. White, in his address as president of this association delivered in 1891, says, "Our cities are the rotten spots in our body politic, from which, if we are not careful, decay is to spread throughout our whole country; for cities make and spread opinions, fashions, ideals." The poet Cowley says, "God the first garden made, and the first city Cain." And other writers with the same feelings have used language of a similar import, dictated by the warmth of their temperament, the range of their vocabulary, and the power of their rhetoric.

Prof. Max Nordau, who has lately shown us in a large octavo of 650 pages how we are all hastening on to certain destruction—a conclusion which I am not disposed to combat—or perhaps I might more modestly say, as the late President Woolsey is reported to have said to Daniel A. Pratt, the great American traveler, when he laid before him some rather startling propositions, that I would rather give him a dollar than to attempt to point out the fallacy in his argument—Mr. Nordau, after quoting high authority to show how the human race is poisoning itself with alcohol, tobacco, opium, hasheesh, arsenic, and tainted food, says:

"To these noxious influences, however, one more may be added, which Morel [the authority he has just quoted] has not known or has not taken into consideration; namely, residence in large towns. The inhabitant of a large town, even the richest, who is surrounded by the greatest luxury, is continually exposed to unfavorable influences which diminish his vital powers far more than what is inevitable. He breathes an atmosphere charged with organic detritus; he eats stale, contaminated, adulterated food; he feels himself in a state of constant nervous excitement, and one can compare him without exaggeration to the inhabitant of a marshy district. The effect of a large town on the human organism offers the closest analogy to that of the Maremma, and its population falls victim to the same fatality of degeneracy and destruction as the victims of malaria. The death rate in a large town is more than a quarter greater than the average for the entire population. It is double that of the open country, though in reality it ought to be less, since in a large town the most vigorous ages predominate, during which the mortality is lower than in infancy

and old age. And the children of large towns who are not carried off at an early age suffer from the peculiar arrested development which Morel has ascertained in the population of fever districts. They develop more or less normally until they are 14 or 15 years of age, are up to that time alert, sometimes brilliantly endowed, and give the highest promise. Then suddenly there is a standstill. The mind loses its facility of comprehension; and the boy, who only yesterday was a model scholar, becomes an obtuse, clumsy dunce, who can only be steered with the greatest difficulty through his examinations. With these mental changes bodily modifications go hand in hand. The growth of the long bones is extremely slow or ceases entirely, the legs remain short, the pelvis retains a feminine form, certain other organs cease to develop, and the entire being presents a strange and repulsive mixture of uncompleteness and decay. Now, we know how in the last generation the number of inhabitants of great towns increased to an extraordinary degree. At the present time an incomparably larger portion of the whole population is subjected to the destructive influences of large towns than was the case fifty years ago. Hence the number of victims is proportionately more striking, and continually becomes more remarkable. Parallel with growth of large towns is the increase in the number of the degenerate of all kinds, criminals, lunatics, and the higher degenerates of Magnan; and it is natural that these last should play an ever more prominent part in endeavoring to introduce an ever greater element of insanity into art and literature."

Many people think Nordau like the patient in the asylum. He thinks everybody crazy except himself. But Dr. Walter B. Platt, in a paper read before this association in 1887, points out certain dangers to the constitution to which every dweller in cities is of necessity exposed from physical causes, specially mentioning disuse of the upper extremities, the exposure to incessant noise and its cumulative effect on the whole nervous system, the jarring of the brain and spinal cord by a continual treading upon unyielding pavements. And he adds that good authorities assert that there are very few families now living in London who with their predecessors have resided there continuously for three generations; but he excepts from the operations of these deleterious influences those whose circumstances are such as to enable them to spend a considerable portion of each year in the country.

Dr. Grace Peckham, in a paper read before this association in 1885, says: "However it was arrived at, the census of 1880 shows that the infant mortality of cities in this country is twice as great as that of the rural districts."

Everyone who has taken an interest in Mr. Charles Loring Brace's great work in the city of New York knows that his firm belief was that the salvation of the city poor depended on getting the surplus into country homes; and few men have been more competent to judge or more ready to look at all sides of a case than he. The literature of the slums is full of every human horror; and it would seem as if any change must be for the better.

Dr. Josiah Strong, in that vigorous presentation of the dangers of our American civilization entitled Our Country, says: "The city has become a serious menace to our civilization, because in it each of our dangers is enhanced and all are localized. It has a peculiar attraction for the immigrant. In 1880 our fifty principal cities contained 39.3 per cent of our German population and 45.8 per cent of our Irish. Not only does the proportion of the poor increase with the growth of the city, but their condition becomes more wretched. Dives and Lazarus are brought face to face." Speaking of Dives and Lazarus, has Dives had what you might call quite fair play? Even Judas has had his apologists, but I do not remember ever to have seen any speculation as to what would have become of Lazarus if he had not been fed from Dives's table. Doubtless he preferred that to the poorhouse or even to tramping; and from all accounts, he was not exactly the sort of person you would choose for a parlor boarder. This, however, is a mere passing comment, and, I trust, will not involve me in any theologic discussion; but I do like to see even the devil have his due.

The feature of cities which is perhaps at present attracting more attention than any other is their misgovernment. Dr. Strong begins a paragraph thus: "The government of the city is by a 'boss' who is skilled in the manipulation of the 'machine,' and who holds no political principles except 'for revenue only.'" If a foreigner were to read that sentence he would infer that "boss" was the English for the chief magistrate of a city, but we know so well just what it means that it scarcely attracts our attention. * * *

One would think after reading all this about the evils of cities from the time of Cain to the last New York election, or, rather, let us say, to the last but one—and especially when we must admit that we know everything that is said to be true, and that even then not the half nor the tenth part has been told, and we are almost driven to the conclusion that nothing short of the treatment applied to Sodom and Gomorrah will meet the necessities of the case—that every sane man and woman should flee without stopping for the open country; and the women especially should be careful

how they look behind them, and be sure to remember Lot's wife, and nothing should induce them to turn their faces cityward again.

Now, in spite of all this precisely the reverse is true, and, while there has always been a strong tendency in humanity cityward, this nineteenth century sees it intensified beyond all former experience. Statistics do not make interesting public reading, but from Dr. Strong's valuable work, where there are many, we take a few in support of our position:

"The population of this country as divided between city and country was, in 1790, omitting fractions, country 97 per cent, city 3 per cent; in 1810, country 91 per cent, city 9 per cent; in 1890, country 71 per cent, city 29 per cent; and the rate of increase is itself all the while increasing."

In 1856 Chicago had a population of 90,000. In 1895 it is supposed to have 1,500,000, with several outlying districts not yet heard from. In this classification, which is taken from the United States census, towns of 8,000 and over rank as cities, while the rest is country. Of course a line must be drawn somewhere for the purpose of statistics, but many think it might more properly have been drawn at 5,000, which would largely increase the city percentage. Dr. Strong also quotes this statement: That in the rural districts of Wayne County, N. Y., there are 400 unoccupied houses, and much other valuable statistical information of a similar character. Professor Nordau also has many statistics of various European countries, all to the same purport. But the general fact of the enormous increase of the city at the expense of the country is so notorious that it needs no proof. Let us consider some of its causes.

It is well to notice, and perhaps here as well as anywhere, that, while in all countries the influence of the city has been great, it has not been equally great in all. Rome was the Roman Empire. Carthage was Phœnicia. Paris to-day is France. But London, big as it is, is not England; Madrid is not Spain, and, certainly, Berlin is not Germany. In all these cases there is a power and a public opinion, a consensus of thought, a moral, political, and social influence in the country as a whole, which does not look to nor depend upon the city as its maker, leader, and guide. It is easier to see and feel this fact than to analyze and explain it. Probably the same reasons or kinds of reasons do not apply in every case, but each has its own, some of which are easy to find and others too deep and elusive to be discovered. Accidents of early history, geographical relations, the temper and idiosyncrasies of a people, and other influences, some broader and some more subtle, all combine to fix the relative position and importance of the great city and the country or the lesser town. Speaking of Constantinople, Mr. Frederic Harrison says:

"There is but one city of the world of which it can be said that for fifteen centuries and a half it has been the continuous seat of empire under all the changes of race, institutions, customs, and religions. And this may be ultimately traced to its incomparable physical and geographical capabilities."

In England more than in any other country, as it seems to me, country life is regarded as the normal condition of a fully developed man; and even then it is only those who keep themselves polished by frequent attrition with city life that accomplish much for themselves or their fellow-men. But probably the lesson to be drawn is that a life where both the city and country have a part develops the highest form of manhood and is the end to be striven for.

Ancient cities owed their existence to a variety of causes. Probably safety and convenience were, at the bottom, the reasons for aggregating the population; but any special city frequently owed its existence, so far as appears, to the mere caprice of a ruler as a passing fancy—though he may have had his reasons—sometimes, doubtless, to military considerations, and sometimes perhaps to accident, or to migration, or the results of natural causes, geographical or commercial. It was not until the Middle Ages that the industrial town was evolved. But the modern town seems wholly industrial in its raison d'être; it is therefore governed by the laws which govern industrial progress.

Buckle says: "Formerly the richest countries were those in which nature was most bountiful. Now the richest countries are those in which man is most active." (He also adds, although perhaps it has no special significance in this connection, that "it is evident that the more men congregate in great cities the more they will become accustomed to draw their material of thought from the business of human life and the less attention they will pay to those proclivities of nature which are a fatal source of superstition.")

Aside from all questions of mutual defense and protection and mutual helpfulness in various ways and industrial convenience, doubtless one of the very strongest of forces in the building of the city is the human instinct of gregariousness. This underlies ancient as well as modern, military as well as industrially founded aggregations, and the hamlet or the village as well as the city. But there is always a craving to get where there are more people. The countryman, boy or girl, longs for the village, the villager for the larger town, and the dweller in the larger town for the great city; and, having once gone, they are seldom satisfied to return to a place of less size.

In short, whatever man may have been or may be in his prognathous or troglodyte condition, ever since we have known much about him he has been highly gregarious, even under unfavorable conditions.

As long ago as 1870 Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted, in a paper read before this association, said, "There can be no doubt that in all our modern civilization, as in that of the ancients, there is a strong drift townward;" and he quotes the language of an intelligent woman whose early life had been spent in one of the most agreeable and convenient farming countries in the United States: "If I were offered a deed of the best farm I ever saw, on condition of going back to the country to live, I would not take it. I would rather face starvation in town."

The life of the great city would seem to bear hardest of all on the very poor, and the country, or at least suburban, life to present the strongest attraction, by contrast, to this class. Pure air, plenty of water, room for children to play, milk on which to feed them, room to sleep, wholesome food for adults—these things, almost impossible to the poor in the city, are nearly all of easy attainment in the country; yet the overmastering desire for a city life seems to be stronger with this class than with any other. Perhaps you are familiar with the story of the kind lady who found a widow with a great family of children living in the depths of poverty and dirt in the city, and moved them all to a comfortable country home where, with a moderate amount of exertion, they were sure of a living. At the end of six weeks her country agent reported that the family had suddenly disappeared, no one knew where. Going back to the neighborhood of their old haunts, she found them all reestablished there in the same circumstances of dirt and destitution as of old. "Why did you leave that comfortable home and come back here?" was her astonished inquiry. "Folks is more company nor sthoomps, anyhow," was the answer. Poor food, and little of it, dirt and discomfort, heat and cold—all count as nothing in competition with this passion of gregariousness and desire for human society, even where that means more or less of a constant fight as the popular form of social intercourse.

Doubtless one of the most potent factors in the modern growth of cities has been the immense improvement in the facilities for travel, which has been such a marked characteristic of the last half century. But, after all, what is this but saying that it has been made easier for people to go where they wished to be? Facilities for travel make it as easy to get from city to country as from country to city; but the tide, except for temporary purposes, all sets one way. Nevertheless, there is no question that this ease of locomotion has been availed of to a surprising extent in transporting each year in the summer season a very large portion, not of the rich alone, but of nearly every class, not only from our great cities but from our moderately large towns, to the woods and lakes and seashore for a time. The class of people who, fifty years since, lived in the same house the year round, without thought of change, now deem a six or twelve weeks' residence in the country a vital necessity; and this fact is a great alleviation and antidote to some of the unfavorable influences of city life.

All modern industrial life tends to concentration as a matter of economy. It has long been remarked that the best place to establish or carry on any kind of business is where that business is already being done. For that reason we see different kinds of manufactures grouping themselves together—textiles in one place, metals in another; and, of the textiles, cottons in one place, woollens in another; and of the metals, iron in one place, copper in another, and so on. The reason of this is obvious. In a community where a certain kind of business is carried on the whole population unconsciously become, to a certain extent, experts. They know a vast deal more of it than people who have had no such experience. Every man, woman, and child in a fishing village is much superior in his or her knowledge of fish, bait, boats, wind, and weather to the inhabitants of inland towns. This is true of all the arts, so that, besides the trained hands which may be drawn upon when needed, there is a whole population of half-trained ones ready to be drawn upon to fill their places. Then, every kind of business is partly dependent on several other kinds. There must be machine makers, blacksmiths, millwrights, and dealers in supplies of all sorts. Where there is a large business of any kind these subsidiary trades that are supported by it naturally flock around it; whereas in an isolated situation the central establishment must support all these trades itself or go a considerable distance when it needs their assistance. Fifty or sixty years ago small manufacturing establishments in isolated situations and on small streams were scattered all through the Eastern States. The condition of trade at that time rendered this possible. Now they have almost wholly disappeared, driven out by economic necessity; and their successors are in the cities and large towns.

If you will examine any city newspaper of fifty or sixty years ago, you will find frequent advertisements for boys as clerks in stores; and almost always they read "one from the country preferred." Now you never see this. Why is it? I think mainly because the class of boys which these advertisements were expected to attract from the country are no longer there. This was really a call for the

well-educated boys of the well-to-do farmers of native stock, who thought they could better themselves by going to a city. They went, and did better themselves; and those who stayed behind fell behind. The country people deteriorated, and the country boy was no longer for business purposes the equal of the boy who had been trained in city ways. Country boys still go to the city; but they are not advertised for, and have to find their own way.

Our great civil war compelled us to find out some way in which to replace the productive power of a million men sent into the field and suddenly changed from producers into consumers. Their places had to be filled in the lines of agriculture and of all the mechanic arts, in the counting room, in the pulpit, at the bar, and everywhere else where a soldier was to be found. A hundred thousand of these places, more or less, in shops, in mechanic industries, in counting rooms, in the medical profession, even at the pulpit and the bar, were filled with women; and the deficit left by the remainder of the million was supplied by newly invented machinery to do their work. The result was that when the war was over a million of men, or as many as came back, found their places filled. They were no longer needed. In all rural occupations this was especially the case; and, being driven out the country by want of work, they flocked to the city as the most likely place to find it. The disturbing influence in financial, economic, and industrial matters of this sudden change of a million men from producers to consumers and back again to producers, followed as it was soon after by the disturbing influences of the Franco-Prussian war, have never been given their due weight by students of sociology.

We must remember, too, that cities as places of human habitation have vastly improved within half a century. About fifty years ago neither New York nor Boston had public water, and very few of our cities had either water or gas, and horse railroads had not been thought of. When we stop to think what this really means in sanitary matters, it seems to me that the increase of cities is no longer a matter of surprise.

A few years since the great improvement of the lift or elevator added probably 10 per cent actually, and much more than that theoretically, to the possibilities of population on a given amount of ground; and now within a very recent period three new factors have been suddenly developed which promise to exert a powerful influence on the problems of city and country life. These are the trolley, the bicycle, and the telephone. It is impossible at present to foresee just what their influence is to be on the question of the distribution of population; but this much is certain, that it adds from 5 to 15 miles to the radius of every large town, bringing all this additional area into new relations to business centers. Places 5 or 10 miles apart and all the intervening distances are rendered accessible and communicable for all the purposes of life as if they were in the next street. Already the bicycle has done more toward directing attention and effort to the improvement of ordinary highways than all that has been done before since the days of Indian paths. It is affecting the legislation of the country on the subject of roads. When we think of what this minimizing of distance means we can not help seeing that its influence must be immense, but just what no man can foretell. It is by such apparently unimportant, trifling, and inconspicuous forces that civilization is swayed and molded in its evolutions and no man can foresee them or say whither they lead.

Cities, as desirable places of human habitation, seem to have touched low-water mark—as did almost everything else—in that miserable period of comparative cessation in human progress known to us in European history as the "Dark" or "Middle Ages." Babylon had its gardens and its perennial streams of pure water running through its streets; Damascus, its wonderful groves and gardens. Old Rome had its mighty aqueducts traversing the country like lines of pillared temples and bringing the full flow of the mountain streams into the heart of the city, where it irrigated the great gardens and pleasure grounds of the wealthy nobles, and sported in fountains for everybody, and furnished baths for the benefit of the mass of the people. And many other large cities on both shores of the Mediterranean were but a duplicate of Rome. But, when the people had in some way lost their grip, either through luxury or gluttony or the idleness which came of having no great wars on hand, or whatever it may have been, their waterworks fell out of repair, their baths went to ruin, the Goths came and finished up the job, and the last state of that people was worse, very much worse, than the first. London, which had its rise and great growth in these days of ignorance and darkness, was a great straggling village, without a vestige of sanitary appliances, without decent roads, infested by robbers, and altogether such a place as pestilence delights in and only fire can purify. Mr. Frederic Harrison is so impressed with this that he seems to think the Christianity of those days largely responsible for the increase of dirt that was contemporaneous with its early growth, and that, in its stern repression of luxurious living and care for the body, it affords a very unfavorable contrast to the cleanlier and more sanitary ways of the earlier time. Probably this is not without much truth; but there were other forces at work affecting alike both saints and sinners. Yet in these mediæval cities,

miserable places as many of them often were for human dwellings, there were certain forces at work which have done as much for humanity, and for modern civilization as any that can be named. Cities have always been nurseries of freemen.

The Rev. Dr. James W. Cooper, in a recent address, says:

"It is a significant fact that in the development of society productive industry and political liberty have always gone together. There has been no manufacturing or trading people known to history, from the ancient Tyrians to the mediæval Florentines and the modern English, which has not also been a free people. Business enterprise demands freedom and develops it. Men must have liberty if they are to combine in business ventures, and through such combinations they learn also to unite their interests in other than mere business ways for the common weal. There is a close connection between the private fortune of each and the property of all, if it can only be discerned; and practical, pushing men are ordinarily the first to discern it."

"If you go back to the fourteenth or fifteenth century, you will find the seeds of modern civilization in the little towns and free cities which were just then beginning to develop an independent life all over England and on the Continent. * * * With the introduction of manufactures came the town, and with the town there came insistence on personal rights, a self-respecting, self-governing, compact community was developed, the castle was defied, the old feudal system of the Middle Ages gave way before the new civilization, and the modern era was ushered in. This was accomplished by the towns. It is the habit just now to praise the country and decry the town. We quote Cowper, and say, 'God made the country, man made the town.' I suppose this is true. But God also made man who made the town, * * * and, while the beginning of things was a garden in the paradise of Eden, the end of things, as prophesied in the Book of Revelation, is a city, magnificent and populous, the new Jerusalem."

In a paper read before this association in 1885 on city and country schools, Mr. W. M. Beckner says: "Cities have played a noble part in the struggle for light and progress. In Europe they were the first to rebel against the feudal system. In England, London always led the fight against tyranny." Indeed there is plenty of historical proof of this fact. "The ordering of secular matters appertaineth not to the Pope," said the burghers of London in the year 1215, a time when the Pope himself and a great many other people thought that the ordering of everything that was worth ordering appertained to him. I find also the following in a book of parliamantary usages: "At the first meeting of a new Parliament the members for the city of London, in court dress or uniform, take seats on the treasury bench, which are afterwards vacated for the ministers of the day. This privilege is accorded to them in commemoration of the part taken by the city in 1642 in defense of the privilege of Parliament and the protection given to the five members who took refuge in the city when their arrest had been attempted by King Charles. This usage was observed," it says, "at the meeting of Parliament in April, 1880." London and Bristol were the sympathizers and stanch friends of America in our own Revolution.

It is remarked, too, I think, by Mr. J. R. Green, that the important part in all public matters played by the trade guilds, which were only found in cities, and their influence as a whole toward freedom, although at times despotic within themselves, is too well known to need any lengthy reference.

Prof. George Burton Adams, in his History of Mediæval Civilization, says: "It is in Italy, however, that the most revolutionary changes which mark the new age are to be seen. There Frederick found himself opposed by an entirely new and most determined energy—the cities."

And in the history of freedom the very names of Utrecht, Dort, Haarlem, Leyden, Magdeburg, Hamburg, Bruges, Wittenberg, Eisenach, and Worms, of Padua, Bologna, and Florence, of Warsaw, Prague, and Buda-Pesth, to which may be added London, Bristol, and Boston, ring with the story of popular rights and human liberty.

Frederic Harrison says: "The life that men live in the city gives the type and measure of their civilization. The word 'civilization' means the manner of life of the civilized part of the community—that is, of the city men, not of the countrymen, who are called rustics, and were once called pagans (pagani), or the heathen of the villages." And another says: "A great and beautiful city surely draws to her the observant and thoughtful souls from every district, and, if she does not keep them, sends them home refined and transmuted."

Some modern woman is quoted as saying that, if one has to run the gauntlet of two or three hundred pair of sharply scrutinizing eyes, the consciousness of a Paris dress is worth any amount of moral principle. And Sappho, who sang six or seven hundred years before the Christian era, says:

> What country maiden charms thee,
> However fair her face,
> Who knows not how to gather
> Her dress with artless grace?

If they "didn't know everything down in Judee," it is clear that in Lesbos they knew two or three.

In contrast with the statements of Nordau and of others in regard to the unfavorable sanitary conditions of city life, it must be noticed that it is always in cities that those who can afford it get the best food; and, if you are living in the country, you are largely dependent on the city for your supply. The summer seashore visitor usually finds, if he takes the trouble to investigate, that his fresh fish comes from the nearest great city, also his meat, and quite likely his butter and eggs, and nearly everything except perhaps his milk. To be sure, they came from the country first in many cases; but they seek the best market, and are to be best found at it.

It is also only in great cities, as a rule, that the best medical skill can be obtained. There we all go or send to have our most serious diseases treated and our most critical surgical operations performed. It is almost wholly owing to the unsanitary condition among the children of the very poor that the city death rate is so high.

Mr. C. F. Wingate, in a paper read here in 1885, quotes Dr. Sargent as saying that "life in towns is, on the whole, more healthful than in the country;" also Sir Charles Dilke, in speaking of recent sanitary improvements in England, as saying that "the exceptions are mostly found in the rural districts." This apparent discrepancy between these statements and some of the others is doubtless to be accounted for by the fact that the former had in mind the very poor, while the latter doubtless referred to the better conditioned.

I have been fairly familiar with the streets of New York and Boston for the last fifty years, and there is no fact in that connection with which I have been more impressed than the physical improvement which has taken place in both men and women during that period. The men are more robust and more erect, the women have greatly improved both in feature and carriage; and in the care and condition of the teeth in both sexes a surprising change has taken place. In Boston streets and street cars it seems to me that you see a hundred good-looking women where you formerly saw one. Whether this would hold good in the slums and low parts of the town may be doubted, but there of course one looks for the refuse and cast-off material of society.

A few years since I stood by the grave of a prominent man in one of our rural towns. By my side stood a man who had achieved a reputation both in literature and law. He said to me, "Who is that man opposite?" calling my attention to a tall, fine-looking man. "That," I replied, "is General H." "Ah!" said my friend, with accents of enthusiasm, "one needs to come into the rural districts to see the finest specimens of manhood." I said, "Look about, and see if you find any more." He did not find them. Then I said, "You have picked out the one man here who is in no sense a rural product. It is true this is his home, but his life is metropolitan or cosmopolitan; and those prematurely old, bowed, rheumatic, decrepid, and uninteresting people who make up most of the gathering are the true representatives of our rural population." I think I shattered an ideal, but the logic of facts was too strong to be resisted.

Perhaps this is as good a place as any to remark that when any occupation or calling in life or in a community becomes relatively less remunerative than the average, there begins at once, by natural selection, a process of personal deterioration of those engaged in it. In other words, success is the stepping stone to improvement. And in the rural districts of the Eastern States this deterioration has been going on now for fifty years.

Rev. Dr. Greer has recently said, speaking of clerical work in city and country:

"I think I should say that the difficulties in the country are greater than those in the city. There is more, I think, in common village life to lower and degrade and demoralize than in the city. Take the matter of amusements in the city. There are good ones, and we can make a choice. In the country one can not make a choice. If a theatrical company comes to a village, it is a poor company. If a concert is given, it is a poor concert. The entertainment is of a poor character. Then, again, there is a loneliness, an isolation in the country life; and this tends to lower and depreciate that life. I believe statistics show that a large contingent of the insane in our asylums come from the farms. That hard drudgery of struggle with the clod and the soil from early morning to evening twilight is a lonely and bitter struggle. There is a want of idealism."

I think it is Dr. Strong who says: "When population decreases and roads deteriorate, there is an increasing isolation, with which comes a tendency toward demoralization and degeneration. The mountain whites of the South afford an illustration of the results of such a tendency operating through several generations. Their heathenish degradation is not due to their antecedents, but primarily to their isolation." He also mentions communities in New England where like causes have produced a similar result. I think isolated rural life, where people seldom come in contact with dwellers in large towns, always tends to barbarism. I believe that

poorer people in our cities, if planted in isolated situations in the country, would deteriorate and grow barbaric in habit and thought, even though they might be physically in better condition. What very unattractive people most of our rural population are!

It is to be noted that the attrition and constant opportunity for comparison which city life makes possible, and even compulsory, tend to make all the people who are subjected to its influence alike. They do and see and hear and smell and eat the same things. They wear similar clothes, they read the same books, and their minds are occupied with the same objects of thought. In the end they even come to look alike, as married people are sometimes said to do, so that they are at once recognized when they are seen in some other place; while people who live isolated lives think their own thoughts, pursue different objects, and are compelled to depend upon their own judgments and wills for the conduct of their daily lives. The consequence is that they develop and increase peculiarities of character and conduct to the verge of eccentricity, if not beyond it, and present all that variety and freshness of type which we call originality or individuality. They are much more dramatic, picturesque, and interesting in literature, perhaps not always in real life. I mention this in passing, without any attempt to estimate fully the value of either development. Doubtless something is lost and something gained in either case, and probably much could be said in favor of each. Many persons have a great desire to get, as they say, "back to nature," while others prefer mankind in the improved state, even with some sameness.

The ideal life, time out of mind, for all who could afford it, has been the city for action, the country for repose, tranquillity, recuperation, rest. When Joab, the mighty captain of Judea, quarreled with King David, he retired to his country seat, in what was called the "Wilderness." When Cicero tired of the excitement of Rome, he found rest and quiet in Tusculum. When things went badly with Cardinal Wolsey, he sought refuge and repose in the Abbey of Leicester. Prince Bismarck retires from the frown of young Kaiser Wilhelm to Friedrichsruhe. The country is a good place to rest in, especially if one can control his surroundings. The quiet, the calm, the peace, the pleasant color, the idyllic sights and sounds, all tend to allay nervous irritation, to tranquilize the soul, to repress the intellectual, and to invigorate the animal functions in a very remarkable degree. But this is not rustic life; it is only the country life of the city resident. But the tranquil appearance of a country town, the apparent simplicity and serenity of rural life, the sweet idyllic harmony of rural surroundings are, as everyone must know who has much experience, very deceptive. I remember in one of Dickens's stories a man who lives the life of a traveling showman, one Dr. Marigold, says, in substance, that temper is bad enough anywhere, but temper in a cart is beyond all endurance. The small jealousies and rivalries, the ambitions, the bickerings and strifes of a small rural community, are greatly intensified by the circumscribed area in which they find their vent, and compared with the same human frailties in a larger sphere have all the drawbacks of temper in a cart.

Mr. (Lacon) Colton says: "If you would be known and not know, vegetate in a village. If you would know and not be known, live in a city." But to this it may be added that those who are known in a city are very much more widely known than they can be in the country. A happy fitness between the size of the person and the size of the place is doubtless productive of the most desirable results.

Mr. Shaw says:

"I am not willing to deduce any pessimistic conclusions from this general tendency, whether exhibited in England, in Germany, or in America. I do not for a moment believe that modern cities are hastening on to bankruptcy, that they are becoming dangerously socialistic in the range of their municipal activities, or that the high and even higher rates of local taxation thus far indicate anything detrimental to the general welfare. It all means simply that the great towns are remaking themselves physically, and providing themselves with the appointments of civilization, because they have made the great discovery that their new masses of population are to remain permanently. They have in practice rejected the old view that the evils of city life were inevitable, and have begun to remedy them and to prove that city life can be made not tolerable only for workingmen and their families, but positively wholesome and desirable."

It would seem then (1) that for economic reasons a large part of the work of the world must be done in cities, and the people who do that work must live in cities. (2) That almost everything that is best in life can be better had in the city than elsewhere, and that, with those who can command the means, physical comforts and favorable sanitary conditions are better obtained there. (3) That a certain amount of change from city to country is desirable, and is also very universally attainable to those who desire it, and is constantly growing more so. (4) That the city is growing a better place to live in year by year; that in regard to the degenerate portion of mankind, the very poor, the very wicked, or the very indifferent, it is a question

whether they are better off in the country; but, whether they are or not, their gregarious instincts will lead them to the city, and they must be dealt with there as part of the problem. (5) That efforts to relieve the congested conditions of the city poor by deportation of children to the country are good and praiseworthy, but only touch the surface of things, and that city degeneration must mainly be fought on its own ground.

Perhaps, too, the country needs some of our sympathy and care. It appears clear that here is a constant process of deterioration. Deserted farms and schools and churches mark the progress of ignorance and debasement, and threaten to again make the villagers pagani, as they were in the days of old. And improvement here is not the hopeless thing it might seem; but it must be on economic, and not on sentimental, lines.

The problems here discussed have but recently attracted general attention, and doubtless much is yet to be learned, but the progress already made is by no means small and all the signs are signs of promise.

GEORGIA.

[Address delivered October 31, 1893, by Hon. J. L. M. Curry, general agent of the Peabody and Slater funds, in response to an invitation of the general assembly of Georgia.]

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives of the General Assembly of Georgia:

I appreciate, I trust properly, the distinguished compliment of being invited to speak to you upon what the president of the senate has well characterized as the paramount subject of your deliberations. I count myself happy in appearing, also, in this magnificent hall of this magnificent capitol, which has, I understand, the rather exceptional merit of having been completed within the original appropriation, and of having been completed without stain or smirch resting upon anyone connected with it. I have the honor of appearing before men of distinguished ability, engaged in the most responsible work of lawmaking. Lawmaking is the attribute of sovereignty, and it is of the highest human honor and responsibility to be invested with this attribute. It would be carrying coals to Newcastle for me to say in this presence that the proper fulfilment of this function demands intelligence, patriotism, integrity, general acquaintance with law, political economy, and a thorough knowledge, not so much of what people desire or clamor for, as of what may be best for the people's needs and welfare. Divine law is the expression of omniscience and omnipotence; human law is the condition of civilization. Under the provocation of atrocious crimes, communities, aroused to indignation, have sometimes violated law. Sometimes, under the experiences of the law's delay and cheated justice, and burning with a desire to take vengeance upon odious malefactors, they have summarily, and sometimes with savage ferocity, deprived a suspected or guilty person of his life under the process of what is known as "lynch law." In pioneer and frontier life, communities have sometimes been compelled, for self-protection, to organize vigilance committees and take the law into their own hands. Such an extreme exigency does not exist at the South, nor excuse the illegal proceedings with which the papers are too often too full. The race of these criminals has not the possession of the government and is not charged with any of its functions. The white people, the race wronged and outraged, are in power, and control the legislative, executive, and judicial departments. As they are the judges, jurors, and executioners there is not the remotest possibility of one of these criminals, under just operation of law, going unwhipped of justice. A mob is a sudden revolution. It is enthroned anarchy. It is passion dominant, regnant. It usurps all the functions of government. It concentrates in itself all the rights and duties of lawmaker, judge, jury, counsel, and sheriff. A mob does not reason, has no conscience, is irresponsible, and its violence is unrestrained, whether it burns down an Ursuline convent, as in Massachusetts, or tortures a ruffian in Paris, Tex. A mob of infuriated men, or of hungry, enraged women, will violate all law, human and divine, and will be guilty of torturing, of quartering, of burning, of murder—enormities hardly surpassed by the most atrocious crimes. Life, property, person, character, perish as stubble before the flame, in the presence of a conscienceless, unthinking, aroused multitude. A rape is an individual crime, affecting disastrously, incurably, the person or the family; a mob saps the very foundations of society, uproots all government, regards not God nor man, is fructiferous of evil. The progress of mankind is to be found only along the lines of the higher organization of society. Our free institutions can not survive except on the condition of the union of enlightened liberty and stable law. Lawlessness and violence are the antipodes of liberty and social order. Obedience to the constituted authorities, to law, is of the essence of true freedom, of self-control, of civilization, of happiness, of masterful development. There probably is not a neighborhood in the United States which would not have summarily arrested and executed, without

a day's waiting, the fiend of Paris. But that infliction of merited punishment, coupled with vengeance, is not defensible, but is fruitful of manifold evils. To its disregard of law may be traced whitecapism in the West and South, in which self-constituted bands mercilessly execute their unauthorized judgments as to martial rights and obligations, political economy, personal duties, etc. It is a very grave error that democracy means the right of the people anywhere and everywhere, and in any way, to execute their passionate will. Ours is a representative government. Our representatives are not chosen because the people can not assemble en masse to legislate, adjudicate, and execute; but because the people ought not to assemble en masse to execute these functions of a complex government. I can fortify myself before a Georgia audience by quoting the expression of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who said before the bar association of this State: "The people have no hands for unlawful work. Justice is in the hands of the people only when it is in the hands of their organized tribunals."

I think it but a natural transition from these preliminary remarks to say that there is a wrong estimate of the power and effects of legislation. Too much is often expected of the general assemblies, as if the legislature were a sort of second-hand providence; and I suspect that not a few of you heard when you were candidates, or when you were about to leave for Atlanta, such inquiries as "What are you going to do for us? What will you do for us when you get to Atlanta?" I heard this very often when I was in public life. The world is governed too much. Some political thinker has said that the best government is that which governs the least. I would not altogether subscribe to the "let alone" theory, because it may be pushed to extremes. There are two great factors of modern, progressive, civilized life. They are wise social organizations and proper individual development. Bearing these two factors in mind, I think you will not fail to see the relativity of my introductory remarks to what will follow. In cases of commercial distress, agricultural depression, financial crisis, national bankruptcy, we are too prone to seek for legislative cures and political nostrums, but all the legislation that you could pass from now until next Christmas would not increase one iota the real returns of agriculture. There are some knaves—not in Georgia, I hope—more demagogues, and a good many fools, who are trying to find a short cut to national and individual prosperity by treating wealth as if it were a thing that could be created by statute without the intervention of labor, forgetting that the products of labor represent all that there is of wealth in a country. Now, there are some universally established truths in political and legislative economy. Great changes, new systems of finance and trade, are not to be ordered as if you were to order a new suit of clothes according to a certain pattern. History condemns South Sea bubbles, John Law schemes of finance, shin-plaster, and fiat currency. Building Chinese walls around your country and erecting barriers against foreign trade never made a nation prosperous any more than the absurd notion, revived in recent times, that what makes one nation rich impoverishes the other, what one gains another loses. Now, we have serious agricultural depression in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and in all the Southern States. The abolition of slavery was a gigantic revolution. Did it ever occur to you that there is not in the annals of history anything comparable to it in its unprecedented magnitude and suddenness? This, with other effects of the war, paralyzed Southern industries and produced individual and general impoverishment.

African slavery was a great economic curse. I am not speaking of it politically, socially, or morally, but it brought upon the South the curse of ignorant, compulsory, uninventive labor, undiversified products of agriculture, and sparse population. It was an interdict effectual upon invention, thrift, development of varied resources, diversity of employments, large and profitable use of machinery, improvement of soil, construction of good country roads, establishment of free public schools. These were the results of African slavery as an economic force. Curse as it was, it suggests a remedy for its evils. What are we to do? We must increase and make more valuable and diversified our products, and we must improve our country roads. Whatever facilitates exchange of products is a blessing. It will not be worth while to produce unless we can exchange what is beyond our own consumption. What do you need in Georgia? You need intelligent, skilled labor. Many of your laborers are ignorant, stupidly so, of every element of art and science. I spoke to a negro the other day at a railway station about his future. His reply was characteristic: "I ain't got nothing, and I don't want nothing." What is the worth of a system which produces such men? What you want is an alliance of brains and hands, with habits of thrift and cleanliness, and increased capacity of production.

Now, Mr. President, I affirm that no ignorant people were ever prosperous or happy. You may measure the growth, the progress, development, and the prosperity of a people by their advance in culture, in intelligence, in skill; and you can measure the decline of a people by their decline in culture, intelligence, and skill. In the United States there are twenty millions of horsepower at work, lowering the cost of production, cheapening the necessaries of life, giving to toil a larger reward. Much

of what handiwork did has been displaced by labor-saving machinery. Guiding the plow with the hand, mowing grass with the scythe, cutting grain with the cradle—this is fast disappearing from enlightened communities. The steam harvester and thrasher have rendered the work of saving the grain crops more rapid and less arduous. Science has found practical application, and ceases to be mere theory; it has allied itself with the useful arts. Machinery has released thousands from a weary struggle for supply of mere animal wants, and has permitted them to take up other pursuits, such as mining, manufactures, mechanical arts, gardening, fruit raising, etc., but this wealth-creating industry demands intelligence, thrift, and saving. Industry has thus received great benefit; the people have gained hope, inspiration, and life from the applications of the principles of science, have gained, finally, command of all of the resources of nature and have had opened for themselves the highest rewards of intelligent industry.

It needs to be repeated and emphasized that national wealth is not the result of chance, or fraud, or legislative hocus-pocus, or stockjobbing manipulations or adroit dealing in futures. It is the result of honest, intelligent labor. The elements of wealth exist in nature in manifold forms, but must be fitted for human wants by labor. Through all transitions from natural condition to finished and useful artificial state, each successive process adds to the value. To utilize the powers of nature, the elements of property and wealth, is, in beneficent results, proportionate to the intelligence employed. The value created is almost in the direct ratio of the skill of the worker. Labor is not spontaneous nor self-willed, but must have behind it an intelligent control. Stupid labor is confined to a narrow routine, to a few, simple products. Unskilled labor is degraded necessarily to coarser employments. What makes work honorable, productive, remunerative, what elevates a man above a brute, is work directed by intelligence. The best method of applying power might be illustrated by such common processes as turning a grindstone, shoveling manure, harnessing a horse, driving a nail. Among the aristocracy of the old world and the Bourbons of the new is a current theory that it is best for the lower classes, the mudsills of society, the common laborers, to remain in ignorance. I have no patience with men who say that education for the ordinary occupations of life is a wasted investment, or who deny the utility or the feasibleness of furnishing to wage earners and breadwinners an education suited to the industries of real life. Will our impoverished people never see that ignorant labor is terribly expensive, that it is a tax, indirect but enormous, bringing injury to the material worked, to the tools or implements employed, wasting force and lessening and making less valuable what is produced?

The president has declared what was intended as the burden of my address. While there are local interests and concerns that may interest you, there is one question, overtopping all others, that goes into the very household, that concerns every individual, that is allied to every interest; and that is how to furnish cheaper and more efficient means of education for the boys and girls of the State. When I speak of this being the paramount subject of legislation, I mean to say that the duty of the legislator is not only to look after education in Clarke County, in Cobb County, but to have the means of education carried to every child, black and white, to every citizen within the limits of the State. I mean universal education; free education; the best education; without money and without price. The great mistake in legislators and people is that, while they profess to be friends of education, and satisfy themselves that they are, they are talking and thinking of the public schools as poor schools for poor children, and not as good schools, the best schools, for the education of all. Here is field and scope for the exercise of the highest powers of statesmanship. This universal education is the basis of civilization, the one vital condition of prosperity, the support of free institutions. All civilized governments support and maintain schools. In semicivilized countries there is no recognition of the right to improvement, nor of the duty of the government to support universal education. William Ewart Gladstone is the greatest statesman of this century. Financier, scholar, orator, with marvellous administrative capacity, even to the minutest details of departmental and governmental work, and shows his appreciation of education by giving to the vice-president of the council of education a seat in his cabinet, and he is the only British prime minister who has so honored education. Last year I was reading brief biographical sketches of the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties of Massachusetts for the various State offices—governor, attorney-general, etc.—and every one of them, with one exception, had been trained in the common schools of the State, and, therefore, when in office, they would understand what people were talking about when they advocated common schools, and would feel as Emerson said, that if Massachusetts had no beautiful scenery, no mountains abounding in minerals, yet she had an inexhaustible wealth in the children of the Commonwealth. None of you, perhaps, were educated in the public schools. How many times do you visit the public schools? How many times in the last year have you gone into a public school and sat down

on the rear bench and watched the teacher teaching, in order to know what is being done in these great civilizing agencies of the State?

A few years ago the King of Prussia, through Bismarck, issued a call for an educational conference, and he took part with educators and scholars in the discussions. In my journeys through the South, pleading for the children, I have found one governor from whom I never fail to receive a sympathetic response to every demand or argument that I may present for higher or general education. In days that are to come, when you shall record what Rabun did, what Troup, what Clarke, what McDonald, what Johnson, what Gilmer, what Jenkins, what Brown, what Gordon, what Stephens, and what other governors of Georgia have done, there will be no brighter page, none more luminous with patriotism, broad-minded, honest, intelligent, beneficent patriotism, devotion to the highest interests of the State, than that which shall record the fact that the great school governor of the South was William J. Northen. [Great applause.]

The most interesting and profitable changes that have been made in the ends of modern education is the incorporation of manual training in the curriculum, so as to bring education into contact with the pursuits of every day. The three r's, reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic, used to be the standard. We should add the three h's, and develop, pari passu with the three r's, the hand, head, and heart, so that we may develop the child intellectually, physically, and morally, and so have the completest manhood and womanhood. Oh! it is a sad spectacle to see the ordinary graduate from one of our colleges, with an armful of diplomas, standing on the platform receiving bouquets, and ready to step across the threshhold and enter the arena of active life. You congratulate him because he has acquired knowledge in the schoolroom. But what can he do? What can he produce? What wealth can he create? What aid can he render civilization? He may be a lawyer. A lawyer never yet made two blades of grass grow where only one grew before. [Laughter.] Now, you show that you agree with what I am saying. [Laughter.] I have no sympathy, however, allow me to say it, with the vulgar, ignorant, stupid prejudice that some people have against lawyers. None in the world. [Applause.] You may trace the history of free government in all the struggles for right and liberty, you may study with profoundest admiration the constitutions, the embodiments of political wisdom, and every page of that history you will find illuminated by the wisdom of lawyers. But I say of lawyers what I say of doctors. Doctors do not add one cent to the wealth of the community. Neither do preachers. They are valuable; you can not do without them. But the lawyer, the doctor, the preacher, the editor, do not add one cent to the assessed value of the property in Georgia. Wealth comes from productive labor, and wealth is in proportion to the skill of the labor. It is the mechanic, the farmer, the miner, the manufacturer, the fruit grower, who add wealth to the community and to the country. The others are indispensable in the distribution of the products of labor, in the transactions of business between man and man, and in a thousand ways, but they do not create wealth.

Let me come back to what I was saying, that the graduate of your college is educated to be a clerk, doctor, lawyer, preacher. You may turn him out of college and he will tramp the streets of your cities, of Atlanta, Augusta, Savannah, to find some place in the bank, or some place in a doctor's or lawyer's office. He has been educated away from business, from ordinary productive pursuits, and has a distaste for labor. If his natural bent had been followed, if he had been taught the application of science to business, made familiar with tools and constructive machinery, he would have turned out, in very many cases, something more useful than he will be after having entered one of the learned professions.

I wish some of you would stop over some time on your way to New York at Washington or Philadelphia and go through the public schools. You would see that from the kindergarten to the high school there is no schoolroom where the pupils can not be taught the application of scientific principles to everyday life, and from which they can not come with a knowledge of the common tools and their uses. England learned that in order to hold the markets of the world she had to teach her children in industrial schools. She discovered that her trade was slipping away from her because of the lack of industrial training on the part of her working people. France gives manual training to both sexes.

Saxony, a manufacturing country, had in 1889 115 trade or industrial schools, it being discovered that "a thorough professional education alone can aid the tradesman in his struggle for life." Statistics show a constant improvement of economic conditions. The flourishing orchards, with their world-renowned wealth of fruit, in Austria, Hungary, Bavaria, and Oldenburg, are directly traceable to the introduction of practical instruction in the school gardens. Prussia has introduced into the normal schools instruction in the culture of fruit and forest trees, and "the admirably managed forests and vast orchards of Prussia owe their existence and excellent yield in no small degree to the unostentatious influence of the country schoolmaster who teaches his pupils in school and the adult villagers in agricultural clubs."

As much as we may boast of our free institutions we are far behind the rest of the world in industrial education, in the application of scientific principles to daily life. We abuse Russia, but Russia has 1,200 technological schools; Belgium has 25,000 pupils in her trade schools; Denmark, 6,000; Italy, 16,000. Georgia has no trade school for white children. She has, fortunately, one noble technological school, which I commend to your support and your encouragement. The other day I went to Newport News, which, as you know, is at the mouth of James River, on Hampton Bay, in the State of Virginia. The largest shipbuilding works and the largest dry dock in the United States are at Newport News. They recently received contracts for the construction of United States vessels, and are prepared to do all such work in the best possible manner. I went through the works. I had an old Confederate soldier to pilot me. When I asked about the improvements in the place his heart rejoiced. I was there when the dinner hour arrived. From the shops and works men came in great numbers, until it seemed there must have been 1,000. I said to my friend, "Where do these men come from?" He replied that they came from various parts of the world. "Are there any from the South?" said I. "Oh, yes," said he. "What do you pay these men?" I asked. "From one dollar a day up to eight or ten." "Do any of these old Confederates get the eight or ten?" With a deep sigh and with a tear in his eye, he said: "No; no Confederate among them. The Confederate soldiers," he continued, "and the negroes get a dollar a day; the Northern and European laborers get the six or ten dollars a day." "Why is this?" I asked. "Because," said he, "they have had industrial training at home. They come from their shops and from their training schools, and they put intelligence into their work, and they get for it the best wages."

And yet, when I stand here and appeal to Georgians for manual-labor schools, you say that man is a theorizer; he is taking up the time of the legislature, which should be passing an act to declare Goose Creek a highway, or to build a road across Possum Swamp, or a bridge over Terrapin Hollow! [Laughter.]

Last year, Mr. President, I was in Asia Minor. If any of you have read The Prince of India you will remember some account of the town of Brusa, southeast of Constantinople. I saw there hundreds of donkeys and women with loads of mulberry leaves. A few years ago the silk trade seemed likely to become extinct, because of an insect that was destroying the mulberry trees and attacking the cocoons. Thousands of trees were cut down. The people are now replanting the mulberry trees, and trade is springing up again. It is because Pasteur, the great curer of hydrophobia, subjected the cocoons to a microscopic examination, discovered the insect and applied a remedy. He applied scientific knowledge to the work of saving the silk trade. A school of sericulture has been established, the mulberry trees are being planted, and the people are growing prosperous again.

When you came here you took the oath to support the Constitution, and it says that there shall be a thorough system of common schools, free to all children, for education in the elementary branches of an English education. This mandate requires general, or State, and local supervision, neat and healthy houses, grading and classifying of the pupils, adequate local and State revenues. A valued friend said to me last night that Georgia is spending too much money for public schools. Let us see how this is. Agricultural depression is more serious and more harmful in Mississippi than in any other State, because it is so exclusively agricultural, having few manufacturing interests, little commerce, and no big cities. And yet Mississippi pays for her public schools $7.80 on every thousand dollars of the taxable value of property; Illinois pays $14.40; Texas, $4.80; Nebraska, $18.70; Massachusetts, $3.80; New York, $4.50. Georgia's educational tax proper for the support of the public schools is $1.40 on the thousand dollars! What do you say to that? Can you expect to equal other States in school advantages unless you increase the revenues going to the public schools? Let it be borne in mind that outside the cities, the local or extra-State revenues are very meager. The Southern States raise on an average about 36 cents per capita of population.

But you need not only to increase the revenues supporting the common schools—you need promptly and properly paid teachers. The worst thing that I have ever heard about my native State, Georgia, is that she has permitted the teachers in her public schools—poorly paid as they are—to go month after month without receiving the pittance of their hard-earned salaries! [Applause.] If I were the legislature I would not let the sun go down before I wiped away this crime against the teachers of the State. I only echo what you will find in the governor's message, in the report of Captain Bradwell, and in the lamentations of the teachers.

The training of the teachers is implicitly contained in the compulsory establishment of schools. By making education an integral part of the government you are under strongest obligation to provide good schools. The teacher is the school. You can not have a thorough system of common schools without good teachers. You can not have good teachers without paying them promptly their salaries and without training them to teach. Unfortunately our normal schools are handicapped by the

unpreparedness of the pupils to be taught how to teach. Thorough general training should precede professional training, and is its best preparation for it. Take a school of medicine or of law and combine it with elementary education. It would be absurd. It is none the less absurd to combine elementary instruction with professional training for teaching. Teachers should know the history of education and of educational methods, and practical and definite application of the principles of education; and these things should not be dead rules. The teacher goes from the concrete to the abstract; from special to general; from known to unknown; from idea to the word; from thought to clear expression; and these should be applied habitually, unconsciously, and govern spontaneously every act and element in teaching. Students can become habituated to best methods by being kept in the true path, under the guidance of those familiar with the right methods and principles.

I went to Milledgeville the other day to see and inspect the Normal and Industrial College. It is a most remarkable school. It has been in existence only three years, and has 322 girls; 121 engaged in preparing themselves for teaching school. Although in its infancy, it has sent out 100 teachers to teach in Georgia. I went into the different departments. I wish you could see Professor Branson's teaching in the normal department; it would do you good. You could not do a better thing than to spend a day in going through the school and seeing what they teach there. If you do not go yourselves, send your committees and let them see how the thing is done.

Here is a map, which is an object lesson. It shows the normal schools in the United States. It is not accurate in all its details; yet the general facts are correctly stated. In the States that are most wealthy and most advanced there are the greater number of these black dots, which represent normal schools. The person who made the map did not recognize the fact that in Georgia you have an excellent normal school at Milledgeville. It is industrial and normal, and the work done is excellent. The Peabody fund gave $1,800 last year to this school. I wish I could persuade you to establish coeducation of the sexes at Milledgeville. In the name of patriotism, why do not you teach the boys as well as the girls how to teach school?

Teaching—good teaching, I ought to say—has much of the persuasive power of oratory. It is a glorious sight to see a live teacher—not one of these old moss-back teachers, who has not learned anything since the flood, but a live teacher, who appreciates his vocation—standing before his classes! How it arouses enthusiasm, fortifies the will, inspires the soul; and what a criminal waste of time and money and labor and energy it is to put an incompetent teacher before a class of boys and girls! We see sometimes a picture of Herod murdering the innocents. How we grieve over it! I went into a school the other day in the mountains. There sat the teacher, ignorant, stolid, indifferent, incapable, with the boys and girls gathered around him, studying the a-b, ab; b-a, ba, k-e-r, ker, baker; and I thought then, Mr. President, that we ought to have another painter to draw another picture of the murder of the innocents. It is not the teachers who ought to be painted in that picture; it is the legislatures who are murdering the innocents, when they refuse to establish normal schools for the proper training of teachers. How does the old hymn go? "How tedious and tasteless the hour"—some of you have sung it. How unutterably tedious are the hours spent in such schools, poring over lessons day after day. Some are mechanics when they ought to be artists, for these teachers have no plan nor method, no inspiration nor striving to teach and stimulate all the many sides of a child's nature to higher attainments, higher thoughts and more vigorous action. Time does not permit me to speak of secondary schools, of rural schools, of six-months schools. Some one in writing about me in the paper said that I was growing old. That may be true as to years, but not in thought, not in patriotism, not in loyalty to the South, not in loyalty to the Union, not in loyalty to this country of ours, and to the Stars and Stripes. I am not growing old in my interest in the cause of education. And yet when I hear that your people are about to celebrate the semicentennial of Atlanta, it recalls to mind the time when I used to pass this place and there was no city here, nothing but old Whitehall Tavern. That was in 1841–42. During that period a town was started which was called Marthasville. I used to ride through this section of the country, by Decatur and Stone Mountain, on my way from my home in Alabama to the college at Athens. It then took me five days to make the journey. Now I can go the distance in six hours. What a mighty change! From Marthasville in 1842 to Atlanta in 1893! Five days of travel cut down to six hours; five days on horseback or in stage coach to six hours in a Pullman palace car! Steam has revolutionized the business and travel of the world. We have gone from the stage coach to the steam car, and the sails of the old ships have been superseded by the ocean steamships. The telegraph and telephone and steam have brought the continents into one neighborhood and given solidarity to the business of the world. The merchant can telegraph to China or to Japan for a bill of goods; and before he goes to bed to-night word comes from the other end of the world that the goods have been delivered to the ship and they will leave in the morning. What a revolution has been wrought in our methods of business. Improved machinery of transportation

has reduced freight expenses from 2¾ cents per ton per mile to about one-half cent per ton per mile. Civilization creates new kinds of property. In Africa the inhabitants know nothing about bills of exchange, promissory notes, choses in action—nothing about the modern methods of business. Just in proportion as you grow in civilization, and advance in the scale of education and intelligence, you have more kinds of property. It is because of diffused education, because of the work of intelligence, because the forces of nature have been harnessed to the business of life. Science and religion are both evangels of democracy. Wherever these go shackles fall off, tyranny ceases, and the great masses are lifted up to the recognition of their rights and their privileges. Prerogative of mental development is no longer confined to the few, but is conceded to all who bear the image of the Son of Man.

Only one more remark. I said awhile ago that I was a Georgia boy. I am a native of Lincoln County—the dark corner of Lincoln. I graduated from the University of Georgia, growing up in my college days with such men as Tom Cobb, Linton Stephens, Ben Hill, Jud Glenn, and others. In my political life I associated on terms of intimacy with such men as Stephens, Toombs, Hill, and Cobb. I come to you as a Georgian, appealing for the interests of the children of Georgia, and appealing to the representatives of the State. How inspiring it is to deeds of noble statesmanship to read the names of the counties you represent. Some of them recall in imperishable words the names of founders of the State, of men who stood for her rights, of men who bore the brunt of the Revolutionary struggle, such as Oglethorpe, Richmond, Burke, Chatham, Wilkes, and Camden; Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, Carroll, Sumter, Putnam, Jasper, Greene, the German De Kalb, Hancock, Lincoln; to them add the names of the men of the days succeeding the Revolution, Calhoun, Webster, Clay, Lowndes, Polk, Pierce, Douglas, Randolph, Taylor, and Quitman—men from other States, but allied to you in close sympathy. Not these only, for your own great men have their names linked with the destinies of your counties. What an inspiration it must be to represent the county of Berrien, or Bartow, or Cobb, or Clayton, or Dawson, or Dooly, or Dougherty, or Forsyth, or Gilmer, or Hall, or Jackson, or Johnson, or Lumpkin, or McDuffie, or Miller, or Meriwether, or Murray, or Troup, or Walton. I think that if I were a representative from such a county, with such a name, I should be inspired with patriotism to do something high and useful, and to help the State I lived in to bear worthily the name of the "Empire State of the South." [Applause.] I appeal to you for the common schools of Georgia, for the future men and women of the State. The women of the State touch my heart very deeply. My grandmother, mother, daughter-in-law, granddaughter, Georgia born, names suggestive of holiest affection and tenderest memories, which make me, not less than my nativity, a Georgian. In all of womankind, whether or not history has recorded or romance described or poesy sung her virtues, there has been no type of female excellence, no example of purity or loveliness or heroism more exalted and noble than that furnished by Georgia mother or wife, fit representatives of the unsurpassed southern matron. In their names I plead.

Mr. President, a friend told me of a girl in the northern part of the State, not prince-begotten nor palace-cradled, growing up in glad joyousness and innocency, amid the rich, virgin growth of wild trees, who was seen plowing an ox on rolling hillside to earn subsistence for an invalid father, a bed-ridden Confederate soldier, who lay helpless in an adjacent log cabin. Touched by such heroism and filial fidelity, a gentleman sent her to school, and last year at the examination one thousand people, who had come from the mountains to show their interest in the education of the children, saw that girl, who had labored for the support of herself and her bed-ridden father, stand on the platform and take the prize offered for the best essay. Refusing to abandon her old father during vacation, she went back to her mountain home and to labor, but she is now teaching in the school which brought to light her latent powers. There are thousands of Georgia boys, in the wire grass and middle Georgia and in the mountains, who, if educated, would, like Stephens, be patriotic and honored servants of the State. There are thousands of young maidens, who, like our heroine, require but the helping hand of the State and the warmth of generous culture to emerge from humble homes of obscurity and poverty to places of usefulness and honor. [Long applause.]

LOUISIANA.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC-SCHOOL SYSTEM IN LOUISIANA.

[Paper prepared for Louisiana Educational Association, by John R. Ficklen, professor of history in Tulane University.]

"If I had as many sons as Priam, I would send them all to the public schools."—*Daniel Webster.*

Mr. PRESIDENT, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN: It seems eminently wise that the Louisiana Educational Association at this period of its honored career should devote a portion of its time and attention to the origin and development of the public-school

system within the borders of this State; for we are now entering upon a new era in the history of our schools, and we need, in particular at such a time, to study both the present and the probabilities of the future in the light of the past. As student and teacher I have always laid great stress upon this study of the historical development of our institutions as one of prime importance. We do not thoroughly understand the present until we know how and why it has become what it is. Moreover, from the accumulated experience of those who have gone before us we may learn to avoid a thousand errors; where they garnered only "barren regrets," we may reap a bountiful harvest of good results.

As the individual must live over in miniature the life of the whole human race, so those who would reform institutions must investigate the history of those institutions and understand the causes that led to failure or to success. Without this knowledge their labors will be short sighted and unfruitful, and to their hands no wide powers should be intrusted.

Let us trace, then, as briefly as possible, the origin and development of our public-school system. From such a study I hope something profitable and something interesting may be gleaned together. Clearness of treatment will be promoted if we divide the whole subject into three periods.

I. From the beginning of this century to the framing of the second constitution in 1845.

II. From 1845 to the civil war.

III. From the civil war to the present time (1894).

I.

Before the opening of the nineteenth century, as you doubtless know, public free schools did not exist in Louisiana. The Ursuline Nuns, ever since they were brought over by Bienville, had devoted themselves to the education of young women, and there were some private schools in New Orleans, but the policy of the Government had provided no system of public instruction. The truth is that monarchical governments in that day were unfavorable to the education of the masses. Knowledge is power, and it was not considered desirable that the people should have much power.

In the year 1803, however, the great Territory of Louisiana, Jefferson's fine purchase, was formally transferred to the commissioners of the American Union. As you know, Louisiana then embraced a vast tract of country, from which many rich and prosperous States have since been carved. For nine years the southern portion was called the Territory of Orleans; but, finally, in 1812, much to the delight of its 60,000 inhabitants, it was erected into the State of Louisiana—one of the fairest sovereignties that go to constitute the American Union.

During the early period of its territorial government, there are to be found frequent references to the subject of public education. But many years were to elapse before educational views crystallized into any kind of system of free schools. Nor was this tardy recognition of the value of common schools peculiar to Louisiana. It was equally the case in the early history of all the Southern and most of the Northern States. It would be interesting to trace the development of public schools in the United States at large; to show how the enduring system established in Massachusetts by the old Puritans of the seventeenth century was modeled after the system of schools which they had learned to know during their sojourn in Holland—a system in which Holland at that time led the world. It would be interesting to show that the main object of the Puritans was to keep out "that old deluder, Satan," by teaching all the children to read the Bible, thus preparing them to exorcise the evil spirits that ever torment the ignorant. It would be still more interesting to show why that old royalist, Governor Berkeley, feared the rise of public (I had almost said republican) schools, and devoutly thanked God that there were none in Virginia. Such themes, however, while they would be fruitful of suggestions as to the progress of our American civilization, would occupy far more time than has been allotted to this whole paper. I can not forbear, however, mentioning one fact which may make our Louisiana teachers rejoice that they live in this day and generation rather than in the New England of the seventeenth century. In an old New England town book (date 1661) the duties of the schoolmaster are laid down as follows: (1) To act as court messenger; (2) to serve summonses; (3) to conduct certain ceremonial services of the church; (4) to lead the Sunday choir; (5) to dig the graves; (6) to take charge of the school; (7) to ring the bell for public worship; (8) to perform other occasional duties. With these manifold functions to discharge, it is easy to understand the importance attached, in early New England, to the office of schoolmaster.

But to return to Louisiana. No sooner had the United States taken possession of Louisiana than the enlightened policy of our first American governor, W. C. C.

Claiborne, spoke out in no uncertain accents on the subject of public education. I quote from his address to the territorial council in 1804, just ninety years ago: "In adverting to your primary duties," he says, "I have yet to suggest one than which none can be more important or interesting. I mean some general provision for the education of youth. If we revere science for her own sake or for the innumerable benefits she confers upon society, if we love our children and cherish the laudable ambition of being respected by posterity, let not this great duty be overlooked. Permit me to hope, then, that under your patronage, seminaries of learning will prosper, and means of acquiring information be placed within the reach of each growing family. Let exertions be made to rear up our children in the paths of science and virtue, and impress upon their tender hearts a love of civil and religious liberty. My advice, therefore, is that your system of education be extensive and liberally supported."

These were noble sentiments, but if we may judge by the words of the same governor some years later, they found as yet only a feeble echo in the hearts of the people. For in 1809 we find Claiborne lamenting the general "abandonment of education in Louisiana." It is true that in 1805 the College of Orleans was established—a college in which the honored historian of Louisiana, Charles Gayarre, was a pupil; but though it lingered on till 1826, it was never in a flourishing condition, and the legislature finally concluded to abolish it and appropriate its funds to the establishment of one central and two primary schools. In the constitution of 1812, under which Louisiana was admitted to the Union, there is no mention of a system of public education; it was perhaps intended that the whole matter should be left to legislative action. During the ensuing war of 1812–15 with England, in which Louisiana bore so glorious a part, the people were too much absorbed in the defense of their soil to make any provision for education.

According to the annual message of Governor A. B. Roman (in 1831), it was the year 1818, just one hundred years after the founding of New Orleans, that witnessed the enactment of the first law concerning a system of public schools. The governor doubtless means the first effective law; for ten years previously (1808), an act was passed to establish public schools, but it was rendered nugatory by the proviso that the school tax should be collected only from those who were willing to pay it. Beginning in 1818, however, the legislature made comparatively liberal appropriations for educational purposes, the amounts increasing from $13,000 in 1820 to $27,000 in 1824. Little attention was paid to elementary instruction, but it was proposed to establish an academy or a college in every parish in the State. Lottery schemes—not peculiar to Louisiana, but used freely for educational institutions at this period, both in the North and in the West—were set on foot to raise funds for the College of Orleans and for an academy recently established in Rapides Parish. In addition, one-fourth of the tax paid by the gaming houses of New Orleans was presumably sanctified by its appropriation to the cause of education.

In spite, however, of all these efforts the message of Governor Roman in 1831 makes patent the fact that the system of public instruction in Louisiana has been a failure. The main cause of the failure was recognized by this enlightened Creole and he sets it forth in the clearest and strongest language. It may be summed up in a few words. The schools had not been wholly free. In every academy established and in every primary school provision was made to receive without tuition fees a certain number of indigent pupils. In the two primary schools of New Orleans, for instance, gratuitous instruction was given only to children between the ages of 7 and 14, and preference was to be shown to at least 50 children from the poorer classes. Thus a certain number of poor children, marked with the badge of charity, were to be admitted to the schools and there associate with others that paid. Such a system of public schools could not be successful. The pride of the poorer classes was hurt. One of the parishes refused to take the money appropriated for public schools, while in many others the parents, though living near the schoolhouses, would not send their children because it was repugnant to their feelings to have them educated gratuitously.

In twelve years, declares Governor Roman, the expenditure for public schools had amounted to $354,000, and it was doubtful whether 354 indigent students had derived from these schools the advantages which the legislature wished to extend to that class. In conclusion the governor uttered these significant words, words which should be engraved over the portals of our legislative halls: "Louisiana will never reach the station to which she is entitled among her sister States until none of her electors shall need the aid of his neighbor to prepare his ballot."

Thus we see that the necessity of a new system was beginning to be felt—a system under which the schools should be absolutely free, under which the sons and daughters of the rich and poor should sit side by side, and know no distinction except that which is created by superior abilities. Unless the schools could be raised to a higher level in public esteem, there was no hope of their success.

There were other causes of failure which perhaps did not escape Governor Roman, but which he fails to mention. There was, first of all, the sparseness of the country population, which in Louisiana, as elsewhere in the South, made the problem of educating the people a far different matter from what it was in Massachusetts. In the South large plantations and the absence of towns tended to make the progress of public schools slow and uncertain; while in Massachusetts the fact that the whole population was grouped first in settlements around the churches and then in regular townships, made the organization of public schools a comparatively easy task. In discussing the backwardness of the South in educational facilities, this important consideration is too often omitted. If, with the increase of the population at the present day, it has less significance, it certainly had a great deal before the war.

In the second place, among the old Creoles of Louisiana, the education of young children was regarded as a matter that concerned not the State but the family. Exception must be made in favor of enlightened men like Governor Roman, but the fact remains that for many years the scheme of free public schools was looked upon as a useless innovation. As late as 1858, says De Bow's Review, every Louisiana planter had a school in his own house to educate his children.

From other sources we know that when children were ready for higher instruction their parents, if they were prosperous, most often sent them to Northern colleges or to France. This feeling against the public schools arose partly from what Mr. Lafargue has called the aristocratic and somewhat feudal social system of that day, and partly from the force of custom—a custom that dates back to the eighteenth century—when Etienne de Boré, the first successful sugar planter in Louisiana, received his education first in Canada and then in France.

Last of all it has been claimed with some justice that slavery impeded the progress of the public schools, as that institution impeded the rise of the white laboring classes from whose ranks these schools have always drawn the largest number of pupils. This was certainly true of the country parishes; but to a far less extent of New Orleans where all classes of society were duly represented.

All these causes were more or less operative to hinder the progress of the free school system until the civil war came and radically changed the conditions of Southern life.

From 1835 to 1845 Louisiana continued to make generous appropriations for the cause of education, but instead of establishing what was especially needed for the mass of the people, a good system of elementary instruction, the public funds were expended in founding a number of pretentious academies and colleges. These were required to give free instruction to a small number of indigent pupils, but how many such pupils were actually received it is impossible to say.

The student who examines the early records of the State is amazed at the number of these transitory institutions, many of which hardly survived the generous donations made for their support. As far as I know, the only ones now remaining of some twenty odd which were once scattered through the various parishes of the State are Centenary (once the College of Louisiana), now administered by the Methodists; Jefferson College, now under control of the Marist Fathers, and the Louisiana State University, which was once the Seminary of Learning in Alexandria.

To illustrate the preference in that early period for these higher institutions, none of which gave free tuition except to a few indigent pupils, it will suffice to say that in 1838 the amount appropriated for public schools was $45,633, while during the same year the subsidies to colleges and seminaries were $126,000. During the period of which we are about to speak, however, far less was given for the support of these institutions. Many of them being found superfluous had doubtless already disappeared.

II.

We now enter upon our second period, 1845–1860. During the year 1845 Louisiana received a new constitution. In it full expression was given to the democratic tendencies of the day. The Whigs had yielded to the Democrats, and the latter proceeded to grant the people many privileges which had been previously denied. The privilege of choosing the governor from the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes was taken from the legislature, and the right to vote was no longer restricted to owners of property. But best of all its democratic measures this constitution provided for a system of public schools under the care and supervision of a superintendent of education, to be appointed by the governor, and of parish superintendents, to be elected by the people. The importance of this departure can not be exaggerated. Up to this time such schools as had existed in the State had been under the care of the secretary of state, whose other official duties were too numerous for this additional burden. From this time on we are to see a superintendent of

education devoting his time and energies to the establishment of an extensive system of public free schools and making regular reports to the general assembly.[1]

The constitution of 1845, and the laws passed by the legislature to carry out its provisions, created a new era in the history of education in Louisiana. Up to 1845, although large sums in proportion to the educable population had been expended, the system had been a failure, and the secretary of state had declared it should be consigned to "an unhonored grave." Let us see what were the provisions for the organization and support of the new system. In the first place the schools were to be absolutely free to all white children. Of course, as it was one of the corollaries of the institution of slavery that it was dangerous to educate the slaves, no provision was made for the education of the negro until he had been emancipated.

For the support of the new system, the constitution declared that the proceeds of all lands granted by the United States Government for the use of public schools, and of all estates of deceased persons falling to the State, should be held by the State as a loan, and should be a perpetual fund, on which annual interest at 6 per cent should be paid for public schools, and that this appropriation should remain inviolable. The lands referred to were the public lands which the Federal Government had retained when Louisiana was made a State, and which that Government was now granting to the State for educational and other purposes. In 1847 these land grants amounted to 800,000 acres, and in many instances proved to be very valuable. Moreover, there are many references in these old acts of the legislature to the location of the sixteenth sections in townships for school purposes and to the sale of these sections. For the further support of the schools it was now provided by an act of the legislature that every free male white over 21 years of age should pay a poll tax of $1, and that a tax of 1 mill should be levied on all taxable property. As early as 1842 the police jurors[2] were authorized to levy a tax for schools not to exceed one-half the annual State tax. Provision was now made that whenever a parish raised not less than $200 the governor should authorize the State treasurer to pay over to said parish double the amount so assessed.

Certainly no happier choice for State superintendent of education could have been made throughout the extent of Louisiana than was made in 1847 by Governor Isaac Johnson. The man he chose was a ripe scholar. He had been trained in all the learning of that day. First under a private tutor and then in Georgetown College he had saturated his mind with all that was best in classical literature, and he had caught an inspiration which made him one of the great teachers of his time. A brilliant orator, he spoke and wrote with convincing eloquence whenever the sacred cause of education was at stake. Such a man was Alexander Dimitry, the first superintendent of education, whom Louisiana honors and reveres as the organizer of her system of public schools.

Both the reports of Mr. Dimitry, which are generally supposed to be lost, are to be seen in the Fisk Library of New Orleans. The first was rendered in 1848 and the second in 1850. To the student of our educational progress both are interesting and instructive.

The first describes how the 47 parishes had been divided into school districts by the police jurors, assisted by the parish superintendents. The services of these superintendents, who were elected at a salary of $300 a year, were very efficient, but the schools in the parishes were not generally welcomed, and Mr. Dimitry declared that he viewed them rather in the light of an experiment. It was only natural that he should hold this opinion; for when the free schools were first established in New Orleans, during the years 1841 and 1842, the announcement, says Mr. Dimitry, was received by some with doubt, and by others with ridicule, if not hostility. "When the schools in the second municipality were opened personal appeals and earnest exhortations were made to parents, and yet such were the prejudices to be overcome that out of a minor population of 3,000 only 13 pupils appeared upon the benches." Fortunately, public sentiment in the city gradually changed, and in 1848 Mr. Dimitry was able to declare that thousands were blessing the existence of the city schools, for in 1849, out of an educable population of 14,248, the number attending the free schools was 6,710, or nearly 50 per cent. In the country parishes his labors were soon rewarded with more than anticipated success, for out of an educable population in 37 parishes of 28,941 the number attending in 1849 was 16,217, or more than 50 per cent.

In his last report Mr. Dimitry complained of the opposition shown by many to the new system, and especially to a portion of the law which prescribed the levying of a district tax for the schools. But he had reason to congratulate himself on having

[1] Mr. R. M. Lusher, formerly State superintendent of education, and a noble worker in that office, wrote a sketch of the public school system in Louisiana. In this sketch he makes the curious error of stating that all the reports of the State superintendents from 1847 to 1860 were burned during the war. In the Fisk Library of New Orleans may be found nearly every one of the reports which he supposed to be destroyed, beginning with that of Alex. Dimitry in 1848.

[2] County officers in Louisiana.

created a sentiment in favor of the free schools and in obtaining an attendance of more than 50 per cent of the educable population—a per cent, it is to be remembered, far higher than that of the year 1894, when 70 per cent of our educable population are not receiving any instruction either in public or private schools. (Estimate made by the Times-Democrat.)

Throughout this period (1848–1850) moreover, the State was prosperous, and the sums appropriated to the public schools in 1849 amounted to nearly one-third of a million dollars, a higher ratio per educable youth than at the present day. Such was the condition of the public schools during Dimitry's able administration. By annual visits to the different parishes, he kept himself in touch with his superintendents, and inspired the State at large with much of his own zeal and enthusiasm.

In the years 1851 and 1852 important changes were made in the administration of the schools. First of all, the State superintendent was no longer to be appointed by the governor, he must be elected by the people. Then followed an act of the legislature which proved to be extremely unwise. That body in a fit of economy abolished the office of parish superintendent and substituted in each parish a board of district directors who were to receive no salary. Moreover, the salary of the State superintendent was reduced to $1,500 a year, and he was relieved from the duty of an annual visit to each parish. The effect of these changes upon the schools in the country parishes is abundantly shown in the reports of the State superintendents, Robert C. Nicholas, in 1853, Dr. Samuel Bard, in 1858, and Henry Avery, in 1861. They all declare that the system outside of New Orleans had been seriously crippled; that the district directors took no interest in their work, and that often it was impossible to find out who were directors in a parish. Loud complaints, moreover, came from many of the parishes that the teachers appointed were not only incompetent, but often drunkards and unprincipled adventurers. It is not, therefore, surprising to learn that many parents demanded and actually obtained their children's quota of the public-school funds, which they used in part payment of the salaries of private tutors and governesses. Such a method of appropriating the public money, however, not only produced general demoralization, but worked great injustice to the poorer classes.

In spite of complaints and appeals, the legislature failed to restore the parish superintendents and to reform the abuses just mentioned. Hence a pessimistic writer in De Bow's Review for 1859, taking up an annual report of the State superintendent, gives a gloomy account of education in Louisiana. He even goes so far as to conclude that the New England system of forcing education on the people was not adapted to Louisiana; that such a law was theoretical and void of practical results. He then continues in the following strain: "If a law were passed by the State of Louisiana appropriating $300,000 a year to furnish every family with a loaf of bread more than half the families would not accept it. The report of the superintendent for 1859 proves that more than half the families in Louisiana will not accept the mental food which the State offers their children. Some parishes will not receive any of it. Tensas, for example, which is taxed $16,000 for the support of public schools has not a single school. The truth is the government does more harm than good by interfering with the domestic concerns of our people."

This Jeremiah then proceeds to detract as much as possible from the merit of the public schools in New Orleans, though he admits that these schools were regarded as very successful.

I have quoted the words of this critic quite fully because, while they contain some grains of truth, I believe they also contain a great deal of error. Luckily the reports from 1856 to 1861, from which he forms his conclusions, are still in existence, and they do not justify his statement that at this period the people were opposed to the public schools because "they did not wish to accept the mental food offered them by the State." On the contrary, here is an extract from the report of 1859 which throws much light on the condition of affairs in many of the parishes: "Under the present law nearly every wealthy planter has a school at his house and draws the pro rata share out of the public treasury. The poor children have not the benefit of these schools, and in this parish, which pays about $14,000 in school tax, there is consequently not enough in the treasury to pay the expense of a single school at the parish seat, where it ought to be."

This extract shows what pernicious custom lay at the root of the failure. The money was misappropriated in favor of the private schools; so that where public schools were established, cheap and worthless teachers had to be employed, who soon brought their schools into disrepute. The inefficiency of the school directors followed as a matter of course. Seeing that the rich planters were satisfied, the legislature simply did nothing but appropriate ample funds, which often never reached the schools for which they were destined. Under these circumstances it is even remarkable that in 1858, according to Dr. Bard's report, the number of pupils attending public schools in the country parishes was 23,000 out of an educable population in the whole State of 60,500.

Let us turn to New Orleans. During this period the city was divided into four school districts, with a board of directors and a superintendent for each district. This arrangement insured most efficient management. The attendance in 1858 was 20,000—nearly as many as in all the country parishes—and Dr. Samuel Bard, after an examination of the city schools during this year, reported to the general assembly that "the discipline was admirable, the attainments of the scholars unexpectedly extensive, and the teachers of rare ability." Hon. William O. Rogers, who did splendid work for the schools at this period, and who later became city superintendent, has often in my presence corroborated the testimony of Dr. Bard.

It was at this very time, also, that an important advance was made in educational methods. As early as 1853 Superintendent Nicholas had recommended the establishment of a normal school, declaring, however, that there was none in the United States and only one in Canada. Finally in 1858, largely through the exertions of Mr. Rogers, a normal school, the first in Louisiana, was opened in New Orleans. Unfortunately its career of usefulness was soon cut short by the rapidly approaching civil war.

Mankind has often been accused of viewing the past through a roseate haze, which, while it lends a new charm to that which was already beautiful, also clothes with its own light even that which was dark and unbeautiful. It will not be wise, therefore, in looking back over the period of fifty-six years which we have just reviewed to speak too favorably of the system of public schools in Louisiana. Certainly, however, the State in 1860 had great reason to congratulate herself on the advance that had been made over the period previous to 1845. Up to that date, as we have seen, the school system was not organized at all; for the schools were not under proper supervision and outside of New Orleans they were not free except to a small class of indigent pupils. With the new constitution and the advent of Alexander Dimitry, Louisiana entered upon a new era of educational progress, especially in New Orleans. In the country parishes down to 1860 it must be admitted that the success of the system was only partial—a result that was due to the size of the plantations, the too conservative character of the old planters, the abolition in 1852 of the office of parish superintendent, and especially to the appropriation of public funds for the benefit of private schools.

III.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS DURING AND SINCE THE WAR.

During the great civil war it was but natural that the public schools of Louisiana, especially in the country parishes, should languish, for men were engaged in a struggle which left little time for the consideration of the educational problem. In most of the parishes the schools for several years were entirely closed. One of the school directors wrote that from his parish there were no reports to make except war reports. In New Orleans, however, and in the neighboring parishes, which were in the possession of the Federal troops, many schools were kept open, and provision was made by the Freedmen's Bureau of Education to give instruction to the newly emancipated slaves. Under these new conditions there was a strong effort to open schools in which the two races should be educated together. But this policy, so repulsive to Southern sentiments, ended in failure and it was abandoned.

The history of our State after the war is too well known to need repetition here. In a few years the public debt of Louisiana was increased by the sum of $40,000,000. Moreover, in 1872, the Government sold at public auction the whole free-school fund, which had been invested in State bonds, and which had been repeatedly declared a sacred and inviolable trust for the benefit of the public school. This fund, derived from the sale of public lands, amounted to more than $1,000,000. After it had been accomplished there followed a period of "storm and stress"—a fierce struggle for supremacy, which, during the year 1877, ended in the triumph of the more conservative elements of the State, under the leadership of Francis T. Nicholls.

We can point with pride to one of the first acts of the legislature under this new administration. It was as follows:

"The education of all classes of the people being essential to the preservation of free institutions, we do declare our solemn purpose to maintain a system of public schools by an equal and uniform taxation upon property as provided in the constitution of the State, and which shall secure the education of the white and the colored citizens with equal advantages.

"LOUIS BUSH, *Speaker.*
"LOUIS A. WILTZ, *Lieut. Governor.*
"FRANCIS T. NICHOLLS, *Governor.*"

It is to be noted here that the State assumed formal charge of the education of the freedman, pledging him the same advantages as the whites. This pledge has been faithfully kept; the number of colored pupils has gradually increased until there are now enrolled in the public schools of the State more than 60,000.

In March, 1877, a few months before the act above quoted, the general assembly had established a State board of education, consisting of the governor, the lieutenant-governor, the secretary of state, the attorney-general, the State superintendent, and two citizens of the United States, residents for two years in Louisiana.

As you know, this board was reorganized some years later, so as to contain one representative from each Congressional district—a change most wisely made.[1]

The most important step, however, in the reorganization of the public school system was taken in the constitution of 1879. This is the constitution under which we are now living, but which we all hope to see radically amended in the near future. It provided for the appointment of parish boards, and declared that these boards might appoint at a fixed salary a parish superintendent of public schools.

Thus, after the lapse of twenty-seven years, Louisiana restored the office of parish superintendent—an office which under Alexander Dimitry was found to be all important, and which since 1879 has proved essential to the very existence of public schools in Louisiana. May the parish superintendent, one of the strongest pillars of public education in our State, be a perpetual institution among us, and may his office in the future receive that meed of respect and remuneration which his zeal and devotion so richly deserve.

While the constitution of 1879 is entitled to our gratitude for the reinstatement of the parish superintendents, one is forced to admit that it made no adequate provision for the support of the public schools. It is true that the free-school fund, the bonds of which were sold in 1872, was placed among the perpetual debts of the State, but the interest to be paid was reduced from 6 to 4 per cent, and it was further declared that this interest and the interest due on the seminary and the agricultural and the mechanical funds should be paid, not out of the general revenues of the State, but out of the tax collected for public education. This was a wholesale "robbing of Peter to pay Paul."

Moreover, though provision was made for a supplementary tax to be levied for public schools by the police juries of each parish, even this was not obligatory, and if it were levied it was to be kept within very narrow limits.

These unwise articles of the constitution have received such repeated and such hearty condemnation from every superintendent of education that it is not necessary for me to add my own opinion. I would only remind you that when that constitution was adopted in 1879 the State had just passed through the period of reconstruction, her finances were in a prostrate condition, and some constitutional limitation of taxation seemed absolutely necessary. Those conditions no longer exist, and it is to be hoped that the amendments recently proposed by the board of education will be unanimously adopted.

It may be added that the constitution of 1879 ended its provisions for the public schools with one article that has received universal approval and should be widely acted upon. It declares that women over 21 years of age shall be eligible to any office of control or management under the school laws of Louisiana. This is simply an act of justice to that sex which furnishes so large a proportion of our teachers throughout the State.

The history of the public schools since 1879 is so well known that I can not pretend to any knowledge which this audience does not already possess. A simple outline, therefore, will suffice to refresh your memories.

The first result of the insufficient support granted by the constitution, you will remember, seemed to be the ruin of the public school system.

In spite of the splendid efforts of Hon. R. M. Lusher, a devoted and untiring worker in the cause of public education, the school receipts for 1882 allowed only 45 cents for each educable child in the State; and the Louisiana Journal of Education for that year gloomily but forcibly declared that the public school system was as "dead as Hector." The teachers even in New Orleans were often unpaid, many schools had been closed, and the double obligation of educating both whites and blacks seemed too great a burden for the State to bear. But the exertions of Lusher, Easton, and Jack, together with the efficient aid received from the parish superintendents and the State board, were not without avail. Defeat was at last changed into victory, and the record of the past decade, illuminated by the labors of these men, is a most interesting chapter in the history of our educational progress. The school fund, especially in the country parishes, has been largely increased, and so has the attendance. Not only has public sentiment, without which laws avail naught, been brought over to the side of education, but the teachers themselves, though often receiving scanty remuneration, have shown greater ability and greater enthusiasm than ever before in the history of the State. This I attribute largely to the splendid work done in the Normal School of New Orleans under Mrs. Mary Stamps and in the State Normal of Natchitoches under President Boyd. I am sure you will believe that lack

[1] In 1870 the Republicans had established a State board of education, consisting of the State superintendent and six "division superintendents." The State was divided into six districts under these "division superintendents."

of space, and not lack of appreciation, has prevented my giving a detailed account of the valuable aid rendered to this normal work by the Peabody fund. A tribute to Dr. Curry's wise administration of this fund is certainly due from anyone who writes the history of public education in Louisiana. Lack of space must also be my plea for omitting the history of the McDonogh fund, to which New Orleans owes its array of splendid school buildings.

It may safely be declared, therefore, that the year 1894 records progress in every direction, but I can not do more than name some of the chief influences at work for the advancement of the public schools. They are the Association of Parish Superintendents; the State Teachers' Association, with its reading circle and its official journal; the State and parish institutes for teachers, the Louisiana Chautauqua; and last, but not least, the Louisiana Educational Association. Surely this is a goodly list—one that any State might be proud of.

In glancing over the incomplete sketch of public education in Louisiana, the progress of which I have traced through ninety years, I am struck with the fact that the State has followed what is called the general trend of education. This trend, as laid down by Dr. William T. Harris, is as follows: First, from private, endowed, and parochial schools there is a change to the assumption of education by the State. "When the State takes control, it first establishes colleges and universities; then elementary free schools, and then it adds supplementary institutions for the afflicted; then institutions for teachers, together with libraries and other educational aids. In the meanwhile increasing attention is paid to supervision and methods. Schools are better graded. In class work there is more assimilation and less memorizing. Corporal punishment diminishes, and the educational idea advances toward a divine charity." Such, amid a thousand difficulties and vicissitudes, has been the history of public education in Louisiana. I am persuaded that we are on the right path.

The question still remains, however, Is Louisiana abreast of the other States of the Union in her provision for the education of her youth? The highest authorities declare that she is not. Let us for a moment examine the conditions as they exist.

In 1848 the educable youth of the State numbered only 41,500; in 1894, with the addition of the colored pupils, they numbered more than 378,000. Of these only 115,000 attend any school, either public or private. What is the consequence? I answer that in seven of our prosperous parishes, out of 13,000 voters, it is stated that 6,858 white voters, more than 50 per cent of the whole number, can not read and write; and it is a well-known fact that Louisiana now leads all the Southern States in illiteracy. What shall we do to remove this lamentable condition of things?

Evidently, though we now spend nearly $1,000,000 a year for our public schools, that sum, in view of the increased population, is grossly inadequate. We need higher salaries for our teachers, better remuneration for our parish superintendents, and longer sessions for our schools. The machinery of our public school system, as far as the officials and their relations to each other are concerned, is excellent. But what we require above everything is the privilege of local taxation beyond the present constitutional limitation. We have reached a point in Louisiana where local pride has been aroused. We are beginning to feel that however grateful we may be for the beneficent work of such funds as the Peabody, we must first of all help ourselves; we must demand our independence—the most glorious privilege granted to man.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Mary Hemenway.

[At a meeting held by the Boston public school teachers at the Old South Meeting House May 2, 1894, in honor of the memory of Mrs. Mary Hemenway, warm and loving tribute was paid to her personal character and worth, her services in the cause of education were reviewed, and the reforms instituted by her recalled to remembrance by those who had been her associates and coworkers and who were specially qualified to represent the different phases of her activity. The addresses made upon this occasion were afterwards incorporated into a memorial volume, under the editorial supervision of Dr. Larkin Dunton, head master of the Boston Normal School. From this volume the following extracts have been made to illustrate her life and work. They are succeeded by a more detailed account of the Old South work from another source.]

[From the introductory remarks by Dr. Dunton.]

Mrs. Hemenway was born in the city of New York December 20, 1820, and died at her home in Boston March 6, 1894. She was the daughter of Thomas Tileston, from whom she seems to have inherited her remarkable business ability. She married Mr. Augustus Hemenway, a great shipping merchant. Several years before his death his health had so failed as to throw much of the oversight of his immense business upon Mrs. Hemenway. By this means was developed that remarkable talent for the

directing of affairs which subsequently proved so useful in carrying on her great benevolent enterprises. She certainly possessed business ability of a high order.

Her insight into the causes of suffering among the people, far and near, present and future, and into the remedies for this suffering, was wonderful. Her breadth of view was only equalled by the warmth of her heart. It was the generosity of her nature that so endeared her to the teachers of Boston. They came to know her as a fellow-worker for the good of the people. Pride, haughtiness, and condescension, which too often accompany the possession and even the distribution of wealth, were so conspicuously wanting in her nature that every teacher who was brought into contact with her in her benevolent work felt only the presence of a great heart beating in sympathy with all mankind.

Her beneficent plans were never set on foot and then left to the management of others. She not only followed her work with her thought and her kindly interest, but she stimulated and cheered her coworkers with her inspiring personality. It was her clear head, her warm heart, and her cheerful presence that gained for her admiration and affection.

[Resolutions presented by Robert Swan, master of the Winthrop School, and adopted by the meeting.]

Whereas it is fitting, at the close of Mrs. Mary Hemenway's useful life, that the Boston public school teachers, assembled in the Old South Meeting House, which she loved so well and did so much to save, should place on record their profound appreciation of the noble work she has accomplished for the practical education of the children under their care, by which the pupils, and through them the homes from which many of them come, have been elevated both mentally and morally: Therefore be it

Resolved, That through her wise foresight and long perseverance in the introduction of a systematic training in sewing, by which girls in the public schools are made proficient in needlework, the first step toward manual training, now acknowledged by all to be an essential part of our school programme, she exhibited an almost intuitive sense of the needs of the community, and enabled the children to relieve their mothers of many weary hours of labor.

Resolved, That by the introduction of the kitchen garden and, later, the school kitchen—a long step in progress—she accomplished by this wise provision of her studious care an inestimable benefit to the city, the children being thus taught not only to cook intelligently and economically, but also to buy understandingly the various articles required, by which the manner of living has been changed, healthful food and proper service displacing uncomfortable and unhealthful methods.

Resolved, That by the introduction of the Ling system of gymnastics, in which Mrs. Hemenway's liberality and care for the physical development of the children were the principal factors, the city is greatly indebted for another advance in education.

Resolved, That by the establishment of the Normal School of Cooking and the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics, furnishing qualified teachers to inaugurate the work in other cities, by which the full advantage of Boston's experience is reaped, her beneficial influence has made instruction in these branches national instead of local.

Resolved, That by her contribution in money and intelligent helpfulness in promoting the Boston Teachers' Mutual Benefit Association in the days of its inception much was done to insure the success of the enterprise.

Resolved, That by the purchase of Dr. John D. Philbrick's library and its presentation to the Boston Normal School she has made easily accessible to the pupils the choicest works on educational subjects, thus making the valuable information acquired a part of their equipment for their chosen profession.

Resolved, That by her prizes for essays on subjects connected with American history, awarded to graduates of the Boston high schools on Washington's Birthday in the Old South Meeting House, she has caused a thorough research into our colonial and national life that can result only in inspiring patriotic ardor which must conduce to the best citizenship.

Resolved, That by these and many other acts which can not be enumerated at this time her name is justly entitled to rank with the names of Pratt and Drexel, who have established institutes in Brooklyn and Philadelphia that will confer incalculable benefits on the people of this country.

Resolved, That Mrs. Hemenway, in these varied interests, gave what is infinitely more important than money—her constant sympathy in and enthusiasm for the work, which is an invaluable memory to all who were blessed with her assistance.

Resolved, That in tendering these resolutions to the family of Mrs. Hemenway we desire to express our deep sympathy in their bereavement.

[Address by Edwin P. Seaver, superintendent of schools.]

How the Old South Meeting House was saved from threatened destruction is a well-known story that needs not now to be repeated. Mrs. Hemenway's interest in

that patriotic enterprise did not end with her giving a large share of the purchase money. That generous gift was but the beginning of a larger enterprise, the prelude to a nobler history.

These ancient walls had been saved. What should be done with them? They might have been allowed to stand as mute witnesses to the events of a glorious past. They might have been used merely as a shelter for curious old relics, which antiquarians love to study and passing visitors cast a glance upon. And so the old meeting house might have stood many years more—a monument to religion and freedom, not unworthy, indeed, of its purpose, but yet a silent monument.

The plans of Mrs. Hemenway were larger and more vital. The old building should be not only a relic and monument of the past, but a temple for present inspiration and instruction. The thoughts and the hopes that aforetime had thrilled the hearts of men assembled in this house should live again in the words of eloquent teachers. Here should young people gather to learn lessons of virtue and patriotism from the lives of great men whose deeds have glorified our nation's annals. What has now become known throughout the country as "the Old South work" is the outgrowth of this fruitful idea. Let us briefly review the particulars of this "Old South work," keeping in mind as we do so its main purposes, which are first to interest young people in American history, and then, through that interest, to inspire them with a love of their country, and to instruct them wisely concerning the duties and privileges of citizenship under a free government. Can any instruction more vital to the public good be thought of?

First, we may notice that Washington's Birthday has been appropriately celebrated in this house every year from 1879. Other national holidays have been celebrated likewise, or may hereafter be celebrated, for the idea is a growing one.

Next should be noticed "the Old South lectures." As early as 1879, and in the two years following, courses of lectures on topics of American history were delivered in this house by Mr. John Fiske, who has since become so well known as a brilliant writer on historical subjects. That these lectures would be intensely interesting to the adult portion of the audiences was naturally enough expected at the time, but it was hardly foreseen that the young people would be so thoroughly fascinated as they were with a lecturer who had been known chiefly as a writer on deep philosophical subjects. Mr. Fiske has been a frequent lecturer on this platform from 1879 down to the present time.

In 1883 "the Old South lectures," properly so called, were organized on a definite and permanent plan. Each year the work to be done is laid out in a systematic manner. A general topic is chosen, and particular topics under this are assigned to different speakers, who are invited because their special knowledge of the topics assigned them gives great interest or importance to what they may have to say. The great interest awakened by these lectures has led to the repetition of many of them in other cities.

"The Old South leaflets" are an interesting auxiliary to the lectures. A practice was early adopted of providing in printed form the means of further studying the matters touched upon by the lecturer of the day. The leaflets so provided contained not merely an outline of the lecture, but the texts of important historical documents not otherwise easily accessible, and references to authorities with critical notes thereupon, and other interesting special matter. These leaflets have proved to be so useful to teachers in their school work that the directors of "the Old South work" have published a general series of them, which are to be continued, and are supplied to schools at the bare cost of paper and printing.

Perhaps "the Old South essays" touch the Boston public schools more immediately than does any other part of "the Old South work." Every year, beginning with 1881, have been offered to high school pupils soon to become graduates, and also to recent graduates, four prizes, two of $40 and two of $25 each, for the best essays on assigned topics of American history. The usual objection to the plan of encouraging study by the offer of prizes, that many strive and few win, so that the joy of victory in the few is more than offset by the disappointment of failure in the many, was met in the present case with characteristic wisdom and liberality; for every writer of an essay not winning a money prize has received a present of valuable books in recognition of his worthy effort. The judges who make the awards of prizes state that crude essays, betraying a want of study and care on the part of the writers, are extremely rare. On the other hand, there are often so many essays of the highest general excellence that the task of making a just award is a difficult one.

Some of these essays have been printed in the New England Magazine and in other periodicals. Some have been published in pamphlet form, and have received the favorable notice of historical scholars. It is now the custom to invite at least one of the prize essayists each year to deliver one of "the Old South lectures."

Among the more distinguished of the essayists may be named Mr. Henry L. Southwick, a graduate of the Dorchester High School, whose prize essay of the year 1881, entitled "The policy of the early colonists of Massachusetts toward Quakers and

others whom they regarded as intruders," attracted much attention; Mr. F. E. E. Hamilton, a graduate of the English High School, and since an alumnus of Harvard College; Mr. Robert M. Lovett, a graduate of the Boston Latin School, who led his class at Harvard College; Miss Caroline E. Stecker, who took prizes in two successive years; and Mr. Leo R. Lewis, of the English High School, now a professor in Tufts College. Others there are who may be expected hereafter to distinguish themselves in the line of work for which the writing of their essays was the beginning of a preparation.

The whole number of Old South essayists is now over 100. About 20 of these have been or still are students in colleges, some proceeding thither in regular course from the Latin schools, but others in less easy ways, being impelled to the effort undoubtedly by a desire for higher education that had grown out of their historical studies for their essays. But among the essayists who have not become college students, the interest in historical studies has been no less abiding. The Old South Historical Society, formed about two years ago, is composed of persons who have written historical essays for the Old South prizes. Quarterly meetings are held for the reading of papers and for discussion on historical subjects. This society may well be regarded with peculiar interest by our teachers, because it represents the best historical scholarship of successive years in the high schools of Boston. It may soon become, if it be not already, one of the most important learned societies in this city.

But historical study and writing are not for the many, nor are they enough to satisfy the few. A broader influence may touch the hearts of all through music. Out of this thought has grown the society known as "The Old South Young People's Chorus."

At many of "the Old South lectures" there has been singing of national patriotic hymns by large choruses of boys and girls from the public schools, three or four hundred often taking part. On the Washington's Birthday celebrations there has always been singing by the public-school children. These interesting exercises have led to a more permanent organization for the practice of patriotic music, which flourishes now under the name of "Young People's Chorus."

Finally, let us note the extension of "the Old South work" to other cities, as Providence, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Chicago, Madison, Milwaukee, and others. Everywhere the idea of bringing our national history home to the minds and hearts of young people through an awakened interest in monuments and memorials of the past has been enthusiastically received. Philadelphia, no less than Boston, has her shrines of freedom. There is no city or town in the land that does not possess something interesting as a memorial of past events—events which the national historian may regard as of no more than local importance, but which, by the very circumstance of being local, best show the child the stuff out of which the fabric of our national history is woven. Everywhere, therefore, the materials for "the Old South work" are at hand, and the plan of this work is so simple that it can be adopted everywhere. * * *

[From the address by James A. Page, master of the Dwight School.]

Of the public-spirited woman in whose honor we are met it may be said, in the language of Sydney Smith, that she was three women, not one woman.

Practical as a business man, she was yet tender and generous to many different sorts of people. Expecting always faithful and loyal service, she was considerate of those carrying forward her great plans. She delighted to spend money, as she was spending it, for lofty purposes. She had strength—the strength of opposite qualities, the strength that fits for public service. The city was fortunate that at such a time, or at any time, such service was to be had.

The woman who gave this service saw very surely that any institution, to be lasting, must be firmly founded; and her motto therefore in this, as in other things, was "Go slowly." We had had "systems" of gymnastics before, and they had vanished. We had had "fads" of this kind, and they had perished one by one. The thing to be done now was to secure a plan that should be workable, and yet should be based on well-ascertained physiological and psychological data.

She gave her mind to this. In 1888 the cooperation of twenty-five teachers was secured, and the work was carried on for a considerable time in rooms at Boylston Place. After much experience had been gained and circumstances had seemed to justify it, larger rooms were obtained, and in 1889 the masters of the schools were invited to interest themselves in the movement and to take part in the exercises. They responded to the call without an exception, I believe, and the work took on a wider scope. It was in this year also (1889) that the Conference on Physical Training took place under the auspices of this school, and the advocates of many different systems were invited to take part, and each to show by example and on the stage the special excellencies of his own school of work. The German pupils, those of the Christian associations, of Delsarte, of the colleges, of the Swedish, and of some private

schools took the stage successively, and had ample opportunity to demonstrate the value of their several systems. A brilliant reception was given in the evening.

It was determined, I think, at this time by a very general consensus of opinion that for the public schools of this city as a whole, and with all their limitations, the Swedish system was the best adapted.

From this time, convinced it was on the right track, the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics has continued a constantly growing power and success. Under the same firm but fostering hand as at the beginning it outgrew its quarters in Park street, and since 1890 has been located in more commodious rooms at the Paine Memorial Building. It has graduated three classes, that of 1891 consisting of 12 students, that of 1892 also of 12, and that of 1893 consisting of 43 students, and this with a constantly advancing standard as to conditions of admission. In addition to these regular graduates 30 pupils have received one-year certificates, and some of them are now doing good work as teachers.

The school has at its head Miss Amy Morris Homans and in its staff such men as Dr. Enebuske, the professor of philosophy at Harvard University, the dean of the Harvard Medical School, and the professor of biology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

It is not strange, then, that the services of pupils trained in such a way should be in demand in all parts of the country. Two have gone to the Drexel Institute of Philadelphia; 2 have gone to Smith College, Northampton; 2 to Radcliffe College, Cambridge; 1 to Bryn Mawr, Pa.; 4 to different State normal schools in Massachusetts; 1 to Oshkosh, Wis.; 1 to Denver, Colo.; 1 to the Normal College, Milledgeville, Ga.; and 1 each to Gloucester, Lynn, Lawrence, Dedham, Cambridge, and Pawtucket.

The aggregate salaries paid to the young ladies of the three classes already graduated are not less than $50,000, the highest single salary reaching $1,800, and the average being slightly less than $1,000.

These statements give but a faint idea of the work of the school—its fineness, its scope, its far-reaching quality. But we can see that the bread cast on the waters is beginning to return. These centers throughout the country are already established. Imagine them, as the years go by, multiplied a thousand fold, making a better and happier, because a stronger, people, and then bring the threads back to this place and connect them with the deed of one noble, public-spirited woman.

The counterpart of this picture is the one of 60,000 children taking the Swedish exercises daily in our own city schools, under the direction of teachers acquainted with the system from actual contact with it, and under the supervision of an expert like Dr. Hartwell. Who that saw the exposition of it at the English High School on Saturday last can hesitate in his hearty Godspeed or forget the one whose initiative made it all possible?

[From the address of Dr. Larkin Dunton, head master of the Boston Normal School.]

If a man has wisdom and money, but no heart, he does nothing for his fellow-men. If his purse is full and his heart is warm, yet, if he lacks wisdom to guide his efforts, he is as likely to harm as to help. But happy is it for the world when wisdom, love, and wealth are the joint possession of one great soul. They then constitute an irresistible force. Mrs. Mary Hemenway possessed them all in largest measure. Let us note briefly the comprehensiveness of view and kindness of heart that are shown in the work of this grand woman.

She was allowed to grow up, as she said, without learning to do things; and she noticed that girls who were efficient workers were happy. She felt that she had been deprived of her birthright. This was her first inspiration for teaching girls to sew; though she saw also the effect of a knowledge of this work in their future homes as well as in helpfulness to their mothers. Through her efforts sewing was introduced into the schools of Boston. But she was too wise to allow this branch of instruction to depend upon the life of any one person. She began at once to interest the school committee and teachers in the work, to the end that it might be incorporated into the regular programme of the schools, be given to all the girls, and, more than this, be made perpetual by being put under the fostering care of the immortal city. The example of Boston has been widely copied, so that the influence of the work thus unostentatiously begun, but so wisely managed, has extended and will extend to millions of children and millions of homes.

A legitimate result of the introduction of this new branch of instruction has been the creation of a department of sewing in the Boston Normal School, so that hereafter sewing is to be taught by women as able and as well educated as those who teach arithmetic or language, and is, therefore, to take its place as an educational force in the development of our girls.

Through various experiments in vacation schools in summer Mrs. Hemenway came to see that it would be possible to raise the standard of cooking in the homes of the people by teaching the art to the children in the public schools. This, she thought,

would not only raise up a stronger race of men and women, but would make their homes happier and more attractive, and so would lesson the temptation of fathers and sons to spend their evenings at the saloon. And thus good cooking came to stand in her mind as the handmaid of temperance.

But she was wise enough to see that the realization of her ideal, namely, the universality and perpetuity of good cooking, depended upon two conditions—first, that the work must be under the care and support of an abiding power; and second, that the instruction must be given by competent teachers. Hence she set herself to work to demonstrate the feasibility of the plan to the school authorities, to the end that they would undertake it for all the girls of the city. At the same time, seeing that there were no suitable teachers for this new branch of education, she established a normal school of cooking, which she has maintained to the present time.

This normal school has not only supplied the school kitchens of Boston with competent teachers, but has supplied other cities with teachers, so that other centers of like influence could be created. This institution has also shown the authorities here the necessity of training teachers for this kind of school work, and a department of cooking has been provided for in the city normal school. So the continuation and improvement of the work are secured.

When Mrs. Hemenway's attention was called to physical training as a means of improving the health, physique, and graceful bearing of the young, she immediately began experimenting with various systems of gymnastics for the purpose of ascertaining which was best adapted to the needs of American children.

She soon became so favorably impressed with the Swedish system that she invited 25 Boston teachers to assist her in making her experiment with it. Their judgment of the result was so favorable that she made an offer to the school committee to train a hundred teachers in the system, on condition that they be allowed to use the exercises in their classes in case they chose to do so. The offer was accepted, and the result proved a success.

Mrs. Hemenway saw at the outset that what she could do personally was but a trifle compared to what ought to be done, so she decided to start the work in such a way that it would become as broad as Boston and as lasting. Hence she began at once to share the responsibility with the city and to train the teachers for the work.

She soon gained such a broad view of the possibilities of the system that she decided to make it more generally known. This led to the great Conference on Physical Training in Boston in 1889, which did so much to arouse an interest in the subject and to create a demand for teachers specially trained for the work. But it was not enough to create a demand for teachers; the demand must be met; so she established the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics for the education and training of teachers of gymnastics.

Mere imitators would not do for this work. She believed the body to be the temple of God, and that it should be guarded and adorned by those who knew it so well as to believe in its possibilities and its sacredness. This school has done much to qualify the teachers of Boston for conducting the Swedish exercises, and it has sent its graduates into many other cities, which in turn have become centers of inspiration and help along the same line. Mrs. Hemenway, through this school, will improve the physical power, health, and morality of millions of our children.

But she was not satisfied with all this. She saw that to make this work perpetual in Boston the education of teachers of gymnastics must be made perpetual: it must not depend upon one frail life; so she furnished the best equipped teacher that she could procure to give instruction in the theory and art of gymnastics in the Boston Normal School till a woman could be educated for the place. When this was done and the school committee had appointed a competent teacher, Mrs. Hemenway's influence was gradually withdrawn, so that now every graduate of our normal school goes out prepared to direct intelligently the work in gymnastics, and all is done that human foresight could devise to make instruction in this subject perpetual.

Her work in connection with the Old South had the same general aim. It was to improve the morals of the people by teaching patriotism widely and perpetually. She once said: "I have just given $100,000 to save the Old South, yet I care nothing for the church or the corner lot; but if I live, such teaching shall be done in that old building and such an influence shall go out from it as shall make the children of future generations love their country so tenderly that there can never be another civil war in this country." This sentiment accounts for her support of Old South summer lectures and Old South prize essays for the development of patriotism in the young.

Mrs. Hemenway spent $100,000 in building up the Tileston Normal School, in Wilmington, N. C. When asked why she gave money to support schools in the South, she replied: "When my country called for her sons to defend the flag, I had none to give. Mine was but a lad of 12. I gave my money as a thank offering that I was not called to suffer as other mothers who gave their sons and lost them. I gave it that the children of this generation might be taught to love the flag their fathers tore down."

THE OLD SOUTH WORK.

[By Edwin D. Mead.[1]]

* * * The extent of the obligation of Boston and of America to Mrs. Hemenway for her devotion to the historical and political education of our young people is something which we only now begin to properly appreciate, when she has left us and we view her work as a whole. I do not think it is too much to say that she has done more than any other single individual in the same time to promote popular interest in American history and to promote intelligent patriotism.

Mary Hemenway was a woman whose interests and sympathies were as broad as the world; but she was a great patriot—and she was preeminently that. She was an enthusiastic lover of freedom and of democracy, and there was not a day of her life that she did not think of the great price with which our own heritage of freedom had been purchased. Her patriotism was loyalty. She had a deep feeling of personal gratitude to the founders of New England and the fathers of the Republic. She had a reverent pride in our position of leadership in the history and movement of modern democracy, and she had a consuming zeal to keep the nation strong and pure and worthy of its best traditions, and to kindle this zeal among the young people of the nation. With all her great enthusiasms, she was an amazingly practical and definite woman. She wasted no time or strength in vague generalities, either of speech or action. Others might long for the time when the kingdom of God should cover the earth as the waters cover the sea—and she longed for it; but while others longed she devoted herself to doing what she could to bring that corner of God's world in which she was set into conformity with the laws of God—and this by every means in her power, by teaching poor girls how to make better clothes and cook better dinners and make better homes, by teaching people to value health and respect and train their bodies, by inciting people to read better books and love better music and better pictures and be interested in more important things. Others might long for the parliament of man and the federation of the world—and so did she; but while others longed she devoted herself to doing what she could to make this nation, for which she was particularly responsible, fitter for the federation when it comes. The good patriot, to her thinking, was not the worse cosmopolite. The good state for which she worked was a good Massachusetts, and her chief interest, while others talked municipal reform, was to make a better Boston.

American history, people used to say, is not interesting; and they read about Ivry and Marathon and Zama, about Pym and Pepin and Pericles, the ephors, the tribunes, and the House of Lords. American history, said Mrs. Hemenway, is to us the most interesting and the most important history in the world, if we would only open our eyes to it and look at it in the right way—and I will help people to look at it in the right way. Our very archæology, she said, is of the highest interest; and through the researches of Mr. Cushing and Dr. Fewkes and others among the Zuñis and the Moquis, sustained by her at the cost of thousands of dollars, she did an immense work to make interest in it general. Boston, the Puritan city—how proud she was of its great line of heroic men, from Winthrop and Cotton and Eliot and Harvard to Sumner and Garrison and Parker and Phillips! How proud she was that Harry Vane once trod its soil and here felt himself at home! How she loved Hancock and Otis and Warren and Revere and the great men of the Boston town meetings—above all, Samuel Adams, the very mention of whose name always thrilled her, and whose portrait was the only one save Washington's which hung on the oaken walls of her great dining room! The Boston historians, Prescott, Motley, Parkman; the Boston poets, Longfellow, Lowell, Emerson—each word of every one she treasured. She would have enjoyed and would have understood, as few others, that recent declaration of Charles Francis Adams, that the founding of Boston was fraught with consequences hardly less important than those of the founding of Rome. All other Boston men and women must see Boston as she saw it—that was her high resolve; they must know and take to heart that they were citizens of no mean city; they must be roused to the sacredness of their inheritance, that so they might be roused to the nobility of their citizenship and the greatness of their duty. It was with this aim and with this spirit, not with the spirit of the mere antiquarian, that Mrs. Hemenway inaugurated the Old South work. History with her was for use—the history of Boston, the history of New England, the history of America.

In the first place she saved the Old South Meeting House. She contributed $100,000 toward the fund necessary to prevent its destruction. It is hard for us to realize, so much deeper is the reverence for historic places which the great anniversaries of these late years have done so much to beget, that in our very centennial year, 1876, the Old South Meeting House, the most sacred and historic structure in Boston, was in danger of destruction. The old Hancock house, for which, could it be

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restored, Boston would to-day pour out unlimited treasure, had gone, with but feeble protest, only a dozen years before; and but for Mrs. Hemenway the Old South Meeting House would have gone in 1876. She saved it, and, having saved it, she determined that it should not stand an idle monument, the tomb of the great ghosts, but a living temple of patriotism. She knew the didactic power of great associations; and everyone who in these fifteen years has been in the habit of going to the lectures and celebrations at the Old South knows with what added force many a lesson has been taught within the walls which heard the tread of Washington, and which still echo the words of Samuel Adams and James Otis and Joseph Warren.

The machinery of the Old South work has been the simplest. That is why any city, if it has public spirited people to sustain it, can easily carry on such work. That is why work like it, owing its parentage and impulse to it, has been undertaken in Providence and Brooklyn and Philadelphia and Indianapolis and Chicago and elsewhere. That is why men and women all over the country, organized in societies or not, who are really in earnest about good citizenship, can do much to promote similar work in the cities and towns in which they live. We have believed at the Old South Meeting House simply in the power of the spoken word and the printed page. We have had lectures and we have circulated historical leaflets.

What is an Old South lecture course like? That is what many of the teachers and many of the young people who read the Journal of Education, and who are not conversant with the work, will like to know. What kind of subjects do we think will attract and instruct bright young people of 15 or 16, set them to reading in American history, make them more interested in their country, and make better citizens of them? That question can not, perhaps, be better answered than by giving the Old South programme for the present summer. This course is devoted to "The Founders of New England," and the eight lectures are as follows: "William Brewster, the elder of Plymouth," by Rev. Edward Everett Hale; "William Bradford, the governor of Plymouth," by Rev. William Elliot Griffis; "John Winthrop, the governor of Massachusetts," by Hon. Frederic T. Greenhalge; "John Harvard, and the founding of Harvard College," by Mr. William R. Thayer; "John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians," by Rev. James de Normandie; "John Cotton, the minister of Boston," by Rev. John Cotton Brooks; "Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island," by President E. Benjamin Andrews; "Thomas Hooker, the founder of Connecticut," by Rev. Joseph H. Twichell.

It will be noticed that the several subjects in this course are presented by representative men—men especially identified in one way or another with their special themes. Thus, Edward Everett Hale, who spoke on Elder Brewster, is certainly our greatest New England "elder" to-day. Dr. Griffis, whose book on "Brave Little Holland" is being read at this time by many of our young people, is an authority in Pilgrim history, having now in preparation a work on "The Pilgrim Fathers in England, Holland, and America." It was singularly fortunate that the present governor of Massachusetts could speak upon Governor Winthrop. Mr. Thayer is the editor of the Harvard Graduates' Magazine, and a special student of John Harvard's life and times. Mr. De Normandie is John Eliot's successor as minister of the old church in Roxbury. Rev. John Cotton Brooks, Phillips Brooks's brother, is a lineal descendant of John Cotton, and has preached in his pulpit in St. Botolph's church at old Boston, in England. President Andrews, of Brown University, is the very best person to come from Rhode Island to tell of that little State's great founder. Mr. Twichell, the eminent Hartford minister, was the chosen orator at the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Connecticut, in 1889. With such a list of speakers as this, this course upon "The founding of New England" could not help being a strong, brilliant, and valuable course; and so it has proved.

The Old South lectures—thanks to Mrs. Hemenway's generosity, still active by provision of her will—are entirely free to all young people. Tickets are sent to all persons under 20, applying in their own handwriting to the directors of the Old South studies, at the Old South Meeting House, and inclosing stamps. Older people can come if they wish to—and a great many do come—but these pay for their tickets; it is understood that the lectures are designed for the young people. We tell our lecturers to aim at the bright boy and girl of 15, and forget that there is anybody else in the audience. If the lecturer hits them, he is sure to interest everybody; if he does not, he is a failure as an Old South lecturer. We tell them to be graphic and picturesque—dullness, however learned, is the one thing which young people will not pardon; we tell them to speak without notes—if they do not always satisfy themselves quite so well, they please everybody else a great deal better; and we tell them never to speak over an hour—we pardon fifty-nine minutes, but we do not pardon sixty-one. Persons starting work like the Old South work in other cities would do well to remember these simple rules. Any persons looking in upon the great audience of young people which, on the Wednesday afternoons of summer, fills the Old South Meeting House, will quickly satisfy themselves whether American history taught by such lectures is interesting.

For the Old South lectures are summer lectures—vacation lectures—given at 3 o'clock on Wednesday afternoons. They begin when the graduation exercises and the Fourth of July are well behind, usually on the Wednesday nearest August 1. For one reason we find this a little late—it carries the last lecture or two beyond the opening of the schools in September; and such courses of lectures in vacation might well begin as early as the middle of July.

Our lectures are not meant for idlers; we do not aim to entertain a crowd of children for an hour in a desultory fashion; our lecturers do not talk baby talk. The Old South work is a serious educational work; its programmes are careful and sequential, making demands upon the hearers; it assumes that the young people who come are students, or want to be—and by consistently assuming it, it makes them so. Dr. Hale, who has addressed these Old South audiences oftener, perhaps, than anybody else, remarked at the opening of the present course upon the notable development in the character and carriage of the audiences in these years of the work; it is no longer safe, he said, to say 1603 at the Old South, when you ought to say 1602.

Last year, when the people of the whole country were assembling at Chicago, the capital of the great West, the lectures were devoted to the subject of "The opening of the West." The subjects of the previous ten annual courses were as follows: "Early Massachusetts history," "Representative men in Boston history," "The war for the Union," "The war for independence," "The birth of the nation," "The story of the centuries," "America and France," "The American Indians," "The new birth of the world," "The discovery of America."

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The Old South Leaflets are prepared, primarily, for circulation among the young people attending the Old South lectures. The subjects of the leaflets are usually immediately related to the subjects of the lectures. They are meant to supplement the lectures and stimulate reading and inquiry among the young people. They are made up, for the most part, from original papers of the periods treated in the lectures, in the hope to make the men and the life of those periods more clear and real. Careful historical notes and references to the best books on the subjects are added, the leaflets usually consisting of 16 or 20 pages. A single instance more will suffice to show the relation of the leaflets to the lectures. The year 1889 being the centennial both of the beginning of our own Federal Government and of the French revolution, the lectures for the year, under the general title of "America and France," were devoted entirely to subjects in which the history of America is related to that of France, as follows: "Champlain, the founder of Quebec," "La Salle and the French in the Great West," "The Jesuit missionaries in America," "Wolfe and Montcalm. The struggle of England and France for the Continent," "Franklin in France," "The friendship of Washington and Lafayette," "Thomas Jefferson and the Louisiana purchase," "The year 1789." The corresponding leaflets were as follows: "Verrazzano's account of his voyage to America," "Marquette's account of his discovery of the Mississippi," "Mr. Parkman's histories," "The capture of Quebec, from Parkman's 'Conspiracy of Pontiac;'" "Selections from Franklin's letters from France," "Letters of Washington and Lafayette," "The Declaration of Independence," "The French declaration of the Rights of Man, 1789."

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The virtue of the Old South Leaflets is that they bring students into first hand, instead of second hand, touch with history. That, indeed, may describe the Old South work altogether. It has been an effort to bring the young people of Boston and America into original relations with history; and it has been, we think, the foremost effort of the kind in the country. This is why it has won the attention and commendation, so gratifying to us, of the educators of the country. Our joy in the Old South work has been the joy of being pioneers, and the joy of knowing that we were pioneers in the right direction. We should have known this if others had not known it; but we do not deny that the warm words of the historical scholars and teachers of the country have been very grateful and very helpful to us. The Old South work is "in exactly the right direction," John Fiske has said. It is a pleasant thing to remember that it was at Mrs. Hemenway's instance and at her strong solicitation that Mr. Fiske first turned his efforts to the field of American history; and almost everything that has appeared in his magnificent series of historical works was first given in the form of lectures at the Old South. In his new school history of the United States, * * * the Old South Leaflets are constantly commended for use in connection. "The publication of these leaflets," he says, "is sure to have a most happy effect in awakening general interest, on the part of young students, in original documents." To the same effect writes Mr. Montgomery, whose text-books in history are so widely used in the schools. James MacAlister, the president of the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia, writes: "I regard the Old

South work as one of the most important educational movements of recent times." Mr. Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia, wrote a special tract about the Old South work and spread it broadcast in Philadelphia. He had been deeply impressed by the Old South work when he came to lecture for us a little while before. "The secret of the success of the Old South plan," he said, "is that it teaches history from a living and most practical standpoint. It is the application of the best that our past has given to the brain and heart of the youth of the present." "Why should not this simple and effective plan be made use of in Philadelphia?" he asked; and last year Old South work was inaugurated in Philadelphia, the lectures to the young people being given in the old State house, where the Declaration of Independence was signed and the Constitution framed. President Andrews, of Brown University, Prof. Herbert Adams, of Johns Hopkins, Professor Hart, of Harvard, Prof. Woodrow Wilson, Mr. Horace E. Scudder, and others have written in the same warm way. Mr. Tetlow, the master of the Boston Girls' High School, and masters all over the country, unite in welcoming the leaflets. "To teach history by the study of original documents," writes one, "has been the dream of the best instructors, but this dream may now be realized through the inexpensive form in which these originals are presented." "The educational world," writes Miss Coman, the professor of history at Wellesley College, "is coming to recognize the value of teaching history, even to young people, from the original records, rather than from accounts at second or third hand. I rejoice that these documents have been made accessible to the children of our public schools." "We may talk about such documents all we please," says Mr. Huling, the master of the Cambridge High School, "and little good will be done; but when the pupil reads one of these for himself, he is indeed a dull fellow if he does not carry away a definite impression of its place in history." "I wish," writes Mr. Belfield, the principal of the Chicago Manual Training School, who has done more than anybody else to promote the Old South movement in the West, "that the series could be brought to the attention of every school superintendent, high-school principal, and teacher of United States history in the country." "The Old South Leaflets," says Professor Folwell, the professor of history in the University of Minnesota, "ought to be scattered by millions of copies all over our country."

It is a satisfaction to be able to quote such words from such persons, for they are surely a great reenforcement of our commendation of this missionary work in good citizenship to the attention of the country. For that is what the Old South work is—a missionary work in good citizenship—and feeling it to be that, we "commend ourselves." We wish that societies of young men and women might be organized in a thousand places for historical and political studies, and that our little Old South Leaflets might prove of as much service to these as they are proving to our Old South audiences and to the schools.

But the Old South work is not simply a means of doing something for the young people of Boston; it is also a means of getting something from them and setting them to work for themselves. Every year prizes are offered to the graduates of the Boston high schools, graduates of the current year and the preceding year, for the best essays on subjects in American history. Two subjects are proposed each year, and two prizes are awarded for each subject, the first prize being $40 and the second $25. The subjects are announced in June, just as the schools close, and the essays must be submitted in the following January. The prizes are always announced at the Washington's birthday celebration, which is one of the events of the Old South year. The subjects proposed each year for the essays are always closely related to the general subject of the lectures for the year, our aim being to make the entire work for the year unified and articulate, each part of it helping the rest. The subjects for the essays for the present year, when the lectures are devoted to "The founders of New England," are (1) "The relations of the founders of New England to the universities of Cambridge and Oxford," (2) "The fundamental orders of Connecticut and their place in the history of written constitutions."

I think that some of your readers would be surprised at the thoroughness and general excellence of many of these essays written by pupils just out of our high schools. The first-prize essay for 1881, on "The policy of the early colonists of Massachusetts toward Quakers and others whom they regarded as intruders," by Henry L. Southwick, and one of the first-prize essays for 1889, on "Washington's interest in education," by Miss Caroline C. Stecker, have been printed, and can be procured at the Old South Meeting House. Another of the prize essays, on "Washington's interest in education," by Miss Julia K. Ordway, was published in the New England Magazine for May, 1890; one of the first-prize essays for 1890, on "Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumseh," by Miss Caroline C. Stecker, appeared in the New England Magazine for September, 1891; and one of the first-prize essays for 1891, on "Marco Polo's explorations in Asia and their influence upon Columbus," by Miss Helen P. Margesson, in the New England Magazine for August, 1892. The New England Magazine, which is devoted preeminently to matters relating to American history and good citizenship, has from the time of its founding, five years ago, made itself an organ of the Old

South work, publishing many of the Old South essays and lectures, and always noticing in its editor's table everything relating to the progress of the movement.

The young people who have competed for these Old South prizes are naturally the best students of history in their successive years in the Boston high schools. They now number more than 100, and they have recently formed themselves into an Old South Historical Society. Many of the Old South essayists have, of course, gone on into college, and many are now scattered over the country; but more than half of their number, not a few of them teachers in the schools, are to-day within sound of the Old South bell, and the quarterly meetings of the little society, which by and by will be a big society, are very interesting. There is always some careful historical paper read by one of the members, and then there is a discussion. We have the beginning of a very good library in the essayists' room at the Old South, and this we hope will grow and that the society's headquarters will by and by become a real seminary. The society is rapidly becoming an efficient factor in the general Old South work. It has recently formed three active committees—a lecture committee, an essay committee, and an outlook committee—and its leading spirits are ambitious for larger service. The members of the lecture committee assist in the distribution of tickets to the schools and in enlisting the interest of young people in the lectures. The members of the essay committee similarly devote themselves to enlisting the interest of the high schools in the essays. They will also read the essays submitted each year, not for the sake of adjudging the award of prizes—that is in other hands—but that there may always be in the society scholarly members thoroughly cognizant of the character of the work being done and of the varying capacity of the new members entering the society. The office of the outlook committee is to keep itself informed and to keep the society informed of all important efforts at home and abroad for the historical and political education of young people. It will watch the newspapers; it will watch the magazines; it will watch the schools. It will report anything it finds said about the Old South work and about its extension anywhere. At the next meeting I suppose it will tell the society about Mr. Fiske's new school history and about any new text-books in civil government which have appeared. I hope it will tell how much better most of the series of historical readers published in England for the use of the schools are than the similar books which we have in America. It is sure to say something about the remarkable growth of the Lyceum Leagues among our young people lately, and it is sure to report the recent utterances of President Clark and other leaders of the Christian Endeavor movement upon the importance of rousing a more definite interest in politics and greater devotion to the duties of citizenship among the young people in that great organization. Especially will it notice at this time the Historical Pilgrimage, that interesting educational movement which suddenly appeared this summer, full grown—a movement which would have enlisted so warmly the sympathies of Mrs. Hemenway, who felt, as almost nobody else ever felt, the immense educational power of historical associations. It will tell the society what Mr. Stead has written about historical pilgrimages in England, and Mr. Powell and Dr. Shaw in America; it will speak of the recent reception of the pilgrims at the Old South; and it may venture the inquiry whether the Old South Historical Society might not profitably make itself a center for organizing such local pilgrimages for the benefit of the young people of Boston—pilgrimages, one perhaps each year, to Plymouth and Salem and Lexington and Concord and old Rutland and Newport and Deerfield and a score of places. That thought, I know, is already working in the minds of some of the more enterprising members of the society.

Many societies of young people all over the country might well take up such historical studies as those in which the Old South Historical Society interests itself. They should also interest themselves in studies more directly political and social. We have in Boston a Society for Promoting Good Citizenship. This is not a constituent part of the Old South work; but it is a society in whose efforts some of us who have the Old South work at heart are deeply interested, and its lectures are given at the Old South Meeting House. Its lectures deal with such subjects as qualifications for citizenship, municipal reform, the reform of the newspaper. Last season the lectures were upon "A more beautiful public life," the several subjects being: "The lessons of the white city," "Boards of beauty," "Municipal art," "Art in the public schools," "Art museums and the people," and "Boston, the City of God." These subjects, and such as these, young men and women might take up in their societies, with great benefit to themselves and to their communities. Our young people should train themselves also in the organization and procedure of our local and general government, as presented in the text-books on civil government, now happily becoming so common in the schools. The young men in one of our colleges have a House of Commons; in another college—a young woman's college—they have a House of Representatives. Our Old South Historical Society has talked of organizing a town meeting for the discussion of public questions and for schooling in legislative methods. Why should not such town meetings be common among our young people?

Why, too, will not our young people everywhere, as a part of their service for good citizenship, engage in a crusade in behalf of better music? Good music is a great educator. Bad music is debilitating and debasing. That was a wise man whom old Fletcher quotes as saying: "Let me make the songs of a people and I care not who makes the laws." How many of the young men and women in the high schools have read what Plato says about strong, pure music in education, in his book on The Laws? Indeed, it is to be feared that not all the teachers have read it. I wish that a hundred clubs or classes of young people would read Plato's Laws next winter, and his Republic the next, and then Aristotle's Politics. Do not think they are hard, dull books. They are fresh, fascinating books, and seem almost as modern, in all their discussions of socialism, education, and the rest, as the last magazine—only they are so much better and more fruitful than the magazine! They make us ashamed of ourselves, these great Greek thinkers, their preaching is so much better than our practice; but it is a good thing to be made ashamed of ourselves sometimes, and we need it very much here in America in the matter of music. We are suffering in our homes, in our schools, in our churches, our theaters, everywhere, from music of the trashiest and most vulgar character. Let us go to school to Plato; let us go to school to Germany and England. We aim to do something in behalf of this reform at the Old South. Our large choruses from the public schools at many of our celebrations have sung well; but we wish to do a real educational work, not only as touching patriotic music strictly, but as touching better music for the people generally. If in some future the ghosts of some of the great Greeks stroll into the Old South Meeting House we hope they may find it the center of influences in behalf of pure and inspiring music, which shall be as gratifying to them as the devotion to the State which has been inculcated there in these years would surely be.

THE OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS.

The Old South Leaflets, which have been published during the last thirteen years, in connection with these annual courses of historical lectures at the Old South Meeting House, have attracted so much attention and proved of so much service, that the directors have entered upon the publication of the leaflets for general circulation, with the needs of schools, colleges, private clubs, and classes especially in mind. The leaflets are prepared by Mr. Edwin D. Mead. They are largely reproductions of important original papers, accompanied by useful historical and bibliographical notes. They consist, on an average, of 16 pages, and are sold at the low price of 5 cents a copy, or $4 per 100. The aim is to bring them within easy reach of everybody. The Old South work, founded by Mrs. Mary Hemenway, and still sustained by provision of her will, is a work for the education of the people, and especially the education of our young people, in American history and politics; and its promoters believe that few things can contribute better to this end than the wide circulation of such leaflets as those now undertaken. It is hoped that professors in our colleges and teachers everywhere will welcome them for use in their classes, and that they may meet the needs of the societies of young men and women now happily being organized in so many places for historical and political studies. Some idea of the character of these Old South Leaflets may be gained from the following list of the subjects of the first sixty-four numbers, which are now ready. It will be noticed that many of the later numbers are the same as certain numbers in the annual series. Since 1890 they are essentially the same, and persons ordering the leaflets need simply observe the following numbers:

No. 1. The Constitution of the United States. No. 2. The Articles of Confederation. No. 3. The Declaration of Independence. No. 4. Washington's Farewell Address. No. 5. Magna Charta. No. 6. Vane's "Healing Question." No. 7. Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. No. 8. Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1638. No. 9. Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754. No. 10. Washington's Inaugurals. No. 11. Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation. No. 12. The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2. No. 13. The Ordinance of 1787. No. 14. The Constitution of Ohio. No. 15. Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States, 1783. No. 16. Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison, 1784. No. 17. Verrazzano's Voyage, 1524. No. 18. The Constitution of Switzerland. No. 19. The Bill of Rights, 1689. No. 20. Coronado's Letter to Mendoza, 1540. No. 21. Eliot's Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians, 1670. No. 22. Wheelock's Narrative of the Rise of the Indian School at Lebanon, Conn., 1762. No. 23. The Petition of Rights, 1628. No. 24. The Grand Remonstrance. No. 25. The Scottish National Covenants. No. 26. The Agreement of the People. No. 27. The Instrument of Government. No. 28. Cromwell's First Speech to his Parliament. No. 29. The Discovery of America, from the Life of Columbus by his Son, Ferdinand Columbus. No. 30. Strabo's Introduction to Geography. No. 31. The Voyages to Vinland, from the Saga of Eric the Red. No. 32. Marco Polo's Account of Japan and Java. No. 33. Columbus's Letter to Gabriel Sanchez, describing the First Voyage and Discovery.

No. 34. Amerigo Vespucci's Account of his First Voyage. No. 35. Cortes's Account of the City of Mexico. No. 36. The Death of De Soto, from the "Narrative of a Gentleman of Elvas." No. 37. Early Notices of the Voyages of the Cabots. No. 38. Henry Lee's Funeral Oration on Washington. No. 39. De Vaca's Account of his Journey to New Mexico, 1535. No. 40. Manasseh Cutler's Description of Ohio, 1787. No. 41. Washington's Journal of his Tour to the Ohio, 1770. No. 42. Garfield's Address on the Northwest Territory and the Western Reserve. No. 43. George Rogers Clark's Account of the Capture of Vincennes, 1779. No. 44. Jefferson's Life of Captain Meriwether Lewis. No. 45. Fremont's Account of his Ascent of Fremont's Peak. No. 46. Father Marquette at Chicago, 1673. No. 47. Washington's Account of the Army at Cambridge, 1775. No. 48. Bradford's Memoir of Elder Brewster. No. 49. Bradford's First Dialogue. No. 50. Winthrop's "Conclusions for the Plantation in New England." No. 51. "New England's First Fruits," 1643. No. 52. John Eliot's "Indian Grammar Begun." No. 53. John Cotton's "God's Promise to his Plantation." No. 54. Letters of Roger Williams to Winthrop. No. 55. Thomas Hooker's "Way of the Churches of New England." No. 56. The Monroe Doctrine: President Monroe's Message of 1823. No. 57. The English Bible, selections from the various versions. No. 58. Hooper's Letters to Bullinger. No. 59. Sir John Eliot's "Apology for Socrates." No. 60. Ship-money Papers. No. 61. Pym's Speech against Strafford. No. 62. Cromwell's Second Speech. No. 63. Milton's "A Free Commonwealth." No. 64. Sir Henry Vane's Defence.

Title pages covering Nos. 1 to 25 (Vol. I) and 26 to 50 (Vol. II) will be furnished to any person buying the entire series and desiring to bind them in volumes. Address Directors of Old South Studies, Old South Meeting House, Boston.

WOMEN AND MEN—THE ASSAULT ON PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

[Contributed by T. W. Higginson to Harper's Bazaar.]

When Matthew Arnold, who had spent much of his life as an inspector of schools came to this country, he found with surprise that our public schools were not what he had supposed. He had thought them schools to which all classes sent their children; but he found it otherwise. In cities, he said, they seemed to be essentially class schools—that is, the more prosperous classes avoided them, sending their sons rarely to them, their daughters never. What then became of the talk of our orators in favor of these schools as the most democratic thing in the whole community? In the country it might be so, but population was tending more and more to the cities, tending away, that is, from the public schools. All the alleged danger to our system from religious interference seemed to him trivial compared with this silent social interference, which was going on all the time.

Matthew Arnold was in many ways, for a man so eminent, curiously narrow and even whimsical, but his perceptions on this one point were certainly acute. As one evidence of it we see a movement brought forward in the newspapers, from several different quarters, to crush this particular evil, by one sweeping measure, with the absolute prohibition of all private schools. Either abolish them all and force every child into the public schools, or else place all private schools under direct public supervision and allow at their head only publicly trained teachers. There is little chance that any such measure will ever be seriously brought forward. The amount already invested in private or endowed schools and colleges—and the plan, to be consistent, must include colleges—is too immense to allow of its being very strongly urged. But it presents some very interesting points and is worth considering.

To begin with, it has the merit, unlike the attacks on merely denominational schools, of being at least logical. Those attacks in some parts of our land have needed almost no probing to show a hopeless want of logic. They always turned out to be aimed, not at denominational schools in themselves, but at some particular denomination. At the East this was naturally the Roman Catholic body, and to some extent the Episcopalian. In certain Western States it was the Roman Catholics and Lutherans. But these attempts to prohibit sectarian schools invariably fell to pieces when it appeared that most of the opponents had not the slightest objection to denominational schools if they only belonged to the right denomination—that is, their own—and only objected to them in the hands of some other religious body. The crowning instance of this was when the late Rev. Dr. Miner, an excellent and leading clergyman of the Universalist order, appeared every winter before the Massachusetts legislature to urge the utter prohibition of parochial schools; and yet spent one of the last days of his life in giving out diplomas at an academy of his own sect, and, moreover, provided for several similar schools in his will.

Now no such inconsistency stands in the way of those who would prohibit, without distinction, all denominational and all private schools. Unwise they may be, but not illogical. Indeed, the step they propose is only following out consistently what the others urged inconsistently. If it is right to coerce one mother, who takes

her children from the public school through anxiety for their souls, we should certainly do the same for another, who withdraws hers for the sake of their bodies; or perhaps, after all, only out of regard for the welfare of their clothes. There are several prominent religious bodies which believe that religious education of their own stamp is absolutely needful for children. Most of the early public schools in this country were on that basis, and began instruction with the New England Primer. We may say that this motive is now outgrown; but it is certainly as laudible as when a daughter is taken from one school and sent to another, that she may be among better-dressed children or make desirable acquaintances.

Grant these reasons frivolous—and they are not wholly so—there are ample reasons why the entire prohibition of private schools would be a calamity to the educational world. The reason is that they afford what the public schools rarely can, a place where original methods may be tried and individual modes of teaching developed. Private schools are the experimental stations for public schools. A great public school system is a vast machine, and has the merits and defects of machinery. It usually surpasses private institutions in method, order, punctuality, accuracy of training. It is very desirable that every teacher and every pupil should at some time share its training. In these respects it is the regular army besides militia. But this brings imitations. The French commissioner of education once boasted that in his office in Paris he knew with perfect precision just what lesson every class in every school in the remotest provinces of France was reciting. We do not reach this, but it is of necessity the ideal of every public system. It has great merit, but it kills originality. No teacher can ever try an experiment, for that might lose 1 per cent in the proportion of the first class able to pass examination at the end of the year. The teacher is there to do a precise part; no less, no more. Under this discipline great results are often achieved, but they are the results of drill, not of inspiration.

Accordingly every educational authority admits that the epoch-making experiments in education—the improvements of Pestalozzi, Fellenberg, Froebel—were made in private, not public schools. Like all other experiments, they were tried at the risk of the inventor or his backers, and often to the impoverishment of all concerned. Mr. A. Bronson Alcott's school was starved out, in Boston, half a century ago, and he himself dismissed with pitying laughter. Yet there is no intelligent educator who does not now admit the value of his suggestions; and Dr. Harris, the national superintendent of education, is his admiring biographer. His first assistant, Miss Elizabeth Peabody—esteemed throughout her beneficent life a dreamer of the dreamers—yet forced upon American educators Froebel's kindergarten. He began it with a few peasant children in Germany, and now every city in the United States is either adopting or discussing it. In many things the private school leads, the public school follows. Every one who writes a schoolbook involving some originality of method knows that the private schools will take it up first. If it succeeds there, the public schools will follow. To abolish or impair these public schools would be a crime against the State; to prohibit private schools an almost equal crime. It would be like saying that all observatories must be sustained by the State only, and that Mr. Percival Lowell should be absolutely prohibited from further cultivating his personal intimacy with the planet Mars.

Humane Education.

The objection of the American Humane Society, as stated by its president, George T. Angell, 19 Milk street, Boston, is "to humanely educate the American people for the purpose of stopping every form of cruelty, both to human beings and the lower animals."

For the accomplishment of this worthy purpose it seeks to enlist the aid of public and private school teachers, the educational, religious, and secular press, and the clergy of all denominations, "in order to build up in our colleges, schools, and elsewhere a spirit of chivalry and humanity which shall in coming generations substitute ballots for bullets, prevent anarchy and crime, protect the defenseless, maintain the right, and hasten the coming of peace on earth and good will to every harmless living creature, both human and dumb."

This work of this society should commend itself to all well-disposed persons.

One phase of the society's activity is its pronounced opposition to the vivisection or the indiscriminate dissection of animals in the public schools. It is felt that such practices have an unfavorable effect on young and undeveloped minds—tend to blunt the edge of their finer sensibilities.

The agitation of this subject in Massachusetts led to the enactment of a law in 1894 prohibiting the vivisection of animals in the public schools, or the exhibiting of any animal upon which vivisection had been practiced; also regulating the dissection of dead animals.

The States of Maine and Washington require their teachers to spend at least ten minutes each week in teaching kindness to animals.

MISSISSIPPI.

WHY EDUCATE? WHAT IS THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION?

[An address delivered at the second annual commencement of Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss., June 12, 1894, by Hon. William H. Sims, of Mississippi.]

Gentlemen of the Faculty and Student Body of Millsaps College, Ladies, and Gentlemen:

My appreciation of the honor of occupying this place to-day, in an institution whose success is very near my heart, will not, I trust, be measured by the modest contribution of thought and learning which I am able to bring to this occasion, but rather, let me ask, by the willingness I have shown to obey the summons of this faculty in coming a thousand miles to discharge a duty which the invitation of a Mississippi college imposes upon a Mississippian.

In appearing before you in this beautiful new home, the thought very naturally arises in my mind, Why was this building built? Of course, its dedication to present uses and the fame which has gone abroad concerning its origin would seem sufficiently to answer the inquiry. And yet, it has occurred to me that it may be useful in presenting what I have to say to-day to endeavor to center your attention upon what the answer to that question involves. Why was this building built? Do you imagine that this inquiry will have more of interest to a beholder of this structure a few centuries hence, as perchance he may look upon its venerable walls, stained by the mold and decay of time, when its architectural design may have become antiquated and obscured, amid the changeful fashions of later days; when its mission, then in part fulfilled, its history or many of its chapters written, the good that it shall have accomplished then made manifest, the seed that shall have been winnowed within these walls and distributed to the sowers scattered across the face of the land, yielding a fruitage excellent and a harvest abundant? And, may I ask, is there no good to be gained from such presuppositions? Does the forecasting of the possible outcome of a great benefaction to mankind inspire thoughts less of interest and of profit than the looking back upon the good already accomplished? Is it better to seek inspiration from the things of the past than from the hopes of the future? Is it better that our eyes be turned to the setting than the rising sun; to the gold-crowned summit of Solomon's Temple; to the land of promise which has been traversed, or to the shining pinnacles of glory which gleam ahead beyond the rugged hilltops and invite to the sun-burst splendor of the New Jerusalem?

But think on this as we may, I invite you back to the question suggested: Why was this building built? Did not its founder know before the work was begun why it was to be begun? Did not an intelligent benevolence conceive the object of its erection before its foundations were laid? Would the noble benefactor of his day and generation, whose name it bears and without whose munificent generosity its existence was not possible, have parted with his great endowment and led others to emulate his example without a definite object and what seemed to him a wise end in view, carefully and deliberately considered, which lay back of the giving of the gifts? Those who know him well and those who know the manner of men from whom large charities habitually come will answer, nay—verily!

What was that purpose? Why was this building built? I answer: It was built for the noblest of human purposes; for the highest earthly object this side of heaven for which any building can be built. It was built for a schoolhouse; for a college to enlarge the opportunities of Mississippi boys for high education, for sound, broad, conservative mental training, along the lines of Christian ideals.

And was this a wise investment of a great sum of money? Let us consider this: Why educate? What is the philosophy of education?

Around these suggestive inquiries I purpose to group the facts and reflections which I have collected as my opportunities permitted to present to you to-day.

The student of nature and her wonderful methods is continually impressed by the wise adaptation of the means she employs to the ends designed. Throughout all the vast departments of creation, wherever scientific investigation has been rewarded with the discovery of what nature intended to effect in any particular case, this perfect adaptation of method to design is to be found. So certain is the intelligent mechanical inventor of the correctness of nature's plans that when he has been able to employ one of her devices in constructing his machine he looks forward to its successful operation with unwavering confidence, because he knows that no better contrivance is possible; and it may be always assumed that where this law of adaptation is not apparent it is not because of its absence but because nature's true purpose has not been discovered.

This prelude, I trust, will acquit me of seeming irreverence when I further say that no animal being on earth seems to have been less prepared for his natural environments, according to our knowledge of his introduction on this earth, than man.

From the very beginning of his existence on this mundane sphere he has commenced life the most dependent and the most helpless of all the animal kingdom. So far as we know, no other animal at birth is so poorly equipped for the life thrust upon him. The beasts of the field and the fowls of the air were furnished by nature with bodies suited to their environments, without need of artificial coverings, while man has needed bodily protection from the cradle of his being. All other animals except man were endowed at birth with natural instincts so perfectly adapted to their necessities that they correctly guided them in their selection and accumulation of food and the preparation of their several habitations with an exactness that left nothing to be desired for their well being.

Primitive man, however, we are left to suppose, was not so happily conditioned. He was at birth given no unerring inward impulse to safely guide him in the early days of his being amid the perils which surrounded him, no instinct to meet the animal necessities which soon beset him. Unlike other animals, he had no ready-made clothing for his vesture, no ready-made law for the government of his daily life, and like the Son of Man himself, when incarnated, "had not where to lay his head," though the foxes had holes and the birds of the air had nests.

It would be a shallow thinker, however, who would argue from these premises that nature's plummet slipped when man was made and placed on earth amid conditions unadjusted to his necessities. On the contrary, I maintain that all the grand philosophy of man's creation and being turns on this pivotal point. While seemingly the most helpless and most dependent of mortal beings at the start, and with the smallest provision ready-made to supply his animal wants, man was, notwithstanding, invested with such potential powers as not only marked him as nature's favorite, but as the crowning work of "Nature's God." Other animals, while they were under the special guidance of nature's law of instinct, were yet the slaves of the very laws that guided them and which fixed their conditions as mere animals in appointed grooves as long as the species should last; while man, endowed with mind and reason and soul like unto the spiritual image of God himself, possessed powers which, though feeble at first, were perforce of man's self-activity to be so developed by the friction of his environment and the free direction of his immortal personality as to make him the regnant king of all the kingdoms of nature, the Avatar of earth.

Thus armed with reason and self-determining purpose, unfettered by his Creator, man entered upon his career with capacity "to grow in knowledge and wisdom and holiness forever." His civilization is the measure of his progress toward complete development. His history is the record of his experience along the way of that progress. The lessons of that experience and the learning and wisdom he has accumulated and left to us are man's great educational capital. "As heirs of all the ages," each is entitled to share in this capital. The business of teaching is to so distribute the inheritance to the young heirs who seek it that they may be helped along their several ways of development and progress. The partiality and selfishness, however, with which this distribution has been made from remote eras by those whom power had set in authority is alike interesting and instructive, and the effort of benevolence in recent times, whether of individuals or of government, to ameliorate the condition of mankind and work out the problem of man's development has been most profitably directed to widening the avenues to learning and instruction, so that all may seek the portals of their temple with such freedom of thought and action as the good of society permits.

In contemplating the winding stream of educational development through the long years of recorded history, it is interesting to observe its tortuous course, its unequal volume, and the restricted boundaries of its channel, influenced and controlled, as it has been, by those who shaped the life and destiny of humanity. Seldom was it permitted to dash along with the impulse of nature into the cascades and waterfalls that set in motion the mills that ground the mental pabulum of the poor and lowly; rarer still to accumulate into great lakes and reservoirs of learning about which the multitude could congregate and slake their thirst for knowledge; and still rarer did it overflow the barriers made to confine it, and, like the generous Nile, spread its beneficent fertilization amid the desert about it, enriching and quickening the common mind. Its eddies were the whirlpools of fanatical ignorance maddened by wrongs. Its lakes were stagnant lagoons of brutish superstition, where darkness brooded and the vampire made its home. Its overflows were the fiery billows of religious wars consuming the youth and virtue of the nations. And yet this educational stream even in the ante-Christian period, was not without instances where it flowed through the untaught masses pure and strong and deep, like the Jordan through the body of the Dead Sea.

Glancing at educational conditions in the Orient, we find that from time immemorial they have been created and maintained by the government, or the ruling classes, for the narrowest and most selfish of purposes. It is to be noted, however, that far back in the centuries, the Chinese Government enforced general education, but of a rigid and stereotyped character. Its fundamental purpose was obedience to the

regnant authority; its ideal end, to the family. Profound reverence for parents and the aged, and a religious homage for the Emperor as the great father of all the families of the realm, were absolutely enforced. These, the precepts of their philosophers, Confucius and Mencius his follower enjoined, and the price of disobedience was death.

The Imperial Government was an aristocracy of scholars, all of its officers, from the highest to the lowest, were selected by competitive examinations from among those whose minds had been saturated with such teachings of reverence and whose memories were found best stored with the maxims and phrases, to the very letter, of the infallible philosophy of their classics. In their written examinations the betrayal of any thought of their own, or expression not based upon such authority, was fatal to the seeker of official trust. All independence of ideas was suppressed; all individuality pruned away by these procrustean methods. And thus the oldest and most populous nation of earth for centuries stood in its wooden shoes upon the same intellectual dead level, yielding the humblest obeisance to the supreme authority of the Empire and to the absolutism of prescribed thought crystallized in the maxims, laws, and standards handed down by their teachers of religion and philosophy. Is it wonderful that such education made hundreds of millions of intellectual dwarfs and automatons, who, though toilsome, sober, economical, peaceful, and skilled in many arts, have for centuries dwelt in the supreme contentment that they had nothing more to learn, and that all change was treason to state and religious?

Passing from China to ancient India, we leave popular education behind us, and high mental cultivation for the few and none for the many. Here the Brahmins, by a rigid religious tenure, monopolized all education. Impassable boundary lines divided society into the distinctive castes of Brahmin, and warrior, and merchant, or hand worker and slave. In these several castes they were born and lived and died. No interchange of the positions of the social strata was possible under the mystic dominion over mind and soul exercised by the sacred Brahmins. As priests set apart by their subtle religious philosophy, they were alone permitted to read and teach and interpret the books of the Vedas, the fountains of knowledge from which all their wisdom came. Hedged about with mystery and the profoundest reverence, their mental and moral sway was so absolute, that, although enjoying no official authority of state, their decisions of questions brought before them had the force and effect of law. They were regarded so nearly infallible that they could commit no crime worthy of corporal punishment. Their exclusive possession of all the real learning of the nation invested them with such awe and unquestioned superiority as to make it possible for them to maintain their supreme influence over all other classes. How this state of things was brought about it is difficult to trace; but undoubtedly the control of education perpetuated their power.

> For just experience tells in every soil
> That those that think must govern those that toil.

In Egypt as in ancient India, the molding of the national education was in the hands of a sacerdotal order. The children of the people were the recipients from their fathers of crude instruction in reading and writing, but the priests, who, through their religious potencies, ruled the ruling powers of state, kept within their unyielding grasp all superior instruction and dispensed it for their own ends and purposes. No development of the masses was possible under such conditions and the mysterious sphinx, the sleeping mummy in its staid cerements, and the immobile pyramids are just symbols and types of their motionless national life.

While the end of education in both ancient India and in Egypt was to subordinate the toiling millions to the absolute control and dominion of the priests, the educational purpose of the ancient Persians was to make soldiers. The State drew to itself all individual life for that object. The boy was born and trained and died not to achieve his own destiny, not to advance his own status or that of his family, but that he might efficiently serve the government in its armies. In short, no account was taken of the individuality of the citizen, his rights, his preferences, his tastes, his talents. He was a mere atom, whose existence was merged into the army of a Xerxes for the benefit of his kingdom. This we observe to be the operative principle underlying all oriental education. The tyranny of some power whether of caste among the Hindoos or of priests among the Egyptians and, we may add, among the ancient Jews or of government among the Chinese and the Persians, so proscribed the intellectual development of the people that it was everywhere more than ignored; it was repressed and molded by the ruling of the sacerdotal classes to their own ends and uses.

In striking contrast to the foregoing, Sparta excepted, was the philosophical aim of education among the Greeks, among whom "we find the most splendid types of intellectual culture the world has yet known." The education of the Spartans, as of the Persians, was the education of the State, by the State, and for the State, to make the most perfect human fighting machines which breeding and selection and

rigid discipline could accomplish with a hand of iron. Perhaps the human animal was never before or since so systematically and perfectly developed in a race. The healthy child was taken, the weakling was cast to the wild beasts of the forests. The chosen one was left in the care of the mother who gave her maternal service strictly to the purpose of this training. At 7 the boy went from her bosom to the bosom of the commonwealth, to be the mother's boy no longer. He was put in charge of a special magistrate as his trainer, by whom he was schooled in hardships and developed in strength and cunning and courage through years of assiduous attention. His sinews became as steel, his limbs practiced to fatigue and endurance, his art with arms perfect, his will obedient to the discipline of war, his eye true, his spirit daring and audacious and unconquerable. Of such were the three hundred who died with Leonidas at Thermopylæ, and these were only the types of eight thousand comrades in arms, every one of whom would have done the same thing.

In another part of Greece, however, alongside of the Spartan, there grew up at Athens a system of education of broader scope and more ennobling purpose. With equal devotion to the supremacy of the state and her need for invincible soldiers, the Athenian conception was to so educate her free-born citizens by promoting and developing rather than by restraining and cramping their individuality of character that they might not only be soldiers, but far more. The aim was to accomplish them not only for war but for the civic pursuits of peace. Not by the authority of law, as at Sparta, but by the force of public opinion. Not for the sole use and benefit of the body politic, but for the development and exaltation of the citizen first and the glory of Athens afterwards. The fruits of this conception were educational results never before equaled and perhaps never since surpassed. The harmonious training of mind and body were supplemented by an æsthetic culture. Their ideals, though not heaven sent and though not inspired by the contemplation of the Son of Righteousness, were born of a reverent love of goodness and beauty with which they had invested the most perfect of their mythological deities. Their unfettered freedom of thought shone through the marble drapery of their statues, and the soul of immortal longings inspired their canvas, while grace and lofty daring sat upon their persons and declared a character that despised all that was mean and ignoble. The result of Grecian education and culture did not end with her citizens. It was embalmed in her literature, and whispers its lessons of truth and beauty to-day through the galleries and labyrinths of the mind of every student and scholar whom its language has reached. It has clung to the very words of that language, and its airy grace has given it the wings of the thistle down and disseminated it all over the earth.

Further toward the setting sun, on shores washed by the same Mediterranean Sea that embraced the Peninsula of Hellas, arose a later civilization under the dominion and influence of Rome. This civilization, by reason of a valor, nursed by a stern spirit of independence and a patriotism born of the robust virtues of her people in the early days of the Republic had extended her empire across a populous region 3,000 miles in length by 2,000 in breadth. The genius of her people was conquest and their education was for that purpose, and to make the self-respecting freeman whose proudest boast was that he was a Roman citizen. Over his free spirit, however, the State exercised no educational coercion, but alike as at Athens, the sway of public opinion was the moulding factor of his culture, and the love of country the high incentive. His indomitable will did not expend its energies, as did the Greeks, in interpreting and subduing nature, but in conquering provinces: not in creating ideals after the gods of Olympus, but in marshaling legions on the field of Mars. War he considered the chief business of his life, and education in letters he ranked as a pastime. Even his language itself embodied this spirit of his living, since exercitus (the army) meant business, and ludus (the school) meant diversion.

Unlike the Grecian, the real and the practical, rather than the speculative and the æsthetic employed his thoughts, and while Rome was speading her eagles of conquest from the Thames to the Euphrates, her internal improvement in material prosperity, her wealth, her institutions, her laws, her public works, alike attested the greatness of her utilitarian education. And this continued her distinctive characteristic even after the cultured captives that returned with her victorious columns from Grecian conquest, introduced into Rome the refinements and subtleties of the Athenian schools of thought, and filled her Forum with the discussions of sophists and philosophers. Thus leading up to and into the Christian era, the sturdy character of Roman education in its trueness and depth and practical purpose resembled the modern Christian education. The Greeks formed intellectual and æsthetic ideals and standards. The Romans formed physical or practical ideals and standards. The Christians formed ethical or moral ideals and standards.

In this partial though somewhat tedious review of the scope and purpose of education, as illustrated in the typical civilizations of history, it is perhaps more clearly revealed to us why the ancients did not educate than why they did educate. We

have seen that the personal and individual development of the people was of small concern to the ruling powers and was seldom the end aimed at. Indeed, with the single exception of China, popular education, as we now use that term, had no national existence, nor did it prevail anywhere until modern times. We need not look far to discover a reason for this, especially when we consider that for centuries as small account was taken of the right of the people to individual liberty as to individual education. Knowledge then, as in later days, was regarded as a power, and it was truly conceived that the ignorant masses could be more easily kept in subjection to the rule of absolutism than a body of intelligent citizens. Absolute governments had no place for educated subjects except in numbers limited to the necessities of enforcing authority. The province of the subject was to toil and to obey. Even in the case of general education in China, to which we have referred, the system of education was so ingeniously guarded in its philosophical conception and application that it subserved rather than violated the principle of subjection; for, as remarked by that great scholar and philosopher, Dr. W. T. Harris, of our National Bureau of Education, concerning this Chinese system: "It is one of the most interesting devices in the history of education—a method of educating a people on such a plan that the more education the scholar gets the more conservative he becomes."

The thought occurs here, would not such a system as the Chinese be serviceable to-day in the regulation of the now world-wide disturbers of social order, the anarchists, the socialists, and their kindred brood? I answer, that only under Chinese conditions of liberty would such education be practicable, and under no conditions of liberty acceptable to modern civilized manhood could it possibly be enforced. The world, in its ideas of freedom of thought and of action, has moved far away from such tyranny in governments. The divine right of kings or of oligarchies has no footing in Western civilization. It has cost hecatombs of human lives and seas of blood to reach our present estate of human freedom. But the socalist and anarchist can not permanently harm American institutions and organized society. Those who have so apprehended have not carefully considered the basis of their fears. The nihilistic agitations in Europe will doubtless operate to sweep away some of the remains of the feudal fetters imposed on liberty of living, but this "goverment of the people, for the people, and by the people" has nothing to fear from such agitations. The social vagaries and economic delusions which are preached to the unemployed wage worker to ferment society will have local expression in sporadic violence, but the disturbances can not, in our day and generation, mount up to the proportions of revolution. The anarchists submit no propositions which can engage such general local interests as to array State against State or section against section—as in the late civil war; and as long as State autonomy remains to us, the State governments can take care of their internal disturbances, especially when backed by the power of the General Government. Until the great body of the people lose their balance and common sense, they may be safely trusted to adhere to the tradition that any government is better than no government at all.

But even the sovereign authority of the people, with which the States and General Government have been invested, will not long have to contend with anarchistic elements which have come to us from abroad under the false pretense of enjoying and upholding our established institutions of freedom, if we so legislate as to stop the crevices in our naturalization laws, through which the wild, untrained, fanatical representatives of European red republicanism find entrance into our body politic. And, again, we may hope to increase the volume of our now mighty current of popular education until every precinct in every county in every State shall have the full benefit of its quickening and enlightening influence, and until every child in all the land, native and foreign, white and black, Indian and Chinaman, shall be possessed of the modern trivium of education, "the three R's," the three keys to knowledge, with which he can gain access to the immense treasury of learning which the centuries have piled up for us, and to which they have fallen heirs. This accomplished, and the plea of the anarchist will find few sympathizers among our people. It is not too much education that makes the vicious, but the lack of it. The anarchist here with us is not too much educated; as may be supposed, he is too badly educated or too wrongly trained and educated by the factors of the environment from which he came to us to be adjusted into any niche of American freedom. We may not be able to educate and assimilate into good citizenship all the Herr Mosts and vicious cranks that Europe can empty upon us, but we can restrain their coming and so educate the children of those already here as to make them cohelpers in good government.

We are told in the Greek reader that Aristotle, when asked in what way the educated differed from the uneducated, replied, "As the living differ from the dead." Compare the lowest type of the barbarian with the highest type of the Greek in Aristotle's day (and the comparison is just as good in ours) and you can appreciate the force of this remark.

Carlyle, the great Scotchman, said: "An educated man stands as it were in the

midst of a boundless arsenal and magazine filled with all the weapons and engines which man's skill has been able to devise from the earliest time, and he works accordingly with the strength borrowed from all the ages. How different is his state who stands on the outside of the storehouse and feels that its gates must be stormed or remain forever shut against him? His means are the commonest; the work done is in no measure of his strength. A dwarf behind his steam engine may remove mountains, but no dwarf will hew them down with his pickaxe, and he must be a Titan that hurls them abroad with his arms."

These illustrations from two great thinkers, who spoke more than two thousand years apart, each standing upon the very apex of culture of his day and time, do not contrast too strongly the conditions referred to. In both the wholly uneducated is set over against the fully educated man; the savage against the scientist and the scholar. The distance between them is measureless, and we can not say that the chasm will ever be bridged. Leaving aside the consideration of racial inequalities, about which there is now little dispute, the natural mental inequalities of men must long postpone, if it ever reaches this consummation. The leveling process must encounter obstructions by this inequality which is one of natures unwritten laws. This inequality is the unescapable consequences of action—the necessary predicate of human progress. In this progression the individual speed is unequal; all can not be in the front line. Few can be abreast with Newton or Bacon or Gladstone. That education, however, under conditions seldom favorable, has raised the general average of mankind from century to century, the history of civilization attests, and this progress of civilization is but the progress of education.

A learned English scholar recently wrote concerning the history of education: "It would comprehend the transforming of crude nature of the savage man, which chiefly concerns itself with mere animal wants and desires, into the higher nature of a being who looks behind to gather the fruits of experience; who looks before to utilize them for the benefit of those who are to succeed him, who explores the remote and the distant as well as the near, who reflects and thinks with the view to the general good of the commonwealth, and this, while it is the problem of civilization, is also the problem of education."

But, let me ask, what is the modern conception of education? What is education in its true intent and meaning—not in the widest amplitude with which it may be regarded, but in the sense it is accepted in the schools? Considered in the light of its derivative Latin synonym, *Educere*, it means to lead forth, to unfold the powers of the mind. And while it means this, it is obvious that it means far more than this. The unfolding of the powers of the mind, I conceive, might be accomplished by an artificial system of mental gymnastics, without acquiring any useful knowledge and without being provided with any of the instruments of self teaching, the arts of reading and writing. Those instruments must in themselves constitute the most important part of education, and, as we are told by a philosophic writer: "The child may learn to read and write, and by it learn the experience of the race through countless ages of existence. He may by scientific books see the world through the senses of myriads of trained specialists devoting whole lives to the inventory of nature. What is immensely more than this, he can think with their brains and assist his feeble powers of observation and reflection by the gigantic aggregate of the mental labors of the race."

And so it is that education does not merely contemplate the unfolding of the mental powers, but demands moreover that such process of unfolding shall bring to the mind of the pupil the largest amount of important and useful knowledge. Just here however, let me say, that I do not rashly venture in this presence to assume the educator's task of suggesting how to educe or unfold the powers of the mind, or what material should be put before the mind in its progress toward development, to enable it to reach the full measure of education. The first should be determined by the teacher, as he looks into the face, and studies the capacity of each pupil. The latter is appointed after wise consideration in the curriculum chosen by every school of high education. As all nature is a schoolhouse for him who seeks education, and all history, with its "philosophy teaching by examples," is his text-book, so all thought is an educational factor. There are many roads to knowledge, but only one to education, and that is through the gateway of self-help, which the earnest seeker of education affords to his own mind. Indeed, it has been wisely said that there is no real education that is not self-education. Whatever of knowledge is assimilated and appropriated, becomes education. It is the exercise of man's self activity at last that sets in motion his powers of observation; the orderly classification of the things observed; the determination of the scientific principles underlying these classes, and the great philosophical unity that unites all the sciences, and links man to The Great First Cause; this, I take it, to be in its last analysis, the true philosophy of education.

The greatest teacher can do little more than lift the latch and point the way.

PENNSYLVANIA.

THE PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA.

[From a pamphlet by Lewis R. Harley, Ph. D.]

The desirability of improving the school system of Philadelphia has given rise to a number of voluntary associations, which have been actively engaged for several years in urging reforms and promoting the development of the schools in various ways. Among the most active of these organizations has been the Public Education Association of Philadelphia, founded in 1881.

This association, like some of its predecessors, grew out of charity work. Its source was the Committee on the Care and Education of Dependent Children of the Society for Organizing Charity.

It is the object of this association to promote the efficiency and to perfect the system of public education in Philadelphia, by which term is meant all education emanating from, or in any way controlled by, the State. They purpose to acquaint themselves with the best results of experience and thought in education, and to render these familiar to the community and to their official representatives, that these may be embodied in our own public-school system. They seek to become a center for work and a medium for the expression of opinion in all matters pertaining to education, as, for instance, the appointment of superintendents; the compilation of school laws; the kindergarten in connection with public education; manual instruction—how much is desirable, and what it is practicable to introduce into the public-school system; the hygiene of schools; the adequate pay and the better qualification of teachers; and, above all, to secure, as far as possible, universal education, by bringing under instruction that large class, numbering not less than 22,000 children, who are now growing up in ignorance in this city.

These objects the association hope to attain through appeals to the local authorities and to the legislature, and by such other means as may be deemed expedient.

The officers of the association in 1895 were Edmund J. James, chairman; Miss E. W. Janney, treasurer; William W. Wiltbank, recording secretary.

The Public Education Association has had a busy career of fifteen years. It has been a constructive period in educational work in Philadelphia, and the association has seen the following results accomplished:

I. The institution of the department of superintendence, with the increase of force by which the efficiency of this department has been largely augmented and thoroughly organized.

II. The selection of a superintendent.

III. The introduction of sewing into the curriculum of the Normal School, and its more recent introduction, based upon the success of the earlier experiment, into the lower grades of schools, by which 25,000 girls were, in 1887, receiving regular, systematic instruction in needlework.

IV. The universal acknowledgment that the most complete and satisfactory exhibition of this work ever made in the country was the exhibit of the sewing done in the public schools of Philadelphia made in the spring of 1886, at the Industrial Exhibition at New York.

V. The institution of the Manual Training School.

VI. The reorganization of the schools under supervising principals.

VII. The introduction of cooking classes in the Normal School.

VIII. The exhibition of school work in Horticultural Hall.

IX. The assumption by the board of education of the kindergarten schools.

X. The establishment of the chair of pedagogy in the University of Pennsylvania.

XI. The lectures in pedagogy in the Summer School of the Extension Society.

XII. The separation of the girls' high and normal schools and the material improvement of the courses in the former.

XIII. The passage of the compulsory school law.

The association encouraged and assisted all of these movements; it initiated and completed some of them. There are still other tasks for the association. The new compulsory school law will render a school census necessary. The school accommodations of the city will be inadequate to meet the requirements of the law, and the enforcement of the law itself will depend upon public sentiment. In all these matters the society can be of assistance.

The department of education should be reorganized. The association has already made strenuous efforts to have the sectional boards abolished, and it seemed at times as if the measure would pass the legislature. The agitation should be continued until the department of education is placed beyond the reach of politics. The administration of the city schools should be committed to a single body. These are some of the subjects which should receive the attention of the association. The

work of the Public Education Association is not completed. The educational welfare of so large a municipality as Philadelphia will require the continued aid of this influential organization, which in the past has accomplished so much for the advancement of the schools.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

[Address delivered December 13, 1894, by Hon. J. L. M. Curry, in response to an invitation of the general assembly of South Carolina.[1]]

SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES: It has been said that among the best gifts of Providence to a nation are great and good men, who act as its leaders and guides, who leave their mark upon their age, who give a new direction to affairs, who introduce a course of events which come down from generation to generation, pouring their blessings upon mankind. Public men are the character and conscience of a people. Respect for the worth of men and women is the measure of progress in civilization. On the 16th of November, 1894, passed away one of America's purest and noblest men, one of the last links which bound the present with the better days of the Republic. For South Carolina he cherished a great affection, and sought to rekindle and keep alive the memories and fraternity of the Revolutionary period, when Massachusetts and South Carolina were struggling together for the establishment of our free institutions. Deeply touched and very grateful was he that South Carolina honored him so highly, by attaching his name in perpetuity to one of her most beneficent institutions of learning. The watchward of his life was the worship of truth and devotion to the Union. He saw clearly that "whoever would work toward national unity must work on educational lines." We may well pause to drop a tear over the grave of author, orator, philanthropist, patriot, statesman, Christian gentleman. Governor Tillman said last May, at the laying of the corner stone of the college at Rock Hill: "On one thing the people of South Carolina are certainly agreed—in their love for Robert C. Winthrop and the new college that bears his name."

I have said that he was a Christian statesman. Christianity and democracy have revolutionized the ideas and institutions of the world in reference to man, his rights, privileges, and duties. The arrival of democracy, says Benjamin Kid, is the fact of our time which overshadows all other facts, and this arrival is the result of the ethical movement in which qualities and attributes find the completest expression ever reached in the history of the human race. Kings and clergy, as having superior access to God and command of the Divine prerogatives, have been relegated to the background. Man's attainment to an enjoyment of privileges and possibilities depends on the development of latent, original, God-given powers. Families, churches, and States recognize and provide for the unfolding of these capacities. "Education, a debt due from present to future generations," was the idea and motive which permeated Mr. Peabody's munificence, and the sentiment is the legend for the official seal of the Peabody Education Fund. Free schools for the whole people should be the motive and aim of every enlightened legislator. South Carolina incorporates the duty into her organic law. There can be no more legitimate tax on property than furnishing the means of universal education, for this involves self-preservation. The great mass of the people are doomed inevitably to ignorance, unless the State undertake their improvement. Our highest material, moral, and political interests need all the capabilities of all the citizens, and then there will be none too much to meet life's responsibilities and duties. As the people are sovereign, free schools are needed for all of them. We recognize no such class as an elect few. It is desirable that citizens should read the laws they are to obey. A governor once put his edicts above the heads of the people; we sometimes, practically, do the same by keeping the people in ignorance. When all must make laws as well as obey, it is essential that they should be educated. The more generally diffused the education the better the laws; the better are they understood and the better obeyed. The highest civilization demands intelligent understanding of the laws and prompt, patriotic, cheerful obedience.

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[1] Extract from the journal of the house of representatives of the State of South Carolina, Thursday, December 13, 1894:

JOINT ASSEMBLY.

The senate attended in the house at 11 a. m. to hear the address of the Hon. J. L. M. Curry.

The president of the senate presented Senator Tillman, who introduced the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, who entertained the general assembly for some time in an eloquent and able address on education.

Mr. Manning offered the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the general assembly of South Carolina has heard with pleasure and the deepest interest the eloquent and instructive address of the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, and the heartfelt thanks of this body are hereby extended to him for his address, and we wish to assure him that his words on behalf of the advancement of the educational interests of the State have fallen on ears that are alive to those interests, and that we hope for the best results upon the educational institutions of the State."

Which was considered immediately and unanimously adopted.

When schools are established, what will perfect them? The first need is sufficient money, to be attained through State and local revenues. In no instance should this money be appropriated for sectarian purposes. In England, since the free education act, there has been a determined effort to quarter denominational schools upon the rates. In the United States a persistent effort is made to subsidize from general revenues certain sectarian schools in States and among the Indians. During the nine years—1886–1894—our Government gave for education of the Indians $4,277,940, and of this appropriation one church received $2,738,571. The remainder was distributed among fifteen various schools and organizations. Another requirement is efficient local and State supervision, divorced from party politics, and controlled by civil service principles. If education be of universal and vital concern, it needs for its administration the highest capacity. The system of common schools reached its preeminent usefulness in Massachusetts under the administration of such remarkable men as Mann, Sears, and Dickinson. Pupils should be graded so as to economize time, utilize teaching talent, and secure systematic progress. At last, all depends on good teaching, and children, with all their possibilities, deserve the best. There is often a criminal waste of time, talent, opportunities, and money, because of incompetent teachers. There is sometimes a distressingly small return for mony and labor expended upon schools. It is not well-organized school systems, nor excellent textbooks, nor systematic courses of study, nor wise supervision, however important, that make the good school. It is the teacher, not mechanical in method and the slave of some superficial notion of the object and the process of the work, but a thorough master of the profession, widely knowledged and cultured, able to interest the pupils, to develop the highest power and efficiency. A good teacher will make a good school in spite of a thousand hindrances. One able to awaken sluggish intellect, give a mental impulse running through after life, who understands child nature, the laws of mental acquisition and development, whose mind has been expanded and enriched by a liberal education, who has accurate scholarship and a love for sound learning, who can awaken enthusiasm, mould character, develop by healthful aspirations, inspire to do duty faithfully, will have a good school. Andrew D. White called Dr. Wayland the greatest man who ever stood in the college presidency, and such men as Mark Hopkins, M. B. Anderson, Drs. McGuffey and Broadus show the value of high qualifications in teachers. In our public schools are thousands of men and women, doing heroic work, noiselessly and without ostentation, who deserve all the praise which is lavished upon less useful laborers in other departments. As the State has undertaken the work of education, it is under highest obligations to have the best schools, which means the best teachers.

How shall South Carolina meet these imperative obligations? Your schools average four and seventh-tenths months, but no school should have a term shorter than eight months, and the teachers, well paid, should be selected impartially, after thorough and honest examination. All should have unquestioned moral character, sobriety, aptitude for the work, desire and ability to improve. It has been suggested that if only one law were written above the door of every American schoolroom, it ought to be, No man or woman shall enter here as teacher whose life is not a good model for the young to copy. The experience of most enlightened countries has shown that these teachers should be trained in normal schools; and by normal schools I do not mean an academy with deceptive name and catalogue, and the slightest infusion of pedagogic work. Teaching is an art, based on rationally determined principles. The child grows and runs up the psychic scale in a certain order. The mind has laws, and there is no true discipline except in conformity to and application of these laws. Acquaintance with and application of these laws come not by nature, not spontaneously, but by study and practice. The real teacher should be familiar with the history, the philosophy, and the methods of education. He will best acquire and accomplish the technical and professional work if he have a well-balanced mind, fine tastes, and "the faculty of judgment, strengthened by the mastery of principles, more than by the acquisition of information." We have professional schools for the lawyer, the doctor, the engineer; why not for the teacher? His ability to teach should not be picked up at haphazard, by painful experience, and with the sacrifice of the children. A signboard near my residence reads, "Horses shod according to humane principles of equine nature." It conveys a true principle and suggests that children should be instructed according to the true principles of mental science.

President Eliot, in one of his excellent papers, enunciates six essential constituents of all worthy education.

(*a*) Training the organs of sense. Through accurate observation we get all kinds of knowledge and experience. The child sees the forms of letters, hears the sound of letters and words, and discriminates between hot and cold, black and white, etc. All ordinary knowledge for practical purposes, and language as well, are derived mainly through the senses.

(*b*) Practice in comparing and grouping different sensations and drawing inferences.

(*c*) Accurate record in memory or in written form.

(*d*) Training the memory; and practice in holding in the mind the record of observations, groupings, and comparisons.

(*e*) Training in the power of expression, in clear, concise exposition; logical setting forth of a process of reasoning.

(*f*) Inculcation of the supreme ideals through which the human race is uplifted and ennobled. Before the pupil should be put the loftiest ideals of beauty, honor, patriotism, duty, obedience, love.

Teachers are greatly helped by teachers' institutes, when those who assemble get the wisdom and experience of many minds on the difficult problems of the profession. The work should be practical, systematic, logical, continuous from year to year, and a course of professional reading should be prescribed, so as to increase the intelligence and culture of the profession.

We very often lose sight of the true end of education—it is, or should be, effective power in action, doing what the uneducated can not do, putting acquisition into practice, developing and strengthening faculties for real everyday life. The only sure test is the ability to do more and better work than could be done without it. The average man or woman with it should be stronger, more successful, more useful, than the average man or woman without it. It is the human being with an increase of power which makes one more than equal to a mere man. It is not so much what is imparted, but what is inwrought; not what is put in, but what is got out. It is not so much what we know as what we are and can do for productive ends. The object of Christianity is to make good men and good women here on earth. The object of education is to make useful men and women, good citizens. And here comes in the need of manual training, which is not to fit for special trades, but to teach the rudiments of mechanics, those common principles which underlie all work. The pupil can acquire manual dexterity, familiarize himself with tools and materials, be instructed in the science without a knowledge of which good work can not be done. The object of this industrial instruction is to develop the executive side of nature, so that the pupil shall do as well as think. This introduction of manual training into schools has been found to be very helpful to intellectual progress. Gentlemen need not reject it as something chimerical and utopian; it is not an innovation; the experiment is not doubtful; it has been tried repeatedly; it is comparatively inexpensive, and has been and is now in very successful operation. It is not wise statemanship, nor even good common sense, to forego for many years what other peoples are now enjoying the advantages of. In a quarter of a century trade schools, technical schools, manual training, the kindergarten, will have nearly universal adoption. Why, during this period, should a State rob her children of these immense benefits?

As population increases the struggle to maintain wages becomes more severe, the pressure being the hardest upon the unskilled, and less severe on each higher rank of laborers. Every possible facility for education should be put within the reach of laboring men, to increase their efficiency, to raise the standard of life, and to augment the proportion between the skilled and the unskilled. Dr. Harris, our wisest and most philosophical educator, says: "Education emancipates the laborer from the deadening effects of repetition and habit, the monotony of mere mechanical toil, and opens to him a vista of new inventions and more useful combinations." Our industrial age increases the demand for educated, directive power. Business combinations, companies for trade, transportation, insurance, banking, manufacturing, and mining, demand, as essential conditions of success, intelligent directive power. Production is augmented by skill. An indispensable condition of economic prosperity is a large per capita production of wealth. Socialism, as taught by some extremists, would sacrifice production to accomplish distribution, and means annihilation of private capital, management by the State of all industries, of production and distribution, when Government would be the sole farmer, common carrier, banker, manufacturer, storekeeper, and all these would be turned into civil servants, and be under the control and in the pay of the State, or of a party.

States may have ideals as well as individuals, and embody the noblest elements of advanced civilization. Agriculture, manufactures, mining, mechanical arts, give prosperity when allied with and controlled by thrift, skill, intelligence, and honesty; but what is imperishable is the growth and product of developed mind. Greece and Rome live in their buildings, statuary, history, orators, and poems. Pliny said: "To enlarge the bounds of Roman thought is nobler than to extend the limits of Roman power." The founders of the great English universities centuries ago builded wiser than they knew, and opened perennial fountains of knowledge and truth from which have unceasingly flowed fructifying streams. All modern material improvements are the outgrowth of scientific principles applied to practical life. If you would legislate for the increased prosperity and glory of South Carolina, be sure not to forget that this is the outcome of the infinite capacities of children. Hamilton said there was nothing great in the universe but man, and nothing great in man but

mind. "No serious thinker," says Drummond, "can succeed in lessening to his own mind the infinite distance between the mind of man and everything in nature." Fisk says: "On earth there will never be a higher creation than man." Evolutionists say that the series of animals comes to an end in man, that he is at once the crown and master and the rationale of creation. What you know and admire in South Carolina is what has been done by cultivated men and women. What other country can show such a roll of immortal worthies as your Pinckneys and Rutledges, your Marion, Sumter, and Pickens, your Harper, Johnson, O'Neill, your Fuller and Thornwell, your McDuffie and Hayne, Legare and Petigru, and, towering above all contemporaries, peerless in political wisdom, metaphysical subtlety, ignited logic, the great unrivaled American Aristotle, John C. Calhoun?

CHAPTER XXXI.

EDUCATION OF THE COLORED RACE.

References to preceding reports of the United States Bureau of Education, in which this subject has been treated: In annual reports—1870, pp. 61, 337–339; 1871, pp. 6, 7, 61–70; 1872, pp. xvii, xviii; 1873, p. lxvi; 1875, p. xxiii; 1876, p. xvi; 1877, pp. xxxiii–xxxviii; 1878, pp. xxviii–xxxiv; 1879, pp. xxxix–xlv; 1880, p. lviii; 1881, p. lxxxii; 1882–83, pp. liv, xlviii–lvi, xlix, 85; 1883–84, p. liv; 1884–85, p. lxvii; 1885–86, pp. 596, 650–656; 1886–87, pp. 790, 874–881; 1887–88; pp. 20, 21, 167, 169, 983–998; 1888–89, pp. 768, 1412–1439; 1889–90, pp. 620, 621, 624, 634, 1073–1102, 1388–1392, 1395–1485; 1890–91, pp. 620, 624, 792, 808, 915, 961–980, 1469; 1891–92, pp. 8, 686, 688, 713, 861–867, 1002, 1234–1237; 1892–93, pp. 15, 442, 1551–1572, 1976; 1893–94, pp. 1019–1061. Also in Circulars of Information—No. 3, 1883, p. 63; No. 2, 1886, pp. 123–133; No. 3, 1888, p. 122; No. 5, 1888, pp. 53, 54, 59, 60, 80–86; No. 1, 1892, p. 71. Special Report on District of Columbia for 1869, pp. 193, 300, 301–400. Special report, New Orleans Exposition, 1884–85, pp. 468–470, 775–781.

This chapter and the one which follows contain a large amount of matter relating to the advancement of the colored race in the United States. The very creditable exhibit made at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895 by the more progressive element among the negroes aroused new interest in all parts of the country in their educational advancement. In response to the general demand for information on this subject a special effort was made by this Bureau to collect statistics from all the colored schools of the South. It was no easy task on account of the indifference manifested by many of those in charge of private schools. Of the 162 schools of secondary and higher grade known to this office fewer than half the number responded to the first request for information. Even after the fifth request had been sent out a few of the schools had failed to respond. Many of the reports received contained but meager information. Such statistics as could be obtained will be given in detail in succeeding pages of this chapter.

The statistics of public common schools for the negroes are given in connection with the statistics of white schools in the beginning of the first volume of this annual report. On the next page is presented a table which contains in condensed form the more important items of information relating to the number and attendance of colored pupils in the common schools of each of the former slave States. In these sixteen States and the District of Columbia the estimated number of persons 5 to 18 years of age, the school population, was 8,297,160. Of this number 5,573,440 were white children and 2,723,720, or 32.9 per cent, colored. The total enrollment in the white schools was 3,845,414 and in the colored schools 1,441,282. The per cent of white school population enrolled was 69 and the per cent of colored school population enrolled was 52.92. The whites had an average daily attendance of 2,510,907, or 65.30 per cent of their enrollment, while the average attendance of the blacks was 856,312, or 59.41 per cent of their enrollment. There were 89,276 white teachers and 27,081 colored teachers in the public schools of the South in 1895.

An accurate statement of the amounts of money expended by each of the Southern States for the education of the colored children can not be given for the reason that in only two or three of these States are separate accounts kept of the moneys expended for colored schools. Since 1876 the Southern States have expended about $383,000,000 for public schools, and it is fair to estimate that between $75,000,000 and $80,000,000 of this sum must have been expended for the education of colored children. In 1895 the enrollment of colored pupils was a little more than 27 per cent of

the public school enrollment in the Southern States. It is not claimed that they received the benefit of 27 per cent of the school fund and perhaps no one would say they received less than 20 per cent. It is a fact well known that almost the entire burden of educating the colored children of the South falls upon the white property owners of the former slave States. Of the more than $75,000,000 expended in the past twenty years for the instruction of the colored children in Southern public schools but a small per cent was contributed by the negroes themselves in the form of taxes. This vast sum has not been given grudgingly. The white people of the South believe that the State should place a common-school education within the reach of every child, and they have done thus much to give all citizens, white and black, an even start in life.

Common-school statistics classified by race, 1894–95.

State.	Estimated number of persons 5 to 18 years of age.		Percentages of the whole.		Enrolled in the public schools.		Per cent of persons 5 to 18 years enrolled.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama *a*	327,400	280,600	53.85	46.15	190,305	115,709	58.13	41.24
Arkansas	321,100	124,500	72.06	27.94	216,863	82,429	67.54	66.21
Delaware *b*	39,850	8,980	81.60	18.40	28,316	4,858	71.06	54.10
District of Columbia	44,300	24,370	64.51	35.49	26,903	14,654	60.73	60.13
Florida *a*	84,230	66,770	55.79	44.21	59,503	37,272	70.64	55.82
Georgia *a*	357,800	335,900	51.59	48.41	262,530	174,152	73.37	51.85
Kentucky	550,900	94,300	85.38	14.62	394,508	73,463	71.61	77.90
Louisiana	203,400	216,700	48.42	51.58	92,613	63,313	45.53	29.22
Maryland	250,100	72,200	77.62	22.38	161,252	43,492	64.48	60.24
Mississippi	212,700	309,800	40.71	59.29	162,830	187,785	76.55	60.61
Missouri	864,500	52,600	94.26	5.74	612,378	32,199	70.84	61.21
North Carolina *a*	379,940	227,800	62.52	37.48	242,572	128,318	63.84	56.33
South Carolina	171,600	288,100	37.34	62.66	103,729	119,292	60.45	41.41
Tennessee *a*	466,900	157,600	74.77	25.23	381,632	101,524	81.74	64.42
Texas *a*	693,800	212,500	76.55	23.45	463,888	134,720	66.86	63.40
Virginia	337,320	240,000	58.43	41.57	235,533	120,453	69.82	50.19
West Virginia	267,600	11,000	96.04	3.96	210,059	7,649	78.50	69.54
Total	5,573,440	2,723,720	67.15	32.85	3,845,414	1,441,282	69.00	52.92

State.	Average daily attendance.		Per cent of enrollment.		Number of teachers.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama *a*	*c* 112,800	*c* 72,300	59.27	62.48	4,412	2,196
Arkansas	126,820	48,120	58.48	58.38	5,124	1,796
Delaware *b*	*c* 19,746	*c* 2,947	69.73	60.66	734	106
District of Columbia	20,446	10,903	76.60	74.40	660	331
Florida *a*	38,752	25,386	65.13	68.11	2,151	772
Georgia *a*	157,626	104,414	60.04	59.96	5,827	3,206
Kentucky	243,703	28,663	61.77	39.02	8,578	1,373
Louisiana	67,887	41,548	73.30	65.62	2,506	915
Maryland	103,031	18,531	63.89	42.61	3,797	716
Mississippi	99,048	103,635	60.83	55.19	4,591	3,264
Missouri	*c* 406,180	*c* 20,430	66.33	63.45	13,750	737
North Carolina *a*	154,361	75,940	63.64	59.18	5,285	3,075
South Carolina	74,359	84,895	71.69	71.17	2,696	1,869
Tennessee *a*	277,678	65,986	72.76	65.00	6,928	1,909
Texas *a*	334,884	83,185	72.19	61.75	9,960	2,502
Virginia	137,830	64,700	58.52	53.71	6,211	2,081
West Virginia	135,756	4,729	64.63	61.83	6,066	233
Total	2,510,907	856,312	65.30	59.41	89,276	27,081

a In 1893–94. *b* In 1891–92. *c* Approximately.

ILLITERACY OF THE COLORED POPULATION.

What have the negroes themselves accomplished to justify the generosity of the white people of the South and the benevolence of the people of the North? It may be said that in 1860 the colored race was totally illiterate. In 1870 more than 85 per cent of the colored population of the South, 10 years of age and over, could not read and write. In 1880 the per cent of illiterates had been reduced to 75, and in 1890 the illiterates comprised about 60 per cent of the colored population 10 years of age and over. In several of the Southern States the percentage is even below 50 per

cent. The comparative statistics for 1870, 1880, and 1890, showing the illiteracy of the colored race, are given for each of the Southern States in the following table:

Illiteracy of the colored population 10 years of age and over.

State.	1890.			1880.			1870.		
	Population 10 years of age and over.	Illiterates.		Population 10 years of age and over.	Illiterates.		Population 10 years of age and over.	Illiterates.	
		Number.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.
Alabama	479,430	331,200	69.1	399,058	321,680	80.6	328,835	290,953	88.1
Arkansas	217,454	116,655	53.6	137,971	103,473	75.0	85,249	69,244	81.2
Delaware	21,608	10,692	49.5	19,245	11,068	57.5	16,570	11,820	71.3
District of Columbia	61,041	21,389	35.0	45,035	21,790	48.4	33,833	23,843	70.5
Florida	119,824	60,204	50.6	85,513	60,420	70.7	62,748	52,899	84.1
Georgia	600,623	404,015	67.3	479,863	391,482	81.6	573,211	343,654	92.1
Kentucky	197,089	110,530	55.9	190,223	133,895	70.4	156,483	131,099	83.8
Louisiana	392,642	283,245	72.1	328,153	259,429	79.1	262,359	225,409	85.9
Maryland	161,106	80,723	50.1	151,278	90,172	59.6	127,708	88,707	69.5
Mississippi	516,929	314,858	60.9	425,397	319,753	75.2	305,074	265,282	87.0
Missouri	114,169	47,562	41.7	104,393	56,244	53.9	83,393	60,648	72.7
North Carolina	392,589	235,981	60.1	351,145	271,943	77.4	272,497	231,293	84.8
South Carolina	470,232	301,262	64.1	394,750	310,071	78.5	289,969	235,212	81.1
Tennessee	309,800	167,971	54.2	271,386	194,495	71.7	225,482	185,970	82.4
Texas	336,154	176,484	52.5	255,265	192,520	75.4	169,965	150,808	88.7
Virginia	455,682	260,678	57.2	428,450	315,060	73.2	362,624	322,355	88.9
West Virginia	24,757	10,932	44.4	18,446	10,139	55.0	12,905	9,997	77.4
Total	4,870,910	2,934,441	60.2	4,085,571	3,064,234	75.0	3,168,905	2,699,193	85.2

In thirty years 40 per cent of the illiteracy of the colored race had disappeared. In education and in industrial progress this race had accomplished more than it could have achieved in centuries in a different environment without the aid of the whites. The negro has needed the example as well as the aid of the white man. In sections where the colored population is massed and removed from contact with the whites the progress of the negro has been retarded. He is an imitative being, and has a constant desire to attempt whatever he sees the white man do. He believes in educating his children because he can see that an increase of knowledge will enable them to better their condition. But segregate the colored population and you take away its object lessons. The statistics exhibited in the following table in a measure confirm the truth of this position:

Colored population and illiteracy in 1890 compared.

State.	Colored population.	Per cent to total.	Per cent of colored illiteracy.	Per cent of white illiteracy.
1	2	3	4	5
West Virginia	32,717	4.3	44.4	13.0
Missouri	150,726	5.6	41.7	7.1
Kentucky	268,173	14.4	55.9	15.8
Delaware	28,427	16.9	49.5	7.4
Maryland	215,897	20.7	50.1	7.0
Texas	489,588	21.9	52.5	10.8
Tennessee	430,881	24.4	54.2	17.8
Arkansas	309,427	27.4	53.6	16.3
District of Columbia	75,697	32.9	35.0	2.7
North Carolina	562,565	34.8	60.1	17.9
Virginia	635,858	38.4	57.2	13.9
Florida	166,473	42.5	50.6	11.3
Alabama	679,299	44.9	69.1	18.2
Georgia	858,996	46.8	67.3	16.3
Louisiana	560,192	50.1	72.1	20.1
Mississippi	744,749	57.8	60.9	11.9
South Carolina	689,141	59.9	64.1	17.9

Here it is shown that in the States where the colored population is greatest in proportion to the total population, or where such colored population is massed, as in the "black belt" of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, there the per cent of illiteracy is highest. In this table the Southern States are

arranged with reference to their proportion of colored population, West Virginia standing first with only 4.3 per cent, and South Carolina at the foot of the list with 59.9 per cent colored population. The per cent for each State is shown in the third column. Leaving out of the count the District of Columbia, in which there is a perfected system of city schools, the percentages of illiteracy in column 4 seem to bear a close relation to the percentages of population in column 3. The eight States having less than 30 per cent of colored population have, with a single exception, less than 55 per cent of colored illiteracy. The eight States having more than 30 per cent of colored population have, with two exceptions, more than 60 per cent of illiteracy. In the fifth column the per cent of white illiteracy is given for each State.

SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION.

There are in the United States, so far as known to this Bureau, 162 institutions for the secondary and higher education of the colored race. Six of these schools are not located within the boundaries of the former slave States. Of the 162 institutions, 32 are of the grade of colleges, 73 are classed as normal schools, and the remaining 57 are of secondary or high school grade. While all these schools teach pupils in the elementary studies, they also carry instruction beyond the common school branches. State aid is extended to 35 of the 162 institutions, and 18 of these are wholly supported by the States in which they are established. The remaining schools are supported wholly or in part by benevolent societies and from tuition fees.

Detailed statistics of the 162 institutions will be found in this chapter. In these schools were employed 1,549 teachers, 711 males and 838 females. The total number of students was 37,102; of these, 23,420 were in elementary grades, 11,724 in secondary grades, and 1,958 were pursuing collegiate studies. The following table shows for each State the number of schools and teachers and the number of students in elementary, secondary, and collegiate grades:

Summary of teachers and students in institutions for the colored race in 1894–95.

State.	No. of schools.	Teachers.			Students.									Total.
					Elementary.			Secondary.			Collegiate.			
		Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	
Alabama	11	92	91	183	1,218	1,431	2,649	625	544	1,169	58	14	72	3,890
Arkansas	6	26	19	45	279	385	664	171	135	306	26	5	31	1,001
Delaware	1	3	0	3	.....	.....	.....	13	2	15	10	4	14	29
District of Columbia	4	74	29	103	125	154	279	238	543	781	327	5	332	1,392
Florida	6	18	26	44	231	276	507	93	156	249	.....	.....	.....	756
Georgia	21	66	130	196	1,518	2,332	3,850	592	732	1,324	167	61	228	5,402
Illinois	1	1	1	2	.....	.....	.....	7	21	28	.....	.....	.....	28
Indiana	2	3	3	6	45	52	97	33	60	93	.....	.....	.....	190
Kentucky	7	30	37	67	485	916	1,401	186	333	519	101	26	127	2,047
Louisiana (*a*)	7	5	19	24	161	206	367	67	85	152	50	0	50	569
Maryland	5	13	17	30	67	156	223	70	192	262	64	13	77	562
Mississippi	9	37	30	67	631	572	1,203	277	229	506	96	15	111	1,820
Missouri	5	19	19	38	125	96	221	139	136	275	7	0	7	503
New Jersey	1	2	3	5	5	5	10	15	17	32	.....	.....	.....	42
North Carolina	26	102	99	201	1,203	1,699	2,902	1,077	1,086	2,163	151	69	220	5,285
Ohio	1	10	8	18	77	63	140	37	77	114	43	8	51	305
Pennsylvania	1	11	0	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	167	0	167	167
South Carolina	12	36	64	100	1,071	1,107	2,178	301	500	801	63	49	112	3,091
Tennessee	12	69	96	165	1,210	1,703	2,913	576	641	1,217	121	35	156	4,286
Texas	9	34	47	81	556	882	1,438	281	325	606	62	53	115	2,159
Virginia	13	53	96	149	923	1,356	2,279	424	574	998	85	3	88	3,365
West Virginia	2	7	4	11	45	54	99	50	64	114	.....	.....	.....	213
Total	162	711	838	1,549	9,975	13,445	23,420	5,272	6,452	11,724	1,598	360	1,958	37,102

a Two schools not reporting.

Of the 13,682 students in secondary and higher grades there were 990 in classical courses, 811 in scientific courses, 295 in business courses, and 9,331 in English courses. The distribution of these students by States, the classification by courses of study, and the apportionment by sex can be seen by consulting the following table (p. 1335).

Classification of colored students, by courses of study, 1894–95.

State.	Students in classical courses.			Students in scientific courses.			Students in English course.			Students in business course.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Alabama	8	3	11	15	8	23	499	501	1,000	16	9	25
Arkansas	10	6	16	5	9	14	48	78	126	9	8	17
Delaware	0	0	0	10	4	14	13	2	15	0	0	0
District of Columbia	17	4	21	3	0	3	71	117	188	66	41	107
Florida	0	0	0	0	0	0	148	268	416	0	0	0
Georgia	44	5	49	56	25	81	628	991	1,619	0	0	0
Illinois	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	21	28	0	0	0
Indiana	33	60	93	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kentucky	29	23	52	91	157	248	26	34	60	2	8	10
Louisiana	68	19	87	21	17	38	318	249	567	0	0	0
Maryland	6	1	7	6	1	7	58	104	162	0	0	0
Mississippi	30	5	35	2	2	4	166	205	371	47	25	72
Missouri	13	6	19	41	71	112	40	30	70	9	7	16
New Jersey	5	7	12	0	10	10	5	0	5	0	0	0
North Carolina	105	29	134	57	45	102	305	293	598	33	0	33
Ohio	22	4	26	15	7	22	77	62	139	9	6	15
South Carolina	48	42	90	17	10	27	327	513	840	0	0	0
Tennessee	138	111	249	26	4	30	451	616	1,067	0	0	0
Texas	6	1	7	12	10	22	244	287	531	0	0	0
Virginia	23	41	64	17	37	54	578	780	1,358	0	0	0
West Virginia	9	9	18	0	0	0	77	94	171	0	0	0
Total	614	376	990	394	417	811	4,086	5,245	9,331	191	104	295

There were 4,514 colored students studying to become teachers, 1,902 males and 2,612 females. Many of these students were included among those pursuing the English and other courses noted in the foregoing table.

The number of students graduating from high school courses was 649, the number of males being 282 and the number of females 367. There were 844 graduates from normal courses, 357 males and 487 females. The number of college graduates was 186, the number of males being 151 and the number of females 35. The distribution of graduates by States, as well as the number of normal students, can be found in the following table:

Number of normal students and graduates in 1894–95.

State.	Students in normal course.			Graduates of high school course.			Graduates of normal course.			Graduates of collegiate course.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Alabama	426	359	785	58	56	114	81	81	162	10	0	10
Arkansas	17	10	27	2	5	7	1	4	5	13	14	27
Delaware	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
District of Columbia	24	71	95	0	0	0	24	41	65	4	2	6
Florida	30	48	78	0	0	0	4	2	6	0	0	0
Georgia	117	303	420	30	34	64	7	41	48	6	3	9
Illinois	0	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indiana	0	0	0	7	7	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kentucky	27	55	82	12	19	31	10	29	39	0	0	0
Louisiana	30	56	86	10	11	21	16	13	29	3	0	3
Maryland	38	37	75	3	17	20	6	8	14	1	0	1
Mississippi	122	124	246	27	16	43	16	14	30	13	1	14
Missouri	64	36	100	2	3	5	7	2	9	1	0	1
North Carolina	359	434	793	25	34	59	69	60	129	27	1	28
Ohio	50	57	107	5	9	14	7	8	15	4	0	4
Pennsylvania	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38	0	38
South Carolina	105	161	266	28	54	82	25	48	73	8	8	16
Tennessee	212	353	565	35	30	65	35	30	65	17	5	22
Texas	35	159	194	4	2	6	2	30	32	5	1	6
Virginia	196	280	476	32	70	102	41	74	115	1	0	1
West Virginia	50	64	114	2	0	2	6	2	8	0	0	0
Total	1,902	2,612	4,514	282	367	649	357	487	844	151	35	186

There were 1,166 colored students studying learned professions—1,028 males and 138 females. Of the professional students 585 were studying theology, 310 medicine, 55 law, 45 pharmacy, 25 dentistry, and 8 engineering. The 138 female students were receiving professional training for nurses. There were 42 graduates in theology, 67 in medicine, 21 in law, 2 in dentistry, 16 in pharmacy, and 25 in nurse training. The following table (p. 1336) gives the distribution of professional students and graduates by States.

Colored professional students and graduates in 1894–95.

State.	Students in professional courses.			Professional students and graduates.													
				Theology.		Law.		Medicine.		Dentistry.		Pharmacy.		Nurse training.		Mechanical or electrical engineering.	
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.	Students.	Graduates.
Alabama	130	16	146	121	12	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	16	6	2	0
Arkansas	12	0	12	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
District of Columbia	251	34	285	73	8	33	15	119	22	13	0	13	6	34	9	0	0
Florida	4	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Georgia	94	40	134	92	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	6	0	0
Kentucky	26	0	26	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Louisiana	48	0	48	20	0	0	0	28	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maryland	9	0	9	9	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mississippi	12	25	37	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	....	25	....	0	0
Missouri	5	0	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Jersey	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	....	0	0
North Carolina	128	2	130	42	0	14	3	56	8	0	0	16	5	2	0	0	0
Ohio	10	15	25	10	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	....	15	4	0	0
Pennsylvania	40	0	40	40	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Carolina	7	0	7	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tennessee	170	0	170	30	2	6	3	102	32	12	2	14	5	0	0	6	0
Texas	17	4	21	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
Virginia	65	0	65	65	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1,028	138	1,166	585	42	55	21	310	67	25	2	45	16	138	25	8	0

The importance of industrial training is almost universally recognized by teachers of the colored race, and the negroes themselves are beginning to see its value. This feature of colored education was treated at some length in the Education Report for 1893–94. More complete statistics are presented this year. For the first time the number of students in each industrial branch has been ascertained. Of the 37,102 students in the 162 colored schools nearly one-third, or 12,058, were receiving industrial training. Of these, 1,061 were learning farm and garden work, 1,786 carpentry, 235 bricklaying, 202 plastering, 259 painting, 67 tin and sheet-metal work, 314 forging, 200 machine-shop work, 147 shoemaking, 706 printing, 1,783 sewing, 5,460 cooking, and 1,017 were learning other industries. An exhibit of the industrial side of colored education is made in the following table:

Industrial training of colored students in 1894–95.

State.	Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.												
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
Alabama	1,159	1,278	2,437	225	289	33	31	29	13	66	16	46	64	621	309	378
Arkansas	105	62	167	15	20	0	0	0	0	20	15	0	45	33	8	24
Delaware	21	0	21	7	21	2	0	4	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	0
District of Columbia	77	87	164	.....	25	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	35	87	0	5
Florida	69	152	221	20	64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	102	35	0
Georgia	489	1,455	1,944	39	143	13	13	14	30	40	0	5	76	1,325	198	292
Kentucky	143	217	360	30	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	62	62	0
Louisiana	281	211	492	79	122	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	43	196	15	0
Maryland	58	156	214	58	16	0	0	0	0	5	0	6	0	119	84	0
Mississippi	189	285	474	293	136	0	3	23	0	71	0	27	32	191	94	2
Missouri	94	107	201	.....	40	0	0	0	0	20	25	0	9	107	0	0
New Jersey	20	22	42	6	20	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	17	22	0	0
North Carolina	659	1,142	1,801	89	291	48	27	47	4	0	50	42	99	750	538	25
Ohio	50	57	107	.....	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	.....	24	53	44	180
South Carolina	486	548	1,034	54	208	118	118	126	0	70	77	6	86	536	117	0
Tennessee	208	408	616	20	101	0	0	6	0	6	0	87	365	55	11	
Texas	159	301	460	21	120	16	4	7	1	2	0	1	42	185	33	.....
Virginia	365	765	1,130	105	71	5	6	7	1	15	6	14	38	666	191	100
West Virginia	59	114	173	.....	44	0	0	0	2	0	0	9	40	0	0	
Total	4,691	7,367	12,058	1,061	1,786	235	202	259	67	314	200	147	706	5,460	1,783	1,017

Colored institutions received benefactions in 1894-95 amounting to $304,822. They received State and municipal aid amounting to $188,936; from productive funds, $98,278; from tuition fees, $101,146, and from other sources and unclassified sums amounting to $534,272. The latter figure includes the sums received by colored agricultural and mechanical colleges from the United States. The income of the colored institutions, so far as reported, amounted to $922,632. In the libraries of the 162 colored schools there were 175,788 volumes, valued at $357,519. The value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus was $6,475,590, and the value of other property and endowments was $2,381,748. The following table summarizes the financial reports received from the 162 colored institutions:

Financial summary of the 162 colored schools.

State.	Value of benefactions or bequests, 1894-95.	Volumes in libraries.	Value of libraries.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of any other property or endowment.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1894-95.
Alabama	$64,903	15,212	$11,350	$383,269	$150,363	$14,500	$13,276	$9,068	$112,769	$149,613
Arkansas	2,894	4,450	5,125	132,200	35,500	6,000	3,860	2,450	2,594	14,904
Delaware	0	281	400	20,700	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,000	4,000
District of Columbia	0	16,350	.....	670,000	200,000	29,500	7,987	8,500	11,541	57,528
Florida	.....	1,866	1,475	74,300	.....	2,800	657	.....	12,019	15,476
Georgia	27,888	24,865	13,560	973,959	555,000	2,819	13,573	13,304	52,257	81,953
Illinois	.....	125	250	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Indiana	.....	250	500	10,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky	15,145	8,556	6,265	193,220	103,825	3,000	6,356	4,264	4,176	17,796
Louisiana	11,344	10,227	5,854	474,422	98,750	7,500	7,120	.....	32,475	47,095
Maryland	9,055	2,200	300	64,000	4,500	6,500	3,966	1,117	22,190	33,773
Mississippi	2,500	11,200	10,205	345,000	163,575	4,321	3,941	5,679	36,238	50,179
Missouri	200	831	925	162,125	.....	65,000	1,367	1,284	50	67,701
New Jersey	7,427	500	150	10,000	5,000	3,000	.....	.....	500	3,500
North Carolina	23,568	12,670	6,490	444,995	39,500	7,618	8,496	920	22,644	39,678
Ohio	8,000	5,000	2,000	200,000	25,000	12,500	3,500	2,300	8,700	27,000
Pennsylvania	.....	15,000	.....	212,000	394,800	.....	.....	22,469	11,271	33,740
South Carolina	1,600	6,050	4,730	180,300	41,350	2,150	7,958	1,000	36,668	47,776
Tennessee	25,347	15,482	240,990	629,100	30,000	3,430	11,644	1,227	39,309	55,610
Texas	5,428	5,023	33,330	273,000	500	298	2,681	.....	4,300	7,279
Virginia	95,122	14,150	10,150	938,000	504,085	15,000	3,276	22,603	117,301	158,180
West Virginia	4,401	5,500	3,500	85,000	30,000	3,009	1,488	2,093	3,270	9,851
Total	304,822	175,788	357,549	6,475,590	2,381,748	188,936	101,146	98,278	534,272	922,632

Beginning on the next page is a table giving in detail the statistics of the 162 colored schools so far as reported to this Bureau.

In the concluding pages of this chapter are printed two addresses in which are presented two views of the education of the colored race. The first was delivered at Brooklyn, N. Y., in January, 1896, at the dinner in honor of Alexander Hamilton by Booker T. Washington, principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. The second was delivered before the American Baptist Home Mission Society, at Asbury Park, N. J., May 26, 1896, by Edward C. Mitchell, D. D., president of Leland University, New Orleans, La. Mr. Washington pleads for the industrial as well as the intellectual training of the negro, while Dr. Mitchell advocates the higher education.

Statistics of schools for the education of the

	State and post-office.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.				
				White.		Colored.		
				Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Total.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	ALABAMA.							
1	Athens	Trinity Normal School*	Cong					5
2	Calhoun	Calhoun Colored School	Nonsect	1	12	2	2	17
3	Huntsville	Central Alabama Academy	M. E			2	2	4
4	Marion	Lincoln Normal School	Cong	1	5			6
5	Montgomery	State Normal School for Col'd Students*				12	8	20
6	Normal	State Normal and Industrial School	Nonsect	0	0	18	13	31
7	Selma	Burrell School	Cong	1	4	1	2	8
8	do	Selma University	Bapt		2	4	3	9
9	Talladega	Talladega College	Cong	7	12	0	1	20
10	Tuscaloosa	Stillman Institute	Presb	2				2
11	Tuskegee	Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute	Nonsect			41	25	66
	ARKANSAS.							
12	Arkadelphia	Shorter University	A. M			5	2	7
13	do	Arkadelphia Academy	Bapt			2	2	4
14	Little Rock	Arkansas Baptist College	Bapt			2	2	4
15	do	Philander Smith College	Meth	5	6	3	1	15
16	Pine Bluff	Arkansas Normal College	Nonsect	3	0	3	1	7
17	Southland	Southland College and Normal Institute	Friends	2	4	1	1	8
	DELAWARE.							
18	Dover	State College for Colored Students	Nonsect	1	0	2	0	3
	DIST. COLUMBIA.							
19	Washington	Howard University	Nonsect	40	3	15	6	64
20	do	Normal School, 7th and 8th divisions	Nonsect	0	0	2	6	8
21	do	High School, 7th and 8th divisions*				13	9	22
22	do	Wayland Seminary	Bapt	2	4	2	1	9
	FLORIDA.							
23	Jacksonville	Cookman Institute	M. E	0	6	3	0	9
24	do	Edward Walters College*	A. M. E			3	3	6
25	Live Oak	Florida Institute*	Bapt	3	5			8
26	Ocala	Emerson Home	M. E	0	2	0	0	2
27	Orange Park	Orange Park Normal and Manual Training School.	Cong	3	7	0	0	10
28	Tallahassee	State Normal and Industrial College for Colored Students.	Nonsect	1	0	5	3	9
	GEORGIA.							
29	Athens	Jernal Academy	Bapt			1	3	4
30	do	Knox Institute	Cong			1	3	4
31	do	West Broad Street School				2	4	6
32	Atlanta	Atlanta Baptist Seminary	Bapt	3	2	4	0	9
33	do	Atlanta University	Nonsect	6	10			16
34	do	Gammon School of Theology	M. E	3	0	1	0	4
35	do	Morris Brown College	A. M. E	0	0	4	7	11
36	do	Spelman Seminary	Bapt	0	34	2	2	38
37	do	Storrs School	Cong	0	7	0	0	7
38	Augusta	Haines Normal and Industrial School	Presb		2	3	10	15
39	do	Paine Institute	Meth	2	1	2	1	6
40	do	Walker Baptist Institute	Bapt	0	0	4	4	8
41	College	Georgia State Industrial College		0	0	11	0	11
42	La Grange	La Grange Academy	Bapt			2	2	4
43	McIntosh	Dorchester Academy	Cong	1	6			7
44	Macon	Ballard Normal School	Cong	2	12	0	0	14
45	Roswell	Roswell Public School*						
46	Savannah	Beach Institute						
47	South Atlanta	Clark University	M. E	6	5	4	4	19
48	Thomasville	Allen Normal and Industrial School	Cong	0	7	0	0	7
49	Waynesboro	Haven Normal Academy*				2	4	6
	ILLINOIS.							
50	Cairo	Sumner High School				1	1	2

*Statistics of 1893-94.

colored race, 1894–95—Detail table, Part I.

Pupils enrolled.						Students.												Graduates.						
Total.		Elementary grades.		Secondary grades.		Collegiate classes		Classical courses		Scientific courses		English course.		Normal course.		Business course.		High school course.		Normal course.		Collegiate course.		
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
50	118	36	102	14	16	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
125	146	125	146	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	125	146	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
53	77	53	77	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	0	3	....	....	3
50	90	50	90	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	4
420	433	293	294	127	145	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	127	145	....	....	....	....	9	10	....	....	5
199	208	56	42	143	165	0	1	0	0	....	....	199	208	13	13	16	9	0	0	9	13	0	0	6
135	141	126	133	9	8	....	....	0	0	9	8	113	129	10	25	0	0	3	0	0	0	....	....	7
100	118	65	83	35	35	....	....	2	3	....	....	35	18	....	....	....	....	55	56	....	....	8	0	8
258	323	204	305	48	18	6	0	6	0	6	0	0	0	6	6	0	0	....	....	46	40	2	0	9
31	0	....	....	31	0	....	....	....	....	....	....	27	0	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10
480	329	210	159	218	157	52	13	....	....	....	....	....	....	270	170	....	....	....	....	17	15	....	....	11
39	43	19	31	13	12	7	0	5	1	....	....	31	43	8	7	3	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	12
26	60	15	40	11	20	....	....	....	....	4	8	17	35	....	....	....	....	1	1	....	....	....	....	13
70	80	55	58	21	16	....	....	2	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	6	6	1	4	1	4	....	....	14
123	189	88	171	20	17	15	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	13	14	15
123	69	43	20	80	49	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	16
89	90	59	65	26	21	4	4	3	3	1	1	....	....	9	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	17
23	6	....	....	13	2	10	4	0	0	10	4	13	2	0	0	0	0	....	....	0	0	0	0	18
393	194	36	93	30	96	327	5	17	4	3	0	71	117	22	47	0	0	....	....	8	10	4	2	19
2	24	0	0	2	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	24	0	0	....	....	2	24	0	0	20
197	421	....	....	197	421	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	66	41	....	....	....	....	....	....	21
98	63	89	61	9	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	14	7	....	....	22
103	144	75	111	28	33	....	....	....	....	....	....	84	129	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	23
96	63	74	44	22	19	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	24
55	81	30	35	25	46	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	21	40	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	25
0	50	0	9	0	41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26
49	57	38	49	11	8	....	....	....	....	....	....	49	57	3	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	27
21	37	14	28	7	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	32	6	5	....	....	....	....	4	2	....	....	28
68	56	48	34	21	21	0	0	0	0	2	2	20	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	29
85	159	83	153	2	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	83	153	....	....	....	....	1	0	....	....	....	....	30
196	261	126	130	70	131	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	3	0	0	....	....	31
150	0	72	0	50	0	28	0	0	0	....	....	50	0	6	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	....	....	32
78	139	64	85	44	4	13	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	0	83	....	....	10	3	0	6	2	2	33
84	0	....	....	....	....	84	0	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	34
203	281	155	223	24	29	24	29	3	0	24	0	155	223	0	29	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	0	35
0	491	0	416	0	52	0	23	0	0	0	3	0	52	0	14	....	....	0	7	0	2	0	0	36
75	147	75	147	0	0	0	0	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	0	0	0	0	....	....	37
136	262	116	142	20	120	....	....	....	....	....	....	48	160	3	0	....	....	2	8	2	8	....	....	38
99	82	28	25	66	52	5	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	9	1	....	....	4	1	39
36	55	....	....	36	55	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	40
201	0	101	0	91	0	9	0	22	0	25	0	13	0	10	0	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	41
69	87	64	87	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	64	87	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	42
175	250	164	244	11	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	175	250	16	15	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	43
125	275	110	225	15	50	0	0	0	0	5	20	10	30	2	8	0	0	1	5	1	5	0	0	44
143	146	111	109	32	37	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	45
....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	46
160	181	116	130	40	51	4	0	19	5	....	....	....	....	20	48	....	....	....	....	2	14	....	....	47
45	130	35	112	10	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	18	0	6	0	0	1	2	1	2	0	0	48
105	167	50	67	55	100	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	55	100	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	49
7	21	....	....	7	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	21	0	5	0	0	....	....	....	....	....	....	50

Statistics of schools for the education of the colored

	State and post-office.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.				
				White.		Colored.		
				Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Total.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	INDIANA.							
51	Evansville	Governor High School		2	1			3
52	New Albany	Scribner High School	Nonsect			1	2	3
	KENTUCKY.							
53	Berea	Berea College	Nonsect	15	8	0	0	23
54	Frankfort	State Normal School for Colored Persons	Nonsect			3	3	6
55	Lebanon	St. Augustine's Academy*	R. C		3			3
56	Lexington	Chandler Normal school*	Cong				10	10
57	Louisville	Christian Bible School	Christian	1	0	1	0	2
58	do	Central High School	Nonsect			8	9	17
59	Paris	Paris Colored High School	Nonsect			2	4	6
	LOUISIANA.							
60	Alexandria	Alexandria Academy *a*						
61	Baldwin	Gilbert Academy and Industrial College	M. E			2	5	7
62	New Iberia	Mount Carmel Convent *a*						
63	New Orleans	Leland University	Bapt	3	6	3	1	13
64	do	New Orleans University	M. E	6	6	8	4	24
65	do	Southern University	Nonsect	5	2	1	5	13
66	do	Straight University	Cong	4	18	1	1	24
	MARYLAND.							
67	Baltimore	Baltimore City Colored High School		1	4	0	0	5
68	do	Morgan College	M. E	4	3	1	1	9
69	Hebbville	Baltimore Normal School for Training of Colored Teachers.*				1		1
70	Melvale	Industrial Home for Colored Girls	Nonsect		6			6
71	Princess Anne	Princess Anne Academy		3	0	3	3	9
	MISSISSIPPI.							
72	Clinton	Mount Hermon Female Seminary*						
73	Edwards	Southern Christian Institute	Christian	2	3	0	0	5
74	Holly Springs	Rust University	M. E	3	3	3	1	10
75	do	State Colored Normal School	Nonsect	0	0	1	1	2
76	Jackson	Jackson College	Bapt	2	3	1	2	8
77	Meridian	Meridian Academy	M. E			2	1	3
78	Natchez	Natchez College*				1	1	2
79	Tougaloo	Tougaloo University	Cong	7	15			22
80	Westside	Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College.	Nonsect	0	0	15	0	15
	MISSOURI.							
81	Hannibal	Douglass High School*				1	1	2
82	Jefferson City	Lincoln Institute		2	0	6	3	11
83	Kansas City	Lincoln High School		0	0	3	1	4
84	Mill Spring	Hale's College	Nonsect	4	7	0	0	11
85	Sedalia	Geo. R. Smith College	M. E	1	3	2	4	10
	NEW JERSEY.							
86	Bordentown	Colored Normal and Industrial School	Nonsect			2	3	5
	NORTH CAROLINA.							
87	Ashboro	Ashboro Normal School		1	3			4
88	Beaufort	Washburn Seminary	Nonsect	1	4	0	1	6
89	Charlotte	Biddle University	Presb	0	0	11	0	11
90	Clinton	Clinton Normal Institute*				1	0	1
91	Concord	Scotia Seminary	Presb	1	10	1	5	17
92	Elizabeth City	State Colored Normal School	Nonsect			2	1	3
93	Fayetteville	State Colored Normal School	Nonsect	0	0	2	1	3
94	Franklinton	Albion Academy, Normal and Industrial School.	Presb			5	4	9
95	do	Franklinton Christian College	Christian			2	3	5

*Statistics of 1893-94.

race, 1894–95—Detail table, Part I—Continued.

Pupils enrolled.						Students.												Graduates.						
Total.		Elementary grades.		Secondary grades.		Collegiate classes		Classical courses		Scientific courses		English course.		Normal course.		Business course.		High school course.		Normal course.		Collegiate course.		
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
21	44	....	....	21	44	....	....	21	44	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	4	3	....	....	0	0	51
60	65	45	52	12	16	....	....	12	16	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	4	....	....	....	....	52
248	212	139	132	64	66	45	14	17	5	39	11	....	....	0	4	....	....	3	0	0	4	....	....	53
43	62	24	35	19	27	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	19	27	....	....	....	....	1	6	....	....	54
0	76	....	35	....	41	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	55
0	238	....	238	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	56
26	0	....	....	....	....	26	0	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	57
282	524	232	386	50	138	....	....	....	....	50	138	....	....	6	16	....	....	6	16	6	16	....	....	58
173	163	90	90	53	61	30	12	12	18	2	8	26	34	2	8	2	8	3	3	3	3	....	....	59
....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	60
95	75	68	63	15	6	12	6	12	6	1	0	114	27	1	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	61
....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	62
200	239	170	187	20	39	10	13	18	5	0	0	190	200	13	13	....	....	3	3	3	3	1	0	63
259	353	212	319	31	34	7	0	33	8	....	....	....	....	5	26	....	....	6	6	3	4	1	0	64
118	190	98	158	12	28	8	4	....	....	0	1	....	....	1	3	....	....	1	2	1	2	0	0	65
255	314	161	206	67	85	50	0	5	0	20	16	14	22	10	12	....	....	....	....	9	4	1	0	66
40	100	....	....	40	100	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	11	....	....	0	0	67
103	57	46	50	2	1	55	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	0	0	5	2	1	0	68
7	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	69
0	160	0	90	0	70	....	....	....	....	....	....	0	60	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	70
58	44	21	16	28	21	9	7	6	1	6	1	58	44	31	27	....	....	1	6	1	6	0	0	71
78	114	78	114	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	72
35	47	28	40	4	4	3	3	1	1	2	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	0	0	0	0	0	0	73
113	117	56	71	49	48	6	0	22	4	....	....	56	71	33	44	....	....	....	....	2	2	2	0	74
83	84	32	39	28	24	34	10	7	0	....	....	....	....	67	63	32	25	....	....	4	1	4	1	75
80	82	0	0	80	82	....	....	....	....	....	....	80	82	....	....	....	....	3	1	....	....	....	....	76
57	112	40	86	17	26	....	....	....	....	....	....	30	52	....	....	....	....	10	15	8	10	....	....	77
50	86	24	58	26	28	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	78
201	176	173	159	28	17	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	22	17	....	....	....	....	2	1	....	....	79
298	7	200	5	45	0	53	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	15	0	14	0	....	....	7	0	80
21	24	6	4	15	20	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	81
111	94	64	67	41	26	7	0	9	0	....	....	....	....	39	26	....	....	....	....	7	2	1	0	82
36	64	0	0	36	64	0	0	0	0	36	64	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	83
48	25	5	5	43	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	10	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	84
45	35	50	20	4	6	....	....	4	6	5	7	40	30	....	....	5	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	85
20	22	5	5	15	17	....	....	5	7	0	10	5	0	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	86
100	90	25	20	75	70	....	....	....	....	....	....	18	9	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	87
79	84	69	77	10	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	7	10	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	88
260	0	19	0	172	0	69	0	69	0	....	....	30	0	30	0	30	0	....	....	30	0	13	0	89
25	50	19	46	6	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	6	4	....	....	....	....	6	4	....	....	90
0	283	0	268	0	15	....	....	0	8	....	....	....	....	0	15	....	....	0	4	0	7	9	0	91
50	114	14	40	32	62	5	11	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	0	0	0	0	0	0	92
42	64	....	....	42	64	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	93
104	131	15	18	91	111	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	6	4	....	....	....	....	94
72	90	66	80	4	12	....	....	....	....	2	2	....	....	4	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	95

a No report.

Statistics of schools for the education of the colored

	State and post-office.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.				
				White.		Colored.		
				Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Total.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	NORTH CAROLINA—continued.							
96	Franklinton	State Colored Normal School				4	4	8
97	Goldsboro	do	Nonsect	0	1	2	0	3
98	Greensboro	Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race.*				7	0	7
99	do	Bennett College*	Meth			5	5	10
100	Kings Mountain	Lincoln Academy	Cong		6			6
101	Lumberton	Whitin Normal School	Nonsect	0	0	1	1	2
102	Pee Dee	Barrett Collegiate and Industrial Institute.	Nonsect	0	0	2	2	4
103	Plymouth	State Colored Normal School	Nonsect			2	1	3
104	Raleigh	Shaw University	Bapt	12	4	8	2	26
105	do	St. Augustine's School	P. E	2	0	5	5	12
106	Reidsville	City Graded School (colored)		2	7	2	4	15
107	Salisbury	Livingston College	A. M. E. Z.			11	8	19
108	do	State Colored Normal School	Nonsect	0	0	3	1	4
109	Warrenton	Shiloh Institute	Bapt			2	2	4
110	Wilmington	Gregory Normal Institute	Cong	1	11	0	0	12
111	Windsor	Rankin-Richards Institute	Nonsect			2	1	3
112	Winton	Waters Normal Institute	Bapt			2	2	4
	OHIO.							
113	Wilberforce	Wilberforce University	A. M. E	1	3	9	5	18
	PENNSYLVANIA.							
114	Lincoln University.	Lincoln University*	Presb	11				11
	SOUTH CAROLINA.							
115	Aiken	Schofield Normal and Industrial School	Nonsect	2	6	4	3	15
116	Beaufort	Beaufort Academy*				1	1	2
117	do	Harbison Institute	Presb			2	2	4
118	Camden	Browning Industrial Home and School	M. E		4			4
119	Charleston	Avery Normal Institute	Cong	1	4	1	2	8
120	do	Wallingford Academy*				1	5	6
121	Chester	Brainerd Institute	Presb	1	3	1	3	8
122	Columbia	Allen University	A. M			4	2	6
123	do	Benedict College	Bapt	2	5	1	0	8
124	Frogmore	Penn Industrial and Normal School	Nonsect	0	3	4	5	12
125	Greenwood	Brewer Normal School	Cong	1	6			7
126	Orangeburg	Claflin University and Agricultural College and Mechanics' Institute.	Nonsect	7	3	3	7	20
	TENNESSEE.							
127	Jonesboro	Warner Institute	Cong	0	3	0	1	4
128	Knoxville	Austin High School	Nonsect			6	4	10
129	do	Knoxville College	U. Presb	5	16			21
130	Maryville	Freedmen's Normal Institute	Friends	1	2	7	4	14
131	Memphis	Hannibal Medical College	Nonsect	0	0	11	0	11
132	do	Le Moyne Normal Institute*		0	0	3	14	17
133	Morristown	Morristown Normal Academy*	M. E			5	13	18
134	Murfreesboro	Bradley Academy*						
135	Nashville	Central Tennessee College	M. E	4	5	2	0	11
136	do	Fisk University	Cong	10	20	1	0	31
137	do	Meigs's High School	Nonsect			4	8	12
138	do	Roger Williams University	Bapt	4	5	6	1	16
	TEXAS.							
139	Austin	Tillotson College	Cong	3	10	0	0	13
140	Brenham	East End High School*				1	1	2
141	Crockett	Mary Allen Seminary*				1	13	14
142	Galveston	Central High School	Nonsect	0	0	4	2	6
143	Hearne	Hearne Academy and Normal and Industrial Institute.	Bapt			2	2	4
144	Marshall	Bishop College	Bapt	3	8	6	1	18

* Statistics of 1893-94.

race, 1894–95—Detail table, Part I—Continued.

Pupils enrolled.						Students.												Graduates.						
Total.		Elementary grades.		Secondary grades.		Collegiate classes		Classical courses		Scientific courses		English course.		Normal course.		Business course.		High school course.		Normal course.		Collegiate course.		
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
140	116	19	26	121	90	....	....	11	6	21	7	96	79	71	90	....	....	3	3	5	17	....	....	96
30	75	20	44	10	31	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	97
37	26	....	....	30	19	7	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	98
97	106	5	0	92	106	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	12	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	99
62	136	57	122	14	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	5	14	....	....	....	....	3	2	....	....	100
38	43	12	19	24	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	....	....	24	26	....	....	0	0	0	0	0	0	101
50	85	20	30	22	32	17	14	4	3	19	12	10	12	14	18	3	0	7	9	4	7	1	0	102
62	118	20	45	42	73	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	42	73	....	....	....	....	2	0	....	....	103
194	168	70	59	90	85	30	28	0	0	3	2	20	30	90	85	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	104
79	139	54	111	18	23	7	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	0	1	....	....	105
450	361	420	310	30	51	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	0	0	....	....	....	....	106
79	69	37	38	26	27	16	4	16	4	0	0	0	0	26	27	0	0	....	....	10	7	3	0	107
50	51	43	37	7	14	0	0	0	0	7	14	43	37	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	....	....	108
40	55	15	26	25	29	....	....	5	8	5	8	5	8	2	2	....	....	3	5	3	5	....	....	109
135	225	95	165	40	60	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	20	35	....	....	6	7	6	7	....	....	110
35	75	25	50	10	25	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	111
91	120	64	68	44	45	....	....	....	....	....	....	91	120	9	23	....	....	0	2	....	....	....	....	112
175	130	77	63	37	77	43	8	22	4	15	7	77	62	50	57	9	6	5	9	7	8	4	0	113
167	....	....	....	....	....	167	0	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	38	0	114
74	149	25	35	49	114	0	0	0	0	0	0	49	114	8	10	0	0	1	9	1	9	0	0	115
185	203	184	196	1	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	116
53	52	46	45	7	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	3	....	....	117
55	95	40	30	25	55	....	....	....	....	....	....	65	85	5	20	....	....	1	2	1	2	....	....	118
135	275	91	158	44	117	0	0	10	18	0	0	34	99	4	21	....	....	4	21	4	21	0	0	119
73	148	60	112	13	36	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	120
74	77	65	70	9	7	....	....	8	0	....	....	1	7	9	7	....	....	4	3	....	....	....	....	121
131	122	52	50	33	29	46	43	1	0	2	0	....	....	43	43	....	....	....	....	6	9	....	....	122
59	76	0	0	59	76	0	0	4	5	0	0	55	71	0	0	....	....	6	10	....	....	....	....	123
136	118	121	104	15	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	14	15	14	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	124
108	123	101	120	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	108	123	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	125
342	228	286	187	39	35	17	6	25	19	15	10	....	....	20	39	....	....	9	9	9	4	8	8	126
50	61	41	50	7	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	48	56	2	6	....	....	0	2	0	1	....	....	127
300	320	298	300	10	12	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	0	2	....	....	....	....	128
146	171	82	104	46	62	18	5	15	5	3	0	0	0	13	11	....	....	9	8	9	8	1	0	129
128	125	51	62	74	60	3	3	0	0	3	3	64	75	64	50	0	0	....	....	7	4	....	....	130
6	1	3	1	3	0	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	1	0	0	1	1	131
223	447	191	386	32	61	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	66	113	....	....	....	....	3	6	....	....	132
141	149	39	51	102	98	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	31	42	....	....	....	....	8	1	....	....	133
136	206	131	187	5	19	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	134
157	169	57	58	64	94	36	17	27	14	9	1	105	119	23	33	....	....	....	....	1	3	3	0	135
212	327	83	138	156	107	46	9	38	9	8	0	....	....	3	79	0	0	18	3	1	7	8	4	136
219	365	176	283	43	82	....	....	43	82	....	....	176	283	....	....	....	....	2	9	....	....	....	....	137
110	117	58	83	34	33	18	1	15	1	3	0	58	83	10	19	....	....	5	5	1	5	4	0	138
95	98	71	82	22	18	0	0	0	0	4	6	91	88	22	18	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	129
203	245	185	216	18	29	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	140
0	232	0	112	0	120	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	0	120	....	....	....	....	0	25	....	....	141
90	122	73	104	17	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	142
35	41	22	29	13	12	....	....	....	....	....	....	13	12	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	143
179	189	112	158	49	16	19	14	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	....	....	....	....	144

Statistics of schools for the education of the colored

	State and post-office.	Name of school.	Religious denomination.	Teachers.				
				White.		Colored.		Total.
				Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	TEXAS—cont'd.							
145	Marshall	Wiley University	M. E	....	2	7	3	12
146	Prairie View	Prairie View State Normal School*	.....	.....	.....	2	3	5
147	Waco	Paul Quinn College	A. M. E	....	....	5	2	7
	VIRGINIA.							
148	Burkeville	Ingleside Seminary	Presb	....	8	....	....	8
149	Hampton	Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.	Nonsect	13	35	9	1	58
150	Lawrenceville	St. Paul Normal and Industrial School	Epis	....	....	2	8	10
151	Longfield	Curry College*	Bapt	....	....	2	2	4
152	Manassas	Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth.	Nonsect	0	0	2	2	4
153	Manchester	Public High School, colored	Nonsect	....	....	4	4	8
154	Norfolk	Norfolk Mission College	U. Presb	4	7	0	3	14
155	Petersburg	Bishop Payne Divinity and Industrial School.	Epis	1	0	2	0	3
156	.....do	Peabody School	Nonsect	0	0	1	11	12
157	.....do	Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.	Nonsect	....	....	7	5	12
158	Richmond	Hartshorn Memorial College	Bapt	1	6	0	2	9
159	.....do	Richmond Theological Seminary	Bapt	2	0	2	0	4
160	Staunton	Valley Training School*	.....	....	....	1	2	3
	WEST VIRGINIA.							
161	Farm	West Virginia Colored Institute	Nonsect	....	....	3	2	5
162	Harpers Ferry	Storer College	Bapt	2	1	2	1	6

* Statistics of 1893-94.

race, 1894–95—Detail table, Part I—Continued.

Pupils enrolled.						Students.												Grades.						
Total.		Elementary grades.		Secondary grades.		Collegiate classes		Classical courses		Scientific courses		English course.		Normal course.		Business course.		High school course.		Normal course.		Collegiate course.		
Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
130	154	30	59	70	69	33	23	5	0	....	....	100	128	13	21	....	....	....	....	1	3	3	0	145
115	106	23	63	92	43	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	146
60	65	40	59	....	....	10	16	1	1	4	4	40	59	....	....	....	....	....	....	0	1	2	1	147
0	111	0	56	0	55	....	....	....	....	....	....	0	111	0	26	....	....	0	26	0	26	....	....	148
436	377	261	265	175	112	0	0	0	0	0	0	175	112	41	39	....	....	9	14	9	14	....	....	149
112	145	32	60	80	85	....	....	....	....	....	....	78	85	78	85	....	....	....	....	6	4	....	....	150
52	43	42	38	10	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	151
37	40	37	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	152
28	22	12	14	6	7	10	1	....	....	....	....	28	22	....	....	....	....	7	9	7	9	....	....	153
248	438	225	397	23	41	....	....	23	41	....	....	....	....	14	24	....	....	11	10	11	10	....	....	154
10	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	155
297	450	280	413	17	37	0	0	0	0	17	37	297	450	0	0	0	0	3	10	0	0	0	0	156
142	179	25	31	102	146	15	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	53	94	....	....	2	1	8	11	....	....	157
1	96	0	22	1	74	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	158
50	0	....	....	....	....	50	0	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	159
19	32	9	20	10	12	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10	12	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	160
34	44	25	29	9	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	29	9	15	0	0	....	....	0	0	....	....	161
61	74	20	25	41	49	0	0	9	9	0	0	52	65	41	49	0	0	2	0	6	2	....	....	162

Statistics of schools for the education of the

	Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.												
		Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	ALABAMA.																			
1	Trinity Normal School*....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2	Calhoun Colored School....	...	...	...	79	91	170	69	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	39	4	58
3	Central Alabama Academy.	...	...	...	15	10	25	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	6	7
4	Lincoln Normal School....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5	State Normal School for Colored Students.*	...	...	...	250	300	550	...	75	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	200	200	...
6	State Normal and Industrial School.	2	16	18	169	279	448	36	53	2	0	7	0	29	0	27	15	100	56	135
7	Burrell School	...	...	...	48	44	92	...	48	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	44	...	...
8	Selma University	10	0	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9	Talladega College	35	0	35	118	225	343	10	75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	135	8	110
10	Stillman Institute.....	31	0	31	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.	52	0	52	480	329	809	108	38	31	31	22	13	29	16	19	44	93	35	68
	ARKANSAS.																			
12	Shorter University.....	...	...	...	0	18	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	...	...
13	Arkadelphia Academy....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14	Arkansas Baptist College..	...	...	...	12	12	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24
15	Philander Smith College...	12	0	12	38	0	38	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38	...	...	...
16	Arkansas Normal College..	0	0	0	40	20	60	0	15	...	...	...	...	20	15	...	2	...	...	...
17	Southland College and Normal Institute.	...	...	...	15	12	27	15	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	15	8	...
	DELAWARE.																			
18	State College for Colored Students.	...	...	...	21	0	21	7	21	2	0	4	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	0
	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.																			
19	Howard University.....	217	34	251	77	64	141	...	25	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	35	64	...	5
20	Normal School, 7th and 8th divisions.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21	High School, 7th and 8th divisions.*a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22	Wayland Seminary	34	0	34	...	23	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23	...	...
	FLORIDA.																			
23	Cookman Institute.....	4	0	4	...	30	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	15	...
24	Edward Walters College *a*..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25	Florida Institute *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26	Emerson Home.....	0	0	0	0	50	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	20	...
27	Orange Park Normal and Manual Training School.	...	...	...	49	57	106	...	49	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	57	...	...
28	State Normal and Industrial College for Colored Students.	...	...	...	20	15	35	20	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	GEORGIA.																			
29	Jernal Academy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
30	Knox Institute.....	...	...	...	0	85	85	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	85	...	...
31	West Broad Street School..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
32	Atlanta Baptist Seminary..	...	...	...	10	0	10	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	2
33	Atlanta University	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
34	Gammon School of Theology	84	0	84	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
35	Morris Brown College.....	10	0	10	8	17	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	17	5	0
36	Spelman Seminary	0	32	32	0	240	240	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	37	100	125	...
37	Storrs School	...	...	...	0	130	130	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	130	0	0
38	Haines Normal and Industrial School.	0	8	8	10	262	272	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	6	262	10	...

* Statistics of 1893-94.

colored race, 1894–95—Detail table, Part II.

Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1894-95.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of any other property or endowment.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1894-95.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
A. M. A										1
	$15,076					$451		$98	$549	2
Freedmen's Aid M. E. Ch		500	$10			400	$700		1,100	3
										4
					$7,500			2,500	10,000	5
State and U. S		1,985	30,142	$9,009	4,000			32,698	36,698	6
Amer. Miss. Assn		500	5,000		0	876		3,004	3,880	7
Am. Bapt. H. M. S		500	3,000			350	50	3,000	3,400	8
Amer. Miss. Assn	3,089	6,200	128,617	141,354	0	1,503	7,068	8,568	17,139	9
Ch. and contributions		1,000	1,500					3,500	3,500	10
State and contributions	46,738	4,527	215,000		3,000	9,696	1,250	59,401	73,347	11
A. M. E. Con. in Ark			5,000			300		600	900	12
A. B. Home Miss. S	600	150	10,000			256	350	700	1,306	13
Popular collection	1,500	100	1,200			500			500	14
		700	30,000							15
State and U. S	0	3,500	60,000		6,000	300			6,300	16
Society of Friends	794		26,000	35,500	0	2,504	2,100	1,294	5,898	17
U. S	0	281	20,700		0	0	0	4,000	4,000	18
U. S	0	13,000	600,000	200,000	29,500	7,987	8,500	11,541	57,528	19
U. S	0	350	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
										21
Am. Bapt. H. M. S		3,000	70,000							22
Freedmen's Aid S. M. E. Ch		1,000	30,000			461		1,800	2,261	23
										24
A. B. H. M										25
H. M. S. M. E. Ch		150			0	84	0	219	303	26
Am. Miss. Assn		200	25,000	0	0		0	0	0	27
State and U. S		516	19,300		2,800	112		10,000	12,912	28
Jerucl B. A. and A. B. H. M. S	648	75	5,275			286		662	948	29
Am. Miss. Assn		200	5,000							30
City	5	150	1,200	0	2,019	36	0	5	2,060	31
Am. Bapt. H. M. S	402	2,000	50,000	30,000	0	455	1,250	4,820	6,525	32
Tuition and benevolence	22,234	7,548	252,000		0	1,551	580	123	2,254	33
Endowment funds		9,000	100,000	500,000		357	8,000	2,000	10,357	34
A. M. E. Ch	0	1,200	75,000	0	0	1,335	0	4,000	5,335	35
W. A. H. M. S. Slater Fund	2,804	2,500	150,000			2,130		16,850	18,980	36
Tuition and benevolence		150	20,000	0	0	1,312	0		1,312	37
Presb. Board Miss. for Freedmen.		120	20,000			2,645			2,645	38

a No report.

Statistics of schools for the education of the colored

	Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.												
		Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	GEORGIA—continued.																			
39	Paine Institute	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
40	Walker Baptist Institute	...	...	...	0	55	55	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	55	...	...
41	Georgia State Industrial College.	...	...	...	141	0	141	9	33	13	13	13	30	30	...	...	...	...	...	...
42	Dorchester Academy	...	...	...	30	115	145	24	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	115	2	16
43	Ballard Normal School	...	...	...	100	250	350	0	70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	275	25	30
44	La Grange Academy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45	Roswell Public School *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
46	Beach Institute *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
47	Clark University	...	...	...	160	181	341	...	20	...	...	1	...	10	...	...	16	136	16	244
48	Allen Normal and Industrial School	...	...	...	30	120	150	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	150	15	0
49	Haven Normal Academy *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	ILLINOIS.																			
50	Sumner High School	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	INDIANA.																			
51	Governor High School *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
52	Scribner High School	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	KENTUCKY.																			
53	Berea College	...	...	...	50	30	80	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
54	State Normal School for Colored Persons.	...	...	...	43	62	105	30	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	62	62	...
55	St. Augustine's Academy *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
56	Chandler Normal School *	...	...	...	50	125	175	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
57	Christian Bible School	26	0	26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
58	Central High School	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
59	Paris Colored High School	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	LOUISIANA.																			
60	Alexandria Academy *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
61	Gilbert Academy and Industrial College.	...	...	...	120	30	150	30	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	15	15	...
62	Mount Carmel Convent *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
63	Leland University	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
64	New Orleans University	36	0	36	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
65	Southern University	...	...	...	89	66	155	49	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	66	0	0
66	Straight University	12	0	12	72	115	187	...	72	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38	115	...	...
	MARYLAND.																			
67	Baltimore City Colored High School.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
68	Morgan College	9	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
69	Baltimore Normal School for Training of Colored Teachers. *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
70	Industrial Home for Colored Girls.	...	...	...	0	112	112	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	75	40	...
71	Princess Anne Academy	0	0	0	58	44	102	58	16	0	0	0	0	5	0	6	0	44	44	0
	MISSISSIPPI.																			
72	Mount Hermon Female Seminary. *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
73	Southern Christian Institute.	8	0	8	4	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
74	Rust University	...	...	...	27	60	87	...	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	36	25	...

* Statistics of 1893–94.

race, 1894–95—Detail table, Part II—Continued.

Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1894–95.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of any other property or endowment.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1894–95.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
S. Col. M. E. Ch	.....	502	$14,484	$25,000	0	$159	$1,663	$6,304	$8,126	39
Am. B. H. M. S	.....	55	5,000	.....	$500	289	11	1,002	1,802	40
State and U. S	.....	265	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	41
Benevolence and tuition	$1,620	300	.....	.....	.....	613	.....	3,452	4,065	42
Am. M. Assn. and tuition	150	300	25,000	0	0	500	1,800	4,500	6,800	43
State	25	0	1,000	0	300	50	0	24	374	44
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	45
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	46
F. A. and S. Ed. S. M. E. Ch	.....	500	250,000	.....	.....	1,855	.....	8,515	10,370	47
Am. Miss. Assn	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	48
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	49
State	.....	25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	51
	.....	250	10,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	52
	14,145	7,000	132,650	100,400	0	3,265	4,073	145	7,483	53
State and U. S	1,000	631	20,564	.....	3,000	2,900	1	.....	5,901	54
Sisters of Loretto	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	55
A. M. A	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	56
Gen. Christ. Miss. Con	0	450	0	3,425	0	0	190	4,031	4,221	57
City	.....	185	20,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	58
City	.....	290	20,000	.....	.....	191	.....	.....	191	59
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	60
Church	.....	1,000	40,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	61
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	62
Endowment	962	1,000	160,000	92,750	0	480	.....	4,827	5,307	63
F. A., S. Ed. S. M. E. Ch. and S. F.	3,000	5,000	100,000	.....	.....	3,410	.....	5,300	8,740	64
U. S. and State	2,882	727	49,422	.....	7,500	0	0	11,548	19,048	65
Am. Miss. Assn	4,500	2,500	125,000	6,000	0	3,200	.....	10,800	14,000	67
City	.....	200	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	67
M. E. Ch. endowment	9,055	2,000	50,000	.....	0	2,800	1,117	13,456	17,373	68
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	69
State and city	.....	.....	.....	3,500	6,500	.....	.....	4,900	11,400	70
U. S. and F. A. and S. Ed. So	.....	0	14,000	1,000	0	1,166	.....	3,834	5,000	71
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	72
Christian Ch	1,000	1,000	25,000	0	0	400	0	.....	400	73
Freedmen's Aid and S. Ed. So	.....	3,000	90,000	.....	.....	1,631	.....	9,338	10,969	74

a No report.

Statistics of schools for the education of the colored

	Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.											
		Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	MISSISSIPPI—continued.																			
75	State Colored Normal School	..	...	...	0	75	75	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	75	...	...
76	Jackson College	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
77	Meridian Academy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
78	Natchez College *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
79	Tougaloo University	4	25	29	158	150	308	30	83	...	...	...	...	45	...	...	...	80	70	...
80	Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College.	...	...	...	...	...	...	259	37	...	3	23	...	26	...	27	21	...	...	2
	MISSOURI.																			
81	Douglass High School *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
82	Lincoln Institute	...	...	...	85	80	165	...	40	...	...	...	...	20	25	...	...	80	...	...
83	Lincoln High School	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
84	Hale's College	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
85	Geo. R. Smith College	...	...	...	9	27	36	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	27	...
	NEW JERSEY.																			
86	Colored Normal and Industrial School.	0	2	2	20	22	42	6	20	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	17	22	...	...
	NORTH CAROLINA.																			
87	Ashboro Normal School *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
88	Washburn Seminary	...	...	...	0	49	49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	49	0	0
89	Biddle University	...	...	...	172	....	172	...	41	23	9	...	...	...	...	29	50	...	...	25
90	Clinton Normal Institute *	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
91	Scotia Seminary	...	...	...	0	283	283	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	283	283	...
92	State Colored Normal School (Elizabeth City).	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
93	State Colored Normal School (Fayetteville). *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
94	Albion Academy, Normal and Industrial School.	5	2	7	80	29	109	50	46	25	10	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	18	...
95	Franklinton Christian College.	...	...	...	126	103	229	...	89	...	6	4	3	...	...	5	...	103	28	...
96	State Colored Normal School (Franklinton).	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
97	State Colored Normal School (Goldsboro).	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
98	Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race. *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
99	Bennett College *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
100	Lincoln Academy	...	...	...	17	136	153	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	118	32	...
101	Whitin Normal School	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
102	Barrett Collegiate and Industrial Institute.	9	0	9	50	35	85	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	20	12	...
103	State Colored Normal School (Plymouth).	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
104	Shaw University	110	0	110	100	110	210	0	100	0	0	40	0	0	50	0	0	110	110	0
105	St. Augustine's School	...	...	...	79	139	218	10	9	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	55	55	...
106	City Graded School, Colored	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
107	Livingston College	...	...	...	15	33	48	4	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	21	12	...	...
108	State Colored Normal School (Salisbury).	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
109	Shiloh Institute	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
110	Gregory Normal Institute	...	...	...	20	225	245	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
111	Rankin-Richards Institute. *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
112	Waters Normal Institute	4	0	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
	OHIO.																			
113	Wilberforce University	10	15	25	50	57	107	...	43	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	53	44	180

* Statistics of 1893–94.

race, 1894–95—Detail table, Part II—Continued.

Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1894-95.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of any other property or endowment.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1894-95.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
State	.....	$1,500	$10,000	0	$2,000	$240	.....	.....	$2,240	75
Am. Bapt. H. M. So	.....	300	35,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	76
M. E. Ch	.....	25	2,500	.....	.....	600	.....	$300	900	77
										78
Am. Miss. Assn	$1,500	2,500	80,000	.....	0	1,000	.....	15,000	16,000	79
U. S. and State	.....	2,875	102,500	$163,575	2,321	70	$5,679	11,600	19,670	80
										81
	.....	31	81,625	.....	65,000	167	1,084	.....	66,251	82
State	0	.....	18,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	83
Students	0	.....	2,500	0	0	0	.....	.....	.....	84
U. S. and S. Ed. So. of M. E. Ch.	200	800	60,000	.....	.....	1,200	200	50	1,450	85
State and private	7,427	500	10,000	5,000	3,000	.....	.....	500	3,500	86
										87
Am. Miss. Assn	0	0	3,000	0	152	83	0	0	235	88
Benevolence	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	89
City	.....	31	.....	.....	300	50	.....	50	400	90
Freedmen's N. Presb. Chr	11,150	1,000	60,000	4,500	0	0	0	0	.....	91
State	0	0	0	.....	900	0	0	0	900	92
										93
Presb. Br. and State	5,000	1,100	15,000	.....	1,500	.....	.....	.....	1,500	94
State and benevolence	.....	219	11,000	.....	1,400	.....	150	2,776	4,326	95
	.....	1,500	6,000	4,000	100	0	320	1,400	1,820	96
State and Peabody F	150	300	2,000	0	1,500	0	0	150	1,650	97
State	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	98
F. A. and E. S	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	99
Am. Miss. Assn	100	200	.....	.....	111	.....	.....	.....	111	100
Tuition	10	150	1,000	.....	0	180	0	15	195	101
Donations and tuition	978	1,000	8,000	.....	.....	3,080	.....	.....	3,080	102
State	.....	250	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	103
Am. B. H. M. So	.....	2,000	200,000	30,000	0	2,172	.....	8,497	10,669	104
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	105
State and city	.....	200	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	106
A. M. E. Z. Ch	3,500	3,000	110,000	1,000	.....	500	200	5,800	6,500	107
State and Peabody F	0	920	0	0	1,480	0	0	0	1,480	108
Shiloh Bapt. Assn	180	100	6,135	.....	.....	250	50	210	510	109
Tuition	2,500	700	12,000	0	0	2,000	200	2,300	4,500	110
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	111
Am. Bapt. H. M. S	.....	.....	10,860	.....	175	181	.....	1,446	1,802	112
A. M. E. Ch. and State	8,000	5,000	200,000	25,000	12,500	3,500	2,300	8,700	27,000	113

a No report.

Statistics of schools for the education of the colored

	Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.											
		Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	PENNSYLVANIA.																			
114	Lincoln University*	40	0	40	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	SOUTH CAROLINA.																			
115	Schofield Normal and Industrial School.	...	...	...	40	20	60	8	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	114	20	...
116	Beaufort Academy *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
117	Harbison Institute	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
118	Browning Industrial Home and School.	...	...	...	0	75	75	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	75	25	...
119	Avery Normal Institute	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
120	Wallingford Academy*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
121	Brainerd Institute	...	...	...	36	30	66	36	11	...	...	8	...	...	...	6	6	30	30	...
122	Allen University	7	0	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
123	Benedict College	...	...	...	28	50	78	...	21	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	50	...	...	...
124	Penn Industrial and Normal School.	0	0	0	103	81	184	0	86	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	81	0	0
125	Brewer Normal School	0	0	0	...	123	123	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	123	20	0
126	Claflin University and Agricultural College and Mechanics Institute.	...	...	...	279	169	448	10	70	118	118	118	...	70	70	...	7	113	22	...
	TENNESSEE.																			
127	Warner Institute	...	...	...	10	61	71	10	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	61	20	...
128	Austin High School	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
129	Knoxville College	2	0	2	50	90	140	6	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	108	12	5
130	Freedmen's Normal Institute.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
131	Hannibal Medical College	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
132	Le Moyne Normal Institute. *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
133	Morristown Normal Academy.*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
134	Bradley Academy *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
135	Central Tennessee College	165	0	165	59	83	142	4	22	0	0	0	6	0	6	0	40	52	3	6
136	Fisk University	3	0	3	67	128	195	...	52	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	160	20	...
137	Meig's High School	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
138	Roger Williams University	...	...	...	22	46	68	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	44	...	...
	TEXAS.																			
139	Tillotson College	0	4	4	91	84	175	5	91	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	84	0	0
140	East End High School *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
141	Mary Allen Seminary*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
142	Central High School	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
143	Hearne Academy and Normal and Industrial Institute.	...	...	...	13	12	25	13	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	4	12	...	...
144	Bishop College	12	0	12	52	128	180	1	28	16	4	2	1	1	0	0	8	14	12	0
145	Wiley University	5	0	5	2	75	77	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	75	31	...
146	Prairie View State Normal School *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
147	Paul Quinn College	...	...	...	1	2	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	VIRGINIA.																			
148	Ingleside Seminary	...	...	...	0	111	111	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	111	111	...
149	Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.	...	...	...	250	191	441	26	22	0	1	5	1	13	6	6	8	104	25	100
150	St. Paul Normal and Industrial School.	5	0	5	60	35	95	22	12	5	5	2	...	2	...	8	12	23	4	...
151	Curry College *a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

* Statistics of 1893-94.

a No report.

race, 1894-95—Detail table, Part II—Continued.

Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1894-95.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of any other property or endowment.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1894-95.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
		15,000	$212,000	$394,800			$22,469	$11,271	$33,740	114
Contributions		900	33,000		$150	$150	1,000	5,000	6,300	115
										116
N. Presb. Ch		50	6,000			222			222	117
M. E. Ch		300				400			400	118
Am. M. Assn	0	500	25,000	0	0	2,800	0	2,500	5,300	119
		500	1,300	0	0	336	0	1,464	1,800	120
Presb. Ch. Miss			10,000	0						121
A. M. E. Ch	$600		40,000	1,000		1,050		3,950	5,000	122
Am. Bapt. H. M. So		1,500	50,000	40,000						123
Contributions	1,000	300	5,000	350	0	0	0	1,000	1,000	124
Am. M. Assn. Cong. Ch		200	10,000	0	0					125
U.S., State, Slater and Peabody Funds, F. A. and S. E. So.	0	1,800		0	2,000	3,000		22,754	27,754	126
Am. Miss. Assn	60	50	8,000		350	100		500	950	127
City		305	10,000							128
Church and Miss. Society	13,000	1,600	100,000		3,000	500	0	9,500	13,000	129
New Eng. Y. M	0			0						130
Donations and tuition		300	1,100	0	80	215	80	34	409	131
A. M. A										132
F. A. and S. Ed. S						877		6,275	7,152	133
										134
F. A. So. M. E. Chr	1,687	4,000	110,000	5,000	0	4,667	247	7,000	11,914	135
Am. Miss. Assn	600	5,227	400,000	25,000	0	5,285	900	16,000	22,185	136
City										137
Am. Bapt. H. M. So	10,000	4,000								138
Am. Miss. Assn	191	1,400	60,000	0	0	1,181	0	2,500	3,681	139
										140
		300	50,000					1,800	1,800	141
City		48	18,000	0		0	0	0	0	142
Am. Bapt. H. M. So	1,237				298				298	143
Am. Bapt. H. M. So		875	75,000							144
F. A. and S. Ed. So. M. E. Ch		2,000								145
										146
A. M. E. Ch	4,000	400	70,000	500		1,500			1,500	147
Presb. Church	5,000	400	3,000							148
U. S	80,392	7,332	572,000	424,085	0	0	22,203	97,477	119,680	149
Contributions	6,500		40,000							150
										151

Statistics of schools for the education of the colored

	Name of school.	Students in professional courses.			Pupils receiving industrial training.			Students trained in industrial branches.											
		Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Farm or garden work.	Carpentry.	Bricklaying.	Plastering.	Painting.	Tin or sheet-metal work.	Forging.	Machine-shop work.	Shoemaking.	Printing.	Sewing.	Cooking.	Other trades.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	VIRGINIA—continued.																			
152	Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth.	0	0	0	37	40	77	37	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	40	0
153	Public High School, Colored.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
154	Norfolk Mission College	...	...	...	18	240	258	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	240	...	...
155	Bishop Payne Divinity and Industrial School.	1	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
156	Peabody School[a]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
157	Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute.	...	...	...	0	148	148	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	148	11	...
158	Hartshorn Memorial College.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
159	Richmond Theological Seminary.	50	0	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
160	Valley Training School[a]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	WEST VIRGINIA.																			
161	West Virginia Colored Institute.	0	0	0	34	44	78	...	32	0	0	0	...	2	0	0	4	40	...	...
162	Storer College	0	0	0	25	70	95	...	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	...	...	0

[a] No report.

race, 1894-95—Detail table, Part II—Continued.

Chief sources of support.	Value of benefactions or bequests in 1894-95.	Volumes in library.	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus.	Amount of any other property or endowment.	Amount of State or municipal aid.	Amount received from tuition fees.	Amount received from productive funds.	Amount received from other sources.	Total income for the year 1894-95.	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	
Donations	$3,180	150	$10,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	152
State	.....	68	3,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	153
U. Presb. Church	.....	1,000	50,000	.....	.....	$2,004	.....	$7,571	$9,575	154
Church	50	200	10,000	0	0	0	$400	50	450	155
City and State	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	156
State	.....	.....	175,000	.....	$15,000	908	.....	8,389	24,297	157
.....	.....	.....	45,000	$20,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	158
Endowment and Am. B. H. M. S.	.....	5,000	30,000	60,000	0	364	.....	3,814	4,178	159
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	160
U. S. and State	0	500	25,000	0	3,000	750	0	3,000	6,750	161
Endowment and contrib	4,401	5,000	60,000	30,000	.....	738	2,093	270	3,101	162

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION OF THE BLACKS.[1]

It hardly seems fitting for you to associate my history and thought with those of Alexander Hamilton, one of the great men not born to die. And yet it may not seem immodest in me to suggest that the great and lowly, the rich and poor, the white and black, the ex-master and the ex-slave, have this in common, that each in his own way, and in his own generation, can put forth his highest efforts to serve humanity in the way that our country most needs service; in this all of us can be equal—in this all can be great. If any of you have the faintest idea that I have come here in the capacity of an instructor along any line of education I wish you to part with such an impression at once. My history and opportunity have not fitted me to be your teacher; the most that I can do is to give you a few facts out of my humble experience and leave you to draw your own conclusions.

I was born a slave on a plantation in Virginia, in 1857 or 1858, I think. My first memory of life is that of a one-room log cabin with a dirt floor and a hole in the center that served as a winter home for sweet potatoes, and, wrapped in a few rags on this dirt floor I spent my nights, and, clad in a single garment, about the plantation I often spent my days. The morning of freedom came, and though a child, I recall vividly my appearance with that of forty or fifty slaves before the veranda of the "big house" to hear read the documents that made us men instead of property. With the long prayed for freedom in actual possession, each started out into the world to find new friends and new homes. My mother decided to locate in West Virginia, and after many days and nights of weary travel we found ourselves among the salt furnaces and coal mines of West Virginia. Soon after reaching West Virginia I began work in the coal mines for the support of my mother.

While doing this I heard in some way, I do not now remember how, of General Armstrong's school at Hampton, Va. I heard at the same time, which impressed me most, that it was a school where a poor boy could work for his education, so far as his board was concerned. As soon as I heard of Hampton I made up my mind that in some way I was going to find my way to that institution. I began at once to save every nickel I could get hold of. At length, with my own savings and a little help from my brother and mother, I started for Hampton, although at the time I hardly knew where Hampton was or how much it would cost to reach the school. After walking a portion of the distance, traveling in a stage coach and cars the remainder of the journey, I at length found myself in the city of Richmond, Va. I also found myself without money, friends, or a place to stay all night. The last cent of my money had been expended. After walking about the city till midnight, and growing almost discouraged and quite exhausted, I crept under a sidewalk and slept all that night. The next morning, as good luck would have it, I found myself near a ship that was unloading pig iron. I applied to the captain for work, and he gave it, and I worked on this ship by day and slept under the sidewalk by night, till I had earned money enough to continue my way to Hampton, where I soon arrived with a surplus of 50 cents in my pocket.

I at once found General Armstrong, and told him what I had come for, and what my condition was. In his great hearty way he said that if I was worth anything he would give me a chance to work my way through that institution. At Hampton I found buildings, instructors, industries provided by the generous; in other words, the chance to work for my education. While at Hampton I resolved, if God permitted me to finish the course of study, I would enter the far South, the black belt of the Gulf States, and give my life in providing as best I could the same kind of chance for self-help for the youth of my race that I found ready for me when I went to Hampton, and so in 1881 I left Hampton and went to Tuskegee and started the Normal and Industrial Institute in a small church and shanty, with 1 teacher and 30 students.

Since then the institution of Tuskegee has grown till we have connected with the institution 69 instructors and 800 young men and women, representing 19 States; and, if I add the families of our instructors, we have on our grounds constantly a population of about 1,000 souls. The students are about equally divided between the sexes, and their average is 18½ years. In planning the course of training at Tuskegee we have steadily tried to keep in view our condition and our needs rather than pattern our course of study directly after that of a people whose opportunities of civilization have been far different and far superior to ours. From the first, industrial or hand training has been made a special feature of our work.

This industrial training, combined with the mental and religious, to my mind has several emphatic advantages. At first few of the young men and women who came to us would be able to remain in school during the nine months and pay in cash the $8 per month charged for board. Through our industries we give them the chance

[1] An address delivered by Booker T. Washington, principal of the Tuskegee (Ala.) Normal and Industrial Institute, at the dinner in honor of Alexander Hamilton, Brooklyn, N. Y., January, 1896.

of working out a portion of their board and the remainder they pay in cash. We find by experience that this institution can furnish labor that has economic value to the institution and gives the student a chance to learn something from the labor within itself. For instance, we cultivate by the labor of our students this year about 600 acres of land. This land is not only cultivated in a way to bring in return to our boarding department, but the farm, including stock raising, dairying, fruit growing, etc., is made a constant object lesson for our students and the people in that section of the South. A three-story brick building is now going up, and the bricks for this building are manufactured at our brick yard by students, where we have made 1,500,000 brick this season. The brick masonry, plastering, sawing, sawing of lumber, carpenters' work, painting, tinsmithing, in fact everything connected with the erection of this building is for permanent use, and the students have the knowledge of the trades entering into the erection of such a building. While the young men do this, the girls to a large extent make, mend and laundry their clothing, and in that way are taught these industries.

Now, this work is not carried on in a miscellaneous or irregular manner. At the head of each industrial department we have a competent instructor, so that the student is not only learning the practical work but is taught as well the underlying principles of each industry. When the student is through with brick masonry he not only understands the trade in a practical way, but also mechanical and architectural drawing to such an extent that he can become a leader in this industry. All through the classroom work is dovetailed in the industrial—the chemistry teaching made to tell on the farm and cooking, the mathematics in the carpentry department, the physics in the blacksmishing and foundrying. Aside from the advantage mentioned, the industrial training gives to our students respect and love for labor—helps them to get rid of the idea so long prevalent in the South that labor with the hands is rather degrading, and this feeling as to labor being degrading is not, I might add, altogether original with the black man of the South. The fact that a man goes into the world conscious of the fact that he has within him the power to create a wagon or a house gives him a certain moral backbone and independence in the world that he would not possess without it.

While friends of the North and elsewhere have given us money to pay our teachers and to buy material which we could not produce, still very largely by the labor of the students, in the way I have attempted to describe, we have built up within about fourteen years a property that is now valued at $225,000; 37 buildings, counting large and small, located on our 1,400 acres of land, all except three of which are the product of student labor. The annual expense of carrying on this work is now about $70,000 a year. The whole property is deeded to an undenominational board of trustees, who have control of the institution. There is no mortgage on any of the property. Our greatest need is for money to pay for teaching.

What is the object of all this? In everything done in literary, religious, or industrial training the question kept constantly before all is that the institution exists for the purpose of training a certain number of picked leaders who will go out and reach in an effective manner masses by whom we are surrounded. It is not a practical nor desirable thing for the North to educate all the negroes in the South, but it is a perfectly practical and possible thing for the North to help the South educate the leaders, who in turn will go out and reach the masses and show them how to lift themselves up. In discussing this subject it is to be borne in mind that 85 per cent of the colored people South live practically in the country districts, where they are difficult to reach except by special effort. In some of the counties in Alabama, near Tuskegee, the colored outnumber the whites four and five to one.

In an industrial sense, what is the condition of these masses? The first year our people received their freedom they had nothing on which to live while they grew their first cotton crop; funds for the first crop were supplied by the storekeeper or former master, a debt was created; to secure the indebtedness a lien was given on the cotton crop. In this way we got started in the South what is known as the mortgage or crop lien system—a system that has proved a curse to the black and white man ever since it was instituted. By this system the farmer is charged a rate of interest that ranges from 15 to 40 per cent. By this system you will usually find three-fourths of the people mortgage their crops from year to year, as many deeply in debt and living in one-roomed cabins on rented land. By this system debts and extravagances are encouraged, and the land is impoverished and values fall.

The schools in the country districts rarely last over three and one-half months in the year, and are usually taught in a church or a wreck of a log cabin or under a brush arbor. My information is that each child entitled to attend the public schools in Massachusetts has spent on him each year between $18 and $20. In Alabama each colored child has spent on him this year about 71 cents, and the white children but a few cents more. Thus far in my remarks I have been performing a rather ungracious task in stating conditions without suggesting a remedy. What is the remedy for the state of things I have attempted to describe?

If the colored people got any good out of slavery it was the habit of work. In this respect the masses of the colored people are different from most races among whom missionary effort is made, in that the negro as a race works. You will not find anything like that high tension of activity that is maintained here; still the negro works, whether the call for labor comes from the rice swamps of the Carolinas, the cotton plantations of Alabama, or the sugar cane bottoms of Louisiana, the negro is ready to answer it—yes, toil is the badge of all his tribe, though he may do his work in the most shiftless and costly manner, still with him it is labor. I know you will find a class around railroad stations and corners of streets that loaf, just as you will find among my people, and we have got some black sheep in our flock, as there are in all flocks, but the masses in their humble way are industrious.

The trouble centers here: Through the operations of the mortgage system, high rents, the allurements of cheap jewelry and bad whisky, and the gewgaws of life, the negro is deprived of the results of his labor. Unused to self-government, unused to the responsibility of controlling our own earnings or expenditures, or even our own children, it could not be expected that we could take care of ourselves in all respects for several generations. The great need of the negro to-day is intelligent, unselfish leadership in his educational and industrial life.

Let me illustrate, and this is no fancy sketch: Ten years ago a young man born in slavery found his way to the Tuskegee school. By small cash payments and work on the farm he finished the course with a good English education and a practical and theoretical knowledge of farming. Returning to his country home where five-sixths of the citizens were black, he still found them mortgaging their crops, living on rented land from hand to mouth, and deeply in debt. School had never lasted longer than three months, and was taught in a wreck of a log cabin by an inferior teacher. Finding this condition of things, the young man to whom I have referred took the three months public school as a starting point. Soon he organized the older people into a club that came together every week. In these meetings the young man instructed as to the value of owning a home, the evils of mortgaging, and the importance of educating their children. He taught them how to save money, how to sacrifice—to live on bread and potatoes until they could get out of debt, begin buying a home, and stop mortgaging. Through the lessons and influence of these meetings, the first year of this young man's work these people built up by their contributions in money and labor a nice frame schoolhouse that replaced the wreck of a log cabin. The next year this work was continued and those people, out of their own pockets, added two months to the original three months' school term. Month by month has been added to the school term till it now lasts seven months every year. Already fourteen families within a radius of 10 miles have bought and are buying homes, a large proportion have ceased to mortgage their crops and are raising their own food supplies. In the midst of all was the young man educated at Tuskegee, with a model cottage and a model farm that served as an example and center of light for the whole community.

My friends, I wish you could have gone with me some days ago to this community and have seen the complete revolution that has been wrought in their industrial, educational, and religious life by the work of this one teacher, and I wish you could have looked with me into their faces and seen them beaming with hope and delight. I wish you could have gone with me into their cottages, containing now two and three rooms, through their farms, into their church and Sunday school. Bear in mind that not a dollar was given these people from the outside with which to make any of these changes; they all came about by reason of the fact that they had this leader, this guide, this Christian, to show them how to utilize the results of their own labor, to show them how to take the money that had hitherto been scattered to the wind in mortgaging, high rents, cheap jewelry and whisky, and to concentrate in the direction of their own uplifting. My people do not need or ask for charity to be scattered among them; it is very seldom you ever see a black hand in any part of this country reached forth for alms. It is not for alms we ask, but for leaders who will lead and guide and stimulate our people till they can get upon their own feet. Wherever they have been given a leader, something of the kind I have described, I have never yet seen a change fail to take place, even in the darkest community.

In our attempt to elevate the South one other thing must be borne in mind. I do not know how you find it here, but in Alabama we find it a pretty hard thing to make a good Christian of a hungry man. I think I have learned that we might as well settle down to the uncompromising fact that our people will grow in proportion as we teach them that the way to have the most of Jesus, and in a permanent form, is to mix in with their religion some land, cotton, and corn, a house with two or three rooms, and a little bank account; with these things interwoven with our religion there will be a foundation for growth on which we can build for all time. What I have tried to indicate are some of the lessons that we are disseminating into every corner of the black belt of the South, through the work of our graduates and

through the Tuskegee negro conference, that brings together at Tuskegee once a year 800 of the representatives of the black yeomanry of the South to lay plans, to get light and encouragement, and thus add the strength of mothers and fathers to the strength of the schoolroom and pulpit. More than anything else Tuskegee is a great college settlement dropped into the midst of a mass of ignorance that is gradually but slowly leavening the whole lump.

Of this you can be sure that it matters not what is said the black man is doing or is not doing, regardless of entanglements or discouragements, the rank and file of my race is now giving itself to the acquiring of education, character, and property in a way that it has never done since the dawn of our freedom. The chance that we ask is, by your help and encouragement, to be permitted to move on unhindered and unfettered for a few more years, and with this chance, if the Bible is right and God is true, there is no power that can permanently stay our progress. Neither here nor in any part of the world do people come into close relations with a race that is to a large extent empty handed and empty headed. One race gets close to another in proportion as they are drawn in commerce, in proportion as the one gets hold of something that the other wants or respects—commerce, we must acknowledge, in the light of history, is the great forerunner of civilization and peace.

Whatever friction exists between the black man and white man in the South will disappear in proportion as the black man, by reason of his intelligence and skill, can create something that the white man wants or respects; can make something, instead of all the dependence being on the other side. Despite all her faults, when it comes to business pure and simple, the South presents an opportunity to the negro for business that no other section of the country does. The negro can sooner conquer Southern prejudice in the civilized world than learn to compete with the North in the business world. In field, in factory, in the markets, the South presents a better opportunity for the negro to earn a living than is found in the North. A young man educated in head, hand, and heart, goes out and starts a brickyard, a blacksmith shop, a wagon shop, or an industry by which that black boy produces something in the community that makes the white man dependent on the black man for something—produces something that interlocks, knits the commercial relations of the races together, to the extent that a black man gets a mortgage on a white man's house that he can foreclose at will; well, the white man won't drive the negro away from the polls when he sees him going up to vote. There are reports to the effect that in some sections the black man has difficulty in voting and having counted the little white ballot which he has the privilege of depositing about twice in two years, but there is a little green ballot that he can vote through the teller's window three hundred and thirteen days in every year, and no one will throw it out or refuse to count it. The man that has the property, the intelligence, the character, is the one that is going to have the largest share in controlling the Government, whether he is white or black, or whether in the North or South.

It is important that all the privileges of the law be ours. It is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of these privileges. Says the great teacher: "I will draw all men unto me." How? Not by force, not by law, not by superficial glitter. Following in the tracks of the lowly Nazarine, we shall continue to work and wait, till by the exercise of the higher virtues, by the products of our brain and hands, we make ourselves so valuable, so attractive to the American nation, that instead of repelling we shall draw men to us because of our intrinsic worth. It will be needless to pass a law to compel men to come into contact with a negro who is educated and has $200,000 to lend. In some respects you already acknowledge that as a race we are more powerful, have a greater power of attraction, than your race. It takes 100 per cent of Anglo-Saxon blood to make a white American. The minute that it is proved that a man possesses one one-hundredth part of negro blood in his veins it makes him a black man; he falls to our side; we claim him. The 99 per cent of white blood counts for nothing when weighed beside 1 per cent of negro blood.

None of us will deny that immediately after freedom we made serious mistakes. We began at the top. We made these mistakes, not because we were black people, but because we were ignorant and inexperienced people. We have spent time and money attempting to go to Congress and State legislatures that could have better been spent in becoming the leading real estate dealer or carpenter in our own county. We have spent time and money in making political stump speeches and in attending political conventions that could better have been spent in starting a dairy farm or truck garden and thus have laid a material foundation, on which we could have stood and demanded our rights. When a man eats another person's food, wears another's clothes, and lives in another's house, it is pretty hard to tell how he is going to vote or whether he votes at all.

Gentlemen of the club, the practical question that comes home to you, and to me as an humble member of an unfortunate race, is, how can we help you in working out the great problem that concerns 10,000,000 of my race, and 60,000,000 of yours,

We are here; you rise as we rise; you fall as we fall; we are strong when you are strong; you are weak when we are weak; no power can separate our destinies. The negro can afford to be wronged in this country; the white man can not afford to wrong him. In the South you can help us to prepare the strong, Christain, unselfish leaders that shall go among the masses of our people and show them how to take advantage of the magnificent opportunities that surround them. In the North you can encourage that education among the masses which shall result in throwing wide open the doors of your offices, stores, shops, and factories in the way that shall give our black men and women the opportunity to earn a dollar. * * * Let it be said of all parts of our country that there is no distinction of race or color in the opportunity to earn an honest living. Throw wide open the doors of industry. We are an humble, patient people; we can afford to work and wait. There is plenty of room at the top. The workers up in the atmosphere of goodness, love, patience, forbearance, forgiveness, and industry are not too many or overcrowded. If others would be little, we can be great; if others bad, we can be good; if others try to push us down, we can help to push them up.

Men ask me if measures like those enacted in South Carolina do not hurt and discourage. I answer, Nay, nay; South Carolina and no other State can make a law to harm the black man in great measure. Men may make laws to hinder and fetter the ballot, but men can not make laws that will bind or retard the growth of manhood:

> Fleecy locks and black complexion
> Can not forfeit Nature's claim;
> Skins may differ, but affection
> Dwells in white and black the same.

If ever there was a people that obeyed the scriptural injunction, "If they smite thee on one cheek, turn the other also," that people has been the American negro. To right his wrongs the Russian appeals to dynamite, Americans to rebellion, the Irishman to agitation, the Indian to his tomahawk; but the negro, the most patient, the most unresentful and law abiding, depends for the righting of his wrongs upon his songs, his groans, his midnight prayers, and an inherent faith in the justice of his cause, and if we judge the future by the past who may say that the negro is not right? We went into slavery pagans, we came out Christians. We went into slavery a piece of property, we came out American citizens. We went into slavery without a language, we came out speaking the proud Anglo-Saxon tongue. We went into slavery with the slave chains clanking about our waists, we came out with the American ballot in our hands. Progress, progress is the law of nature; under God it shall be our eternal guiding star.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE NEGRO.[1]

That education is the strength of our Republic, the source of its prosperity, the chief guarantee of its perpetuity, needs no discussion here. Is it necessary to defend in this presence the proposition that higher education, the work of colleges and universities, is indispensable to the existence of any education among any people? What educated nation exists or ever has existed upon the earth without colleges of higher learning? Did common schools ever make an intelligent nation? Did common schools ever exist in any nation exceptingas the fruit of higher learning? Should we ever have had our common-school system but for our colleges?

To ask these questions is to answer them. The intelligence of the old world has all come down from her universities. The brighter civilization of America, with all her common-school system, has grown out of Harvard and Yale, Brown and Columbia, and William and Mary, Dartmouth and Williams, each of which was founded before the public school. The college is the fountainhead of all learning, and the only possible source of supply for all secondary and primary schools of instruction. The colleges are more. They are the only developers of complete manhood. There can be no well-rounded, thoroughly balanced minds, capable of dealing with principles, measuring forces, comprehending relations, grasping and handling the great questions of public life and human leadership, without the broad culture and thorough discipline which years of life in college alone can insure. Exceptional cases of remarkable genius or of abnormal growth do not vitiate this general rule. It has become an axiom in America, and our 500 colleges have grown out of it.

Said Dr. Shedd, fifty years ago: "The common information of society is nothing more nor less than the fine and diffusive radiance of a more substantial and profound culture. This light penetrating in all directions is like a globe of solid fire. All this general and practical information which distinguishes from a savage (or although civilized yet ignorant) state of society—which distinguishes England and the United States from Africa and South America—did not grow up spontaneously from the earth,

[1] An address delivered before the American Baptist Home Mission Society, at Asbury Park, N. J., May 26, 1895, by Edward C. Mitchell, D. D., president of Leland University, New Orleans, La.

is not the effect of a colder climate or a harder soil. It has been exhaling for centuries from colleges and universities—it has been distilling for ages from the alembic of the scholar's brain." The history of the last fifty years has been accumulating evidences of this great truth, and all nations have been furnishing illustrations of it.

A new nation has now come upon the stage. Eight millions of people have been thrust into the center of our civilization. They have been endowed with citizenship, with all its responsibilities, with all its possibilities for good or evil. They constitute about one-eighth part of our body politic. Among them is over one-third of the Baptist denomination of this country. Shall they be educated? Can we afford to leave one stone unturned, one agency unemployed, which might lead this mighty force out of the slough of ignorance and poverty and vice up into the plane of Christian manhood and useful citizenship? There can be but one answer to this question. If we have any love for our country; if we have any regard for our brethren in Christ Jesus; if we have any loyalty to our great Baptist brotherhood, we can not withhold any possible facility for that self-improvement of which, through no fault of their own, they have for centuries been deprived.

It goes without saying in this audience that education is what they need—education, moral, intellectual, physical. Providentially the moral education is not without a substantial basis. The spirit of God has not been absent from this people in their long night of bondage. With all their ignorance and even superstition at times, none can doubt the genuineness of their love to the Divine Master; and, to this day, religion among them is a very potent influence, and is very widespread in its extension. From the census of 1890 it appears that the proportion of white Baptist communicants to the whole white population of the South is about 8 per cent (or 1 in 12), while the proportion of negro Baptist communicants to the whole negro population is 20 per cent (or 1 in 5). Moreover, the moral and religious training of the negro in the days of slavery was by no means altogether neglected. They enjoyed some advantages which have now passed away from them. A large proportion of them not only received a religious training from members of white Christian families, but they were regular attendants upon white churches, and thus intelligently taught the Word of God. That they no longer enter white churches is a thing to be expected under present circumstances; nor can it be regretted if only a proper leadership, out of themselves, can be raised up for them. It is evident, however, that what they need in religious things is not so much the spiritual as the intellectual. It is a better intelligence to guide their religious proclivities which is the onething lacking in many localities.

This brings us to the question: What should be the intellectual training of this people?

If negroes are men and women, members of the human family, endowed with similar capacities and tendencies which appear in other races, then our question is already answered by what we said in the beginning. If the experience of five hundred years has taught us any wisdom in regard to the processes of human development; if we, in our American republic, have learned anything in the last two centuries as to what constitutes education, and what means and appliances are best to make it effective, then here and now we have a grand opportunity to employ this wisdom for the elevation of a new race. There is nothing for us to do but to put into operation the same agencies by which we ourselves have been educated, taking advantage of all the improvements which modern science has invented, or our past mistakes have suggested.

To imagine that the negro can safely do without any of the institutions or instrumentalities which were essential to our own mental advancement is to assume that the negro is superior to the white man in mental capacity. To deprive him of any of these advantages, which he is capable of using, would be to defraud ourselves, as a nation and a Christian church, of all the added power which his developed manhood should bring to us. It does not seem to be necessary in this audience to discuss the proposition that intelligence is power, and that the only road to intelligence is through mental discipline conducted under moral influences.

What now have we been doing for our brother in black to help him in his life struggle? The work began somewhat as in the days of our fathers. The John Harvards and the Elihu Yales of Pilgrim history found their counterparts in General Fiske, Dr. Phillips, Seymour Straight, and Holbrook Chamberlain, who founded colleges, even before it was possible for many to enter upon the college course, but with a wise forecast for the need that would eventually come and is now actually upon us.

A little later, about 1876, the people of the South organized public schools. In nearly all the Southern States the same proportionate provision is made for the negro as for the whites, and this is and must ever be the main dependence of the elevation of the negro. With all the honor which is due, and which is cheerfully rendered to Northern benevolence, for the splendid foundations of higher learning, it should not be forgotten that more than ten times as much money has been appropriated by the South for negro education.

It is true that this provision is inadequate for both races. In about one-third of the States an average of only four months per annum of instruction is given. This is not from want of will, but of means. The poverty of the South is yet very great. We of the prosperous North can not understand it. If we did, we should better appreciate the pluck and energy and uncomplaining self-sacrifice with which they adjust themselves to their new conditions and bear their heavy burdens. President Dreher, of Roanoke College, Virginia, has shown by reliable statistics that with all the apparent inferiority of the South in her appointments for education, yet in proportion to her means she is doing even more than the North for this purpose.

But what shall we teach the negro? Shall we give him anything beyond the three R's? By "we," of course, is meant, "we white folks," but Southern white folks have long ceased to teach the negro the common branches at all. This work has all been relegated to negro teachers. Let us take for example Mississippi, which, hitherto, has shared with Louisiana the unenviable distinction among States of having the greatest amount of illiteracy. The State superintendent of public instruction, Mr. J. R. Preston, wrote for the New York Independent last year, in reply to some inquiry: "There is not a white teacher in the colored schools of the State," and this is substantially true of every State of the South. Your Northern friend, who desires to teach the three R's, might travel from Mason and Dixon's line to the Gulf, and he would find every situation preempted. He would have to adopt for himself the Shakespearian lamentation, "Othello's occupation's gone." The only place where he would find primary instruction given by white teachers would be in our own so-called universities. According to the last report from Washington, the white teachers of public schools in the South are in the proportion of 1 to every 42 white pupils, and the colored teachers of 1 to every 51 colored pupils. The entire public-school system for the negro is carried on by negro teachers.

And this not only in the lower grades of instruction. Superintendent Preston informs us that in Mississippi there are over 600 colored teachers who hold first-grade certificates. Now a first-grade certificate, in most States, means that the teacher has passed an examination in algebra, physics, physiology, chemistry, geometry, Latin, civil government, psychology, pedagogy; or, in other words, with the exception of Greek, he is fitted to enter the freshman class in any Southern college. And Superintendent Preston says: "These teachers are examined by a white board. They have just the same questions that the white teachers have. I make them out and I know. And the board was just to them and gave them all they earned, but it is not likely to err on the side of mercy." It is not probable that any Southern State is behind Mississippi in the proportionate number of its colored teachers. Virginia reports 700, North Carolina 761, Arkansas 500; Texas has a different method of classification, but reports 1,900 as "higher than third grade." As regards the kind and amount of education which Mississippi's colored people have received, Superintendent Preston says: "The other day I was conducting an institute where there were 19 colored teachers in attendance, and I found that 18 of them were college graduates. I went right over into an adjoining county, and took a white institute with 37 in attendance, and found only about one-fourth were college graduates." By college graduates normal graduates are doubtless meant, and, in the case of colored teachers, the normal colleges of our missionary schools.

What, then, I again ask, shall we teach the negro? The answer seems to be as plain as the logic of common sense can make it. Let us teach what our colleges and universities were founded to teach. Let us teach the only thing left for us to teach. Let us teach the only thing that the negro can not do as well for himself. Let us teach the thing which the experience of all the ages and the matured judgment of all true educators has decided to be essential for the full development of manhood. Let us teach the negro who he is and what he is as God made him in his physical and mental structure. Let us teach him what the world is that God has made for him, with all its elements and powers and forces. Let us teach him the history of races and of civilizations, with the laws of that progress. Let us teach him to become master of his own tongue by studying its sources in the ancient world and in classic literature, and master of himself by analyzing the structure and workings of his own mind. In short, let us give him such glimpses of the whole range of science as shall tax his powers to the utmost, while it takes the conceit out of him and brings him nearer to that supreme discovery of Socrates that he "knows nothing."

As Commissioner Harris has well said: "Education, intellectual and moral, is the only means yet discovered that is always sure to help people to help themselves. * * * It produces that divine discontent which goads on the individual and will not let him rest."

But has the negro the capacity for mental training? Is that a question to-day? I am almost ashamed to discuss it in this presence, but my apology is that I have been requested to do so. It will bear examination from any and every point of view. It is vital to the whole subject before us. If anybody doubts, he should inform

himself. If color has anything to do with intellect, it should appear when the two colors or races are brought into contact and competition. The best source of information, therefore, is a study of the negro at school. We have seen, however, that the common-school teacher is now ruled out of court as an interested party. To find white teachers we must go to the colleges. I have recently asked presidents of fifteen colleges these three questions: (1) About what proportion of your pupils are full-blooded negroes? (2) What difference, if any, have you perceived in the average ability of full-blooded negroes as compared with those of mixed blood? (3) What difference, if any, is manifest between your pupils as a whole in intellectual ability and those of white schools under similar conditions? The replies to these questions are before me. The substance of them is this: Not more than one-fifth of all the pupils are full-blooded negroes. The rest are of all degrees from quadroon to blonde. In the second place, there is no difference of mental ability clearly traceable among them; if there be any, it is in favor of the full-blooded negro. Thirdly, as compared white pupils, there is no perceptible difference, when their environments are taken into account. Of course, there is some difficulty in measuring the force of environments.

This consensus of opinion among Southern educators coincides with my own observations. Having been a teacher for over thirty years, over twenty of which were spent in theological schools in the North and in Europe, I have now spent ten years in the South, and in daily contact with so-called negro pupils, and I can truly say that I find no appreciable difference in original capacity. If they have come from ignorant districts and dark surroundings, their vocabulary is limited, and their first exhibitions of intelligence are inferior to those who come from cultivated homes, though often their greater eagerness to learn counterbalances this disability. We must not, however, be misled by an assumption that the American negro is merely a transplanted savage. Two centuries of life in the midst of the foremost civilization of the world is a long way from savagery. There were intelligent Christian men and women in daily contact with the American bondsmen; they were able Christian ministers, from whose lips they received their doctrine. Though schools were forbidden, there were lovely Christian daughters, white angels, who defied the law in their loving sympathy for the lowly. Life in many a Southern family was an education inferior only to that of their master's children. Only by the intellectual brightness of Southern people, and the Christian character which illuminated Southern homes, can we account for the mental development of thousands of negroes, as they came out of the war too old to come into our schools, but constituting, nevertheless, the present influential leaders of the people.

And it must be in part the memories of those refining influences which are blossoming out all over the South in the neat, attractive homes which these people are building for themselves. The Southern negroes are not all living in one-room cabins, of which we have heard much recently. There are better homes than mine owned by negroes in New Orleans. There are plenty of ex-slaves in Louisiana who are richer than their former masters. There are over 300,000 homes and farms owned by negroes in the South without encumbrance. Six years ago Southern negroes were paying taxes on nearly $300,000,000. The white Baptists of the South had a church property worth $18,000,000, the accumulation of two hundred years. The negro Baptists at the same date (twenty-six years out of slavery) had acquired a church property of over nine millions. There must have been an ante bellum civilization behind all this.

Said Rev. A. D. Mayo, at the Mohonk Conference in 1890: "It has never been realized by the loyal North what is evident to every intelligent Southern man, what a prodigious change had been wrought in this people during its years of bondage, and how, without the schooling of this era, the subsequent elevation of the emancipated slave to a full American citizenship would have been an impossibility. * * * In that condition he learned the three great elements of civilization more speedily than they were ever learned before. He learned to work, he acquired the language and adopted the religion of the most progressive of peoples. Gifted with a marvelous aptitude for such schooling, he was found in 1865 farther out of the woods of barbarism than any other people at the end of a thousand years."

The scholastic education of the negro began in earnest only about twenty years ago, 1876 being the date of the complete inauguration of the public school system of the South. This is too short for us to expect great results. The educated generation are not yet fairly out of school, but there have already appeared some isolated cases which show signs of promise. In the class of 1888 at Harvard University were two negroes, one of whom was selected by the faculty to represent his class on commencement day, as being the foremost scholar among his 250 classmates; the other was elected by the class for the highest honor in their gift by being made their orator on class day. The circumstance reflects honor not merely on him, but on the democratic spirit of our oldest university, which recognized merit without regard to color. Boston University has also yielded first honors to a negro. A negro professor of theology at Straight University at New Orleans is a graduate of Vermont University,

who afterwards took the prize for traveling scholarship from Yale Theological Seminary, and spent a year in Germany upon it. Professor Bowen, of the Gammon Theological Seminary, delivered at the Atlanta Exposition opening an address which in classic finish will bear comparison with the best orations of Edward Everett. The principal of one of our auxiliaries, Mr. E. N. Smith, a perfect gentleman and an excellent teacher, is a full-blooded negro, a graduate from Lincoln University and Newton Theological Institution, and pronounced by Dr. Hovey one of the best scholars that have been educated there.

Said President Merrill E. Gates, of Amherst College (The Independent, Dec. 5, 1895): "My observation leads me to believe that the proportion of truly successful men, tried by the highest standards of success, among the colored men who study in our Northern colleges, is quite as great as is the proportion of successful men among the whites who have the same, or equally good, opportunities for an education."

We might multiply examples—they are not necessary. There seems to be nothing better established than the essential manhood of the negro. Intelligent men of the South do not question it. Their recent cordial response to our proposal for cooperation is a good illustration of this.

There are two points of importance to which I wish to call your attention before leaving this subject—one relates to the continued use of our colleges in the South for giving primary instruction, the other is the relation of industrial training to the education of the negro.

We have seen that the public schools of the South are fairly equal in quality for both races, and that negro schools are taught by negro teachers. There is a truth beyond that. In the present deficiency of provision for common-school instruction, the colored people are ready and willing, with proper encouragement, to supplement these with schools supported by themselves. There are twelve such institutions already established in Louisiana. Now, if this be so—if the negro, with the help of the State, is providing his own primary education, and doing it successfully, what propriety is there in our continuing to furnish college endowments and employ college teachers to do primary work? It is a first principle of true beneficence to do nothing for any man which he can be led to do for himself. Certainly we ought not in any way by rivalry to discourage the work of self-education. It has been well said by the Hon. J. L. M. Curry: "An educational charity would sadly fail of its purpose if the least impediment were placed in the path of the free school. In so far as these institutions not under State control impair the efficiency of or divert attendance from the public schools, they are mischievous, for the great mass of children, white and black, must, more in the future than at present, depend almost exclusively upon the State schools for the common branches of education."

In the United States statistics of 1893 and 1894 it appears that in the 158 private schools designed for the secondary and higher education of colored people in the South, there were 18,595 primary pupils, while only 13,262 belong to the secondary or high-school class, and 940 were in collegiate classes. As these schools of higher education are situated for the most part in larger towns and cities, where the best provision for public schools is usually made, it is fair to presume that those 18,000 pupils are drawn from the free schools by the attractive name of "college" or "university," which veils their low grade of standing, and that these learned faculties of 1,320 professors must be largely engaged in rudimentary instruction. Would it not be far better for these pupils to set before them the prize of admission to the college, at least as far as the normal grade, as a motive for excellence in the common schools, and would it not be better for the professors to be allowed to confine their work of instruction to those higher branches for which they are specially fitted?

Of course, the change of policy here recommended would considerably diminish the show of numbers in our so-called colleges, but it would greatly improve the efficiency and thoroughness of their legitimate work, and directly help and stimulate the free schools to better attainment. Said Commissioner Harris, in his discussion of the education of the negro in the Atlantic Monthly for June, 1892: "It is clear from the above consideration that money expended for the secondary and higher education of the negro accomplishes far more for him. It is seed sown where it brings forth an hundredfold, because each one of the pupils of these higher institutions is a center of diffusion of superior methods and refining influences among an imitative and impressible race. State and national aid, as well as private bequests, should take this direction first. There should be no gift or bequest for common or elementary instruction. This should be left to the common schools, and all outside aid should be concentrated on the secondary and higher instruction."

There is an important reason for this wise counsel of Dr. Harris which now presses itself upon our attention. We have reached a crisis in the progress of negro education. The work of the common school now carried on by the people themselves has created all over the South a new generation of educated youth, wiser than their parents, wiser than their ministers, approaching manhood and womanhood, ready soon to take control of affairs and of public sentiment. They already know the

difference between learning and ignorance, between religion and superstition. They have no knowledge of slavery. They are a new generation of free-born people. Their improvement is phenomenal, but no corresponding improvement has come to the ministry. That the ministry has greatly improved during this twenty years no one who has visited their churches or attended their associations can doubt. Considering their advantages, they are a very able body of men. Some of them rank among the best preachers of the South. Many of the younger of them have had more or less training in our colleges. The Richmond, Atlanta, and Gammon theological seminaries have sent out a small quota. But as yet not a thousand in all the South have had even a college education. Nearly the whole educational machinery thus far has been occupied in supplying the great demand for teachers, and the whole force of educated talent has been drawn to the schools.

The fact mentioned a while since that less than 1,000 in the whole South are at this moment engaged in collegiate study is to be accounted for not by want of capacity for higher studies, but for want of motive. Education costs them a great deal. Nearly every one earns every dollar which he pays for his learning. With most it has been a great struggle to reach the point of normal graduation, and then the best salary for teaching at present available is open to them. Every influence urges them to stop here and reap the fruits of their hard-earned attainment. Moreover, the influences around them all tend to discourage higher attainment. Some have brothers and sisters to educate, and must stay at home to earn the money. Others have mothers and fathers who are struggling with poverty and debt, and who now claim their services to help them out. All their neighbors say, "You know enough now, since you have been teaching the whole neighborhood." To break away from all this requires higher incentive and a stronger pressure than comes to most of them. Meanwhile, the old people and their ministers go on in the ruts of ignorance and superstition. The uneducated ministers (however good and gifted with natural ability) are unable to keep pace with the young people in intelligence or to retain their influence over them. A breach is growing. A moral drift away from religion is beginning to manifest itself. There is danger ahead for which no adequate provision is in sight. What shall that provision be? Ministers' institutes? Some helpful suggestions can be doubtless made to the existing ministry by their educated white brethren. But he must have great faith in the receptive powers of the average negro who supposes that a mature man can be transformed from ignorance to erudition by a week or ten days annually of lecturing. Shall we take them into our colleges? It is too late. They are too old to begin a course of study. They are ashamed to expose their ignorance. Many have families. Gladly as we would help them in their conscious need, and deeply as our hearts are stirred by their struggle, the problem is insoluble in that direction. The only hope for a ministry which will really lead and properly teach the next generation of the colored race is through the legitimate methods of education.

How shall this be reached? How shall we bridge this chasm between an educated people and an ignorant ministry? To meet this crisis wisdom and generalship are needful. It is our duty as their friends to point out the danger and to provide the remedy. The motive which is lacking should be somehow supplied. Six hundred years ago illiteracy in England well-nigh approached that of the negro American of to-day. It is said that only five of the twenty-five barons who signed the Magna Charta could write their names. Her Christian philanthropists saw the evil, and established prizes, denominated "bursaries," "scholarships," and "fellowships," to stimulate high attainments in study. The accumulation of these prizes by the wise forecast of our English ancestors really constitutes the basis of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The duty of the hour for us toward our Southern brethren is not only to endow the colleges which we have established, but to offer to those who by their own exertions have attained the rank of college students a prize sufficient to enable and stimulate them to go on to the full stature of intellectual manhood. Here is an opportunity for the use of consecrated wealth. Who will avail himself of it, as Daniel Hand has done for the American Missionary Association?

What shall we say, now, about the relation of industrial training to our problem? Industrial training is good and useful to some persons, if they can afford time to take it. But in its application to the negro several facts should be clearly understood:

1. It appears not to be generally known in the North that in the South all trades and occupations are open to the negro, and always have been. Before the war slaves were taught mechanics' arts, because they thereby became more profitable to their masters. And now every village has its negro mechanics, who are patronized both by white and colored employers, and any who wish to learn the trade can do so.

2. It is a mistake to suppose that industrial education can be wisely applied to the beginnings of school life. Said the Rev. A. D. Mayo, than whom no man in America is better acquainted with the condition and wants of the South: "There are two specious, un-American notions now masquerading under the taking phrase, "industrial

education:" First, that it is possible or desirable to train large bodies of youth to superior industrial skill without a basis of sound elementary education. You can not polish a brickbat, and you can not make a good workman of a plantation negro or a white ignoramus until you first wake up his mind, and give him the mental discipline and knowledge that comes from a good school; * * * second, that it is possible or desirable to train masses of American children on the European idea that the child will follow the calling of his father. Class education has no place in the order of society, and the American people will never accept it in any form. The industrial training needed in the South must be obtained by the establishment of special schools of improved housekeeping for girls, with mechanical training for such boys as desire it. * * * And this training should be given impartially to both races, without regard to the thousand and one theories of what the colored man can not do."

3. Industrial training is expensive of time and money, as compared with its results as a civilizer. When you have trained one student you have simply fitted one man to earn an ordinary living. When you have given a college education to a man with brains you have sent forth an instrumentality that will affect hundreds or thousands.

Said Chauncey M. Depew, in his address at the tenth convention of the University of Chicago, in April, 1895: "I acknowledge the position and the usefulness of the business college, the manual training school, the technological institute, the scientific school, and the schools of mines, medicine, law, and theology. They are of infinite importance to the youth who has not the money, the time, or the opportunity to secure a liberal education. They are of equal benefit to the college graduate who has had a liberal education in training him for his selected pursuit. But the theorists, or rather the practical men who are the architects of their own fortunes, and who are proclaiming on every occasion that a liberal education is a waste of time for a business man, and that the boy who starts early and is trained only for his one pursuit is destined for a larger success, are doing infinite harm to the ambitious youth of this country.

"The college, in its four years of discipline, training, teaching, and development, makes the boy the man. His Latin and his Greek, his rhetoric and his logic, his science and his philosophy, his mathematics and his history, have little or nothing to do with law or medicine or theology, and still less to do with manufacturing, or mining, or storekeeping, or stocks, or grain, or provisions. But they have given to the youth, when he has graduated, the command of that superb intelligence with which God has endowed him, by which, for the purpose of a living or a fortune, he grasps his profession or his business and speedily overtakes the boy who, abandoning college opportunities, gave his narrow life to the narrowing pursuit of the one thing by which he expected to earn a living. The college-bred man has an equal opportunity for bread and butter, but beyond that he becomes a citizen of commanding influence and a leader in every community where he settles."

4. Industrial training is liable to divert attention from the real aim and end of education, which is manhood. The young scholar can not serve two masters. It requires all the energy there is in a boy to nerve him to the high resolve that in spite of all difficulties he will patiently discipline himself until he becomes a man. This is one reason why our northern colleges, which in many cases began as manual-labor schools, have abandoned it. Ought we to insist on "putting a yoke upon the necks" of our brethren in black "which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear?"

Finally, experience seems to show that industrial education does not educate, even in trades.

In the report of the Bureau of Education for 1889-90 is a full statistical table of the lines of business in which the graduates of 17 colored schools are employed. In all these schools industrial instruction is given, such as carpentry, tinning, painting, whip making, plastering, shoemaking, tailoring, blacksmithing, farming, gardening, etc. Out of 1,243 graduates of these schools there are found to be only 12 farmers, 2 mechanics, 1 carpenter. The names of the universities are Allen (S. C.); Atlanta (Ga.); Berea (Ky.); Central Tennessee (Tenn.); Claflin (S. C.); Fiske (Tenn.); Knoxville (Tenn.); Livingstone (N. C.); New Orleans (La.); Paul Quinn (Tex.); Philander Smith (Ark.); Roger Williams (Tenn.); Rust (Miss.); Southern, New Orleans, La.; Straight, New Orleans, La.; Tuskegee (Ala.); Wilberforce (Ohio).

The employments of the graduates were: Teachers, 693; ministers, 117; physicians, 163; lawyers, 116; college professors, 27; editors, 5; merchants, 15; farmers, 12; carpenter, 1; United States Government service, 36; druggists, 5; dentists, 14; bookkeepers, 2; printers, 2; mechanics, 2; butchers, 3; other pursuits, 30.

The money appropriated to these schools by the Slater fund from 1884 to 1894 was $139,981.78.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE SLATER FUND AND THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

Compiled from Occasional Papers published by the trustees of the John F. Slater fund, Nos. 1 to 6.[1]

Contents.—I. Difficulties, complications, and limitations connected with the education of the negro. II. Education of the negroes since 1860. III. Occupations of the negroes. IV. A statistical sketch of the negroes in the United States. V. Memorial sketches of John F. Slater. VI. Documents relating to the origin and work of the Slater trustees: (*a*) Charter from the State of New York; (*b*) letter of the founder; (*c*) letter of the trustees accepting the gift; (*d*) the thanks of Congress; (*e*) by-laws; (*f*) members of the board; (*g*) remarks of President Hayes on the death of Mr. Slater.

I.

DIFFICULTIES, COMPLICATIONS, AND LIMITATIONS CONNECTED WITH THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

[By J. L. M. Curry, LL. D., secretary of the trustees of the John F. Slater fund.]

Civilization certainly, Christianity probably, has encountered no problem which surpasses in magnitute or complexity the negro problem. For its solution political remedies, very drastic, have been tried, but have failed utterly. Educational agencies have been very beneficial as a stimulus to self-government and are increasingly hopeful and worthy of wider application, but they do not cure social diseases, moral ills. Much has been written of evolution of man, of human society, and history shows marvelous progress in some races, in some countries, in the bettering of habits and institutions, but this progress is not found, in any equal degree, in the negro race in his native land. What has occurred in the United States has been from external causes. Usually human development has come from voluntary energy, from self-evolved organizations of higher and higher efficiency, from conditions which are principally the handiwork of man himself. With the negro, whatever progress has marked his life as a race in this country has come from without. The great ethical and political revolutions of enlightened nations, through the efforts of successive generations, have not been seen in his history.

When, on March 4, 1882, our large-hearted and broadminded founder established this trust, he had a noble end in view. For near thirteen years the trustees have kept the object steadily before them, with varying results. Expectations have not always been realized. If any want of highest success has attended our efforts, this is not an uncompanioned experience. As was to have been foreseen, in working out a novel and great problem, difficulties have arisen. Some are inherent and pertain to the education of the negro, however, and by whomsoever undertaken, and some are peculiar to the trust. Some are remedial. In this, as in all other experiments, it is better to ascertain and comprehend the difficulties so as to adopt and adjust the proper measures for displacing or overcoming them. A general needs to

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[1] *Announcement to the series.*—The trustees of the John F. Slater fund propose to publish from time to time papers that relate to the education of the colored race. These papers are designed to furnish information to those who are concerned in the administration of schools, and also to those who by their official stations are called upon to act or to advise in respect to the care of such institutions.

The trustees believe that the experimental period in the education of the blacks is drawing to a close. Certain principles that were doubted thirty years ago now appear to be generally recognized as sound. In the next thirty years better systems will undoubtedly prevail, and the aid of the separate States is likely to be more and more freely bestowed. There will also be abundant room for continued generosity on the part of individuals and associations. It is to encourage and assist the workers and the thinkers that these papers will be published.

Each paper will be the utterance of the writer whose name is attached to it, the trustees disclaiming in advance all responsibility for the statement of facts and opinions.

know the strength and character of the opposing force. A physician can not prescribe intelligently until he knows the condition of his patient.

The income of the fund is limited in amount, and the means of accomplishing "the general object" of the trust are indicated in Mr. Slater's letter and conversations and by the repeatedly declared policy of the board—as teacher training and industrial training. He specified "the training of teachers from among the people requiring to be taught and the 'encouragement of such institutions as are most effectually useful in promoting this training of teachers.'" No one, in the least degree familiar with the subject, can deny or doubt that the essential need of the race is a higher and better qualified class of teachers. The fund does not establish nor control schools, nor appoint teachers. It cooperates with schools established by States, by religious denominations, and by individuals. Mr. Slater did not purpose "to bestow charity upon the destitute, to encourage a few exceptional individuals, to build churches, schoolhouses, or asylums." Aided schools may accept money to carry out the specific purposes of the trust, but they often have other and prescribed objects, and hence what the trustees seek is naturally, perhaps unavoidably, subordinated to what are the predetermined and unchangeable ends of some of these schools.

The most obvious hindrance in the way of the education of the negro has so often been presented and discussed—his origin, history, environments—that it seems superfluous to treat it anew. His political status, sudden and unparalleled, complicated by antecedent condition, excited false hopes and encouraged the notion of reaching per saltum, without the use of the agencies of time, labor, industry, discipline, what the dominant race had attained after centuries of toil and trial and sacrifice. Education, property, habits of thrift and self-control, higher achievements of civilization, are not extemporized nor created by magic or legislation. Behind the Caucasian lie centuries of the educating, uplifting influence of civilization, of the institutions of family, society, the churches, the state, and the salutary effects of heredity. Behind the negro are centuries of ignorance, barbarism, slavery, superstition, idolatry, fetichism, and the transmissible consequences of heredity.

Nothing valuable or permanent in human life has been secured without the substratum of moral character, of religious motive, in the individual, the family, the community. In this matter the negro should be judged charitably, for his aboriginal people were not far removed from the savage state, where they knew neither house nor home and had not enjoyed any religious training. Their condition as slaves debarred them the advantage of regular, continuous, systematic instruction. The negro began his life of freedom and citizenship with natural weaknesses uncorrected, with loose notions of piety and morality and with strong racial peculiarities and proclivities, and has not outgrown the feebleness of the moral sense which is common to all primitive races. One religious organization, which has acted with great liberality, and generally with great wisdom, in its missionary and educational work among the negroes, says: "Of the paganism in the South, Dr. Behrends has well said that the note of paganism is its separation of worship from virtue, of religion from morals. This is the characteristic fact of the religion of the negro." The Plantation Missionary, of this year, a journal edited and published for the improvement of the "black belt" of Alabama, says, "five millions of negroes are still illiterate, and multitudes of them idle, bestial, and degraded, with slight ideas of purity or thrift." The discipline of virtue, the incorporation of creed into personal life, is largely wanting, and hence physical and hysterical demonstrations, excited sensibilities, uncontrolled emotions, transient outbursts of ardor, have been confounded with the graces of the spirit and of faith based on knowledge. Contradiction, negation, paradox, and eccentricity are characteristics of the ignorant and superstitious, especially when they concern themselves with religion.

The economic condition is a most serious drawback to mental and moral progress. Want of thrift, of frugality, of foresight, of skill, of right notions of consumption and of proper habits of acquiring and holding property, has made the race the victim and prey of usurers and extortioners. The negro rarely accumulates, for he does not keep his savings, nor put them in permanent and secure investments. He seems to be under little stimulus toward social improvement, or any ambition except that of being able to live from day to day. "As to poverty, 80 per cent of the wealth of the nation is in the North and only 20 per cent in the South. Of this 20 per cent a very small share, indeed, falls to the seven millions of negroes, who constitute by far the poorest element of our American people." (American Missionary, November, 1894, p. 390.) "While it is true that a limited number of the colored people are becoming well-to-do, it is also equally true that the masses of them have made but little advance in acquiring property during their thirty years of freedom. Millions of them are yet in real poverty and can do little more than simply maintain physical existence." (Home Missionary Monthly, August, 1894, p. 318.) No trustworthy statement of the property held by negroes is possible, because but few States, in assessing property, discriminate between the races. In Occasional Papers, No. 4 (see p. 1404) Mr.

Gannett, in discussing the tendency of population toward cities, concludes that "the negro is not fitted, either by nature or education, for those vocations for the pursuit of which men collect in cities," and that as the inclinations of the race "tend to keep it wedded to the soil, the probabilities are that the great body of the negroes will continue to remain aloof from the cities and cultivate the soil as heretofore." The black farm laborers hire to white proprietors, work for wages or on shares, give a lien on future earnings for food, clothing, shelter, and the means for cultivation of the crops. The meager remainder, if it exist at all, is squandered in neighboring stores for whisky, tobacco, and worthless "goods." Thus the negro in his industrial progress is hindered by his rude and primitive methods of farming, his wastefulness and improvidence. The manner of living almost necessarily begets immorality and degradation. Mr. Washington, in his useful annual conferences, has emphasized the need of improved rural abodes and the fatal consequences of crowding a whole family into one room. The report already quoted from (Home Monthly, p. 22) says: "On the great plantations (and the statement might be much further extended) there has been but little progress in thirty years. The majority live in one-room cabins, tabernacling in them as tenants at will." The poverty, wretchedness, hopelessness of the present life are sometimes in pitiable contrast to the freedom from care and anxiety, the cheerfulness and frolicsomeness, of ante-bellum days.

The average status of the negro is much misunderstood by some persons. The incurable tendency of opinion seems to be to exaggerated optimism or pessimism, to eager expectancy of impossible results or distrust or incredulity as to future progress. It is not easy to form an accurate judgment of a country, or of its population, or to generalize logically, from a Pullman car window, or from snatches of conversation with a porter or waiter, or from the testimony of one race only, or from exceptional cases like Bruce, Price, Douglass, Washington, Revels, Payne, Simmons, etc. Individual cases do not demonstrate a general or permanent widening of range of mental possibilities. Thirty years may test and develop instances of personal success, of individual manhood, but are too short a time to bring a servile race, as a whole, up to equality with a race which is the heir of centuries of civilization, with its uplifting results and accessories. It should be cheerfully conceded that some negroes have displayed abilities of a high order and have succeeded in official and professional life, in pulpit and literature. The fewness gives conspicuousness, but does not justify an a priori assumption adverse to future capability of the race. Practically, no negro born since 1860 was ever a slave. More than a generation has passed since slavery ceased in the United States. Despite some formidable obstacles, the negroes have been favored beyond any other race known in the history of mankind. Freedom, citizenship, suffrage, civil and political rights, educational opportunities and religious privileges, every method and function of civilization, have been secured and fostered by Federal and State governments, ecclesiastical organizations, munificent individual benefactions, and yet the results have not been, on the whole, such as to inspire most sanguine expectations, or justify conclusions of rapid development or of racial equality. In some localities there has been degeneracy rather than ascent in the scale of manhood, relapse instead of progress. The unusual environments should have evolved a higher and more rapid degree of advancement. Professor Mayo-Smith, who has made an ethnological and sociological study of the diverse elements of our population, says: "No one can as yet predict what position the black race will ultimately take in the population of this country." He would be a bold speculator who ventured, from existing facts, to predict what would be the outcome of our experiment with African citizenship and African development. Mr. Bryce, the most philosophical and painstaking of all foreign students of our institutions, in the last edition of his great work, says: "There is no ground for despondency to anyone who remembers how hopeless the extinction of slavery seemed sixty or even forty years ago, and who marks the progress which the negroes have made since their sudden liberation. Still less is there reason for impatience, for questions like this have in some countries of the Old World required ages for their solution. The problem which confronts the South is one of the great secular problems of the world, presented here under a form of peculiar difficulty. And as the present differences between the African and the European are the product of thousands of years, during which one race was advancing in the temperate, and the other remaining stationary in the torrid zone, so centuries may pass before their relations as neighbors and fellow-citizens have been duly adjusted." It would be unjust and illogical to push too far the comparison and deduce inferences unfair to the negro, but it is an interesting coincidence that Japan began her entrance into the family of civilized nations almost contemporaneously with emancipation in the United States. In 1858 I witnessed the unique reception by President Buchanan, in the east room of the White House, of the commissioners from Japan. With a rapidity without a precedent, she has taken her place as an equal and independent nation, and her rulers demand acknowledgment at the highest courts, and her ministers are officially the equals of their colleagues in every diplomatic corps. By

internal development, without extraneous assistance, Japan has reached a degree of self-reliance, of self-control, of social organization, of respectable civilization, far beyond what our African citizens have attained under physical, civic, and religious conditions by no means unfavorable. It is true that Japan for a long time had a separate nationality, while the freedmen have been dependent wards, but the Oriental nation, without the great ethical and pervasive and ennobling and energizing influence of Christianity (for the propagandism of the daring Jesuit missionaries of the sixteenth century has been effaced) has recorded her ascents by monuments of social life and dramatic events in history. Her mental culture and habits and marvelous military success are witnesses of her progress and power. We have been accustomed to think of the whole Orient, that "fifty years of Europe were better than a cycle of Cathay," but within a quarter of a century Japan has transformed social usages and manners, arts and manufactures, and in 1889, when we were celebrating the centennial of our Constitution, she adopted a constitution, with a limited monarchy and parliamentary institutions.

Much of the aid lavished upon the negro has been misapplied charity and, like much other almsgiving, hurtful to the recipient. Northern philanthropy, "disastrously kind," has often responded with liberality to appeals worse than worthless. Vagabond mendicants have been pampered; schools which were established without any serious need of them have been helped; public-school systems upon which the great mass of children, white and colored, must rely for their education have been underrated and injured, and schools of real merit, and doing good work, which deserve confidence and contributions have had assistance legitimately their due diverted into improper channels. Reluctantly and by constraint of conscience this matter is mentioned, and this voice of protest and warning raised. Dr. A. D. Mayo, of Boston, an astute and thoughtful observer, a tried friend of the black man, an eloquent advocate of his elevation, who for fifteen years has traversed the South in the interests of universal education, than whom no one has a better acquaintance with the schools of that section, bears cogent and trustworty testimony to which I give my emphatic endorsement:

"It is high time that our heedless, undiscriminating, all-out-doors habit of giving money and supplies to the great invading army of Southern solicitors should come to an end. Whatever of good has come from it is of the same nature as the habit of miscellaneous almsgiving which our system of associated charities is everywhere working to break up. It is high time that we understood that the one agency on which the negroes and nine-tenths of the white people in the South must rely for elementary instruction and training is the American common school. The attempt to educate 2,000,000 colored and 3,000,000 white American children in the South by passing around the hat in the North; sending driblets of money and barrels of supplies to encourage anybody and everybody to open a little useless private school; to draw on our Protestant Sunday schools in the North to build up among these people the church parochial system of elementary schools which the clergy of these churches are denouncing—all this and a great deal more that is still going on among us, with, of course, the usual exceptions, has had its day and done its work. The only reliable method of directly helping the elementary department of Southern education is that our churches and benevolent people put themselves in touch with the common-school authorities in all the dark places, urging even their poorer people to do more, as they can do more, than at present. The thousand dollars from Boston that keeps alive a little private or denominational school in a Southern neighborhood, if properly applied, would give two additional months, better teaching and better housing to all the children, and unite their people as in no other way. Let the great Northern schools in the South established for the negroes be reasonably endowed, and worked in cooperation with the public-school system of the State, with the idea that in due time they will all pass into the hands of the Southern people, each dependent on its own constituency for its permanent support. I believe in many instances it would be the best policy to endow or aid Southern schools that have grown up at home and have established themselves in the confidence of the people. While more money should every year be given in the North for Southern education, it should not be scattered abroad, but concentrated on strategic points for the uplifting of both races."

After the facts, hard, stubborn, unimpeachable, regretable, which have been given, we may well inquire whether much hasty action has not prevailed in assigning to the negro an educational position, which ancient and modern history does not warrant. The partition of the continent of Africa by and among European nations can hardly be ascribed solely to a lust for territorial aggrandizement. The energetic races of the North begin to realize that the tropical countries—the food and the material producing regions of the earth—can not, for all time to come, be left to the unprogressive, uncivilized colored race, deficient in the qualities necessary to the development of the rich resources of the lands they possess. The strong powers seem unwilling to tolerate the wasting of the resources of the most fertile regions through the apparent impossibility, by the race in possession, of acquiring the qualities of

efficiency which exist elsewhere. The experiment of the Congo Free State, one of the richest and most valuable tracts in Africa, established and fostered under propitious circumstances by the King of Belgium, seems likely to be a barren failure and to prove that African colonization is not a practicable scheme, without State subvention, or the strong, overmastering hand of some superior race. It requires no superior insight to discover that human evolution has come from the energy, thrift, discipline, social and political efficiency of peoples whose power is not the result of varying circumstances, "of the cosmic order of things which we have no power to control."[1]

The negro occupies an incongruous position in our country. Under military necessity slaves were emancipated, and all true Americans accept the jubilant eulogium of the poet, when he declares our country

> A later Eden planted in the wilds,
> With not an inch of earth within its bounds
> But if a slave's foot press, it sets him free.

Partisanship and an altruistic sentiment led to favoritism, to civic equality, and to bringing the negroes, for the first time in their history and without any previous preparation, "into the rivalry of life on an equal footing of opportunity." The whole country has suffered in its material development from the hazardous experiment. The South, as a constituent portion of the Union, is a diseased limb on the body, is largely uncultivated, neglected, unproductive. Farming, with the low prices of products, yields little remunerative return on labor or money invested, and, except in narrow localities and where "trucking" obtains, is not improving agriculturally, or, if so, too slowly and locally to awaken any hopes of early or great recovery.[2] Crippled, disheartened by the presence of a people not much inferior in numbers, of equal civil rights, and slowly capable of equal mental development or of taking on the habits of advanced civilization, the white people of the South are deprived of any considerable increase of numbers from immigration and any large demand for small freeholds, and are largely dependent on ignorant, undisciplined, uninventive, inefficient, unambitious labor. Intercourse between the Slavs and the tribes of the Ural-Altaic stock, fusion of ethnic elements, has not resulted in deterioration, but has produced an apparently homogeneous people, possessing a common consciousness. That the two diverse races now in the South can ever perfectly harmonize while occupying the same territory no one competent to form an opinion believes. Mr. Bryce concludes that the negro will stay socially distinct, as an alien element, unabsorbed and unabsorbable. That the presence in the same country of two distinctly marked races, having the same rights and privileges, of unequal capacities of development—one long habituated to servitude, deprived of all power of initiative, of all high ideal, without patriotism beyond a mere weak attachment—is a blessing is too absurd a proposition for serious consideration. Whether the great resources of the South are not destined, under existing conditions, to remain only partially developed, and whether agriculture is not doomed to barrenness of results, are economic and political questions alien to this discussion.

As trustees of the Slater fund, we are confined to the duty of educating the lately emancipated race. In Occasional Papers, No. 3 (see p. 1374), the history of education since 1860, as derived from the most authentic sources, is presented with care and fullness. "The great work of educating the negroes is carried on mainly by the public schools of the Southern States, supported by funds raised by public taxation, and managed and controlled by public school officers. The work is too great to be attempted by any other agency, unless by the National Government; the field is too extensive, the officers too numerous, the cost too burdensome." (Bureau of Education Report, 1891–92, p. 867.) The American Congress refused aid, and upon the impoverished South the burden and the duty were devolved. Bravely and with heroic self-sacrifice have they sought to fulfill the obligation.

In the distribution of public revenues, in the building of asylums, in provision for public education, no discrimination has been made against the colored people. The law of Georgia of October, 1870, establishing a public school system, expressly states that both races shall have equal privileges. The school system of Texas, begun under its present form in 1876, provides "absolutely equal privileges to both

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[1] Since this paper was prepared, Bishop Turner, of Georgia, a colored preacher of intelligence and respectability, in a letter from Liberia, May 11, 1895, advises the reopening of the African slave trade and says that, as a result of such enslavement for a term of years by a civilized race, "millions and millions of Africans, who are now running around in a state of nudity, fighting, necromancing, masquerading, and doing everything that God disapproves of, would be working and benefiting the world." Equally curious and absurd is the conclusion of the editor of the Globe Quarterly Review (July, 1895, New York), a Northern man, that "nothing but some sort of reenslavement can make the negro work, therefore he must be reenslaved, or driven from the land." Could anything be more surprising than these utterances by a former slave and by an abolitionist, or show more clearly "the difficulties, complications, and limitations" which environ the task and the duty of "uplifting the lately emancipated race?"

[2] The last assessment of property in Virginia, 1895, shows a decrease of $8,133,374 from last year's valuation.

white and colored children." In Florida, under the constitution of 1868 and the law of 1877, both races share equally in the school benefits. Several laws of Arkansas provide for a school system of equal privileges to both races. Under the school system of North Carolina there is no discrimination for or against either race. The school system of Louisiana was fairly started only after the adoption of the constitution of 1879, and equal privileges are granted to white and colored children. Since 1883 equal privileges are granted in Kentucky. The school system of West Virginia grants equal rights to the two races. The system in Mississippi was put in operation in 1871 and grants to both races "equal privileges and school facilities." The same exact and liberal justice obtains in Virginia, Alabama, and Tennessee.

In 1893-94 there were 2,702,410 negro children of school age—from 5 to 18 years—of whom 52.72 per cent, or 1,424,710, were enrolled as pupils. Excluding Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, the receipts from State and local taxation for schools in the South were $14,397,569. It should be borne in mind that there are fewer taxpayers in the South, in proportion to population generally and to school population especially, than in any other part of the United States. In the South Central States there are only 65.9 adult males to 100 children, while in the Western Division there are 156.7. In South Carolina, 37 out of every 100 are of school age; in Montana, only 18 out of 100. Consider also that in the South a large proportion of the comparatively few adults are negroes with a minimum of property. Consider, further, that the number of adult males to each 100 children in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut is twice as great as in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. In view of such and other equally surprising facts, it is a matter of national satisfaction that free education has made such progress in the South. (Bureau of Education Report, 1890-91, pp. 5, 19, 21, 24.)

It is lamentable, after all the provision which has been made, that the schools are kept open for such a short period, that so many teachers are incompetent, and that such a small proportion of persons of school age attend the schools. This does not apply solely to the colored children or to the Southern States. For the whole country the average number of days attended is only 89 for each pupil, when the proper school year should count about 200. While the enrollment and average attendance have increased, "what the people get on an average is about one-half an elementary education, and no State is now giving an education in all its schools that is equal to seven years per inhabitant for the rising generation. Some States are giving less than three years of 200 days each." (Annual Statement of Commissioner of Education for 1894, p. 18.) It is an obligation of patriotism to support and improve these State-managed schools, because they are among the best teachers of the duties of citizenship and the most potent agency for molding and unifying and binding heterogeneous elements of nationality into compactness, unity, and homogeneity. We must keep them efficient if we wish them to retain public confidence.

In No. 3 of Occasional Papers (see page 1379) is described what has been undertaken and accomplished by different religious denominations. The information was furnished by themselves, and full credit was given for their patriotic and Christian work. These schools are of higher grades in name and general purpose and instruction than the public schools, but unfortunately most of them are handicapped by high-sounding and deceptive names and impossible course of study. There are 25 nominal "universities" and "colleges," which embrace primary, secondary, normal, and professional grades of instruction. These report, as engaged in "collegiate" studies, about 1,000 students. The work done is in some instances excellent; in other cases it is as defective as one could well imagine it to be. This misfortune is not confined to colored schools. The last accessible report from the Bureau of Education gives 22 schools of theology and 5 each of schools of law and of medicine, and in the study of law and medicine there has in the last few years been a rapid increase of students.

A noticeable feature of the schools organized by religious associations is the provision made for industrial education. In the special colored schools established or aided by the State of higher order than the public schools, such as those in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, manual training is required for both sexes. As few white schools of the South are provided with this necessary adjunct of education, it would be unjust to criticise too severely what is being done along industrial lines in colored schools. It is rather a matter for rejoicing that the schools have even been started in this most hopeful direction, and especially as the long-wished-for industrial development seems to be dawning on the South. Whatever may be our speculative opinions as to the progress and development of which the negro may be ultimately capable, there can hardly be a well-grounded opposition to the opinion that the hope for the race in the South is to be found not so much in the high courses of university instruction or in schools of technology as in handicraft instruction. This instruction, by whatever name called, encourages us in its results to continued and liberal effort. What such schools as Hampton, the Spelman, Claflin, Tuskegee, Tougaloo, and others have done is the demonstration of the feasibility and the value of

industrial and mechanical training.[1] The general instruction heretofore given in the schools, it is feared, has been too exclusively intellectual, too little of that kind which produces intelligent and skilled workmen, and therefore not thoroughly adapted to racial development nor to fitting for the practical duties of life. Perhaps it has not been philosophical nor practical, but too empirical and illusory in fitting a man for "the conditions in which he will be compelled to earn his livelihood and unfold his possibilities." The effort has been to fit an adult's clothing to a child, to take the highest courses of instruction and apply them to untutored minds. Misguided statesmanship and philanthropy have opened "high schools and universities and offered courses in Greek and Latin and Hebrew, in theology and philosophy, to those who need the rudiments of education and instruction in handicraft." This industrial training is a helpful accompaniment to mental training, and both should be based on strong moral character. It has been charged that the negroes have had too strong an inclination to become preachers or teachers, but this may be in part due to the fact that their education has been ill adjusted to their needs and surroundings, and that when the pupils leave school they do so without having been prepared for the competition which awaits them in the struggle for a higher life.

Whatever may be the discouragements and difficulties and however insufficient may be the school attendance, it is a cheering fact that the schools for the negroes do not encounter the prejudices which were too common a few years ago. In fact, there may almost be said to be coming a time when soon there will be a sustaining public opinion. The struggle of man to throw off fetters and rise into true manhood and save souls from bondage is a most instructive and thrilling spectacle, awakening sympathetic enthusiasm on the part of all who love what is noble. * * * Having gathered testimony from many of the leading colored schools of the South in answer to these direct questions, "Is there any opposition from the white race to your work in educating the negroes? If so, does that opposition imperil person or property?" I group it into a condensed statement:

1. CONGREGATIONALISTS.

Storrs School, Atlanta, says: "There is no aggressive opposition to our work among the negroes." Fisk University, Nashville: "There is no special manifestation of open opposition to our work on the part of the white people; indeed, the better citizens have a good degree of sympathy with our work and take a genuine pride in the university." Talladega College, Alabama: "I do not know of any opposition from the white race to our work. * * * We have more opposition from the very people for whom we are especially laboring than from the other race." By act of incorporation, February 28, 1880, the college may hold, purchase, dispose of, and convey property to such an amount as the business of the college requires, and so long as the property, real or personal, is used for purposes of education it is exempt from taxation of any kind. Knoxville College: "No opposition from the white race disturbs us." Beach Institute, Savannah, Ga.: "There seems to be here no active opposition to our work in educating the negroes." Straight University, New Orleans: "There is no opposition from the white race." Ballard Normal School, Macon, Ga.: "We meet now with no opposition from the whites."

2. METHODISTS.

From Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark.: "No opposition that amounts to anything." Cookman Institute, Jacksonville, Fla.: "There is no active opposition from the white race to our work, as far as I know." Claflin University, Orangeburg, S. C.: "There is no opposition to it on the part of the white race." Central Tennessee College, Nashville, Tenn.: "On the part of the intelligent whites there is none; on the contrary, they have nearly always spoken well of it and seem to rejoice that their former slaves and their children are being educated. Having been here over twenty-seven years, I feel quite safe." Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C., gives an emphatic negative to both questions. New Orleans University: "No opposition from white people to our work."

3. PRESBYTERIANS.

From Biddle University, Charlotte, N. C.; "No opposition from the white race; on the contrary, very pleasant neighbors."

[1] Principal Washington, of Tuskegee Institute, as the representative of his race, made an address at the opening of the great Atlanta Exposition which elicited high commendation from President Cleveland and the press of the country for its practical wisdom and its broad, catholic, and patriotic sentiments. The Negro Building, with its interesting exhibits, shows what progress has been made by the race in thirty years and excites strong hopes for the future. The special work displayed by the schools of Hampton and Tuskegee received honorable recognition from the jury of awards.

4. BAPTISTS.

Bishop College, Marshall, Tex.: "We have experienced opposition from certain classes of white people to the extent of threats and assaults, yet such have come from those who were entirely unacquainted with the real work being done, and I think that now sentiment is changing." Leland University, New Orleans, La.: "There is not to my knowledge, nor ever has been since I came in 1887, any opposition from the white race to our work." Spelman Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.: "We are not aware of any opposition from the white race to our work." Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.: "It gives us pleasure to say the feeling for our work among the whites seems of the kindest nature and everything is helpful." Roger Williams University, Nashville, Tenn.: "No opposition meets us from any sources; on the contrary we are generally treated with entire courtesy." Selma University, Alabama: "There is no opposition to our work from the white race. So far as I know they wish us success."

5. NONDENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Alabama; "I am glad to state that there is practically no opposition on the part of the whites to our work; on the contrary, there are many evidences of their hearty approval." Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute, Virginia: "This school meets no opposition to the work from the white race, and, with occasional individual exceptions, has never met any, but receives for itself and its graduate teachers a great amount of practical sympathy, and is glad of this and every opportunity to acknowledge it."

CONCLUSIONS.

I. It follows that in addition to thorough and intelligent training in the discipline of character and virtue, there should be given rigid and continuous attention to domestic and social life, to the refinements and comforts and economies of home.

II. Taught in the economies of wise consumption, the race should be trained to acquire habits of thrift, of saving earnings, of avoiding waste, of accumulating property, of having a stake in good government, in progressive civilization.

III. Besides the rudiments of a good and useful education there is imperative need of manual training, of the proper cultivation of those faculties or mental qualities of observation, of aiming at and reaching a successful end, and of such facility and skill in tools, in practical industries, as will insure remunerative employment and give the power which comes from intelligent work.

IV. Clearer and juster ideas of education, moral and intellectual, obtained in cleaner home life and through respected and capable teachers in schools and churches. Ultimate and only sure reliance for the education of the race is to be found in the public schools, organized, controlled, and liberally supported by the State.

V. Between the races occupying the same territory, possessing under the law equal civil rights and privileges, speculative and unattainable standards should be avoided, and questions should be met as they arise, not by Utopian and partial solutions, but by the impartial application of the tests of justice, right, honor, humanity, and Christianity.

II.

EDUCATION OF THE NEGROES SINCE 1860.

[By J. L. M. Curry, LL. D., secretary of the trustees of the John F. Slater fund.]

INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this paper is to put into permanent form a narrative of what has been done at the South for the education of the negro since 1860. The historical and statistical details may seem dry and uninteresting, but we can understand the significance of this unprecedented educational movement only by a study of its beginnings and of the difficulties which had to be overcome. The present generation, near as it is to the genesis of the work, can not appreciate its magnitude, nor the greatness of the victory which has been achieved, without a knowledge of the facts which this recital gives in connected order. The knowledge is needful, also, for a comprehension of the future possible scope and kind of education to be given to the Afro-American race. In the field of education we shall be unwise not to reckon with such forces as custom, physical constitution, heredity, racial characteristics and possibilities, and not to remember that these and other causes may determine the limitations under which we must act. The education of this people has a far-reaching and complicated connection with their destiny, with our institutions, and possibly with the Dark Continent, which may assume an importance akin, if not superior, to what it

had centuries ago. The partition of its territory, the international questions which are springing up, and the effect of contact with and government by a superior race, must necessarily give an enhanced importance to Africa as a factor in commerce, in relations of governments, and in civilization. England will soon have an unbroken line of territorial possessions from Egypt to the Cape of Good Hope. Germany, France, Portugal, Italy, Spain, possibly Russia, will soon have such footholds in Africa as, whatever else may occur, will tend to the development of century-paralyzed resources.

What other superior races have done, and are doing, for the government and uplifting of the inferior races, which, from treaty or conquest, have been placed under their responsible jurisdiction, may help in the solution of our problem. Italy had a grand question in its unification; Prussia a graver one in the nationalization of Germany, taxing the statesmanship of Stein, Bismarck, and their colaborers; Great Britain, in the administration of her large and widely remote colonial dependencies with their different races; but our problem has peculiar difficulties which have not confronted other governments, and therefore demands the best powers of philanthropist, sociologist, and statesman.

The emergence of a nation from barbarism to a general diffusion of intelligence and property, to health in the social and civil relations; the development of an inferior race into a high degree of enlightenment; the overthrow of customs and institutions which, however indefensible, have their seat in tradition and a course of long observance; the working out satisfactorily of political, sociological, and ethical problems—are all necessarily slow, requiring patient and intelligent study of the teachings of history and the careful application of something more than mere empirical methods. Civilization, freedom, a pure religion, are not the speedy outcome of revolutions and cataclysms any more than has been the structure of the earth. They are the slow evolution of orderly and creative causes, the result of law and preordained principles.

The educational work described in this paper has been most valuable, but it has been so far necessarily tentative and local. It has lacked broad and definite generalization, and, in all its phases, comprehensive, philosophical consideration. An auxiliary to a thorough study and ultimate better plans, the Slater fund, from time to time, will have prepared and published papers bearing on different phases of the negro question.

I. The history of the negro on this continent is full of pathetic and tragic romance, and of startling, unparalleled incident. The seizure in Africa, the forcible abduction and cruel exportation, the coercive enslavement, the subjection to environments which emasculate a race of all noble aspirations and doom inevitably to hopeless ignorance and inferiority, living in the midst of enlightenments and noblest civilization and yet forbidden to enjoy the benefits of which others were partakers, for four years amid battle and yet, for the most part, having no personal share in the conflict, by statute and organic law and law of nations held in fetters and inequality, and then, in the twinkling of an eye, lifted from bondage to freedom, from slavery to citizenship, from dependence on others and guardianship to suffrage and eligibility to office—can be predicated of no other race. Other peoples, after long and weary years of discipline and struggle against heaviest odds, have won liberty and free government. This race, almost without lifting a hand, unappreciative of the boon except in the lowest aspects of it, and unprepared for privileges and responsibilities, has been lifted to a plane of citizenship and freedom, such as is enjoyed, in an equal degree, by no people in the world outside of the United States.

Common schools in all governments have been a slow growth, reluctantly conceded, grudgingly supported, and perfected after many experiments and failures and with heavy pecuniary cost. Within a few years after emancipation, free and universal education has been provided for the negro, without cost to himself, and chiefly by the self-imposed taxes of those who, a few years before, claimed his labor and time without direct wage or pecuniary compensation.

II. Slavery, recognized by the then international law and the connivance and patronage of European sovereigns, existed in all the colonies prior to the Declaration of Independence, and was reenforced by importation of negroes from Africa. In course of time it was confined to the Southern States, and the negroes increased in numbers at a more rapid rate than did the whites, even after the slave trade was abolished and declared piracy.

For a long time there was no general exclusion by law of the slaves from the privileges of education. The first prohibitory and punitive laws were directed against unlawful assemblages of negroes, and subsequently of free negroes and mulattoes, as their influence in exciting discontent or insurrection was deprecated and guarded against. Afterwards legislation became more general in the South, prohibiting meetings for teaching reading and writing. The Nat Turner insurrection in Southampton County, Va., in 1831, awakened the Southern States to a consciousness of the perils which might environ or destroy them from combinations of excited, inflamed, and ill-advised negroes.

As documents and newspapers tending to inflame discontent and insurrection were supposed to have been the immediate provocation to this conspiracy for murder of whites and for freedom of the blacks, laws were passed against publishing and circulating such documents among the colored population, and strengthening the prohibitions and penalties against education.

Severe and general as were these laws they rarely applied, and were seldom, if ever, enforced against teaching of individuals or of groups on plantations or at the homes of the owners. It was often true that the mistress of a household or her children would teach the house servants, and on Sundays include a larger number. There were also Sunday schools in which black children were taught to read, notably the school in which Stonewall Jackson was a leader. It is pleasant to find recorded in the memoir of Dr. Boyce, a trustee of this fund from its origin until his death, that as an editor, a preacher, and a citizen he was deeply interested in the moral and religious instruction of the negroes.

After a most liberal estimate for the efforts made to teach the negroes, still the fact exists that as a people they were wholly uneducated in schools. Slavery doomed the millions to ignorance, and in this condition they were when the war began.

III. Almost synchronously with the earliest occupation of any portion of the seceding States by the Union army efforts were begun to give the negroes some schooling. In September, 1861, under the guns of Fortress Monroe, a school was opened for the "contrabands of war." In 1862 schools were extended to Washington, Portsmouth, Norfolk, and Newport News, and afterwards to the Port Royal islands on the coast of South Carolina, to Newbern and Roanoke Island in North Carolina. The proclamation of emancipation, January 1, 1863, gave freedom to all slaves reached by the armies, increased the refugees, and awakened a fervor of religious and philanthropic enthusiasm for meeting the physical, moral, and intellectual wants of those suddenly thrown upon charity. In October, 1863, General Banks, then commanding the Department of the Gulf, created commissioners of enrollment, who established the first public schools for Louisiana. Seven were soon in operation, with 23 teachers and an average attendance of 1,422 scholars. On March 22, 1864, he issued General Order No. 38, which constituted a board of education "for the rudimental instruction of the freedmen" in the department, so as to "place within their reach the elements of knowledge."

The board was ordered to establish common schools, to employ teachers, to acquire school sites, to erect school buildings where no proper or available ones for school purposes existed, to purchase and provide necessary books, stationery, apparatus, and a well-selected library, to regulate the course of studies, and "to have the authority and perform the same duties that assessors, supervisors, and trustees had in the Northern States in the matter of establishing and conducting common schools." For the performance of the duties enjoined the board was empowered to "assess and levy a school tax upon real and personal property, including crops of plantations." These taxes were to be sufficient to defray expense and cost of establishing, furnishing, and conducting the schools for the period of one year. When the tax list and schedules should be placed in the hands of the parish provost-marshal he was to collect and pay over within thirty days to the school board. Schools previously established were transferred to this board; others were opened, and in December, 1864, they reported under their supervision 95 schools, 162 teachers, and 9,571 scholars. This system continued until December, 1865, when the power to levy the tax was suspended. An official report of later date says: "In this sad juncture the freedmen expressed a willingness to endure and even petitioned for increased taxation in order that means for supporting their schools might be obtained."

On December 17, 1862, Col. John Eaton was ordered by General Grant to assume a general supervision of freedmen in the Department of Tennessee and Arkansas. In the early autumn of that year schools had been established, and they were multiplied during 1863 and 1864. In the absence of responsibility and supervision there grew up abuses and complaints. By some "parties engaged in the work" of education "exorbitant charges were made for tuition," and agents and teachers, "instead of making common cause for the good of those they came to benefit, set about detracting, perplexing, and vexing each other." "Parties and conflicts had arisen." "Frauds had appeared in not a few instances—evil-minded, irresponsible, or incompetent persons imposing upon those not prepared to defeat or check them." "Bad faith to fair promises had deprived the colored people of their just dues."[1]

On September 26, 1864, the Secretary of War, through Adjutant-General Thomas, issued Order No. 28, in which he said: "To prevent confusion and embarrassment the general superintendent of freedmen will designate officers, subject to his orders, as superintendents of colored schools, through whom he will arrange the location of all schools, teachers, occupation of houses, and other details pertaining to the education of the freedmen." In accordance with this order Colonel Eaton removed his

[1] See report of Chaplain Warren, 1864, relating to colored schools.

headquarters from Vicksburg to Memphis. On October 20, 1864, he issued sixteen rules and regulations for the guidance of superintendents and teachers of colored schools in his supervision. These instructions to subordinates were wise and provided for the opening of a sufficient number of schools, for the payment of tuition fees from 25 cents to $1.25 per month for each scholar, according to the ability of the parents; for the admission free of those who could not pay and the furnishing of clothing by the aid of industrial schools, for the government of teachers in connection with the societies needing them, etc. The "industrial schools" were schools in which sewing was taught, and in which a large quantity of the clothing and material sent from the North was made over or made up for freedmen's use, and were highly "useful in promoting industrious habits and in teaching useful arts of housewifery." The supervision under such a competent head caused great improvement in the work, but department efforts were hindered by some representatives of the benevolent societies who did not heartily welcome the more orderly military supervision. An assistant superintendent, March 31, 1865, reports, in and around Vicksburg and Natchez, 30 schools, 60 teachers, and 4,393 pupils enrolled; in Memphis, 1,590 pupils, and in the entire supervision, 7,360 in attendance.

General Eaton submitted a report of his laborious work, which is full of valuable information. Naturally, some abatement must be made from conclusions which were based on the wild statements of excited freedmen, or the false statements of interested persons. "Instinct of unlettered reason" caused a hegira of the blacks to camps of the Union army, or within protected territory. The "negro population floated or was kicked about at will." Strict supervision became urgent to secure "contraband information" and service and protect the ignorant, deluded people from unscrupulous harpies. "Mental and moral enlightenment" was to be striven for, even in those troublous times, and it was fortunate that so capable and faithful an officer as General Eaton was in authority.

All the operations of the supervisors of schools did not give satisfaction, for the inspector of schools in South Carolina and Georgia, on October 13, 1865, says: "The bureau does not receive that aid from the Government and Government officials it had a right to expect, and really from the course of the military officials in this department you might think that the only enemies to the Government are the agents of the bureau."

IV. By act of Congress, March 3, 1865, the Freedmen's Bureau was created. The scope of its jurisdiction and work extended far beyond education. It embraced abandoned lands and the supply of the negroes with food and clothing, and during 1865 as many as 148,000 were reported as receiving rations. The Quartermaster and Commissary Departments were placed at the service of the agents of the bureau, and, in addition to freedom, largesses were lavishly given to "reach the great and imperative necessities of the situation." Large and comprehensive powers and resources were placed in the hands of the bureau, and limitations of the authority of the Government were disregarded in order to meet the gravest problem of the century. Millions of recently enslaved negroes, homeless, penniless, ignorant, were to be saved from destitution or perishing, to be prepared for the sudden boon of political equality, to be made self-supporting citizens and to prevent their freedom from becoming a curse to themselves and their liberators. The commissioner was authorized "to seize, hold, use, lease, or sell all buildings and tenements and any lands appertaining to the same, or otherwise formally held, under color of title by the late Confederate States, and buildings or lands held in trust for the same, and to use the same, or appropriate the proceeds derived therefrom to the education of the freed people." He was empowered also to "cooperate with private benevolent associations in aid of the freedmen." The bureau was attached to the War Department, and was at first limited in duration to one year, but was afterwards prolonged. Gen. O. O. Howard was appointed commissioner, with assistants. He says he was invested with "almost unlimited authority," and that the act and orders gave "great scope and liberty of action." "Legislative, judicial, and executive powers were combined, reaching all the interests of the freedmen." On June 2, 1865, the President ordered all officers of the United States to turn over to the bureau "all property, funds, lands, and records in any way connected with freedmen and refugees." This bestowment of despotic power was not considered unwise because of the peculiar exigencies of the times and the condition of the freedmen, who, being suddenly emancipated by a dynamic process, were without schools, or teachers, or means to procure them. To organize the work a superintendent of schools was appointed for each State. Besides the regular appropriation by Congress the military authorities aided the bureau. Transportation was furnished to teachers, books, and school furniture, and material aid was given to all engaged in education.

General Howard used his large powers to get into his custody the funds scattered in the hands of many officers, which could be made available for the freedmen. Funds bearing different names were contributed to the work of "colored

education."[1] During the war some of the States sent money to officers serving in the South to buy substitutes from among the colored people to fill up their quota under the draft. A portion of the bounty money thus sent, by an order of General B. F. Butler, August 4, 1864, was retained in the hands of officers who had been superintendents of negro affairs, and by the President's order of June 2, 1865, was turned over to the disbursing officers of the Bureau of Freedmen. After the organization of the bureau, General Howard instructed agents to turn money held by them over to the chief disbursing officer of the bureau. This was in no sense public money, but belonged to individuals enlisted as contraband recruits to fill the State quotas. What was unclaimed of what was held in trust under General Butler's order was used for educational purposes.

In the early part of 1867 the accounting officers of the Treasury Department ascertained that numerous frauds were being perpetrated on colored claimants for bounties under acts of Congress. Advising with General Howard, the Treasury officials drew a bill which Congress enacted into a law, devolving upon the commissioner the payment of bounties to colored soldiers and sailors. This enlarged responsibility gave much labor to General Howard, in his already multifarious and difficult duties, and made more honorable the acquittal which he secured when an official investigation was subsequently ordered upon his administration of the affairs of the bureau.

The act of Congress of July 16, 1866, gave a local fund, which was expended in the district in which it accrued, and besides there were general appropriations for the support of the bureau, which were in part available for schools.

Mr. Ingle, writing of school affairs in the District in 1867 and 1868, says:

"Great aid was given at this period by the Freedmen's Bureau, which, not limiting its assistance to schools for primary instruction, did much toward establishing Howard University, in which no distinction was made on account of race, color, or sex, though it had originally been intended for the education of negro men alone."

The monograph of Edward Ingle on "The negro in the District of Columbia," one of the valuable Johns Hopkins University studies, gives such a full and easily accessible account of the education of the negroes in the District, that it is needless to enlarge the pages of this paper by a repetition of what he has so satisfactorily done.

The bureau found many schools in localities which had been within the lines of the Union armies, and these, with the others established by its agency, were placed under more systematic supervision. In some States schools were carried on entirely by aid of the funds of the bureau, but it had the cooperation and assistance of various religious and benevolent societies. On July 1, 1866, Mr. Alvord, inspector of schools and finances, reported 975 schools in 15 States and the District, 1,405 teachers, and 90,778 scholars. He mentioned as worthy of note a change of sentiment among better classes in regard to freedmen's schools, and that the schools were steadily gaining in numbers, attainments, and general influence. On January 17, 1867, General Howard reports to the Secretary of War $115,261.56 as used for schools, and the Quartermaster's Department as still rendering valuable help. Education "was carried on vigorously during the year," a bettter feeling prevailing, and 150,000 freedmen and children "occupied earnestly in the study of books." The taxes, which had been levied for schools in Louisiana, under the administration of T. W. Conway, had been discontinued, but $500,000 were asked for schools and asylums. In 1867 the Government appointed Generals Steedman and Fullerton as inspectors, and from General Howard's vehement reply to their report—which the War Department declines to permit an inspection of—it appears that their criticisms were decidedly unfavorable. Civilians in the bureau were now displaced by army officers. In July, 1869, Mr. Alvord mentions decided progress in educational returns, increasing thirst for knowledge, greater public favor, and the establishment of 39 training schools for teachers, with 3,377 pupils. Four months later General Howard says, "hostility to schools and teachers has in great measure ceased." He reported the cost of the bureau at $13,029,816, and earnestly recommended "the national legislature" to establish a general system of free schools, "furnishing to all children of a suitable age such instruction in the rudiments of learning as would fit them to discharge intelligently the duties of free American citizens." Solicitor Whiting had previously recommended that the head of the Freedmen's Bureau should be a Cabinet officer, but this was not granted, and the bureau was finally discontinued, its affairs being transferred to the War Department by act of Congress, June 10, 1872. It is apparent from the reports of Sprague, assistant commissioner in Florida, and of Alvord in 1867 and 1870, that the agents of the bureau sometimes used their official position and influence for organizing the freedmen for party politics and to control elections. A full history of the Freedmen's Bureau would furnish an interesting chapter in negro education, but a report from Inspector Shriver, on October 3, 1873, says the department has "no means of verifying the amount of retained bounty fund;" and

[1] See Spec. Ed. Rep., District of Columbia, p. 259.

on December 4, 1873, the department complains of "the incomplete and disordered condition of the records of the late bureau." (See Ex. Doc. No. 10, Forty-third Congress, first session, and House Mis. Doc. No. 87, Forty-second Congress, third session.)

That no injustice may be done to anyone, the answer of the "Record and Pension Office, War Department," May 21, 1891, to my application for statistics drawn from the records, is embodied in this paper. So far as the writer has been able to investigate, no equally full and official account has heretofore been given.

The following consolidated statement, prepared from records of superintendents of education of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, shows the number of schools, teachers, and pupils in each State, under control of said bureau, and the amount expended for schools, asylums, construction and rental of school buildings, transportation of teachers, purchase of books, etc.:

Year.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Expended by bureau.	Received from freedmen.	Received from benevolent associations.
1865–66	1,264	1,795	111,193	$225,722.94	$18,500.00	$83,200.00
1867	1,673	2,032	109,245	415,330.00	17,200.00	65,087.00
1868	1,739	2,104	102,562	909,210.20	42,130.00	154,736.50
1869	1,942	2,472	108,485	591,267.56	85,726.00	27,200.00
1870	1,900	2,376	108,135	480,737.82	17,187.00	4,240.00

"This statement or statistical table is made up from the reports of the superintendents of education of the several States under the control of the bureau from 1865 to 1870, when Government aid to the freedmen's schools was withdrawn. It embraces the number of schools established or maintained, the number of teachers employed, the number of pupils, and the amount expended for school purposes in each State and the District of Columbia. The expenditures also include the amounts contributed by the bureau for the construction and maintenance of asylums for the freedmen, which can not be separated from the totals given.

"The table is based upon the reports of the school superintendents, and has been prepared with great care. The results thus obtained, however, differ in some material respects from the figures given by the commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in his annual reports. These discrepancies, which this department is unable to reconcile or explain, will be seen by a comparison of the table with the following statement made from the reports of the commissioner:

Year.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Disbursements for school purposes.			
				By bureau.	By benevolent associations.	By freedmen.	Total.
1866	975	1,405	90,778	$123,659.39	$82,200.00	$18,500.00	$224,359.39
1867	1,839	2,087	111,442	531,345.48	65,087,01	17,200.00	613,632.49
1868	1,831	2,295	104,327	965,896.67	700,000.00	a360,000.00	2,025,896.67
1869	2,118	2,455	114,522	924,182.16	365,000.00	a190,000.00	1,479,182.16
1870	2,677	3,300	149,581	976,853.29	360,000.00	a200,000.00	1,536,853.29

a Estimated.

"It has been found impracticable to ascertain the amounts expended by the Freedmen's Bureau for Howard and Fisk Universities, and the schools at Hampton, Atlanta, and New Orleans, the items of expenditure for these schools not being separated in the reports from the gross expenditures for school purposes."

A committee of investigation upon General Howard's use of the bureau for his pecuniary aggrandizement were divided in opinion, but a large majority exonerated him from censure and commended him for the excellent performance of difficult duties. An equally strong and unanimous verdict of approval was rendered by a court of inquiry, General Sherman presiding, which was convened under an act of Congress, February 13, 1874.

V. It has been stated that the bureau was authorized to act in cooperation with benevolent or religious societies in the education of the negroes. A number of these organizations had done good service before the establishment of the bureau and continued their work afterwards. The teachers earliest in the field were from the American Missionary Association, Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, American Baptist Home Mission Society, and the Society of Friends. After the surrender of Vicksburg and the occupation of Natchez, others were sent by the United Presbyterians, Reformed Presbyterians, United Brethren in Christ, Northwestern Freedmen's

Aid Commission, and the National Freedmen's Aid Association. The first colored school in Vicksburg was started in 1863 by the United Brethren in the basement of a Methodist church.

The American Missionary Association was the chief body, apart from the Government, in the great enterprise of meeting the needs of the negroes. It did not relinquish its philanthropic work because army officers and the Federal Government were working along the same line. Up to 1866 its receipts were swollen by "the aid of the Free Will Baptists, the Wesleyans, the Congregationalists, and friends in Great Britain." From Great Britain it is estimated that "a million of dollars in money and clothing were contributed through various channels for the freedmen." The third decade of the association, 1867–1876, was a marked era in its financial history. The Freedmen's Bureau turned over a large sum, which could be expended only in buildings. A Congressional report says that between December, 1866, and May, 1870, the association received $243,753.22. Since the association took on a more distinctive and separate denominational character, because of the withdrawal of other denominations into organizations of their own, it, along with its church work, has prosecuted, with unabated energy and marked success, its educational work among the negroes. It has now under its control or support—

Chartered institutions	6
Normal schools	29
Common schools	43
Totals:	
Schools	78
Instructors	389
Pupils	12,609
Pupils classified:	
Theological	47
Collegiate	57
College preparatory	192
Normal	1,091
Grammar	2,378
Intermediate	3,692
Primary	5,152

Some of these schools are not specially for negroes. It would be unjust not to give the association much credit for Atlanta University and for Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute, which are not included in the above recapitulation, as the latter stands easily first among all the institutions designed for negro development, both for influence and usefulness. During the war and for a time afterwards the school work of the association was necessarily primary and transitional, but it grew into larger proportions, with higher standards, and its normal and industrial work deserves special mention and commendation. From 1860 to October 1, 1893, its expenditures in the South for freedmen, directly and indirectly, including church extension as well as education, have been $11,610,000.

VI. In 1866 was organized the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Under that compact, powerful, well-disciplined, enthusiastic organization more than $6,000,000 have been expended in the work of education of negroes. Dr. Hartzell said before the World's Congress in Chicago that Wilberforce University, at Xenia, Ohio, was established in 1857 as a college for colored people, and "continues to be the chief educational center of African Methodism in the United States." He reports, as under various branches of Methodism, 65 institutions of learning for colored people, 388 teachers, 10,100 students, $1,905,150 of property, and $652,500 of endowment. Among these is Meharry Medical College, of high standard and excellent discipline, with dental and pharmaceutical departments as well as medical. Near 200 students have been graduated. The school of mechanic arts in Central Tennessee College, under the management of Professor Sedgwick, has a fine outfit, and has turned out telescopes and other instruments which command a ready and remunerative market in this and other countries.

VII. On April 16, 1862, slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia. By November 13,000 refugees had collected at Washington, Alexandria, Hampton, and Norfolk. Under an unparalleled exigency, instant action was necessary. The lack of educational privileges led Christian societies to engage in educational work—at least in the rudiments of learning—for the benefit of these people, who were eager to be instructed. Even where education had not previously been a part of the functions of certain organizations, the imperative need of the liberated left no option as to duty. With the assistance of the Baptist Free Mission Society and of the Baptist Home Mission Society, schools were established in Alexandria as early as January 1, 1862, and were multiplied through succeeding years. After Appomatox the Baptist Home Mission Society was formally and deliberately committed to the education of the blacks, giving itself largely to the training of teachers and

preachers. In May, 1892, the society had under its management 24 schools with 216 instructors, 4,861 pupils, of whom 1,756 were preparing to teach, school property worth $750,000 and endowment funds of $156,000. Probably not less than 50,000 have attended the various schools. Since 1860 $2,451,859.56 have been expended for the benefit of the negroes. The superintendent of education says: "The aggregate amount appropriated for the salaries of teachers from the time the society commenced its work until January, 1883, was: District of Columbia, $59,243.57; Virginia, $65,251.44; North Carolina, $41,788.90; South Carolina, $29,683.71; Florida, $3,161.16; Georgia, $26,963.21; Alabama, $4,960.37; Mississippi, $6,611.05; Louisiana, $39,168.25; Texas, $2,272.18; Arkansas, $150; Tennessee, $57,898.86; Kentucky, $1,092.54; Missouri, $300. The following gives the aggregate amount appropriated for teachers and for all other purposes, such as land, buildings, etc., from January, 1883, to January, 1893: District of Columbia, $103,110.01; Virginia, $193,974.08; North Carolina, $142,861.95; South Carolina, $137,157.79; Florida, $55,923.96; Georgia, $314,061.48; Alabama, $35,405.86; Mississippi, $86,019.70; Louisiana, $33,720.93; Texas, $131,225.27; Arkansas, $13,206.20; Tennessee, $164,514.05; Kentucky, $49,798.56; Missouri, $6,543.13. Until January, 1883, the appropriations for teachers and for lands, buildings, etc., were kept as separate items. I have already given the appropriations for the teachers up to that date. For grounds and buildings $421,119.50 were appropriated." In connection with the Spelman Seminary and the male school in Atlanta, there has been established, under intelligent and discriminating rules, a first-class training department for teachers. A new, commodious structure, well adapted to the purpose, costing $55,000, was opened in December. At Spelman there is an admirable training school for nurses, where the pupils have hospital practice. Shaw University, at Raleigh, has the flourishing Leonard Medical School and a well-equipped pharmacy.

VIII. The Presbyterian Church at the North in May, 1865, adopted a deliverance in favor of special efforts in behalf of the "lately enslaved African race." From the twenty-eighth annual report of the Board of Missions for Freedmen it appears that, besides building churches, special exertions have been put forth "in establishing parochial schools, in planting academies and seminaries, in equipping and supporting a large and growing university." The report mentions 15 schools—3 in North Carolina, 4 in South Carolina, 3 in Arkansas, and 1 in each of the States of Texas, Mississippi, Virginia, Georgia, and Tennessee. One million two hundred and eighty thousand dollars have been spent. "In the high schools and parochial schools we have (May, 1893) 10,520 students, who are being daily molded under Presbyterian educational influence." The United Presbyterian Church reports for May, 1893, an enrollment in schools of 2,558. The Southern Presbyterians have a theological seminary in Birmingham, Ala., which was first opened in Tuscaloosa in 1877.

IX. The Episcopal Church, through the Commission on Church Work among the Colored People, during the seven years of its existence (1887–1893) has expended $272,068, but the expenditure is fairly apportioned between ministerial and teaching purposes. The schools are parochial, "with an element of industrial training," and are located in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama; but the "reports" do not give the number of teachers and scholars. The Friends have some well-conducted schools, notably the Schofield in Aiken, S. C. They have sustained over 100 schools and have spent $1,004,129. In the mission work of the Roman Catholic Church among the negroes school work and church work are so blended that it has been very difficult to make a clear separation. Schools exist in Baltimore, Washington, and all the Southern States, but with how many teachers and pupils and at what cost the report of the commission for 1893 does not show. A few extracts are given. "We need," says one, "all the help possible to cope with the public schools of Washington. In fact, our school facilities are poor, and unless we can do something to invite children to our Catholic schools many of them will lose their faith." Another person writes: "Next year we shall have to exert all the influence in our power to hold our school. Within two doors of our school a large public-school building is being erected; this new public-school building will draw pupils away from the Catholic school unless the latter be made equally efficient in its work."

X. On February 6, 1867, George Peabody gave to certain gentlemen $2,000,000 in trust, to be used "for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, or industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the Southwestern States of our Union." This gift embraced both races, and Dr. Barnas Sears was fortunately selected as the general agent, to whom was committed practically the administration of the trust. In his first report he remarked that in many of the cities aided by the fund provision was made for the children of both races, but said that as the subject of making equal provision for the education of both races was occupying public attention, he thought it the safer and wiser course not to set up schools on a precarious foundation, but to confine help to public schools and make efforts in all suitable ways to improve or have established State systems of education. Still,

in some localities aid was judiciously given, and the United States superintendent of education for the negroes in North Carolina gave testimony that but for the Peabody aid many of the colored schools would be closed. "Our superintendents have aided largely in distributing the Peabody fund in nearly all the States." "Great good has thereby been accomplished at very little added expense." The Peabody fund bent its energies and directed its policy toward securing the establishment of State systems of education which should make adequate and permanent provision for universal education. State authorities would have more power and general influence than individuals or denominational or private corporations. They represent the whole people, are held to a strict accountability, protected "from the charge of sectarianism and from the liability of being overreached by interested parties." State systems, besides, have a continuous life and are founded on the just principle that property is taxable for the maintenance of general education. The fund now acts exclusively with State systems, and continues support to the negroes more efficiently through such agencies.

XI. Congress, by land grants since 1860, has furnished to the Southern States substantial aid in the work of agricultural and mechanical education. On March 2, 1867, the Bureau of Education was established for the collection and diffusion of information. This limited sphere of work has been so interpreted and cultivated that the Bureau, under its able Commissioners, especially under the leadership of that most accomplished American educator, Dr. W. T. Harris, has become one of the most efficient and intelligent educational agencies on the continent. To the general survey of the educational field and comparative exhibits of the position of the United States and other enlightened countries have been added discussions by specialists and papers on the various phases of educational life produced by the incorporation of diverse races into our national life or citizenship. The annual reports and circulars of information contain a vast mass of facts and studies in reference to the colored people, and a digest and collaboration of them would give the most complete history that could be prepared.

The Bureau and the Peabody education fund have been most helpful allies in making suggestions in relation to legislation in school matters, and giving, in intelligible, practical form, the experiences of other States, home and foreign, in devising and perfecting educational systems. All the States of the South, as soon as they recovered their governments, put in operation systems of public schools which gave equal opportunities and privileges to both races. It would be singularly unjust not to consider the difficulties—social, political, and pecuniary—which embarrassed the South in the efforts to inaugurate free education. It required unusual heroism to adapt to the new conditions, but she was equal in fidelity and energy to what was demanded for the reconstruction of society and civil institutions. The complete enfranchisement of the negroes and their new political relations, as the result of the war and the new amendments to the Constitution, necessitated an entire reorganization of the systems of public education. To realize what has been accomplished is difficult at best—impossible, unless we estimate sufficiently the obstacles and compare the facilities of to-day with the ignorance and bondage of a generation ago, when some statutes made it an indictable offense to teach a slave or free person of color. Comparisons with densely populated sections are misleading, for in the South the sparseness and poverty of the population are almost a preventive of good schools. Still the results have been marvelous. Out of 448 cities in the United States with a population each of 8,000 and over, only 73 are in the South. Of 28 with a population from 100,000 to 1,500,000, only 2 (St. Louis being excluded) are in the South. Of 96, with a population between 25,000 and 100,000, 17 are in the South. The urban population is comparatively small, and agriculture is the chief occupation. Of 858,000 negroes in Georgia, 130,000 are in cities and towns and 728,000 in the country; in Mississippi, urban colored population 42,000, rural 700,000; in South Carolina, urban 74,000, rural 615,000; in North Carolina, urban 66,000 against 498,000 rural; in Alabama, 65,000 against 613,000; in Louisiana, 93,000 against 466,000. The schools for colored children are maintained on an average 89.2 days in a year, and for white children 98.6, but the preponderance of the white over the black race in towns and cities helps in part to explain the difference. While the colored population supplies less than its due proportion of pupils to the public schools, and the regularity of attendance is less than with the white, yet the difference in length of school term in schools for white and schools for black children is trifling. In the same grades the wages of teachers are about the same. The annual State school revenue is apportioned impartially among white and black children, so much per capita to each child. In the rural districts the colored people are dependent chiefly upon the State apportionment, which is by law devoted mainly to the payment of teachers' salaries. Hence, the schoolhouses and other conveniences in the country for the negroes are inferior, but in the cities the appropriation for schools is general and is allotted to white and colored, according to the needs of each. A small proportion of the school fund comes from colored sources. All the States do not

discriminate in assessments of taxable property, but in Georgia, where the ownership is ascertained, the negroes returned in 1892 $14,869,575 of taxable property against $148,884,959 returned by white owners. The amount of property listed for taxation in North Carolina in 1891 was, by white citizens, $234,109,568; by colored citizens, $8,018,146. To an inquiry for official data, the auditor of the State of Virginia says: "The taxes collected in 1891 from white citizens were $2,991,646.24 and from the colored $163,175.67. The amount paid for public schools for whites, $588,564.87; for negroes, $309,364.15. Add $15,000 for colored normal and $80,000 for colored lunatic asylum. Apportioning the criminal expenses between the white and the colored people in the ratio of convicts of each race received into the penitentiary in 1891, and it shows that the criminal expenses put upon the State annually by the whites are $55,719.57 and by the negroes $204,018.99."

Of the desire of the colored people for education the proof is conclusive, and of their capacity to receive mental culture there is not the shade of a reason to support an adverse hypothesis. The Bureau of Education furnishes the following suggestive table:

Sixteen former slave States and the District of Columbia.

Year.	Common-school enrollment.		Expenditures (both races).	Year.	Common-school enrollment.		Expenditures (both races).
	White.	Colored.			White.	Colored.	
1876–77	1,827,139	571,506	$11,231,073	1885–86	2,773,145	1,048,659	$20,208,113
1877–78	2,034,946	675,150	12,093,091	1886–87	2,975,773	1,118,556	20,821,969
1878–79	2,013,684	685,942	12,174,141	1887–88	3,110,606	1,140,405	21,810,158
1879–80	2,215,674	784,709	12,678,685	1888–89	3,197,830	1,213,092	23,171,878
1880–81	2,234,877	802,374	13,656,814	1889–90	3,402,420	1,296,959	24,880,107
1881–82	2,249,263	802,982	15,241,740	1890–91	3,570,624	1,329,549	26,690,310
1882–83	2,370,110	817,240	16,363,471	1891–92	3,607,549	1,354,316	27,691,488
1883–84	2,546,448	1,002,313	17,884,558	1892–93	3,697,899	1,367,515	28,535,738
1884–85	2,676,911	1,030,463	19,253,874	1893–94*	3,835,593	1,424,995	29,170,351

* Approximately.

Total amount expended in 18 years, $353,557,559.

In 1890–91 there were 79,962 white teachers and 24,150 colored. To the enrollment in common schools should be added 30,000 colored children who are in normal or secondary schools. The amount expended for education of negroes is not stated separately, but Dr. W. T. Harris estimates that there must have been nearly $75,000,000 expended by the Southern States in addition to what has been contributed by missionary and philanthropic sources. In Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas annual grants are made for the support of colored normal and industrial schools.

The negroes must rely very largely upon the public schools for their education, and so they should. They are and will continue to be the most efficient factors for uplifting the race. The States, at immense sacrifice, with impartial liberality, have taxed themselves for a population which contributes very little to the State revenues, and nothing could be done more prejudicial to the educational interests of the colored people than to indulge in any hostility or indifference to or neglect of these free schools. Denominations and individuals can do nothing more harmful to the race than to foster opposition to the public schools.

XII. A potential agency in enlightening public opinion and in working out the problem of the education of the negro has been the John F. Slater fund. "In view of the apprehensions felt by all thoughtful persons," when the duties and privileges of citizenship were suddenly thrust upon millions of lately emancipated slaves, Mr. Slater conceived the purpose of giving a large sum of money to their proper education. After deliberate reflection and much conference, he selected a board of trust and placed in their hands $1,000,000. This unique gift, originating wholly with himself, and elaborated in his own mind in most of its details, was for "the uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern States and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education." "Not only for their own sake, but also for the sake of our common country," he sought to provide "the means of such education as shall tend to make them good men and good citizens," associating the instruction of the mind "with training in just notions of duty toward God and man, in the light of the Holy Scriptures." Leaving to the corporation the largest discretion and liberty in the prosecution of the general object, as described in his letter of trust, he yet indicated as "lines of operation adapted to the condition of things" the encouragement of "institutions as are most effectually useful in promoting the training of teachers." The trust was to be administered "in no partisan, sectional, or sectarian spirit, but in the interest of a generous patriotism and

an enlightened Christian spirit." Soon after organization the trustees expressed very strongly their judgment that the scholars should be "trained in some manual occupation, simultaneously with their mental and moral instruction," and aid was confined to such institutions as gave "instruction in trades and other manual occupations," that the pupils might obtain an intelligent mastery of the indispensable elements of industrial success. So repeated have been similar declarations on the part of the trustees and the general agents that manual training, or education in industries, may be regarded as an unalterable policy; but only such institutions were to be aided as were, "with good reason, believed to be on a permanent basis." Mr. Slater explained "Christian education," as used in his letter of gift, to be teaching, "leavened with a predominant and salutary Christian influence," such as was found in "the common school teaching of Massachusetts and Connecticut," and that there was "no need of limiting the gifts of the fund to denominational institutions." Since the first appropriation near fifty different institutions have been aided, in sums ranging from $500 to $5,000. As required by the founder, neither principal nor income is expended for land or buildings. For a few years aid was given in buying machinery or apparatus, but now the income is applied almost exclusively to paying the salaries of teachers engaged in the normal or industrial work. The number of aided institutions has been lessened, with the view of concentrating and making more effective the aid and of improving the instruction in normal and industrial work. The table appended presents a summary of the appropriations which have been made from year to year.

Cash disbursed by John F. Slater fund as appropriations for educational institutions.

To—	Amount.	To—	Amount.
August 13, 1884	$24,881.66	April 30, 1891	$50,650.00
April 30, 1885	30,414.19	April 30, 1892	45,816.33
April 30, 1886	38,724.98	April 30, 1893	37,475.00
April 30, 1887	39,816.28	April 30, 1894	40,750.00
April 30, 1888	46,183.34		
April 30, 1889	43,709.98	Total	439,981.78
April 30, 1890	41,560.02		

III.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE NEGROES.

[By Henry Gannett, of the United States Geological Survey.]

The statistics of occupations used in this paper are from the census of 1890, and represent the status of the race on June 1 of that year. The census takes cognizance only of "gainful" occupations, excluding from its lists housewives, school children, men of leisure, etc. Its schedules deal only with wage earners, those directly engaged in earning their living.

GENERAL STATISTICS.

In 1890, out of a total population of 62,622,250, 22,735,884 persons, or 34.6 per cent, were engaged in gainful occupations. Of the negroes, including all of mixed negro blood, numbering 7,470,040, 3,073,123, or 41.1 per cent were engaged in gainful occupations. The proportion was much greater than with the total population. This total population, however, was composed of several diverse elements, including, besides the negroes themselves, the foreign born (of which a large proportion were adult males), and the native whites. The following table presents the proportions of each of these elements which were engaged in gainful occupations:

	Per cent.
Total population	34.6
Whites	35.5
Native whites	31.6
Foreign born	55.2
Negroes	41.1

The diagram No. 1 sets forth these figures in graphic form. The total area of the square represents the population. This is subdivided by horizontal lines into rectangles representing the various elements of the population, and the shaded part of each rectangle represents the proportions engaged in gainful occupations.

The proportion was greatest among the foreign born because of the large proportion of adults, and particularly of males, among this element. Next to that, the proportion was greatest among the negroes, being much greater than among the whites collectively, and still greater than among the native whites.

Classifying the wage earners of the country in respect to race and nativity, it appears that 64.5 per cent were native whites, 22 per cent were of foreign birth, and 13.5 per cent were negroes.

Analyzing the statistics of occupation by sex, it is discovered that the proportion of native white males who had occupations was 53.4 and of females 9.4 per cent. The corresponding proportion of male negroes was 56.3 per cent and of female negroes 26 per cent. The male negroes were slightly more fully occupied than were the native whites, while among females the proportion of wage earners was much greater. The difference between native whites and negroes in the proportion of wage earners was, therefore, due mainly to the fuller occupation of women. To put it in another form: Out of every 100 native whites who pursued gainful occupations, 85 were males and 15 were females; of every 100 negroes, 69 were males and 31 were females. Indeed, a larger proportion of women pursued gainful occupations among negroes than in any other class of the population.

CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS.

The primary classification of occupations made by the census recognized five great groups, as follows: (1) Professions, (2) agriculture, (3) trade and transportation, (4) manufactures, (5) personal service. These titles are self explanatory, with the possible exception of the last class, which is mainly composed of domestic servants.

The following table shows the proportion of the negro wage earners engaged in each of these groups of occupations. In juxtaposition, for comparison, are placed similar figures for the native white and the foreign born:

	Native white.	Foreign born.	Negro.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Professions	5.5	2.2	1.1
Agriculture	41.0	25.5	57.2
Trade and transportation	17.0	14.0	4.7
Manufactures	22.9	31.3	5.6
Personal service	13.6	27.0	31.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Similar facts are shown by diagram No. 2. In this the total area of the square represents the number of persons in the country pursuing gainful occupations. This is divided into rectangles by horizontal lines, the rectangles being proportioned respectively to the numbers of the native whites, the foreign born, and the negroes. The subdivision of these rectangles by vertical lines indicates the proportion in each group of wage earners.

The most striking facts brought out by this table and diagram are that only a trifling proportion of the negroes were in the professions, that much more than one-half were farmers, and nearly one-third were engaged in personal (mainly domestic) service. Indeed, over seven-eighths of them were either farmers or servants. The proportions engaged in trade and transportation and in manufactures were very small. In respect to the farming class, they contrasted sharply with the foreign born. In trade and transportation and in manufactures the contrast was even greater, in the contrary direction. The foreign born contained a much larger proportion of professional men.

Comparing the negroes with the native whites, equally interesting contrasts appear. Professional men were much more numerous among whites than among negroes. The proportion of the farming class, although much smaller, was nearer that of the negroes than was the same class among the foreign born. In trade and transportation and in manufactures the native whites had much greater proportions, while in personal service the proportion was much less than that of the negroes.

MALE AND FEMALE WAGE EARNERS.

It will be interesting to analyze these figures further. The following table classifies negro wage earners by occupation and by sex, giving for each sex the percentage engaged in each group of occupations:

	Male.	Female.
Professions	1.2	0.9
Agriculture	63.4	44.0
Trade and transportation	6.8	.2
Manufactures	7.0	2.8
Personal service	21.6	52.1

DIAGRAM No. 1.—*Proportion of the population and its elements, which were engaged in gainful occupations in 1890.*

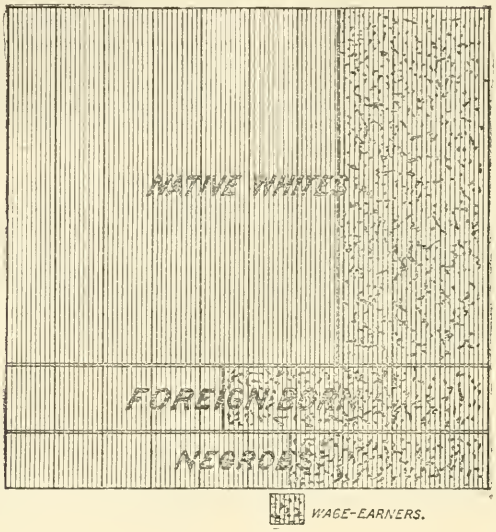
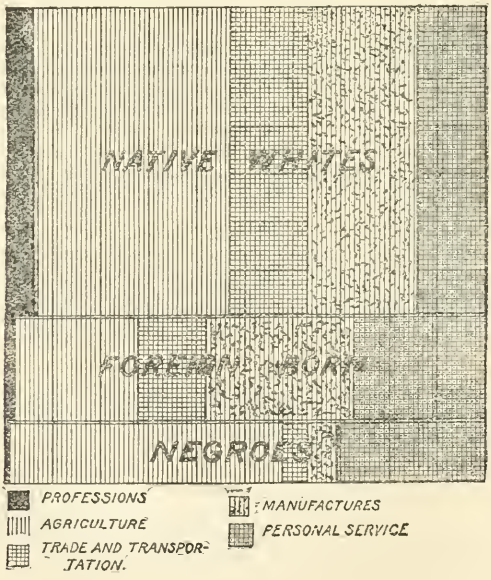
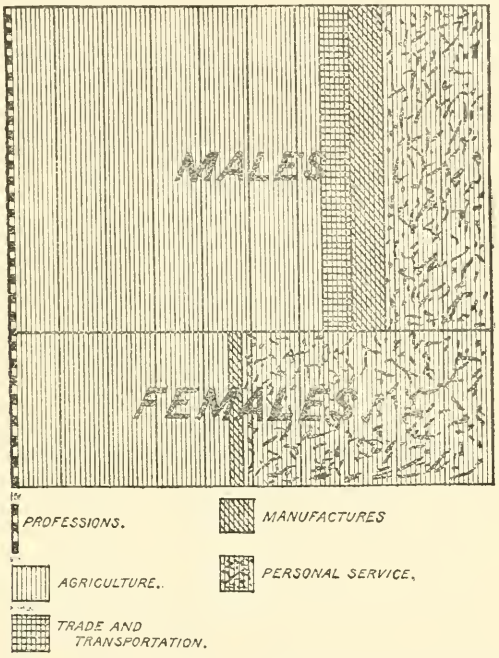


DIAGRAM No. 2.—*Classification of the wage-earners by race and nativity and by occupations.*



These figures are also illustrated by diagram No. 3, the area of which represents all negro wage earners. The two rectangles into which it is divided represent the males and females; each of these is subdivided into rectangles representing the number in each group of occupations. Of the male negro wage earners, more than three-fifths were farmers and a little less than one-fourth were servants. The two classes jointly accounted for nearly 85 per cent of all.

DIAGRAM No. 3.—*Classification of negro wage-earners by sex and occupation.*



Of the females, considerably less than one-half were farmers and more than one-half were servants—the two classes together accounting for 95 per cent of all. This large proportion of female negro farmers was doubtless made up in the main of women and female children employed in the cotton fields.

NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS.

The following table, abstracted from the census publications, shows the number of negroes in all occupations and in each of the five great groups of occupations by sex and by States and Territories:

State or Territory.	All occupations.		Agriculture, fisheries, and mining.		Professional service.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
The United States	2,101,233	971,890	1,329,584	427,835	25,171	8,829
Alabama	192,322	101,085	146,361	66,123	1,471	491
Alaska	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arizona	1,091	71	29	.....	3	.....
Arkansas	86,861	30,115	68,219	19,069	1,226	238
California	4,301	1,041	1,084	14	86	21
Colorado	2,765	792	180	4	75	13
Connecticut	4,064	1,964	879	1	61	10
Delaware	9,334	3,016	4,157	34	97	32
District of Columbia	21,238	18,770	553	16	390	335
Florida	46,302	19,071	23,690	7,629	776	223
Georgia	246,913	122,352	172,496	54,073	2,122	958
Idaho	83	23	16	1	.....	.....
Illinois	19,270	4,713	4,323	134	486	116
Indiana	14,648	4,210	3,273	37	330	126
Iowa	3,615	730	973	11	78	11
Kansas	13,889	3,400	4,171	110	357	69
Kentucky	76,411	31,255	38,456	1,013	1,406	420
Louisiana	159,180	83,978	111,820	49,428	1,251	355
Maine	409	145	104	2	8	2
Maryland	63,166	32,642	29,516	743	640	275
Massachusetts	7,593	3,435	601	4	162	57
Michigan	5,065	1,329	1,458	45	115	39
Minnesota	1,719	383	72	2	57	13
Mississippi	198,531	105,306	167,995	77,925	1,970	775
Missouri	43,940	16,715	15,757	324	897	337
Montana	971	140	41	.....	25	4
Nebraska	3,741	959	242	3	63	7
Nevada	130	22	41	1	.....	.....
New Hampshire	242	107	60	.....	5	.....
New Jersey	16,143	7,738	4,166	29	287	82
New Mexico	888	156	163	3	10	.....
New York	23,272	13,664	3,031	25	571	135
North Carolina	148,370	68,220	106,493	33,796	1,619	565
North Dakota	146	23	35	.....	7	.....
Ohio	28,085	7,791	6,201	108	617	246
Oklahoma	958	125	635	17	22	3
Oregon	536	99	106	2	23	5
Pennsylvania	37,534	15,704	4,602	29	584	197
Rhode Island	2,337	1,362	270	2	38	18
South Carolina	186,714	102,836	149,915	73,588	1,543	506
South Dakota	284	43	33	1	1	2
Tennessee	121,016	44,701	72,316	12,510	1,736	592
Texas	123,395	46,691	85,824	20,758	2,031	563
Utah	298	51	21	.....	1	.....
Vermont	322	109	112	1	3	.....
Virginia	169,343	71,752	93,745	10,164	1,654	911
Washington	902	153	250	2	16	2
West Virginia	11,478	2,623	4,790	50	166	63
Wisconsin	855	205	168	4	27	11
Wyoming	563	75	141	.....	58	1

Table showing the number of negroes in all occupations, etc.—Continued.

State or Territory.	Domestic and personal service.		Trade and transportation.		Manufacturing and mechanical industries.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
The United States	457,002	505,898	143,350	2,399	146,126	26,929
Alabama	25,426	33,380	9,147	140	9,917	951
Alaska						
Arizona	1,034	67	13		12	4
Arkansas	11,226	10,506	2,787	27	3,403	275
California	2,316	897	457	3	358	106
Colorado	1,702	715	406	5	402	55
Connecticut	1,925	1,781	634	7	565	165
Delaware	3,631	2,878	633	21	816	51
District of Columbia	12,680	16,734	4,776	195	2,839	1,490
Florida	13,229	10,421	4,106	52	4,501	746
Georgia	39,294	65,025	16,397	372	16,604	1,924
Idaho	57	21	8		2	1
Illinois	10,865	4,061	1,994	41	1,602	361
Indiana	7,950	3,849	1,426	23	1,669	175
Iowa	1,966	672	289	1	309	35
Kansas	6,898	3,077	1,148	20	1,315	124
Kentucky	22,649	28,916	7,381	66	6,519	840
Louisiana	31,609	31,292	6,045	129	8,455	2,774
Maine	174	128	68	2	55	11
Maryland	21,014	30,406	7,538	144	4,458	1,074
Massachusetts	4,296	2,914	1,402	34	1,132	426
Michigan	2,495	1,102	448	6	549	137
Minnesota	1,286	315	216	5	88	48
Mississippi	17,209	25,729	5,671	74	5,686	803
Missouri	18,899	15,614	4,862	44	3,525	396
Montana	815	122	45	1	45	13
Nebraska	2,743	881	323	4	370	64
Nevada	67	18	17	1	5	2
New Hampshire	81	84	24		72	23
New Jersey	7,715	7,339	2,111	25	1,864	263
New Mexico	651	150	40		24	3
New York	13,151	12,445	4,231	54	2,288	1,005
North Carolina	20,580	31,393	7,564	106	12,114	2,360
North Dakota	90	22	10		4	1
Ohio	14,814	6,955	3,027	40	3,426	442
Oklahoma	231	102	28	1	42	2
Oregon	328	81	42	1	37	10
Pennsylvania	22,505	14,297	5,213	104	4,630	1,077
Rhode Island	1,161	1,169	546	3	322	170
South Carolina	18,554	26,213	6,860	188	9,842	2,341
South Dakota	115	35	121	1	14	4
Tennessee	25,606	30,333	10,954	125	10,404	1,141
Texas	23,360	24,840	6,386	69	5,794	461
Utah	248	48	14	1	14	2
Vermont	143	102	33		31	6
Virginia	39,425	55,941	15,655	253	18,864	4,483
Washington	480	134	69		87	15
West Virginia	3,515	2,462	2,080	7	927	41
Wisconsin	481	161	74	1	105	28
Wyoming	313	71	31	3	20	

DIAGRAM NO. 4.—*Proportion of negro wage-earners to negro population.*

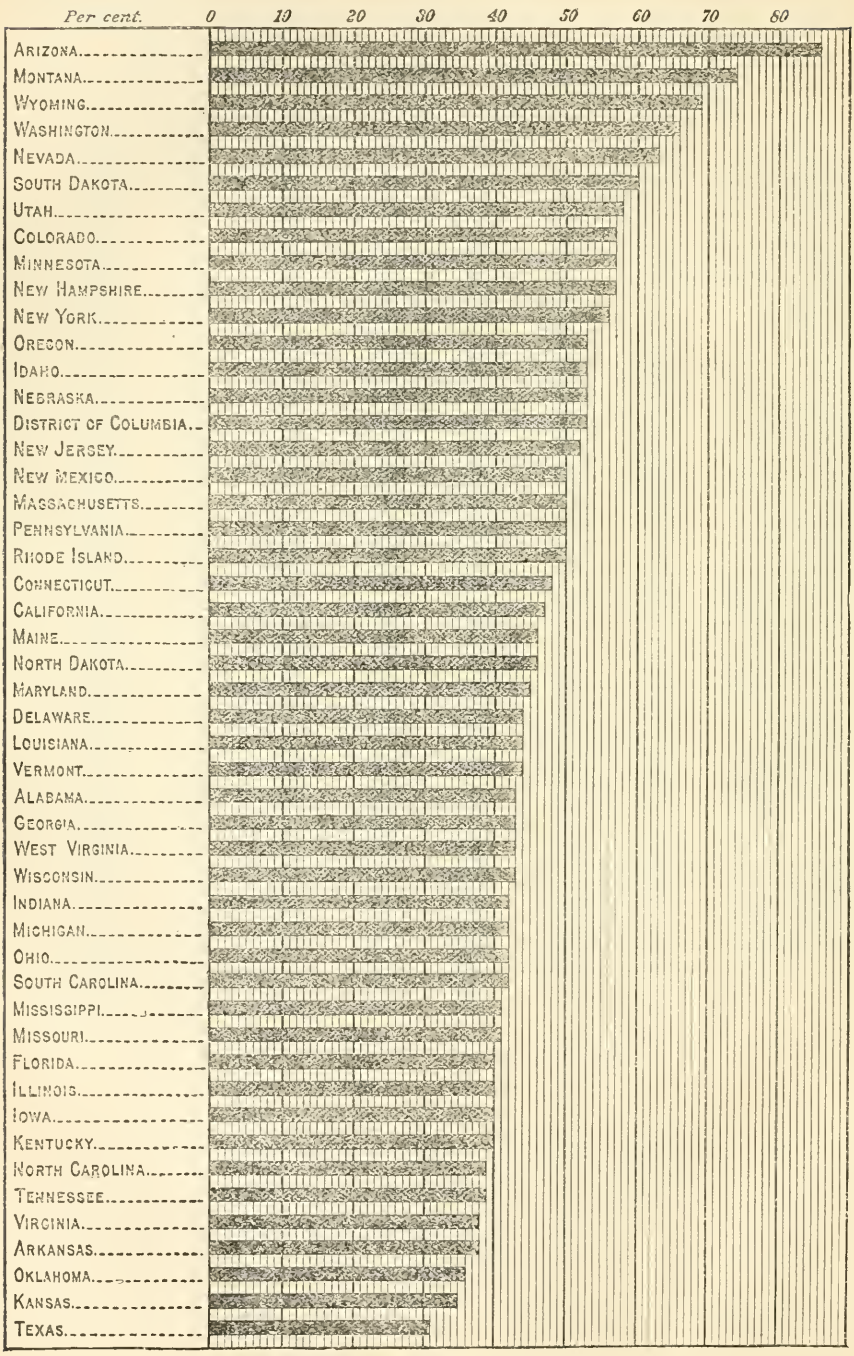


DIAGRAM NO. 5.—*Grouping of the States and Territories.*

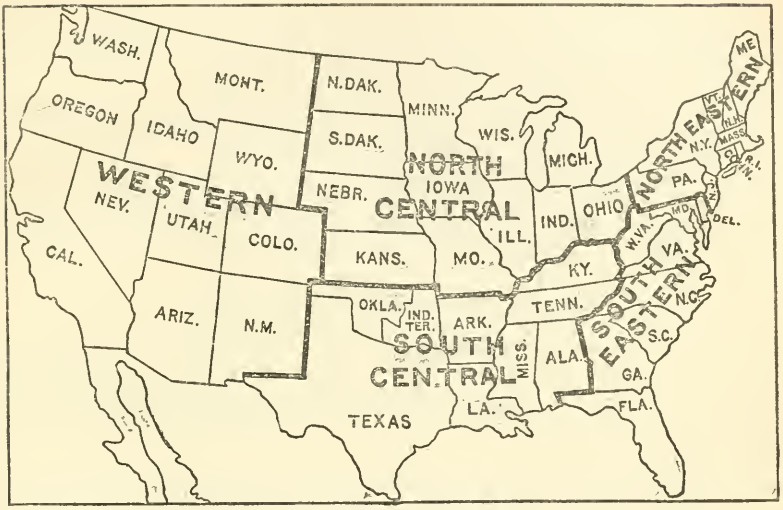
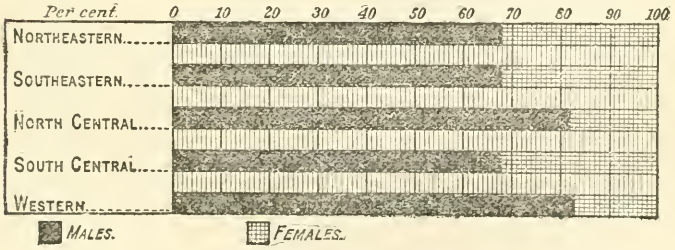


DIAGRAM NO. 6.—*Proportions of male and female wage-earners.*



PROPORTION OF WAGE EARNERS TO POPULATION.

The foregoing diagram No. 4 shows by the length of the bars the proportion which the negro wage earners bore in 1890 to the negro population of each State. This proportion was greatest in the States and the Territories of the West. Following these are the Northeastern States, while the lower part of the column is made up of the States in the Upper Mississippi Valley and those of the South.

OCCUPATIONS BY GROUPS OF STATES.

The distribution of wage earners among the five occupation groups differed widely in different parts of the country. To study it, it will be sufficient to group the States and analyze the statistics of each group.

The groups which will be used here are those which have been in use in the last two censuses, namely, the Northeastern and Southeastern, North Central and South Central, and Western groups. The States and Territories of which each group is composed are shown in map No. 5.

Examination of the States forming the above groups will show that the groups are in many respects very characteristic. The Southeastern and South Central groups contain nine-tenths of the negroes of the country. These States may be said to constitute the home of the negro, while in the Northern and Western States he is an immigrant.

OCCUPATIONS BY SEX AND STATE GROUPS.

Diagram No. 6 shows the distribution by sex and by groups of States of the negro wage earners. It appears that in the Northeastern, Southeastern, and South Central groups two-thirds of the wage earners were males and one-third were females, while in the North Central and Western groups about five-sixths were males and one-sixth only were females. This is in part due to the disproportionate number of males in these parts of the country.

Diagram No. 7 shows the distribution of the negro wage earners, classified by sex, among the five occupation groups and by groups of States. The length of each bar represents 100 per cent, and each bar is divided proportionately among the different occupation groups. Thus from it we read that in the Northeastern States 15 per cent of the male wage earners were engaged in agriculture, 56 per cent in personal service, 16 per cent in trade and transportation, 12 per cent in manufactures, and 2 per cent in the professions.

It is seen that a far larger proportion of male wage earners were engaged in agriculture in the Southern States than in the Northern and Western States, the proportion in the two groups of the former States being 64 and 71 per cent, while in the Northeastern States only 15 per cent were engaged in agriculture, in the North Central States 26 per cent, and in the Western States 17 per cent.

In trade and transportation the highest proportion was found in the Northeastern States, where it was 16 per cent; in the North Central States it was 14, and in the Western States 10 per cent, while in the Southeastern States it was 7 per cent and in the South Central States 7 per cent.

Of course, the magnitude of the proportion in the Northeastern States is due to the fact that this is the commercial and manufacturing section of the country, where a large proportion of all the population is engaged in these avocations. The same is the case, though in less degree, in the North Central States, while the Southern States are almost purely agricultural. The figures relating to manufacturing occupations show similar characteristics. It will be noted that in the Northern and Western States the occupations of the negroes were more diversified than in the Southern States. Agriculture and personal service in the Northeastern States occupied but 71 per cent of all wage earners, in the North Central States they occupied 75 per cent, and in the Western States 81 per cent, while in the Southeastern States these two occupation groups comprised 84 per cent and in the South Central 88 per cent of all.

The diagram shows in a similar manner the distribution of the female negro wage earners. There were engaged in agriculture in the Northern and Western States but a trifling proportion of negro women, while in the Southern States as a whole nearly one-half of the female negro wage earners were engaged in that avocation. On the other hand, personal service occupied fully nine-tenths of the female wage earners in the Northern and Western States, while in the Southern States less than one-half were engaged in it. Indeed, 94 per cent of the female wage earners of the West were engaged in personal service, 91 per cent in the Northeastern States, and 87 per cent in the North Central States. In trade and transportation the proportion was trifling and in manufactures it was small, although much larger in the North and West than in the South.

DIAGRAM NO. 7.—*Distribution of occupations by sex and sections of the country.*

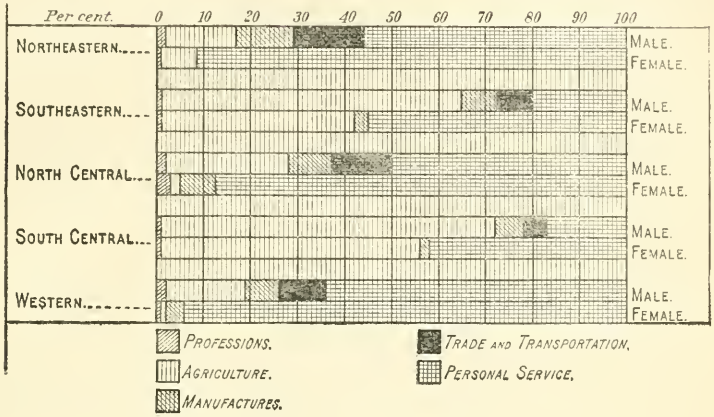
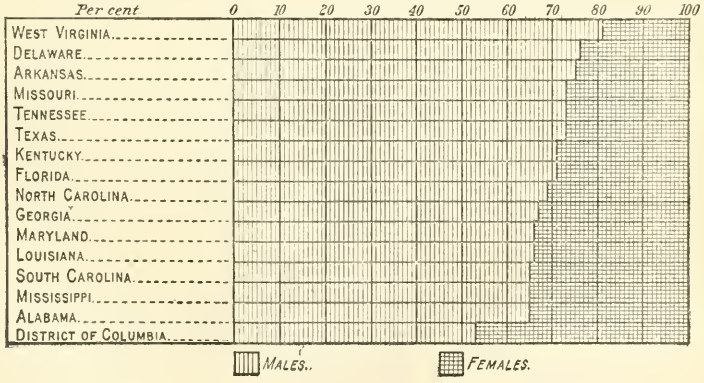


DIAGRAM NO. 8.—*Proportions of males and females among the negro wage-earner.*



Here also we see that agriculture and personal service occupied nearly all wage earners—91 per cent in the Northeastern States, 96 per cent in the Southeastern States, 89 per cent in the North Central States, 97 per cent in the South Central States, and 95 per cent in the Western States. Occupations were slightly more diversified in the North and West than in the Southern States, as was the case with the males.

OCCUPATIONS BY STATES.

It will now be of interest to extend this study in detail by States, but in doing so the study will be confined to the Southern, the former slave States, which are in a sense the home of the negro and in which more than nine-tenths of them live. In most of the Northern States the number of negroes is so small that any conclusions drawn from statistics regarding them are worthless and are likely to be misleading.

Diagram No. 8 shows the distribution by sex of the negro wage earners of these Southern States. The total length of the bar represents in each case all the wage earners, the white portion representing the males and the shaded portion the females.

This diagram shows that the greatest proportion of female wage earners is in the District of Columbia, where it is nearly one-half of all negro wage earners, and the least in West Virginia, where it is less than one-fifth of all. In most of the cotton States it ranges from one-fourth to one-third of all negro wage earners.

Diagrams Nos. 9 and 10 present the proportion of male and of female negro wage earners who are engaged in agriculture, personal service, and other occupations in the Southern States.

The first of these diagrams, representing male wage earners, shows that agriculture and personal service accounted for from 63 to 94 per cent of all male wage earners. Indeed, excluding the District of Columbia from consideration, from 73 to 93 per cent were accounted for by these two occupations.

Again, excluding the District of Columbia, which is not a farming community, the male wage earners who were farmers constituted in the different States proportions varying from 36 per cent in Missouri to 85 per cent in Mississippi. The proportion of farmers was highest in the cotton States and decidedly less in the border States. On the other hand, the proportion of males engaged in personal service was least in the cotton States and increased decidedly in those farther north.

The second diagram, illustrating the occupations of female wage earners, has certain features in common with that relating to males, but these features are more accented. In the cotton States a large proportion of the female wage earners worked in the fields and was therefore reported as engaged in agriculture, while in the border States but a small proportion was found there. On the other hand, domestic service claimed nearly all female wage earners in the border States, but in the cotton States a relatively small proportion.

Both the diagrams, and especially the first, show an important feature. In the cotton States wage earners were almost entirely either farmers or those engaged in personal service, but in the States farther north these classes were relatively smaller and occupations were somewhat more varied.

OWNERSHIP OF FARMS AND HOMES.

The statistics of farm and home ownership and of mortgage indebtedness of the Eleventh Census throw some light upon the pecuniary condition of the negro race.

The total number of farms and homes in the country in 1890 was 12,690,152, of which the negroes occupied 1,410,769, or 11.1 per cent. The proportion of negroes to the total population was at that time 12.20 per cent, showing a deficiency in the proportion occupying homes and farms when compared with the population.

The number of farms in the country was 4,767,179. Of these 549,642, or 11.5 per cent, were occupied by negroes, being a proportion greater than that of farms and homes combined.

The number of homes, as distinguished from farms, in the country was 7,922,973, of which 861,137, or 10.9 per cent, were occupied by negroes, being a proportion less than that of farms and homes combined.

Of the 549,632 farms in the country occupied by negroes 120,738, or 22 per cent, were owned by their occupants. The corresponding proportion for whites was 71.7 per cent. Of course, as regards tenants, the reverse was the case, the proportions being for whites 28.3 per cent and for negroes 78 per cent. More than three-fourths of the farms occupied by negroes were rented; in other words, more than three-fourths of the negro farmers were tenants, while less than one-fourth of the white farmers were tenants.

Of the farms owned by negroes 90.4 per cent were without incumbrance. Of those owned by whites 71.3 were without incumbrance, showing a much larger proportion incumbered than among those owned by negroes.

Of 861,137 homes occupied by negroes in 1890, 143,550 were owned by their occupants and 717,587 were rented, the proportions being 19 per cent and 81 per cent.

DIAGRAM NO. 9.—*Proportions of male negro wage-earners engaged in agriculture, personal service, and other occupations.*

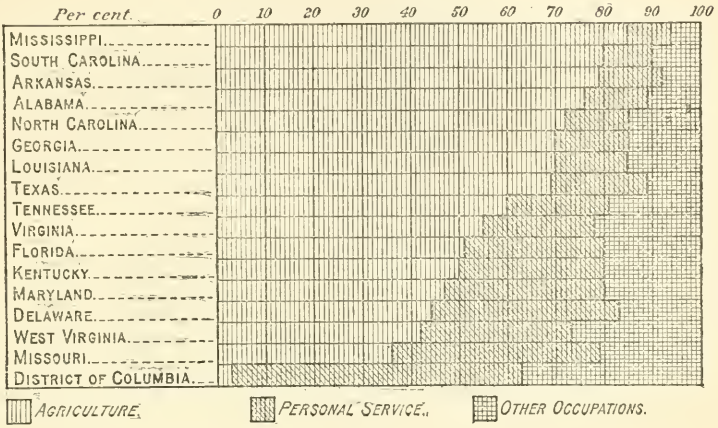
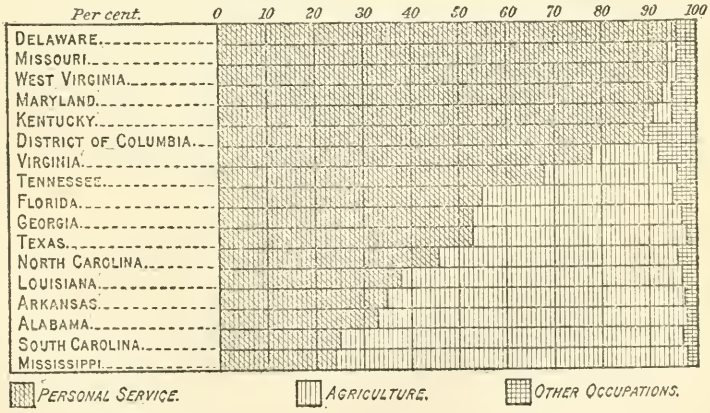


DIAGRAM NO. 10.—*Proportions of female negro wage-earners engaged in personal service, agriculture, and other occupations.*



Corresponding proportions for whites were 39.4 per cent and 60.6 per cent. Of the houses owned by negro occupants 126,264, or 87.7 per cent, were free, and 12.3 incumbered. Corresponding figures for whites were 71.3 and 28.7 per cent, showing, as before, a much greater proportion of free holdings among negroes than among whites.

Diagrams Nos. 11 and 12 summarize the above facts in graphic form. The total areas of the squares represent the number of farms and homes, respectively, those occupied by whites and negroes, respectively, being represented by the rectangles into which the squares are divided by horizontal lines. The vertical lines subdivide these rectangles into others proportional to the numbers occupied by owners without and with incumbrance, and by renters.

The male negroes occupied in agriculture numbered, in 1890, 1,329,584. Of these 510,619 occupied farms, the remainder, 818,965, being presumably farm laborers. The negro farmers—i. e., occupants of farms—constituted 38.3 per cent of the male negroes engaged in agriculture, leaving 61.7 per cent of the number as laborers. The corresponding figures for whites were 60.4 per cent and 39.6 per cent. The proportion of negroes engaged in agriculture who were farmers—i. e., occupied farms—was, therefore, much smaller than that of the whites. In spite of this low comparative showing, however, it must be agreed that, considering all the attendant circumstances, the proportion of negro farm occupants—more than one-third of all negroes engaged in agriculture—is unexpectedly large.

Summing up the salient points in this paper, it is seen that in the matter of occupations the negro is mainly engaged either in agriculture or personal service. He has, in a generation, made little progress in manufactures, transportation, or trade. In these two groups of occupations males are in greater proportion engaged in agriculture and females in domestic service. They have, however, during this generation, made good progress toward acquiring property, especially in the form of homes and farms, and, in just so far as they have acquired possession of real estate, it is safe to say that they have become more valuable as citizens. The outlook for them is very favorable as agriculturists, but there is little prospect that the race will become an important factor in manufactures, transportation, or commerce.

IV.

A STATISTICAL SKETCH OF THE NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES.

[By Henry Gannett, of the United States Geological Survey.]

From the time of the earliest settlement upon these shores the United States has contained two elements of population, the white race and the negro race. These two races have together peopled this country, increasing partly by accessions to their numbers from abroad and partly by natural increase, until to-day (1894) the white race numbers probably 61,000,000 and the negroes 8,000,000. The history of the latter race, thus brought into close association with a more civilized and stronger people for two and three-fourths centuries, is one of surpassing interest. Unfortunately, however, this history, for the earlier part of the period, is, with the exception of a few fragments, utterly lost. For the last century, however, since the year 1790, the date of the first United States census, we have, at ten-year intervals, pictures of the distribution of the race and considerable information regarding its social condition.

SLAVE TRADE.

The slave trade flourished actively up to the close of the last century, and indeed it did not entirely cease until the year 1808. It was mainly in the hands of the English, including their North American colonies. It was a large and flourishing business for the shipowners of New England.

Of the number of slaves brought from Africa to this country, either directly or by way of the West India Islands, we have very little information. Prior to 1788 there are no records, and since that time the records of the slave trade do not distinguish between the slaves brought to the United States and those to other parts of America.

Of the number of slaves in this country in colonial times the information is almost equally scanty, consisting of little more than estimates by different historical writers. Of these, Bancroft's are perhaps as reliable as any. His estimates of the number of negroes at different times are as follows:

1750	220,000	1770	462,000
1754	260,000	1780	562,000
1760	310,000		

DIAGRAM No. 11.—*Farms.*

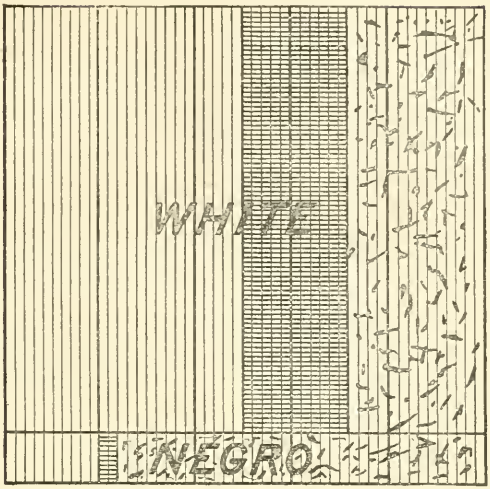
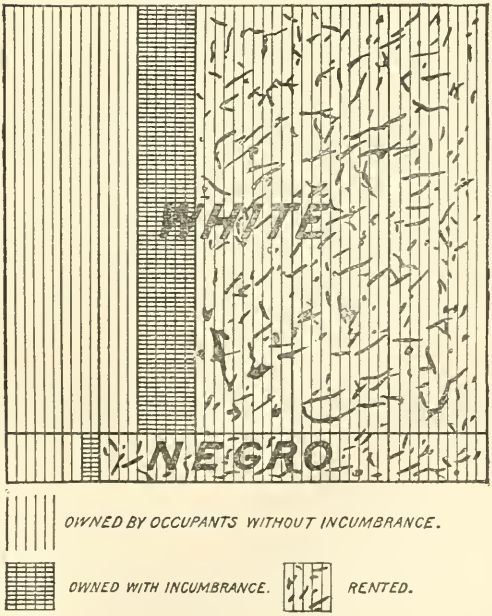


DIAGRAM No. 12.—*Homes.*



NUMBERS OF EACH RACE.

In 1790 we have the first reliable data regarding the number and distribution of the negroes. The total number of each race at this and each succeeding decennial enumeration is shown in the following table:

Census year.	White.	Negro.	Census year.	White.	Negro.
1790	3,172,006	757,208	1850	19,553,068	3,638,808
1800	4,306,446	1,002,037	1860	26,922,537	4,441,830
1810	5,862,073	1,377,808	1870	33,589,377	4,880,009
1820	7,862,166	1,771,656	1880	43,402,970	6,580,793
1830	10,537,378	2,328,642	1890	54,983,890	7,470,040
1840	14,195,805	2,873,648			

From this it appears that the whites have increased in a century from a little over 3,000,000 to nearly 55,000,000, and the negroes from three-fourths of a million to about 7,500,000. The whites were in 1890 nearly eighteen times as numerous as in 1790, the negroes nearly ten times as numerous.

The diagram constituting Plate I presents the same facts in graphic form. In each case the total length of the bar is proportional to the total population in the year indicated. The white portion of each bar represents the white population of the country, while the shaded portion represents the negro population.

The tables and diagram illustrate the rapid growth of the country in population, both of its white and its negro element.

PROPORTIONS OF EACH RACE.

The following table shows the proportions in which the total population was made up of these two elements at each census, expressed in percentages of the total population:

Census year.	White.	Negro.	Census year.	White.	Negro.
1790	80.73	19.27	1850	84.31	15.69
1800	81.12	18.88	1860	85.62	14.13
1810	80.97	19.03	1870	87.11	12.66
1820	81.61	18.39	1880	86.54	13.12
1830	81.90	18.10	1890	87.80	11.93
1840	83.16	16.84			

This table and Plate II show that on the whole the negroes have diminished decidedly in proportion to the whites. In 1790 they formed 19.27 per cent, or very nearly one-fifth of the whole population. At the end of this century they constituted only 11.93 per cent, or less than one-eighth of the population. At the end of the century their proportion was less than two-thirds as large as at the beginning. Moreover, this diminution in the proportion has been almost unbroken from the beginning to the end of the century. The proportion of the negroes has apparently increased in only two out of eleven censuses, namely, in 1810, immediately after the cessation of the slave trade, and in 1880. I say apparently, because in the latter case the increase is only apparent, due to a deficient enumeration of this race in the census preceding, namely, that of 1870.

RATES OF INCREASE.

The following table and the diagram accompanying it show the rates of increase of the negroes during each of the ten-year periods for the last century, and placed in juxtaposition therewith for comparison are the rates of increase of the whites of the entire country:

Decade.	Percentage of increase.		Decade.	Percentage of increase.	
	White.	Negro.		White.	Negro.
1790 to 1800	35.76	32.33	1840 to 1850	37.74	26.63
1800 to 1810	36.12	37.50	1850 to 1860	37.69	22.07
1810 to 1820	34.12	28.59	1860 to 1870	24.76	9.86
1820 to 1830	34.03	31.44	1870 to 1880	29.22	34.85
1830 to 1840	34.72	23.40	1880 to 1890	26.68	13.51

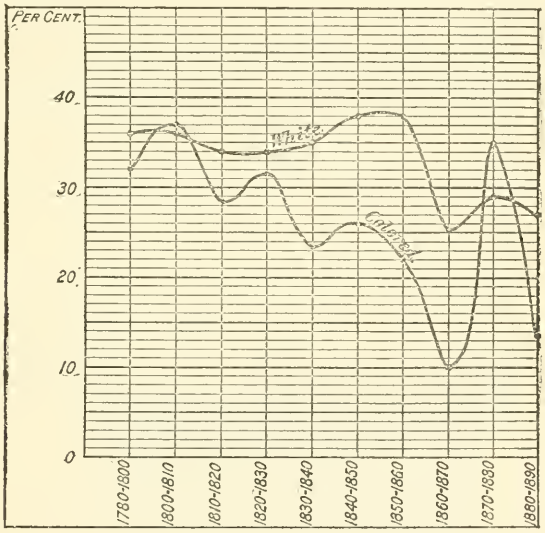
This table and diagram show that, with the exception of two ten-year periods, namely, those from 1800 to 1810 and 1870 to 1880, the negro element has in every case increased at a less rapid rate than the white element, and in many cases its rate of increase has been very much smaller.

Thus a comparison of the numerical progress of the negroes with that of the whites in the country, as a whole, shows that the former have not held their own, but have constantly fallen behind. They have not increased as rapidly as the whites.

It may be said that this is due to the enormous immigration which certain parts of the country have received, an immigration composed entirely of whites. This suggestion can easily be tested. White immigration on a considerable scale began about 1847. Prior to that time it was not of importance. We may then divide the century into two equal parts and contrast the relative rates of increase of the races during those half centuries. Between 1790 and 1840 the whites increased 4.5 times, the negroes 3.8 times. The latter element had diminished in relative importance in this half century from about one-fifth of the population to one-sixth.

In the succeeding fifty years the whites had increased 3.9 times, and the colored 2.6 times only. In other words, the greater increase of the whites has not been dependent upon immigration, since their rate of increase was greater than that of the negroes before immigration set in.

Rates of increase of white and negro population.



These figures, and the conclusions necessarily derived from them, should set at rest forever all fears regarding any possible conflict between the two races. We have before us the testimony of a century to show us that the negroes, while in no danger of extinction, while increasing at a rate probably more rapid than in any other part of the earth, are yet increasing less rapidly than the white people of the country, and to demonstrate that the latter will become more and more numerically the dominant race in America. Whether the negro will, through an improvement in his social condition, become of greater importance relatively to his numbers is a matter to be discussed later.

CENTER OF POPULATION.

The center of population, as it is called, may be described as the center of gravity of the inhabitants as they are distributed at the time under consideration, each inhabitant being supposed to have the same weight and to press downward with a force proportional to his distance from this center.

The center of population of all the inhabitants of the United States has been computed for each census. At the time of the first census, in 1790, the center of population was found to be in Maryland, on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay, nearly opposite Baltimore. The general westward movement of population has caused a corresponding westward movement of this center, such movement following very

PLATE I.—*Total population and white and negro elements.*

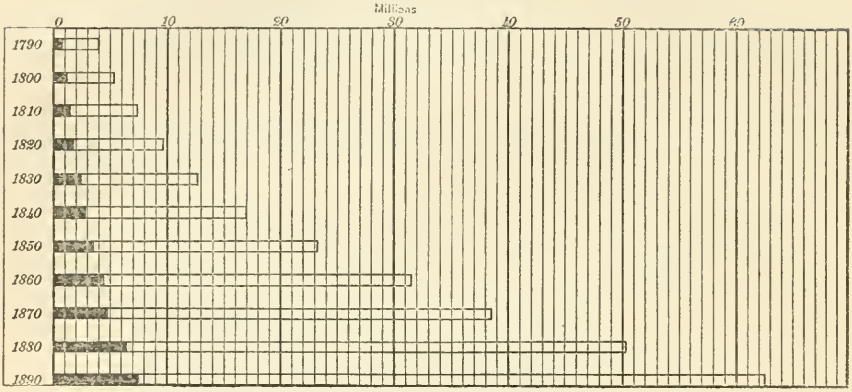
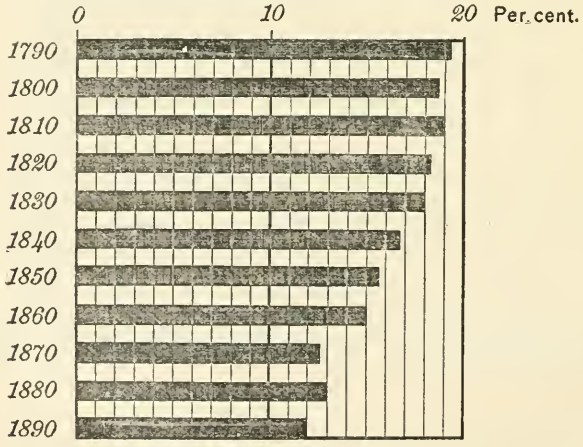


PLATE II.—*Proportion of the negro element to the total population.*



nearly the line of the thirty-ninth parallel of north latitude. In 1880 the center of the total population was found on the south bank of the Ohio River, nearly opposite Cincinnati, and in 1890 it was found in southern Indiana, 20 miles east of Columbus, in latitude 39° 12′ and in longitude 85° 33′.

The center of the negro population has been computed in 1880 and in 1890. At the first of these dates it was found in latitude 34° 42′ and in longitude 84° 58′. This position is in the northwestern corner of Georgia, not far from Dalton. In 1890 it was found to have moved southwestward into latitude 34° 26′ and longitude 85° 18′, being not far from the boundary between Alabama and Georgia and a few miles west of Rome, Ga. The longitude of the center of the negro population was very nearly the same as that of the total population, but in latitude it was nearly 5 degrees, or more than 300 miles, south of it. The positions of the center of total population and of the negro population in 1880 and in 1890 are shown upon the map which constitutes Plate VI.

The movements of the center of population are the net resultant of all the movements of population. During the past decade the negroes have moved in all directions, north, south, east, and west; but, as indicated by the movement of the center, the net resultant of their movements has been toward the southwest. As a whole this element moved in a southwesterly direction a distance of about 25 miles.

FREE NEGROES AND SLAVES.

Prior to 1870 the negro element, as returned by the successive censuses, was made up of two parts, free negroes and slaves. The proportions of these elements differed at different times, as is shown by the following table:

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.
Per cent which free negroes bore to all negroes	8	11	13.5	13	14	13	12	11
Per cent of all free negroes found in former slave States	55	56	58	57	57	56	55	54
Per cent of all free negroes found in free States	45	44	42	43	43	44	45	46

From this it appears that the free negroes constituted in 1790 only 8 per cent of all negroes, that the proportion increased rapidly to 1830, when they constituted not less than 14 per cent, and from that time the proportion diminished, until in 1860 they constituted 11 per cent of all negroes.

Moreover, the proportions of the free negroes found within the slave States and the free States differed at different times. More than half of the free negroes were found within the former slave States and less than one-half within the free States, and the proportion of free negroes found in the former slave States ranged from 54 per cent in 1860 to 58 per cent in 1810.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO ELEMENT.

The negroes are distributed very unequally over the country. While they are found in every State and Territory and in almost every county of the land, the vast body of them are found in the Southern States, in those States lying south of Mason and Dixon's line, the Ohio River, the northern boundary of Missouri, and westward as far as Texas and Arkansas. The two maps on Plate III illustrate their distribution, State by State, over the country. One of these maps shows their density—that is, the average number in each square mile. It is an absolute measure of their numbers in different parts of the country. It is seen that they are the most plentiful in Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Mississippi, and secondarily in North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana. On the other hand, in nearly all the Northern and Western States they are very sparsely distributed, there being in these States, with scarcely an exception, less than four of them to a square mile, while in many of them there is less than one to a square mile.

The other map shows the proportion which the negro element bears to the total population, State by State. This is a measure of its importance relative to the whites. From this map it is seen that in three States, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, more than half the people are negroes. Indeed, in South Carolina three out of every five of the inhabitants are of this race. It is seen further that in all the States along the Atlantic and Gulf, from Virginia to Louisiana, together with Arkansas, more than one-fourth of the people are negroes, while, on the other hand, throughout the entire North and West the proportion of negroes is less than 5 per cent, and in many of the States it is less than 1 per cent of the total population.

PROPORTION OF THE NEGROES IN THE SLAVE STATES.

The distribution of the negro race may be still more closely characterized by the statement that in 1890 there were found in the former slave States not less than 92 per cent of all negroes. This proportion has differed at different times during the last century, as is shown in the following table:

Proportion of total negro element comprised in former slave States.

Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.
1790	91	1830	93	1870	93
1800	91	1840	94	1880	93
1810	92	1850	95	1890	92
1820	93	1860	95		

From this table it will be seen that at the commencement of this history the former slave States contained 91 per cent of the negroes of the country. As time wore on this proportion increased, until in 1850 and 1860 they comprised 95 per cent, or nineteen-twentieths of all, while since that date, i. e., during the period of freedom of the race, it has shown a slight tendency northward, the proportion in the former slave States having become reduced, as above stated, to 92 per cent.

THE NEGROES OF THE SLAVE STATES.

In the above pages the history of the negroes has been traced in a broad, general way, and compared with that of the entire population and the white element of the country. The history is more or less complicated with the results of immigration, and with other disturbing factors, which have affected mainly the North and West. We may now, without serious error, confine our study of the race to the Southern States, the former slaveholding States, in which are found more than nine-tenths of the whole number of the negroes. The movement of these people from the South into the North has been inconsiderable, and there has been but little movement of the whites in either direction across the boundary line between the sections. The South has received little immigration either from the North or from Europe, and the emigration from it has been unimportant. So far as emigration and immigration are concerned, it has been throughout our history almost isolated from the rest of the world. So we may, without serious error, study the relations of the whites and blacks of this region by itself, without reference to other parts of the country.

PROPORTIONS OF THE RACES.

The following table and accompanying diagram (Pl. IV) show the proportions in which the population of this part of the United States was composed at each census for the past hundred years.

Proportions in which the population of former slave States was made up.

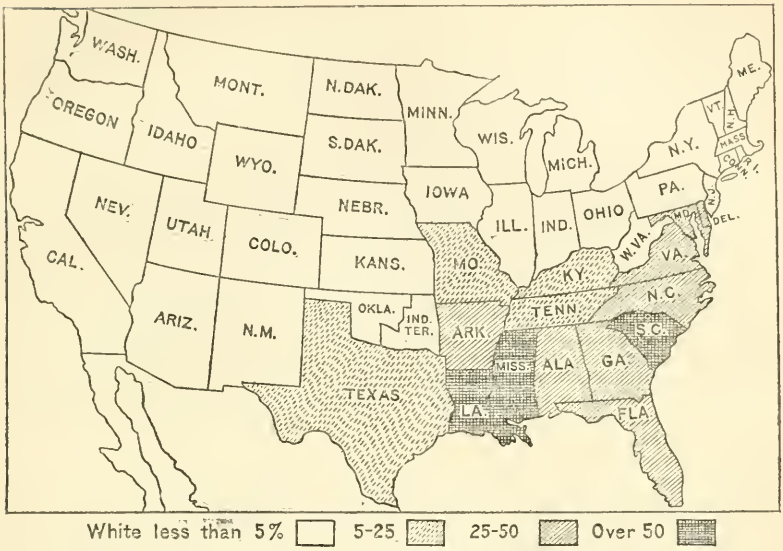
Census year.	White.	Negro.	Census year.	White.	Negro.
1790	65	35	1850	64	36
1800	65	35	1860	66	34
1810	63	37	1870	68	32
1820	63	37	1880	67	33
1830	63	37	1890	69	31
1840	63	37			

It appears from the above table that a century ago the population of the South was made up of whites and negroes in the proportions of 65 and 35 per cent, and that in 1890 the proportions were 69 and 31 per cent. The proportion of negroes increased from 1790 to 1810, when it reached 37 per cent, leaving only 63 per cent as the proportion of the whites, and remained practically stationary for three decades. Since 1840 the proportion of negroes has diminished.

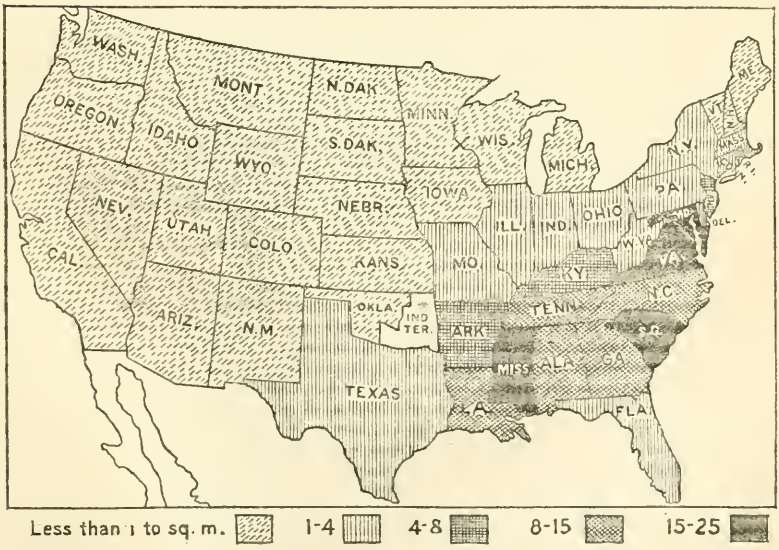
RATES OF INCREASE.

The following table, showing the rates of increase of the two races for each ten-year period during the past century, leads to a similar conclusion—that is, that for a half century the negroes increased more rapidly than the whites, while during the last half century they have increased less rapidly.

PLATE III.—*Proportion of negroes to total population in 1890.*



Density of negro population in 1890.



Rates of increase of white and negro elements of former slave States.

From—	White.	Negro.	From—	White.	Negro.
1790 to 1800	34	33	1840 to 1850	34	27
1800 to 1810	30	39	1850 to 1860	30	22
1810 to 1820	28	30	1860 to 1870	17	8
1820 to 1830	29	32	1870 to 1880	33	34
1830 to 1840	27	24	1880 to 1890	24	13

THE NEGROES IN CITIES.

It is well known that as the population of a State or country increases such increase goes in constantly rising proportion into its cities; in other words, that urban population increases at a more rapid rate than the total population, especially after the population has passed a certain average density. This country presents an excellent example of this tendency of population toward the cities. At the time of the first census only 3⅓ per cent of the total population was in cities of 8,000 inhabitants or more, while in 1890, a century later, the proportion in cities had increased to over 29 per cent. The total population of the country had become very nearly 16 times as great, while its urban element had become 139 times as great. The latter had increased more than 8 times as rapidly as the former.

Having thus illustrated the general tendency of the people toward cities, it will be instructive to see how the negroes have behaved in this regard. In measuring their appetency for urban life I shall consider only the population of the former slave States, and shall contrast the negro with the white element of those States in this regard. I shall follow the practice of the Census Office also in considering as urban the inhabitants of cities of 8,000 or more.

In cities of 8,000 inhabitants or more there were found in 1860 only 4.2 per cent of the negroes of these States, while of the whites 10.9 per cent were found at that time in these cities. The violent social changes attendant upon the war produced, among other results, an extensive migration of negroes to the cities, so that in 1870 the proportion of them found in cities had more than doubled, being no less than 8.5 per cent, while of the whites there were found 13.1 per cent. In 1880 the proportion of negroes in cities had diminished to 8.4 per cent, while that of the whites had also diminished, being 12.4 per cent.

The census of 1890 shows a decided increase in the proportion of each race in the cities, that of the negroes being 12 per cent, and that of the whites being 15.7 per cent.

Thus it is seen that the proportion of the negroes in the cities has in every case been less than that of the whites, but that they have gained upon the whites in this regard. This gain is, however, very slight and is probably not significant. While the negro is extremely gregarious and is by that instinct drawn toward the great centers of population, on the other hand, he is not fitted either by nature or education for those vocations for the pursuit of which men collect in cities—that is, for manufactures and commerce. The inclinations of this race, drawn from its inheritance, tend to keep it wedded to the soil, and the probabilities are that as cities increase in these States in number and size, and with them manufactures and commerce develop, the great body of the negroes will continue to remain aloof from them and cultivate the soil as heretofore.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

The geographical environment of the negro has been made a subject of careful study by the Census Office, and many interesting facts regarding its distribution with reference to topography, altitude, rainfall, and temperature have been developed.

It is found that more than 17 per cent of them live in the low, swampy regions of the Atlantic Coast and in the alluvial region in the Mississippi Valley. This proportion contrasts sharply with that of the total population, of which only 4 per cent are found in these regions. Upon the Atlantic plain the proportion of negroes is also much greater than that of the total population, and, generally speaking, it may be said that they seek low, moist regions and avoid mountainous country. This peculiarity of their distribution is brought out more forcibly in their distribution with reference to elevation above sea level. At an altitude less than 100 feet above the sea there are found nearly one-fourth of the negroes, while only about one-sixth of the total population is in these regions. Below 500 hundred feet are found seven-tenths, while nearly two-fifths of the total population are found at this altitude. Again, below 1,000 feet there are found 94.5 per cent of all the negroes of the country, while of the total population there are found only 77 per cent below that altitude.

PLATE IV.—*Proportion which negroes of former slave States bore to population of those States.*

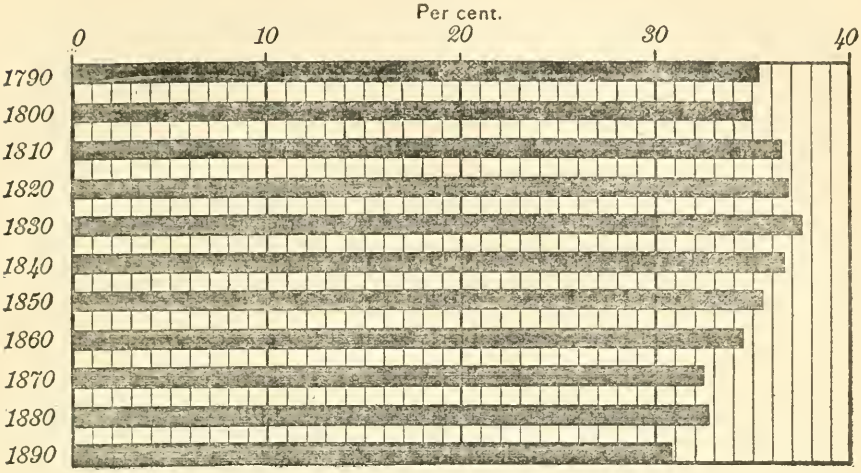
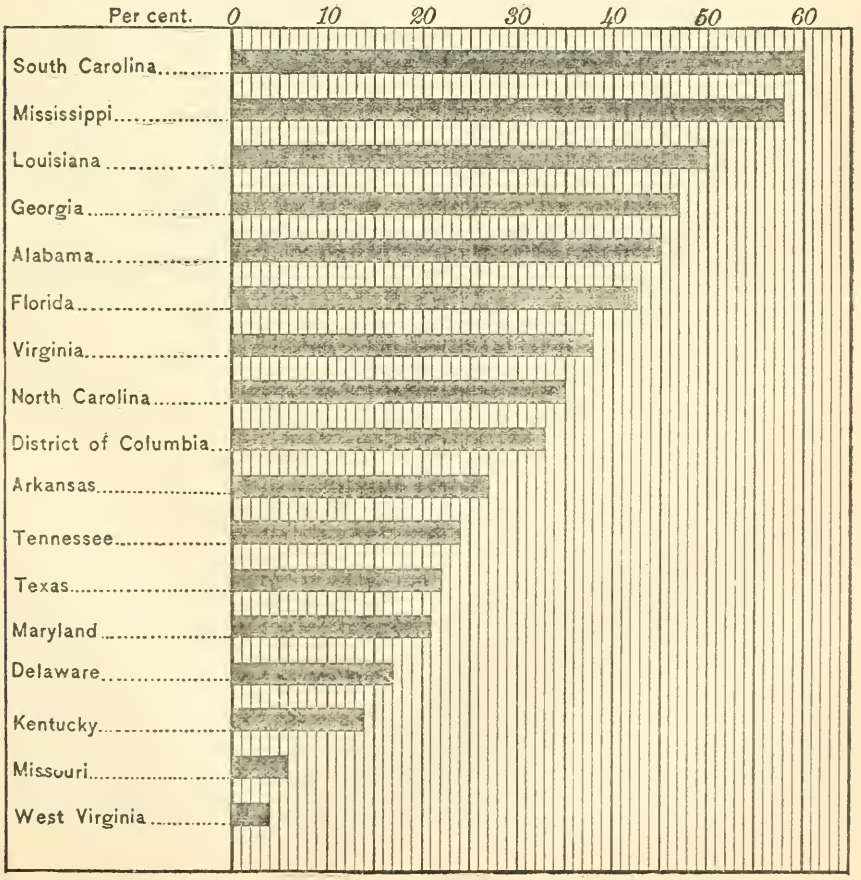


PLATE V[a].—*Proportion of negroes to total population in 1890.*



It is, of course, well known that the negroes prefer higher temperatures than the white race. A measure of this is given by the statement that while the total population lives, on an average, under a mean annual temperature of 53° F., that under which the negro lives is, on an average, 61°, or not less than 8° higher. The great body of the negroes live where the mean annual temperature ranges from 55° to 70°, very nearly 85 per cent of this element being found within the region thus defined.

Nothing perhaps more sharply characterizes the difference in the habitat of the negroes and the element of foreign birth than the difference in temperature conditions under which they are found, a difference which may be characterized by the following statement: In those regions where the annual temperature exceeds 55° are found seven-eighths of the negroes. On the other hand, in those regions where the temperature is less than 55° are found nine-tenths of the foreign born.

Those who are acquainted with the relations between the distribution of population and rainfall over the surface of the country are aware that the great body of the negroes is found in regions of heavy rainfall. Indeed, more than nine-tenths of their numbers are found where it exceeds 40 inches annually, and more than three-fifths where it exceeds 50 inches. These figures are greatly in excess of those concerning the total population.

HISTORY OF THE NEGRO IN EACH SLAVE STATE.

Thus far the distribution and history of the race have been considered broadly. It will now be of interest to take up each of the former slave States individually and trace the history of the race within its limits. This is summarized in the following table and group of diagrams (Pl. V), which present in each of the former slave States the proportion which the negro element bore to the total population at each census.

For economy of space the black bars representing the proportions in the diagrams are not extended to their full length, so the lengths of the bars do not represent the absolute percentage which the negroes bear to the total population. Since we are interested mainly in the relative lengths of the different bars of each State, and not in comparing those of one State with those of another, this is a matter of no consequence.

In Delaware the proportion of negroes in 1790 was about 22 per cent. This proportion increased gradually until 1840, when it was 25 per cent. Since then it has diminished, and in 1890 was about 17 per cent. In Maryland over one-third of the population were negroes in 1790. The proportion increased and reached a maximum in 1810, when it was 38 per cent. Since then it has diminished, and in 1890 was but 21 per cent. In the District of Columbia the proportion of negroes in 1800, the first year of record, was about 29 per cent. It reached its maximum with 33 per cent in 1810, and from that time steadily diminished until the opening of the civil war. In 1860 the proportion was 19 per cent. During the war large numbers of negroes took refuge within the capital, increasing the proportion to about one-third of the total population, which ratio has been maintained.

In Kentucky one-sixth of the population were negroes in 1790. The proportion increased until 1830, when it was about one-fourth of the population, since which time it has diminished and is at present but 14 per cent.

In Tennessee only one-tenth of the population were negroes at the time of the first census. That proportion steadily increased for 90 years, reaching its maximum in 1880, when it slightly exceeded one-fourth of the population. In the last ten years it has diminished a trifle.

The first report of population regarding Missouri was made in 1810. At that time about one-sixth of the inhabitants were negroes. In 1830 the proportion was slightly greater. Since then it has diminished rapidly, and in 1890 the negroes constituted less than 6 per cent of the population.

In the State of Virginia the negroes constituted in 1790 not less than 41 per cent of the inhabitants, and their proportion increased slightly for twenty years, reaching a maximum in 1810 of over 43 per cent. Since that time it has diminished steadily, and in 1890 constituted but 27½ per cent, taking the States of Virginia and West Virginia together.

All the above are border States, and all, with the exception of Tennessee and the District of Columbia, show a similar history. They show an increase in the proportion for two, three, or four of the earlier decades, and then a constant and great diminution in the proportion. The other States show a very different history. North Carolina, starting with 27 per cent, has increased slowly and with some slight oscillations up to 1880, when the proportion reached 38 per cent. In the last decade it has diminished. South Carolina, starting with 44 per cent, increased her proportion until 1880, when more than three-fifths of the population were negroes. Since then there has been a trifling diminution. Georgia started with 36 per cent, and with

some slight oscillations continued to increase until 1880. Within the last ten years there has been a slight reduction. In Florida the oscillations have been considerable. The history commenced with 1830, when 47 per cent of the population were negroes. It reached a maximum of 49 per cent at the next census, followed by a diminution for two decades. Then in 1870 it rose again to 49 per cent, since which time it has diminished rapidly, especially during the decade between 1880 and 1890. The history of Alabama commenced in 1820, when one-third of her people were negroes. The proportion increased up to 1870, and since then has diminished. Mississippi's history began in 1800, when 41 per cent of her people were negroes, and with some slight oscillations the proportion has increased up to the present time. The history of Louisiana commenced in 1810, when 55 per cent of her population were negroes. Her history has been a diversified one, the maximum proportion of this race being reached in 1830, with 59 per cent. Since that time it has, on the whole, diminished, and in 1890 half the people of the State were negroes. The history of Texas began in 1850, when 28 per cent of her people were negroes. The proportion increased for two decades, when it reached 31 per cent. Since that time it has diminished rapidly, owing largely to immigration to the central parts of the State. The history of Arkansas begins in 1820, when a little less than one-eighth of its people were negroes. The proportion has increased almost continuously from that time to the present, and in 1890 the negroes formed 27 per cent of the total population.

Thus it is seen that in the cotton States the proportion of the negro element has in nearly all cases increased until a very recent time. Indeed, in two or three of them it has increased up to the time of the last census, while in most of them the only diminution in the proportion has occurred during the last ten years. All this indicates in the most unmistakable terms a general southward migration of this race. As compared with the whites, the border States have lost in proportion of negroes for the past half century, while the cotton States have continued to gain until very recently.

Percentage of negroes to total population.

State.	1890.	1880.	1870.	1860.	1850.	1840.	1830.	1820.	1810.	1800.	1790.
Delaware	16.85	18.04	18.23	19.27	22.25	25.00	24.95	24.01	23.82	22.44	21.64
Maryland	20.69	22.49	22.46	24.91	28.32	32.30	34.88	36.12	38.22	36.66	34.74
District of Columbia	32.80	33.55	32.96	19.07	26.59	29.87	30.81	31.55	33.07	28.57	.....
Kentucky	14.42	16.46	16.82	20.44	22.49	24.31	24.73	22.95	20.24	18.59	17.03
Tennessee	24.37	26.14	25.61	25.50	24.52	22.74	21.43	19.60	17.52	13.16	10.59
Missouri	5.61	6.70	6.86	10.03	13.20	15.58	18.33	15.78	17.23	.....	.....
Virginia and West Virginia	27.51	30.85	31.84	34.39	37.06	40.23	42.69	43.38	43.41	41.57	40.86
North Carolina	34.67	37.96	36.56	36.42	36.36	35.64	35.93	34.38	32.24	29.35	26.81
South Carolina	59.85	60.70	58.93	58.59	58.93	56.41	55.63	52.77	48.40	43.21	43.72
Georgia	46.74	47.02	46.04	44.05	42.44	41.03	42.57	54.41	42.40	37.14	35.93
Florida	42.46	47.01	48.84	44.63	46.02	48.71	47.06	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama	44.84	47.53	47.69	45.40	44.73	43.26	38.48	33.19	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi	57.58	57.47	53.65	55.28	51.24	52.33	48.44	44.10	42.94	41.48	.....
Louisiana	49.99	51.46	50.10	49.49	50.65	55.04	58.54	52.01	55.18	.....	.....
Texas	21.84	24.71	30.97	30.27	27.54	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas	27.40	26.25	25.22	25.55	22.73	20.91	15.52	11.76	.....	.....	.....

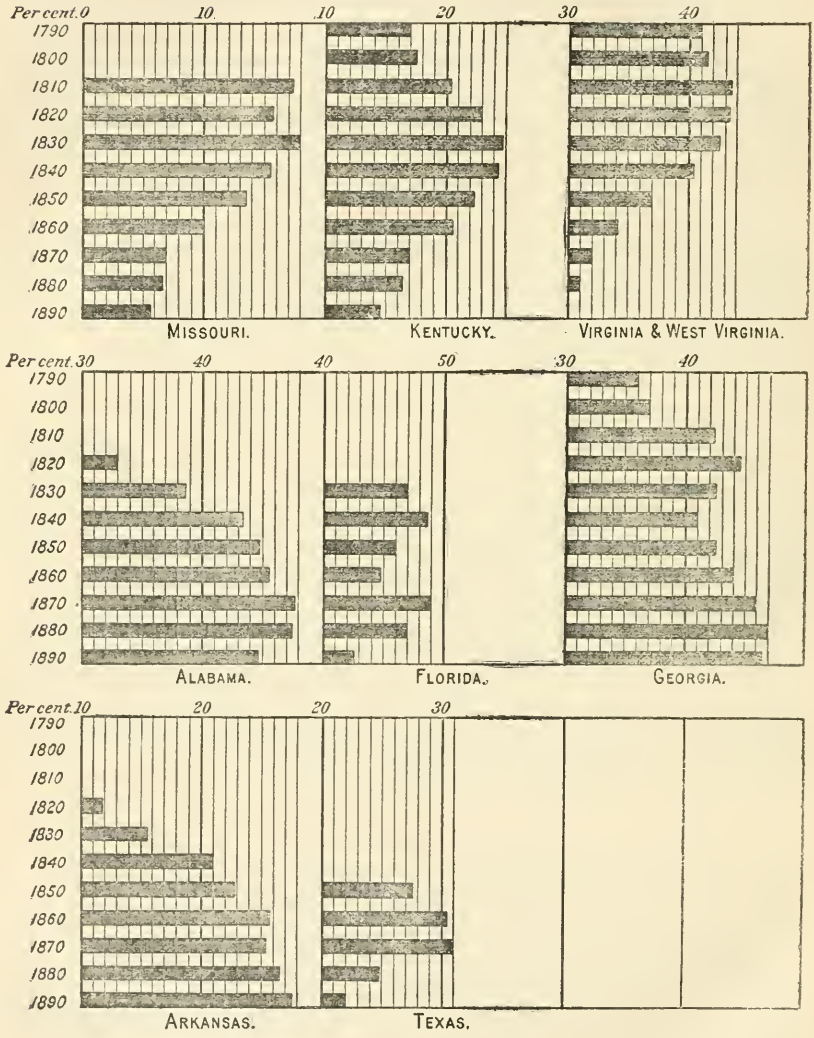
DETAILS OF MOVEMENTS OF NEGROES BETWEEN 1880 AND 1890.

The map on Pl. VI shows the movements of this race in detail during the ten years between 1880 and 1890, within the former slave States. The northern part of Missouri and western Texas are not represented upon this map, inasmuch as the number of negroes in these regions is not large.

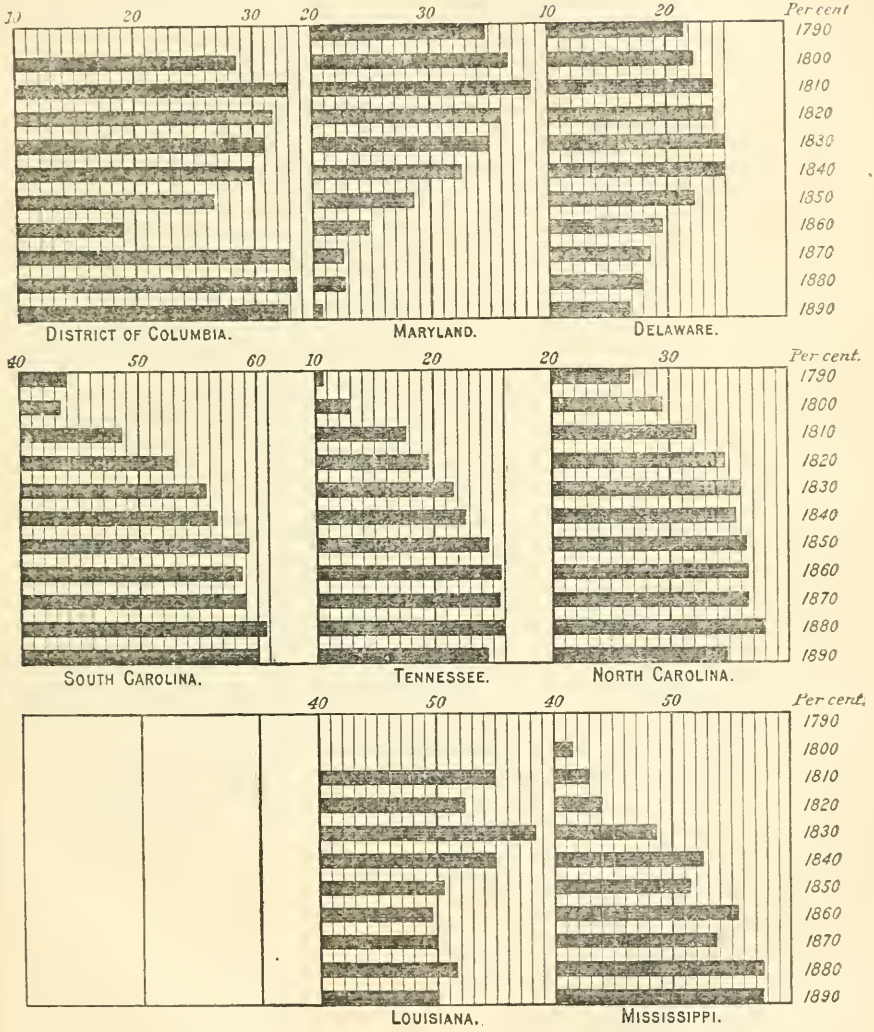
The areas upon this map which have the darkest shade are those in which the number of negroes has absolutely diminished during the decade in question. The areas in the lightest tint are those in which the negroes have increased, but at a rate less than the increase of the same element in the country at large. The areas of medium tint are those in which the negroes have increased more rapidly than in the country at large.

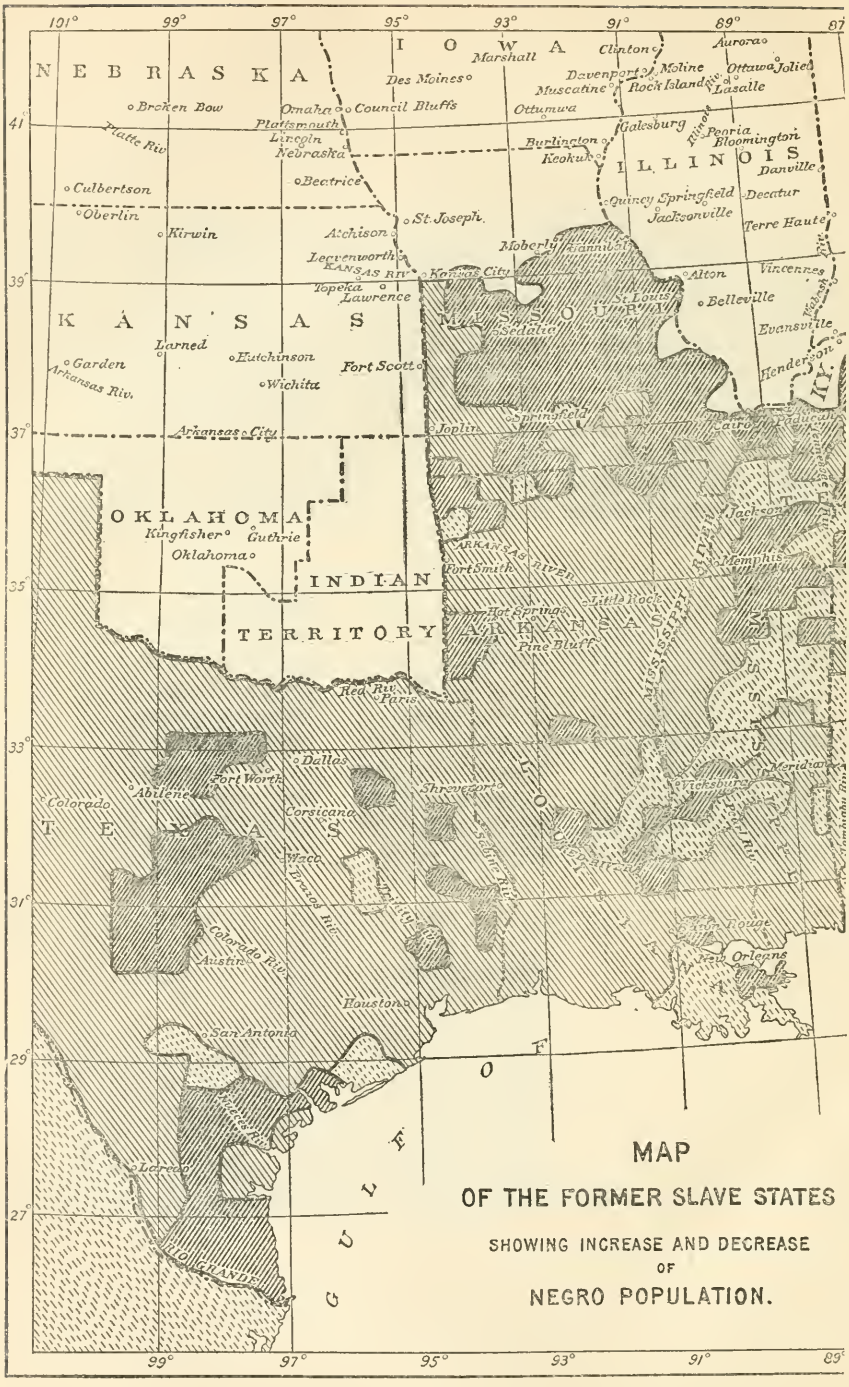
It is seen at once that the areas in which the negroes have decreased are mainly comprised in the northern of these States, principally in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, and secondarily in Tennessee and North Carolina. There are also areas of decrease in Texas and small areas in the other States, but these are of little importance in comparison with the great areas of the border States in which the number of negroes has actually diminished.

PLATE V.—*Percentage of negroes to total population in*



each of the Southern States at each census, 1790 to 1890.





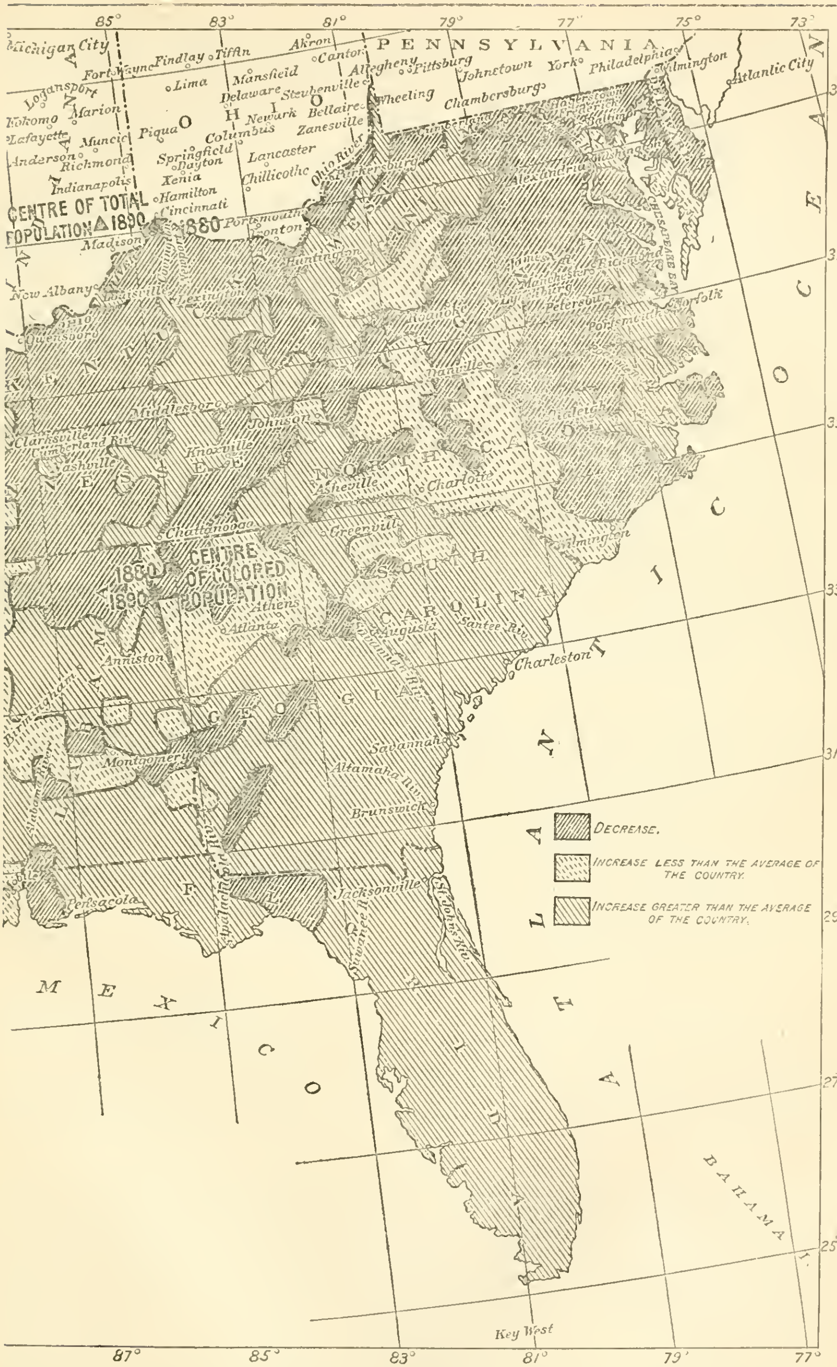
MAP

OF THE FORMER SLAVE STATES

SHOWING INCREASE AND DECREASE

OF

NEGRO POPULATION.


DECREASE.
INCREASE LESS THAN THE AVERAGE OF THE COUNTRY.
INCREASE GREATER THAN THE AVERAGE OF THE COUNTRY.
CENTRE OF TOTAL POPULATION 1890
1880
CENTRE OF COLORED POPULATION
1880
1890
PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia
Pittsburg
Johnstown
Chambersburg
York
Wilmington
Atlantic City
Michigan City
Fort Wayne
Findlay
Tiffin
Akron
Canton
Allegheny
Lima
Mansfield
Delaware
Steubenville
Wheeling
Logansport
Marion
Kokomo
Lafayette
Muncie
Piqua
Columbus
Newark
Bellaire
Zanesville
Anderson
Richmond
Springfield
Dayton
Lancaster
Chillicothe
Indianapolis
Xenia
Hamilton
Cincinnati
Portsmouth
Ironton
Madison
Ohio Riv.
Parkersburg
Alexandria
Huntington
New Albany
Louisville
Lexington
Owensboro
Roanoke
Richmond
Lynchburg
Petersburg
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Danville
Middlesboro
Johnson
Raleigh
Clarksville
Cumberland Riv.
Nashville
Knoxville
Asheville
Charlotte
Chattanooga
Greenville
Wilmington
Athens
Atlanta
Augusta
Santee Riv.
Anniston
Charleston
Birmingham
Montgomery
Savannah
Altamaha Riv.
Brunswick
Jacksonville
Pensacola
St. Johns Riv.
Key West
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
NORTH
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEXICO
BAHAMA I.
85°
83°
81°
79°
77°
75°
73°
87°
39°
37°
35°
33°
31°
29°
27°
25°

On the other hand, the areas in which the negroes have increased more rapidly than in the country at large are found mainly in the southern parts of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and eastern Texas, with nearly all of Arkansas and Florida. In other words, the most rapid increase of the race has been in the southern and western parts of the region under consideration. There does not appear to be any decided movement into the "Black Belt," which traverses the central part of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Indeed, the heaviest increase is south of this region.

CONJUGAL CONDITION.

The conjugal condition of the negroes is set forth for the first time in the reports of the Eleventh Census. With the exception of the matter of divorce, it is summarized in the following diagram (Pl. VII). This shows the proportion of males and females at various ages who were single, married, or widowed. It shows that under the age of 15 there are practically no marriages among the race. Between 15 and 20 a small proportion, perhaps about 1 per cent, of males were married and 14 per cent of the females. At ages between 20 and 25 a third of the males and nearly three-fifths of the females were married, and with advancing age a constantly increasing proportion of both sexes is either married or widowed. It is evident, however, that the women marry much younger than men. The proportion of widowed first becomes appreciable between the ages of 20 and 25 years. It increases much more rapidly among females than among males, and altogether the proportion of widows is many times greater than that of widowers, showing that many more widowers remarry than widows, and that they marry largely unmarried women.

Comparison of conjugal statistics of the negroes with those of the whites develops two points of difference: First, that the negroes marry younger than the whites; second, that the proportion of widows at most ages is greater than among whites. The first of these facts is in accord with the shorter life period of the race; the second is a result of the greater death rate of the race.

Statistics of divorce show more frequent severance of conjugal relations among the negroes than among the whites. The proportion of divorced persons to married persons in the United States at large among the native whites was 0.59 of 1 per cent, while among the negroes it was 0.67 of 1 per cent.

MORTALITY.

There is no question but that the rate of mortality among the negro population is considerably greater than among the whites. It is not easy, however, to obtain an accurate measure of the relative death rates of the two races. The census statistics upon this subject are unreliable, since the returns from which they are derived are by no means complete. Were the omissions uniformly distributed between the two races we might still derive a comparison from them regarding the death rates of the two races, but unfortunately there is every probability that the omissions are much greater proportionally among the negroes than among the whites. It is only in a few large Southern cities which maintain a registration of deaths that reliable figures are to be had. In these cities the relative death rates during the census year (1890) are shown in the following table:

	Death rate per 1,000.		
	Total population.	Native whites.	Negroes.
St. Louis	19	17	35
Baltimore	25	22	36
New Orleans	28	22	37
Washington	26	19	38
Louisville	22	18	32

From these figures it appears that in the large cities the annual death rate of the negroes is very nearly if not quite double that of the native whites. It is probable that in the rural districts the disproportion among the death rates is not as great, since it is probable that a rural environment is better suited to the negroes than the environment of a large city. However this may be, there is no reasonable question, as stated above, that the death rate of the negroes is much larger than that of the whites.

CRIMINALITY.

The proportion of criminals among the negroes is much greater than among the whites. The statistics of the last census show that the white prisoners of native extraction confined in jails at the time the census was taken were in the proportion of 9 to each 10,000 of all whites of native extraction, while the negro prisoners were

in the proportion of 33 to each 10,000 of the negro population. Thus it appears that the proportion of negroes was nearly four times as great as for the whites of native extraction. It should be added, however, that the commitments of negroes are for petty offenses in much greater proportion than among the whites.

PAUPERISM.

In respect to pauperism, the investigations of the census have been confined to paupers maintained in almshouses and have not been extended to those persons receiving outdoor relief, either permanent or temporary. The number of white paupers of native extraction in almshouses was found to be in the proportion of 8 to every 10,000 whites of native extraction, while the negro paupers were in the same proportion. Lest these figures should mislead, however, it must be added to this statement that in the South but little provision is made in the form of almshouses for the relief of the poor, this provision being confined almost entirely to the northern part of the country, a fact which in itself explains the small proportion of the negro paupers in almshouses. On the other hand, it is a matter of common knowledge to any resident of a Southern city that the negroes form a disproportionately large element of the recipients of outdoor charity.

ILLITERACY AND EDUCATION.

Of the progress of the negro race in education, the statistics are by no means as full and comprehensive as is desirable. Such as we possess, however, go to indicate a remarkably rapid progress of the race in the elements of education. During the prevalence of slavery this race was kept in ignorance. Indeed, generally, throughout the South it was held as a crime to teach the negroes to read and write, and naturally when they became freemen only a trifling proportion of them were acquainted with these elements of education. In 1870, five years after they became free, the records of the census show that only two-tenths of all the negroes over 10 years of age in the country could write. Ten years later the proportion had increased to three-tenths of the whole number, and in 1890, only a generation after they were emancipated, not less than 43 out of every 100 negroes, of 10 years of age and over, were able to read and write. These figures show a remarkably rapid progress in elementary education.

In 1860 the number of negroes who were enrolled in the schools of the South was absolutely trifling. Since the abolition of slavery the number has increased with the greatest rapidity. This is shown in the following table, which relates only to the inhabitants of former slave States. The first column shows the proportion which the number of white children enrolled in the public schools bore to the white population, and the second column the proportion which the number of negro children in the public schools bore to the total negro population of these States.

	White.	Negro.
1870	13.50	3.07
1880	18.33	13.07
1890	21.92	18.71

It is seen from the above table that in 1870 the white pupils constituted 13.5 per cent of the white population, and that in 20 years this proportion increased to nearly 22 per cent. On the other hand, the negro school children constituted in 1870 only 3 per cent of all negroes, but that in 20 years it has increased to nearly 19 per cent of all negroes. The proportion of negro school children increased at a far more rapid rate than that of the white school children, and in 1890 had nearly reached it.

The following table shows the proportion of such enrollment to population in 1890 in each of these states:

Per cent of school enrollment to population in 1890.

State.	White.	Negro.	State.	White.	Negro.
Delaware	19.12	16.38	Kentucky	22.27	20.40
Maryland	17.93	16.69	Tennessee	26.49	23.58
District of Columbia	15.24	17.61	Alabama	22.40	17.10
Virginia	21.59	19.20	Mississippi	27.71	24.60
West Virginia	25.58	20.04	Louisiana	13.43	8.82
North Carolina	19.79	20.80	Texas	21.06	22.21
South Carolina	19.49	16.46	Arkansas	19.98	19.22
Georgia	21.40	15.51	Missouri	23.24	21.76
Florida	24.37	21.85			

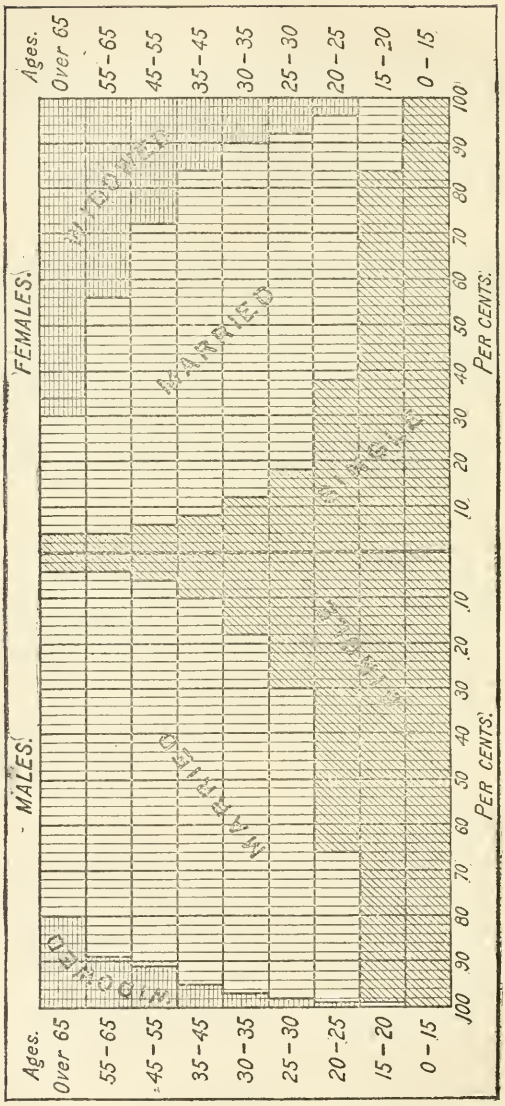


PLATE VII.—*Conjugal condition of the negro element.*

An examination of this table shows that in the District of Columbia, North Carolina, and Texas the proportional enrollment of negroes was greater than that of the whites, while in other States it was less.

The following table shows the rate of increase in the enrollment in each of these States from 1880 to 1890:

State.	White.	Negro.	State.	White.	Negro.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*		*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
Delaware	10.75	103.42	Kentucky	34.44	89.20
Maryland	20.07	35.78	Tennessee	53.88	65.56
District of Columbia	27.62	67.34	Alabama	66.99	53.52
Virginia	44.44	78.77	Mississippi	30.75	50.66
West Virginia	33.68	59.72	Louisiana	61.72	42.56
North Carolina	29.51	22.97	Texas	179.36	143.75
South Carolina	45.64	55.33	Arkansas	101.08	121.29
Georgia	39.09	53.81	Missouri	27.18	36.42
Florida	98.07	132.71			

From this table it appears that in all excepting four States, namely, North Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas, the enrollment of negro children in the public schools has increased more rapidly than that of the whites.

Summing up this article in a paragraph, the following conclusions may be stated: The negroes, while increasing rapidly in this country, are diminishing in numbers relative to the whites. They are moving southward from the border States into those of the south Atlantic and the Gulf. They prefer rural life rather than urban life. The proportion of criminals among the negroes is much greater than among the whites, and that of paupers is at least as great. In the matter of education, the number of negro attendants at school is far behind the number of whites, but is gaining rapidly upon that race.

Only one generation has elapsed since the slaves were freed. To raise a people from slavery to civilization is a matter, not of years, but of many generations. The progress which the race has made in this generation in industry, morality, and education is a source of the highest gratification to all friends of the race, to all excepting those who expected a miraculous conversion.

V.

MEMORIAL SKETCH OF JOHN F. SLATER.

John Fox Slater, of Norwich, Conn., who gave a generous fund to promote the education of the freedmen, was a quiet, thoughtful, well-trained man of business, who rose by industry, sagacity, and prudence to the possession of a fortune. His chief occupation through life was the manufacturing of cotton and woolen goods in Connecticut and Rhode Island. In recent years, as his means increased, he was interested in many enterprises, some of them established in New York and others in the West. He was a close observer of the social, political, and religious progress of the country, and a frequent, unostentatious contributor to benevolent undertakings, especially such as were brought to his attention in the town where he resided and in the church which he attended. From all positions which made him conspicuous he was inclined to withdraw himself, and he probably underrated the influence which he might have exerted by the more public expression of his opinions; but whenever he did participate in public affairs he showed the same independence, sagacity, and resolution which marked the conduct of his business. Under these circumstances the story of his life is simply that of a private citizen who was faithful to the responsibilities which devolved upon him, and who gradually acquired the means to contribute liberally toward the welfare of others. Notwithstanding the well-known unwillingness of Mr. Slater to attract the attention of the public, those who are concerned in the administration of his trust desire to put on record the characteristics of his long and useful life.

For three generations the Slater family has been engaged, either in England or the United States, in the improvement of cotton manufactures. Their English home was at Belper, Derbyshire, where William Slater, a man of considerable property, the grandfather of John F. Slater, resided more than a hundred years ago, until his death in 1782. At Belper and at Milford, not far from Belper, Jedediah Strutt was engaged as a partner of Sir Richard Arkwright, in the business of cotton spinning, then just becoming one of the great branches of industry in England.

Samuel Slater, fifth son of William Slater, was apprenticed to Mr. Strutt, and near the close of his service was for some years general overseer of the mill at Milford. Having completed his engagement he came to this country in 1789, and brought with

him such an accurate knowledge of the business of cotton spinning, that without any written or printed descriptions, without diagrams or models, he was able to introduce the entire series of machines and processes of the Arkright cotton manufacture in as perfect a form as it then existed in England. He soon came into relations with Moses Brown, of Providence, and through him with his son-in-law and his kinsman, William Almy and Smith Brown. With the persons last named he formed the partnership of Almy, Brown & Slater. For this firm Samuel Slater devised machinery and established a mill for the manufacture of cotton, at Pawtucket, R. I., in the year 1790, but as this proved an inadequate enterprise, he constructed a larger mill at the same place in 1793.

A few years later, about 1804, at the invitation of his brother Samuel, John Slater, a younger son of William, came from England and joined his brother in Rhode Island. The village of Slatersville, on a branch of the river Blackstone, was projected in 1806, and here until the present time the Slaters have continued the manufacture of cotton goods.

John F. Slater, son of John and nephew of Samuel, was born in the village just named, in the town of Smithfield, R. I., March 4, 1815, and received a good education in the academies of Plainfield, in Connecticut, and of Wrentham and Wilbraham, in Massachusetts. At the age of 17 (in connection with Samuel Collier) he began to manage his father's woolen mill at Hopeville, in Griswold, Conn., and there he remained until he became of age. In 1836 he took full charge of this factory, and also of a cotton mill at Jewett City, another village of the same town, where he made his home. Six years later he removed to Norwich, with which Jewett City was then connected by railway. Here he married, May 13, 1841, a daughter of Amos H. Hubbard, and here his six children were born. Only two of them, the eldest and the youngest, a daughter and a son, survived the period of infancy, and of these the son alone is living. Norwich continued to be Mr. Slater's home until he died there, at the beginning of his seventieth year, May 7, 1884.

Before his last great gift, Mr. Slater made generous contributions to religious and educational enterprises. He was one of the original corporators of the Norwich Free Academy, to which he gave at different times more than $15,000. To the construction of the Park Congregational Church, which he attended, he gave the sum of $33,000, and subsequently a fund of $10,000, the income of which is to keep the edifice in repair. At the time of his death he was engaged in building a public library in Jewett City, which will soon be completed, at a cost of $16,000. His private benefactions and his contributions to benevolent societies were also numerous. During the war his sympathies were heartily with the Union, and he was a large purchaser of the Government bonds when others doubted their security.

Some years before his death, Mr. Slater formed the purpose of devoting a large sum of money to the education of the freedmen. It is believed that this humane project occurred to him, without suggestion from any other mind, in view of the apprehensions which all thoughtful persons felt, when, after the war, the duties of citizenship were suddenly imposed upon millions of emancipated slaves. Certainly, when he began to speak freely of his intentions, he had decided upon the amount of his gift and its scope. These were not open questions. He knew exactly what he wished to do. It was not to bestow charity upon the destitute, nor to encourage a few exceptional individuals; it was not to build churches, schoolhouses, asylums, or colleges; it was not to establish one strong institution as a personal monument; it was, on the other hand, to help the people of the South in solving the great problem which had been forced upon them, how to train, in various places and under differing circumstances, those who have long been dependent, for the duties belonging to them now that they are free. This purpose was fixed. In respect to the best mode of organizing a trust, Mr. Slater sought counsel of many experienced persons—of the managers of the Peabody educational fund in regard to their work; of lawyers and those who had been in official life, with respect to questions of law and legislation; of ministers, teachers, and others who have been familiar with charitable and educational trusts, or who were particularly well informed in respect to the condition of the freedmen at the South. The results of all these consultations, which were continued during a period of several years, were at length reduced to a satisfactory form, and were embodied in a charter granted to a board of trustees by the State of New York, in the spring of 1882, and in a carefully thought-out and carefully written letter, addressed to those who were selected to administer the trust.

The characteristics of this gift were its Christian spirit, its patriotism, its munificence, and its freedom from all secondary purposes or hampering conditions. In broad and general terms, the donor indicated the object which he had in view; the details of management he left to others, confident that their collective wisdom and the experience they must acquire would devise better modes of procedure, as the years go on, than any individual could propose in advance. * * *

On the 18th of May, 1882, Mr. Slater met the board of trustees in the city of New York and transferred to them the sum of $1,000,000, a little more than half of it

being already invested, and the remainder being cash, to be invested at the discretion of the board. On that occasion the trustees addressed him a letter acknowledging his generosity, and they invited him always to attend their meetings; but he never met with them again, and declined to guide in any way their subsequent action.

The gift of Mr. Slater was acknowledged by expressions of gratitude from every part of the country, and especially from those who were watching with anxiety the future of the blacks. The echoes of gratitude came also from distant lands. Henceforward, in the annals of Christian philanthropy, the name of John F. Slater will be honored among those who have given wisely, freely, and in their lifetime, to enlighten the ignorant and to lift up the depressed.

MEMOIR.

[By Rev. Dr. S. H. Howe, pastor of the Park Church, Norwich, Conn.]

Mr. John Fox Slater, founder of the fund that bears his name, was born in Rhode Island, March 4, 1815. His family came a generation before from England, and was identified with manufacturing interests in the countries both of its birth and its adoption. He who was to be associated in the public mind with industrial education among one of the races on the continent was born to the inheritance of a name which has held high eminence for its relation to industrial progress. One of his near relatives has been called the "father of American manufactures." Family tradition and family prominence along these lines early determined for him the career of a manufacturer, by which he laid the foundations of the fortune which he ultimately amassed. He early developed rare business aptitudes, as was evidenced by the intrustment to him of one of the mills of his father at the age of 17. From this early period he continued in the career of a manufacturer until his death, maintaining and enlarging the plant covered by his sole ownership not only, but also identified with other large manufacturing corporations as shareholder and director. Starting from the solid foundation of a good academical education, he found in business life a training and discipline which fitted him to grapple, with the hand of a master, with the largest questions in business and finance, and to achieve success where others failed. He had large experience in business life, and developed rare powers for the grasp of its intricate problems. His business successes were not due to the chances of trade, or the fluctuations of values, or to the daring and the ventures of speculation, but were the fruit of the sagacious and alert use of the opportunities which were in his own as in other men's reach. He possessed profound insight and exhaustive knowledge of affairs and men, with mental grasp and business training, some have believed, sufficient to have wisely controlled the financial interests of a nation. His judgment and counsel were sought by great corporations in the management of enterprises and industries which represented large investments and a vast outlay of capital. It is not strange that his ventures were so largely successful, and that his failures and losses were exceptional and rare.

Then his sagacity in business, which amounted to genius, was allied to honorable methods and to inflexible business integrity. Few men have had an aversion so severe and uncompromising to unfairness and to doubtful practices. His opportunities for speculation were many, but he carefully held himself aloof from all but the legitimate channels of trade. He gathered fortune by honorable methods—a fact of some significance to those who handle his munificent trust, and a significant fact to those who are helped to manhood and culture by it. The hands which created this noble foundation were clean hands.

Mr. Slater, as may be inferred from what has been said, was a man of wide intelligence, peculiarly receptive and hospitable to truth. To his strong Puritan sense of right and devotion to principle, he added that larger interest in the world and the age in which he lived, which gives scope and breadth to thought, and defends against mere local and provincial sympathies. And yet he was a public-spirited citizen in his adopted city, jealous of its good name, generous toward its charities. Toward his country he was patriotic and loyal, interested in its politics and its legislation.

He was a man of strong, pronounced personality; of fine fiber and of genuine manliness—a gentleman by instinct and training and habit; reserved and self-respecting, though genuinely sympathetic toward and accessible to all classes of men. He was sensitive concerning and deeply averse to that adulation which goes after great fortune for its own sake. It is the testimony of a friend who saw him most frequently through a long period of years and shared his confidence in a larger sense than others that in all his intercourse with him he had not heard a sentence that suggested the pride of fortune. He wished to be estimated for what he was and not for what he possessed. And this rule governed him in the estimate which he placed upon others. He was modest and unostentatious to the last degree. While

he was touched and gratified by the honor which came to him in connection with his great gift to benevolence, he did nothing to invoke it or to stimulate it. He remained amidst it all the same quiet, reserved, unostentatious citizen. He was to those who knew him well a most delightful and resourceful conversationalist. His breadth of view, his versatility, his familiar acquaintance with affairs and men, with questions of finance, politics, and religion, his taste for art, his knowledge of the world gained from travel, made his companionship delightful to those who shared it.

His interest in and gifts to benevolence antedated his later beneficence. Great gifts are never a bit of pure extemporization. Great things are not done on the spur of the moment. Those who develop unexpected resources on great occasions or show themselves capable of conspicuous sacrifices or services have had in advance their rehearsals. The noblest philanthropies are not extemporized or wrung forcibly from their authors by the stern importunity of death. Even legacies have generally a background of practical benevolence. Mr. Slater has given wisely and generously to objects that commended themselves to him. Many of these gifts were in the public eye, but it is the testimony of his nearest friends that he gave with larger liberality than the public could be aware of, with simplicity, and without ostentation, responding to cases of distress and suffering generously, but in such fashion as to conceal the giving hand.

But the conspicuous act of his life with which the public had most concern is of course the creation of the foundation for industrial education among the freedmen. Much that had gone before in his life had been leading up to this princely gift. He had always manifested a profound interest in education, had given largely, and had projected generous measures for educational work in the community, which, however, were yielded in the interest of his larger purpose. His interest in local education has been most worthily commemorated by the splendid memorial building erected in his honor by his son in connection with the Norwich Free Academy. Mr. Slater realized, and as his fortune grew was oppressed with, the sense of the responsibility of wealth, and planned long in advance to give in bulk to some worthy object of benevolence; and he resolved to execute this purpose in life rather than by bequest. The issues of the great civil war which unloosed the fetters of the slave, but which did not qualify him for the responsible duties of citizenship, gave Mr. Slater his great opportunity. He thought this problem through. He had been loyal, patriotic, and generous in his gifts when the struggle was upon the nation, and he rejoiced in the successful outcome; but here was a new field and an unlimited opportunity which he resolved to appropriate. His plan originated wholly and without suggestion from others with himself, and was elaborated to its minutest detail in advance of its publicity. Standing at this distance and looking through the experimental test of more than a decade of its working, it is impossible to resist the conviction that it was statesmanlike, patriotic, and Christian in its conception and spirit. Mr. Slater was wise to see what we have been learning, that the exigent want for the emancipated race was practical and industrial education. The higher education has its offices to take in exceptional instances, but for the masses of the race, so long submerged and held down to the low levels of intelligence where emancipation found it, the wisest, most practical, and resultful plan for its elevation was that devised by the founder of this educational fund. It was the instinct of patriotism and of practical statesmanship to go to the weakest spot in the body politic to strengthen it, as it was the impulse of Christian thought to place the ladder of ascent within reach of the foot of the lowest man, who was most hopeless of self-recovery. Perhaps this is occasion for surprise. Mr. Slater might have been patrician in his sympathies, exclusive and reserved in his associations. He had aptitudes and opportunities for aloofness from other than the privileged classes; he might have been exclusive in his sympathies rather than inclusive. But his sympathies swept him around to the opposite pole from that on which he stood. He crossed the whole diameter of society to find the lowest groove in our social and national life that he might do this conspicuous act of beneficence to the poorest of this nation's poor. Such examples of wise beneficence, which express the sympathy of the privileged for the unprivileged classes, do much to lighten the strain of self-government in a nation like ours. They do much to allay the antagonisms of society and to bridge the chasm which opens between those zones of enormous wealth on the one hand and a degrading poverty which are drawn across the map of our modern life. When wealth consents after this fashion to reach out helping hands toward the nation's poor and gives aid toward self-help, then many of the perplexing problems of modern socialism will be solved.

The wisdom of this foundation in its intent and aim can not easily be overstated. Not to create the conspicuous institution, that by concentration of forces focuses the public eye upon the giver, but rather and more wisely to distribute aid over a wide area, among a score or more of institutions; not to do the premature thing of providing foundations for university training for which the race has and for generations will have such scant preparation, but rather to make provision for training

along those practical and industrial lines, which is the exigent need, in order to self-help toward the creation of the home and an ordered life in the social community. The verdict of his fellow-workers in this field of philanthropic effort, after watching the experiment for a decade, is "Well done, good and faithful servant," and we may well believe that in these words we hear a higher verdict than man's.

The reflex influence of Mr. Slater's beneficence, we are persuaded, has been great. We can not estimate the good we do when we do good. The effect of this splendid beneficence in stimulating philanthropic enterprise, passing as it has into the currency of popular thought as a quickening inspiration, its impetus to the noble army of workers for the uplifting of the race, has been enormous. Its inspiration and influence upon this greatest decade of giving in all the history of the world has been immense we are confident. Other millions have gotten into the wake of this one; and we believe other men to whom God has given great wealth, and into whose hearts the passion of the cross has been poured, are to be moved by it to the breaking of their costly boxes of alabaster in the presence of the world's Christ. Such men are and are to be the saving and the enduring forces of the world. They may disappear from the eye; they cease to be seen as visible personalities, but they become immortal in the world as quickening influences. They walk in uncrowned regality through the ages. Their gifts, their lives, will be reduplicated as they spread by contagion the spirit of philanthropy among men; passing for a sort of fresh incarnation into the minds and hearts of others, who catch their spirit, and go to spread it and give it fresh forms and embodiments. Over such lives even death can have no power.

Mr. Slater only lived to see the genesis of the work he did, and of the forces he started in the world. His great gift, at that time almost an unprecedented one, awakened wide-spread interest. The news spread over the land and was borne across the sea. Hundreds of letters congratulatory and appreciative poured in upon him. His friends gave expression to their admiration. His city, to whose name his beneficence had imparted a fresh eminence and fame, made him aware of her appreciation of the honor he had bestowed upon her; but amid it all he remained the same unostentatious, quiet citizen—grateful and appreciative of the honor which had come to him, but accepting it rather as an unreckoned-upon accompaniment of his unselfish act. He remained in the routine of his accustomed business, and in the fellowship of friends and neighbors, as if he had only done a duty or accepted a privilege which lay in the path of his accustomed living. Two years later the fatal disease laid its hand upon him, when in the faith of a Christian he girded himself to go unto his Father's house. To many of us it was the summons to the presence of Him who was and is ever the Supreme Friend of the poor and the lowly, to hear His commendation: "In as much as ye have done these things unto the least of these, my brethren, ye have done them unto me. Enter into the joy of thy Lord."

VI.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE ORIGIN AND WORK OF THE SLATER TRUSTEES, 1882 TO 1894.

Charter from the State of New York, approved April 28, 1882.

AN ACT to incorporate the trustees of the John F. Slater fund.

Whereas Messrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, Morrison R. Waite, of the District of Columbia, William E. Dodge, of New York, Phillips Brooks, of Massachusetts, Daniel C. Gilman, of Maryland, John A. Stewart, of New York, Alfred H. Colquitt, of Georgia, Morris K. Jesup, of New York, James P. Boyce, of Kentucky, and William A. Slater, of Connecticut, have, by their memorial, represented to the senate and assembly of this State that a letter has been received by them from John F. Slater, of Norwich, in the State of Connecticut, of which the following is a copy:

[Here the letter printed below is inserted.]

And whereas said memorialists have further represented that they are ready to accept said trust and receive and administer said fund, provided a charter of incorporation is granted by this State, as indicated in said letter; now, therefore, for the purpose of giving full effect to the charitable intentions declared in said letter;

The people of the State of New York, represented in senate and assembly, do enact as follows:

SEC. 1. Rutherford B. Hayes, Morrison R. Waite, William E. Dodge, Phillips Brooks, Daniel C. Gilman, John A. Stewart, Alfred H. Colquitt, Morris K. Jesup, James P. Boyce, and William A. Slater are hereby created a body politic and corporate by the name of The Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, and by that name shall have perpetual succession; said original corporators electing their associates

and successors, from time to time, so that the whole number of corporators may be kept at not less than nine nor more than twelve.

Said corporation may hold and manage, invest and reinvest, all property which may be given or transferred to it for the charitable purposes indicated in said letter, and shall, in so doing, and in appropriating the income accruing therefrom, conform to and be governed by the directions in said letter contained; and such property and all investments and reinvestments thereof, excepting real estate, shall, while owned by said corporation and held for the purposes of said trust, be exempt from taxation of any and every nature.

SEC. 2. Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, shall be the first president of the corporation, and it may elect such other officers and hold such meetings, whether within or without this State, from time to time, as its by-laws may authorize or prescribe.

SEC. 3. Said corporation shall annually file with the librarian of this State a printed report of its doings during the preceding year.

SEC. 4. This act shall take effect immediately.

Letter of the founder.

To Messrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio; Morrison R. Waite, of the District of Columbia; William E. Dodge, of New York; Phillips Brooks, of Massachusetts; Daniel C. Gilman, of Maryland; John A. Stewart, of New York; Alfred A. Colquitt, of Georgia; Morris K. Jesup, of New York; James P. Boyce, of Kentucky, and William A. Slater, of Connecticut.

GENTLEMEN: It has pleased God to grant me prosperity in my business, and to put it into my power to apply to charitable uses a sum of money so considerable as to require the counsel of wise men for the administration of it.

It is my desire at this time to appropriate to such uses the sum of $1,000,000; and I hereby invite you to procure a charter of incorporation under which a charitable fund may be held exempt from taxation, and under which you shall organize; and I intend that the corporation, as soon as formed, shall receive this sum in trust to apply the income of it according to the instructions contained in this letter.

The general object which I desire to have exclusively pursued, is the uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern States, and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education. The disabilities formerly suffered by these people, and their singular patience and fidelity in the great crisis of the nation, establish a just claim on the sympathy and good will of humane and patriotic men. I can not but feel the compassion that is due in view of their prevailing ignorance, which exists by no fault of their own.

But it is not only for their own sake, but also for the safety of our common country in which they have been invested with equal political rights, that I am desirous to aid in providing them with the means of such education as shall tend to make them good men and good citizens—education in which the instruction of the mind in the common branches of secular learning shall be associated with training in just notions of duty toward God and man, in the light of the Holy Scriptures.

The means to be used in the prosecution of the general object above described I leave to the discretion of the corporation, only indicating as lines of operation adapted to the present condition of things, the training of teachers from among the people requiring to be taught, if, in the opinion of the corporation, by such limited selection the purposes of the trust can be best accomplished; and the encouragement of such institutions as are most effectually useful in promoting this training of teachers.

I am well aware that the work herein proposed is nothing new or untried. And it is no small part of my satisfaction in taking this share in it that I hereby associate myself with some of the noblest enterprises of charity and humanity, and may hope to encourage the prayers and toils of faithful men and women who have labored and are still laboring in this cause.

I wish the corporation which you are invited to constitute to consist at no time of more than twelve members, nor of less than nine members for a longer time than may be required for the convenient filling of vacancies, which I desire to be filled by the corporation, and, when found practicable, at its next meeting after the vacancy may occur.

I designate as the first president of the corporation the Hon. Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio. I desire that it may have power to provide from the income of the fund, among other things, for expenses incurred by members in the fulfillment of this trust and for the expenses of such officers and agents as it may appoint, and, generally, to do all such acts as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of this trust. I desire, if it may be, that the corporation may have full liberty to invest its funds according to its own best discretion, without reference to or restriction by

any laws or rules, legal or equitable, of any nature, regulating the mode of investment of trust funds; only I wish that neither principal nor income be expended in land or buildings for any other purpose than that of safe and productive investment for income. And I hereby discharge the corporation and its individual members, so far as it is in my power so to do, of all responsibility, except for the faithful administration of this trust according to their own honest understanding and best judgment. In particular, also, I wish to relieve them of any pretended claim on the part of any person, party, sect, institution, or locality, to benefactions from this fund that may be put forward on any ground whatever, as I wish every expenditure to be determined solely by the convictions of the corporation itself as to the most useful disposition of its gifts.

I desire that the doings of the corporation each year be printed and sent to each of the State libraries in the United States, and to the Library of Congress.

In case the capital of the fund should become impaired, I desire that a part of the income, not greater than one-half, be invested, from year to year, until the capital be restored to its original amount.

I purposely leave to the corporation the largest liberty of making such changes in the methods of applying the income of the fund as shall seem from time to time best adapted to accomplish the general object herein defined. But being warned by the history of such endowments that they sometimes tend to discourage rather than promote effort and self-reliance on the part of beneficiaries; or to inure to the advancement of learning instead of the dissemination of it; or to become a convenience to the rich instead of a help to those who need help, I solemnly charge my trustees to use their best wisdom in preventing any such defeat of the spirit of this trust, so that my gift may continue to future generations to be a blessing to the poor.

If at any time after the lapse of thirty-three years from the date of this foundation it shall appear to the judgment of three-fourths of the members of this corporation that, by reason of a change in social conditions, or by reason of adequate and equitable public provision for education, or by any other sufficient reason, there is no further serious need of this fund in the form in which it is at first instituted, I authorize the corporation to apply the capital of the fund to the establishment of foundations subsidiary to then already existing institutions of higher education, in such wise as to make the educational advantages of such institutions more freely accessible to poor students of the colored race.

It is my wish that this trust be administered in no partisan, sectional, or sectarian spirit, but in the interest of a generous patriotism and an enlightened Christian faith; and that the corporation about to be formed may continue to be constituted of men distinguished either by honorable success in business, or by services to literature, education, religion, or the State.

I am encouraged to the execution in this charitable foundation of a long-cherished purpose by the eminent wisdom and success that has marked the conduct of the Peabody education fund in a field of operation not remote from that contemplated by this trust. I shall commit it to your hands, deeply conscious how insufficient is our best forecast to provide for the future that is known only to God, but humbly hoping that the administration of it may be so guided by divine wisdom as to be in its turn an encouragement to philanthropic enterprise on the part of others, and an enduring means of good to our beloved country and to our fellow-men.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your friend and fellow-citizen,

JOHN F. SLATER.

NORWICH, CONN., *March 4, 1882.*

Letter of the trustees accepting the gift.

NEW YORK, *May 18, 1882.*

JOHN F. SLATER, Esq., *Norwich, Conn.:*

The members of the board of trustees whom you invited to take charge of the fund which you have devoted to the education of the lately emancipated people of the Southern States and their posterity, desire, at the beginning of their work, to place on record their appreciation of your purpose, and to congratulate you on having completed this wise and generous gift at a period of your life when you may hope to observe for many years its beneficent influence.

They wish especially to assure you of their gratification in being called upon to administer a work so noble and timely. If this trust is successfully managed, it may, like the gift of George Peabody, lead to many other benefactions. As it tends to remove the ignorance of large numbers of those who have a vote in public affairs, it will promote the welfare of every part of our country, and your generous action will receive, as it deserves, the thanks of good men and women in this and other lands.

Your trustees unite in wishing you long life and health, that you may have the satisfaction of seeing the result of your patriotic forecast.

The thanks of Congress.

JOINT RESOLUTION of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, approved February 6, 1883.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the thanks of Congress be, and they hereby are, presented to John F. Slater, of Connecticut, for his great beneficence in giving the large sum of $1,000,000 for the purpose of "uplifting the lately emancipated population of the Southern States and their posterity by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education."

SEC. 2. That it shall be the duty of the President to cause a gold medal to be struck with suitable devices and inscriptions, which, together with a copy of this resolution, shall be presented to Mr. Slater in the name of the people of the United States.

JOINT RESOLUTION of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, approved April 9, 1896.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of one thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be needed, is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to defray the cost of the medal ordered by public resolution numbered six, approved February sixth, eighteen hundred and eighty-three, to be presented to John F. Slater, of Connecticut, then living, but now deceased.

SEC. 2. That said medal and a copy of the original resolution aforesaid shall be presented to the legal representatives of said John F. Slater, deceased.

By-laws adopted May 18, 1882, and amended from time to time.

1. The officers of the board shall be a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a treasurer, chosen from the members. These officers shall serve until death, resignation, or removal for cause, and vacancies, when they occur, shall be filled by ballot.

2. There shall be appointed at each annual meeting a finance committee and an executive committee. The finance committee shall consist of three, and the executive committee of five, the president of the board being, ex officio, one of the five.

3. There shall also be an educational committee consisting of six persons, three of whom shall be appointed by the board and three of whom shall be ex officio members, to wit, the president, the treasurer, and the secretary of the board.

4. The annual meeting of the board shall be held at such place in the city of New York as shall be designated by the board, or the president, on the second Wednesday in April in each year. Special meetings may be called by the president or the executive committee at such times and places as in their judgment may be necessary.

5. A majority of the members of the board shall be a quorum for the transaction of business.

6. In case of the absence or disability of the president, the vice-president shall perform his duties.

7. The secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the board, which shall be annually published for general distribution.

8. The executive committee shall be charged with the duty of carrying out the resolutions and orders of the board as the same are from time to time adopted. Three shall constitute a quorum for business.

9. The finance committee, in connection with the treasurer, shall have charge of the moneys and securities belonging to the fund, with authority to invest and reinvest the moneys and dispose of the securities at their discretion, subject, however, at all times to the instructions of the board.

All securities belonging to the trust shall stand in the name of "the trustees of the John F. Slater fund," and be transferred only by the treasurer when authorized by a resolution of the finance committee.

10. The secretary of the board shall be, ex officio, secretary of the executive committee.

11. In case of the absence or disability of the treasurer, the finance committee shall have power to fill the vacancy temporarily.

12. Vacancies in the board shall be filled by ballot, and a vote of two-thirds of all the members shall be necessary for an election.

13. These by-laws may be altered or amended at any annual or special meeting by a vote of two-thirds of all the members of the board.

Members of the board.

Name.	Year.	Resigned or died.
APPOINTED.		
Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio	1882	*1893
Morrison R. Waite, of the District of Columbia	1882	*1888
William E. Dodge, of New York	1882	*1883
Phillips Brooks, of Massachusetts	1882	†1889
Daniel C. Gilman, of Maryland	1882	.....
John A. Stewart, of New York	1882	.....
Alfred H. Colquitt, of Georgia	1882	*1894
Morris K. Jesup, of New York	1882	.....
James P. Boyce, of Kentucky	1882	*1888
William A. Slater, of Connecticut	1882	.....
ELECTED.		
William E. Dodge, jr., of New York	1883	.....
Melville W. Fuller, of the District of Columbia	1883	.....
John A. Broadus, of Kentucky	1889	*1895
Henry C. Potter, of New York	1889	.....
J. L. M. Curry, of the District of Columbia	1891	.....
William J. Northen, of Georgia	1894	.....
Ellison Capers, of South Carolina	1891	†1895
C. B. Galloway, of Mississippi	1894	.....
Alexander E. Orr, of New York	1895	.....

*Died in office. †Resigned.

From 1882 to 1891 the general agent of the trust was Rev. A. G. Haygood, D. D., of Georgia, who resigned the office when he became a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Since 1891 the duties of a general agent have been discharged by Dr. J. L. M. Curry, of Washington, D. C., chairman of the educational committee.

Remarks of President Hayes on the death of Mr. Slater.

Gentlemen of the Board of Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund:

Our first duty at this the fifth meeting of the trustees of the John F. Slater fund for the education of freedmen is devolved upon us by the death, since our last meeting, of the founder of this trust.

John F. Slater died early Wednesday morning, the 7th of May last, at his home in Norwich, Conn., at the age of 69. He had suffered severely from chronic complaints for several months, and his death was not a surprise to his family or intimate friends.

Two of the members of this board of trustees, Mr. Morris K. Jesup and myself, had the melancholy privilege of representing the board at the impressive funeral services of Mr. Slater at his home, at the Congregational Church, and at the cemetery in Norwich, on the Saturday following his death.

When he last met this board, his healthful appearance and general vigor gave promise of a long and active life. It was with great confidence that we then expressed to him our conviction that his wise and generous gift for the education of the emancipated people of the South and their posterity was made at a period of his life when he might reasonably hope to observe during many years its beneficent influence. But in the providence of God it has been otherwise ordered, and the life which we fondly wished would last long enough to yield to him the satisfaction of seeing the results of his patriotic forecast has been brought to a close.

He had a widely extended and well-earned reputation for ability, energy, integrity, and success as a manufacturer and as a man of affairs. He was a philanthropist, a patriot, a good citizen, and a good neighbor. He was a member of the Park Congregational Society in Norwich for many years and was warmly and strongly attached to the denomination of his choice. His church relations did not limit his sympathies, nor narrow his views of duty. In his letter establishing this trust is the following clause:

"The general object which I desire to have exclusively pursued is the uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern States, and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education."

When asked the precise meaning of the phrase "Christian education," he replied that "the phrase Christian education is to be taken in the largest and most general sense—that, in the sense which he intended, the common-school teaching of

Massachusetts and Connecticut was Christian education. That it is leavened with a predominant and salutary Christian influence. That there was no need of limiting the gifts of the fund to denominational institutions. That, if the trustees should be satisfied that at a certain State institution their beneficiaries would be surrounded by wholesome influences such as would tend to make good Christian citizens of them, there is nothing in the use of the phrase referred to to hinder their sending pupils to it."

I forbear to attempt to give a full sketch of Mr. Slater. Enough has perhaps been said to bring to your attention the great loss which this trust has sustained in the death of its founder, and the propriety of placing on our records and giving to the public a worthy and elaborate notice of his life, character, and good deeds.