

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

A STUDY

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INTRODUCTION.

There is a saying: "To know all is to pardon all." Like some other phrases, it is interesting, but not entirely true. There is much more force and truth in the assertion, that to know the history of slavery and its effects is to have a greater sympathy for the negro and his neighbors. Without some knowledge of what preceded emancipation, it is impossible to comprehend the difficulties of the negro problem. To deal wisely with the negro, we must review his past, for he is today the product of that past. He is singular in his experience as an inhabitant of this country. He is not like the immigrant, however ignorant or poor, who comes with traditions and hopes, and is soon assimilated by our national and social life. He is not even like the Indian—for the Indian can be absorbed, or is permitted a free social range. He is set apart by color and great wrongs—and he is rising out of a protracted degradation.

Those who have had no personal knowledge of slavery, to whom the years preceding emancipation are distant and unreal, have need of such a review of the past as will give them a knowledge of the real condition of the negro. Otherwise

they will be harsh in judgment, severe in requirement, and easily disappointed by slowness of advance or apparent failure. Only by knowing the past can they be just to the negro and the South, and patient, zealous and sympathetic in this great work of civilization.

It is in the hope that these younger workers, these later students of philanthropy, may obtain this larger view and more thorough knowledge of the negro problem, that this little volume is issued. Rejoicing in the success of all affiliated societies and the zeal and generosity of individual workers, the Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen trusts that this survey of the problem and work may be useful and encouraging.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

The Present South, by E. G. Murphy.

The Negro and the Nation, by Geo. S. Merriam.

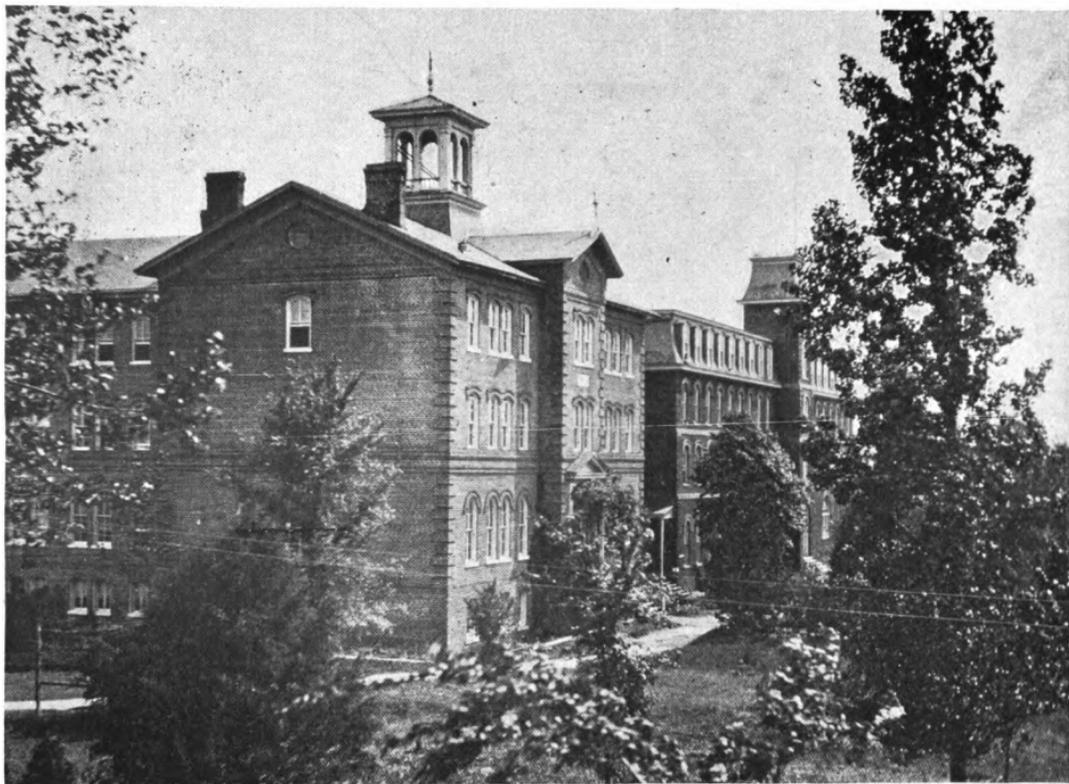
Up From Slavery, by B. T. Washington.

Evidences of Progress Among Colored People,
by Richings.

The United Negro, by I. G. Penn and J. W. E.
Owen.

Slavery and the Race Problem in the South,
by Hon. Wm. H. Fleming, of Georgia.

An Open Letter to Thomas Dixon, Jr., by Kelly
Miller, Howard University, Washington, D. C.



SCOTTA SEMINARY.

CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNING OF SLAVERY IN THE COLONIES.

In the year 1619, sixteen months before the landing of the *Mayflower* at Plymouth, a Dutch vessel sailed up the James River and landed twenty slaves from Guinea at Jamestown. This was the beginning of slavery in America. What a contrast there is between those one hundred and two persons who sought a home in New England and those fettered negroes who stepped upon the soil of Virginia! And yet there is a shadowy similarity between the two landings. Both were caused by oppression and cruel wilfulness of man, both were forced to leave home and kindred for an unknown and unfriendly land, and over both hung a dark and uncertain future. There the likeness ends. But is it not possible for us to believe that the God who can "make the wrath of man to praise Him," and who has in the one case brought from behind "a frowning Providence"—the "smiling face" of our liberties—may some day show us that even this cruelty, this suffering, this long, long waiting of an oppressed

people in slavery has under His guidance worked to an unexpected good? As Joseph said to his brethren after his slavery and trials had been forgotten in Pharoah's favor and the opportunities of great good, coming generations of this race may say of their oppressors: "As for you, ye thought evil against me: but God meant it unto good, to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive."

He who made the curse of the Cross become so great a power for hope and joy can from even "man's inhumanity to man" distill an unexpected good.

1. Why should the history of slavery be recalled?
2. When and where were the first slaves brought to America?
3. From what country and by whom?
4. What other incident in American history may be associated with the landing of the first slaves?

CHAPTER II.

THE SLAVE TRADE AND MODERN NEGRO SLAVERY.

Slavery has existed for thousands of years. Avarice, lust and the exigencies of warfare have combined to lead to it in many nations. History is full of the cruelties and wrongs inflicted on conquered people, and the oppression of nations. The Bible recognizes its existence from time immemorial, and Christianity found many of its most ardent disciples among slave owners, who learned from the teachings of the gospel a spirit of love, and among slaves like Onesimus, who were taught even in slavery to glorify God. It is suggestive that the term "servant" and "minister" so frequently used to indicate the highest Christian spirit, is generally the word "slave," and Paul, who styled himself "the servant (or slave) of Jesus Christ," not only thereby indicated his completeness of devotion, but also his purchase, or ransom by his Lord. Ancient slavery took a wide range—having one extreme in the oppressions and horrors of Egyptian bondage, where thousands were purposely

crushed with heartless toil, the other in that of the Greeks by the Romans, where captured in war, many of the slaves were the superiors of the victors in education, refinement and genius, and often became the tutors of families, and the assistants and friends of their masters in an unfettered life. Slavery among the Jews was of a very mild type. Cruelty was forbidden, marriage honored, and at certain periods, freedom was bestowed. Hebrew slavery was so mild, that the poor often sought it as a relief.

As a result of wars, where so many were captured, slavery solved the problem, even in later times, of sparing enemies, and yet ridding the conquerors of the necessity and expense of confining them to prisons. As the slave became a source of profit, either by his toil, or as a subject for ransom, war was encouraged, and the history of modern Europe is replete with the struggles of enslaved people.

Negro slavery had long been existent in Africa, where tribal customs had established it for the punishment of debtors, vagrants, criminals and captives. Among those hostile and varying tribes it has flourished until, fostered by the cupidity and lust of Mohammedans and others, it became what Livingstone found it in the last century. Distressed with its terrible cruelty and demoralization, he uttered the prayer which is inscribed on his grave in

Westminster Abbey: "May Heaven's richest blessing come down on every one—American, English, Turk—who will help to heal this open sore of the world."

The larger negro slave trade began in 1442 when Prince Henry of Portugal was ordered to return some kidnapped Moors, and upon handing them over, received ten negroes as a present. In 1444 the Portuguese entered vigorously upon this trade. Much of it was conducted on the Western Coast of Africa, which has been the source of the largest supply. The first slaves brought to the American colonies in 1819, were from Guinea.

Observing the slave importation of Portugal, the Spaniards entered upon the same trade in 1517. Las Casas, afterwards Bishop of Chiago, the son of a companion of Columbus on his first two voyages to America, established himself at San Domingo in the West Indies. Becoming greatly interested in the Indians, and desiring to mitigate their slavery, he advocated the introduction of negro slaves to work in the mines, as he observed their greater endurance of toil in the tropics. Afterwards he heartily regretted this act; and it is interesting to note, that the Indian population has entirely disappeared from these islands, and the negroes have become the preponderating element of the population.

In 1553 England entered upon the slave trade, and under the vigorous guidance of Sir John Hawkins, and the patronage of the crown, became the leaders in this traffic. Each monarch from Elizabeth down to George III assisted its development, by the issuance of charters, and under William and Mary, it was thrown open to all adventurers, and ceased to be a prerogative of the crown. The English secured from Spain in 1713 the privilege of supplying the Spanish colonies for 30 years with slaves, during which 144,000 were to be landed.

It is estimated that during the 360 years of the slave trade 40,000,000 Africans were enslaved. Down to 1776, 300,000 Africans were imported into the English Colonies of America.

1. What is the age of the institution of slavery? Practiced by whom?
2. Had it varieties?
3. Where and when did the larger negro trade begin? By what nation?
4. How did the English take it up, and to what extent?
5. How many Africans are estimated to have been enslaved?

CHAPTER III.

REPRESSION OF THE TRAFFIC.

For many years there was no opposition to the trade, the Indians were made slaves in the early history of the colonies. John Newton, whose career as minister and religious poet is so inspiring, felt no compunctions for his career as a slave trader which ended in 1775, before his conversion.

But there was growing up in England and America a strong opposition to the slave trade, which John Wesley styled, "the sum of all villainies." In this opposition many distinguished Southerners were prominent, and as soon as the war of the Revolution ended, steps were taken to prohibit the importation of slaves. It has sometimes been charged as an inconsistency against the Declaration of Independence that while it specifies all men as having been created equal, no mention was made of the negro slave. But it is a part of the record, that Jefferson, in his original draft included an article denouncing George III for his continuance of the

slave trade, despite the efforts of the colonies to limit and end it. The adoption of this article was lost by one vote. It is however true that America led in the effort to prohibit this trade. In 1776 the Continental Congress resolved that no more slaves should be imported, but when the Constitution was adopted in 1788, Congress was prohibited from interdicting the traffic before 1808, at which time it was abolished, and in 1820 it was declared to be piracy. The State of Georgia had abolished it in 1798. Slavery in the northern states gradually ceased to be important or useful, and these states began at an early date to free their slaves. Massachusetts by the adoption of its constitution in 1780 declared all slaves free. Vermont abolished slavery in 1777. Pennsylvania in 1780 provided for the gradual emancipation of her slaves, of whom 64 were living in 1840. New York adopted a gradual emancipation act in 1799, at which time she had 200,000 slaves, and all slaves were made free on July 4th, 1827. New Jersey by the Act of 1804 gradually freed her slaves which in 1790 numbered 11,423. The purpose of gradual emancipation was to provide education and training of the young, and to prevent hardship and suffering to the aged and infirm, who otherwise would have been thrown upon the world after years of unrequited toil.

It is probable that the Border States, at least,

would have reached the same decision, and abolished slavery, but in 1792 the Cotton Gin was invented by Eli Whitney, which gave an immense increase to the cultivation of cotton, and caused the Southern States to value more highly the cheap labor of negroes. The increased acreage given to Tobacco and the sugar cane also added to the interest in slave labor, made it seemingly more necessary, and silenced the claims of humanity and religion. The Cotton Gin added greatly to the commerce and comfort of the world; but it was the occasion of riveting more firmly the chains upon nearly a million of slaves.

EFFECT UPON LEGISLATION AND POLITICS.

In the adoption of the Constitution in 1789 the assent of the Southern States was only obtained by granting them a Congressional representation based upon an enumeration which considered five negroes as the equivalent of three white persons. If this three-fifths representation were not allowed, they refused to become parts of the new nation; and although they declined to consider the negroes as other than property, they demanded their consideration as parts of the population and requiring representation. This addition to the numbers upon which repres-

entation was based, gave the Southern States a great advantage in national legislation, and afforded them a greatly disproportionate number of representatives in Congress. But so necessary was their adoption of the Constitution, and presence in the Union regarded, that they compelled the other states to yield to their demand.

In 1820 when Missouri was admitted as a state the Act called the Missouri Compromise was passed prohibiting the introduction of slavery in any state north of Lat. $36^{\circ} 30'$.

In 1850 the Fugitive Slave Law was passed which allowed owners of slaves to recover them in any portion of the country upon the establishment of their identity, it not being necessary to prove their being slaves, if that claim had been established in their former home.

In 1857 the Dred Scott decision was rendered by the U. S. Supreme Court in the case of a negro who claimed to be freed by having been taken to a free territory. In denying the claim of Scott, Chief Justice Taney made use of the expression, "A negro has no rights which the white man is bound to respect." A heartless yet truthful statement of the position of the negro before the law, the result of the theory that the slave was the **property** of the owner. In such moral inconsistencies did the Courts and Congress find themselves by the initial wrong of slavery! So long as some citizens

were allowed to hold slaves as valuable property, it was natural these citizens should claim the protection of the courts for this property everywhere; and they were pressed by the desire for gain to increase the use of and right to use this property beyond the limits of their own states.

1. What was the public and religious feeling at first in England and America concerning slavery and the trade?
2. When did an opposition begin in this country? And by whom?
3. Where was the slave trade prohibited?
4. How did the Northern States act toward slavery?
5. Why did not the Southern States act similarly?
6. What effect did the increased value of slaves have upon the formation of the Constitution of the U. S.?
7. What effect upon legislation and politics?
8. What was the Missouri Compromise, and Dred Scott decision?

CHAPTER IV.

THE REPRESSION OF SLAVERY AND ITS EFFECTS.

The opposition to slavery was unceasing. The moral sense of the people North and South was more and more opposed to it, and the emancipation of their slaves by European countries, as England in the West Indies, stimulated the antagonism. It was as Secretary Seward said: "An irrepressible conflict."

Various methods were employed to alleviate or end it. Thus the "American Colonization Society" was formed in 1817. As long ago as 1787 a proposal was made to effect a settlement of free blacks in Africa in the neighborhood of Serra Leone, fostered by Rev. Samuel Hopkins and endorsed by Thomas Jefferson. Such schemes were studied by Samuel J. Mills and his fellow students at Andover in 1810, (one of the founders of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions), and in 1818 he died on the return voyage from visiting the Coast of Africa in the interest of this Society. In 1815 Rev. Dr. Finley of New Jersey interested Francis

S. Key, author of "The Star Spangled Banner" in the enterprise, and two years later the Colonization Society was formed. In 1822 a few Colonists sent out by this society founded the city of Monrovia and the Republic of Liberia, on the Southwestern Coast of Africa. It has had a difficult and worried life, and today the population is made up of about 25,000 Americo-Liberians and civilized natives, and about 1,500,000 uncivilized.

This Republic of Liberia governed and carried on entirely by blackmen, after many vicissitudes seems entering on a more successful career. A Minister to Liberia is commissioned by our government, and negroes of marked intelligence have been chosen for this place, one of these Rev. Moses Hopkins who died at this post, having been for a number of years a minister in North Carolina and Principal of Albion Academy at Franklinton, in that state, under the commission of the Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen.

The M. E. Bishop for Africa, Rev. Dr. J. C. Hartzell, while very hopeful for this black Republic, does not advocate any wholesale emigration of Africo-Americans from the States. Nor can any person who is well informed concerning the wishes of the negroes, and the wisest and most public spirited of the citizens of the South, look for such a solution of the problem. Mis-

informed students of the subject readily assume that difficulties can be removed and responsibility cast off by the wholesale transfer of these nine millions of a colored people to a country in which they have no interest, for which they are unfitted, and to which no one has the right to expatriate them.

It must not be forgotten that while their ancestors were brought here under compulsion, they themselves were born under our flag, have learned to regard this country as their native land, and are appreciative of their privileges. Some of them have fought and suffered for its defense. Nor should any difficulties or friction lead us to forget that, for the evangelization and elevation of this people, no better or easier position could be given than their present constant association with a higher civilization and the Christian Churches. Negro labor is a necessity for the South and the employers of the South are opposed to deportation.

Another attempt to limit or destroy slavery was that of the Abolition Societies. These varied in method. Some were mild and peaceful, dominated by the principles of the Quakers, and sought to bring the force of public opinion to bear upon the South. Others were radical and strenuous, going so far as to denounce the Constitution, to distribute anti-slavery literature in the South, and endeavor to arouse the slaves.

Others, still, carried on a secret system called the Underground Railroad, by which fugitive slaves were assisted to escape to the North and Canada, and sheltered and guided along secret paths till liberty was secured. Necessarily the number thus freed was comparatively small, as ambition, energy and the requisite intelligence to leave plantation and state were not often present, after so many years in bondage.

The conflicts between the slave power and the advocates of freedom led, also, to the attempts to seize and control the new territories, so as to establish a legislature in favor of freedom or slavery. Bitter and deadly conflicts took place, as in Kansas, where immigrants from the North, armed by Abolition Societies resisted the preemption of territory by advocates of slavery and laid down their lives for their opinions.

The spirit engendered by slavery and the desire for gain can be seen in the fact that even in the year 1859, 15,000 negroes were brought into the United States in spite of the Constitutional prohibition, and in the same year the slave ship *Clotilde* dumped its cargo of slaves among the canebrakes of Mobile Bay; while in 1861 the first conviction under the law classing slave-trading as piracy was obtained against Nathaniel Gordon in New York.

LATER SOLUTIONS OF THE FREED-
MEN'S PROBLEM.

Since emancipation many curious suggestions have been made by those who desire a rapid and easy removal of responsibility. One of these is assimilation by intermarriage. The results in Brazil and elsewhere are referred to by some publicists as favorable to this idea. This solution is beyond consideration. The cultured and intelligent blacks are themselves opposed to it.

Another solution deserves mention only because it is the speculation of a few theorists, and has recently found an author who has embalmed it in a book, which may influence some thoughtless minds. It is the theory that the negro has no soul; and probably the inference would be that not only is it useless to evangelize or educate him, but it is just to reinslave and treat him as an animal.

The answer of a distinguished Georgian, Hon. W. H. Fleming to such a theory is so apt that we quote a sufficient part: "If there be such a thing as a soul it must be an indivisible entity and unit. No one, I think, can conceive of a soul being divided up into parts as one-half, one-fourth, etc. Now just assume that a child is born from a white father and a black mother. The child is half white and half black as to its

blood. Can you conceive that such a child has half a soul? Either it has a complete soul, or none at all. If you say it has none at all, then by crossing the blood with more white stock, you can easily produce a child that would have 9-10 or 99-100 of white blood. Would such a child have 9-10 or 99-100 of a soul? At what proportion of white blood would the soul re-enter the body? If the negro did not belong to the human race, there could be no reproduction of the human species through the negro."

It is doubtful if any one, who has truly known the negro, and has become acquainted with his deeper nature, his capacities for noble sentiments and self-sacrificing actions, anyone who has been held in the arms of loving black nurses, and counseled by them to a higher life, or has seen what faith and devotion and religious principles these dark skinned images of God can exhibit, will feel anything but astonishment and pity for a mind so narrow and dense as to tolerate a theory which negro artists, scholars and authors and poets and preachers make ridiculous.

All solutions which are not based on the moral law are unusable. As Hon. W. H. Fleming of Augusta, Ga., said in his address to the University of Georgia at Athens in 1906: "We often hear the epigrammatic dictum that there are but three solutions of our race problem; deportation, assimilation or annihilation. When we

bring our sober senses to bear, all three of these so-called possibilities appear to be practical impossibilities. Not one of these three presents a working hypothesis. Physical facts alone prevent deportation. Physical facts, stressed by an ineradicable race pride, bar the way against assimilation. Physical facts, backed by our religion, our civilization, our very selves, forbid annihilation. We cannot imitate Herod. Over against that Trinity of impossibilities—deportation, assimilation, annihilation—let us offer the simple plan of justice.”

1. What attempts were made to alleviate slavery and get rid of freedom?
2. What is the value of Colonization?
3. What was the Underground R. R.?
4. What conflicts arose?
5. Where were the last slaves landed in this country?
6. What are some of the solutions suggested for this problem?
7. What is the opinion of the wisest Southerners?

CHAPTER V.

EFFECTS OF SLAVERY UPON THE NEGRO, AND OPINIONS OF PROMINENT SOUTHERNERS.

We shall not understand the true condition of the negro at emancipation, when he became a freedman, or realize what he needs for his elevation, unless we study the effects of slavery upon him. It is only just that, so far as possible, we shall take the opinions and testimony of the men and women who were themselves slaveholders and lived in daily contact with slavery. It is often objected that the views of slavery gained through novels like "Uncle Tom's Cabin," are exaggerated and false. Mrs. Frances Anne Kemble, who lived among her own slaves in Georgia, wrote to the London Times, a declaration that Mrs. Stowe's story, except in its idealizing the negro character, was in all its descriptions essentially truthful.

A brief survey of the laws concerning the slaves in most of the states will discover their condition.

First.—The law recognized no marriage of slaves as legal. The slave owner need not hesitate concerning the legality of the separation of slave husband and wife. Except in Louisiana, no law existed to prevent this wrong. In the middle of the last century the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky said of this law concerning slave marriages: "The system produces general lasciviousness among the slaves. Marriages, as a civil ordinance, they cannot enjoy. Our laws do not recognize this relation as existing among them. Indeed until slavery waxeth old and tendeth to decay, there cannot be any legal recognition of the marriage rite, or the enforcement of its consequent duties. For all the regulations on this subject would limit the master's absolute right of property in the slaves. In his disposal of them he could no longer be at liberty to consult his own interest. He could no longer separate the wife and the husband to suit the convenience or interest of the purchaser, no matter how advantageous might be the terms offered." No slave could testify against a white man. His testimony might be taken for a white man, or against a slave. The seal of untrustworthiness was set upon his general oath.

Second.—No slave could possess property, or inherit or transmit property. There could be therefore no sense of ownership, or appreciation of the right of property.

Third.—No slave could be punished for bigamy, adultery, or fornication. There could be no crime in an act which was outside of law.

Fourth.—As Judge Jay said: "The laws do not recognize the parental relation as belonging to slaves. A slave has no more legal authority over his child, than a cow has over her calf." The effect of such limitation of authority upon both parent and child is obvious, and its results in family life.

Fifth.—No slave had the power in most states of self-redemption. In some regions this difficulty was obviated by permitting masters to enter into such contracts, but they were never compulsory.

Sixth.—Generally speaking, the slave was subject to the demands or passions of the master even to mutilation and the taking of his life. Public opinion exerted some influence, and in some states the law modified this control; but Judge Stroud said: "The dominion of the master is as unlimited as that which is tolerated by the laws of any civilized country in relation to brute animals."

In 1820 a Mississippi court held that wanton killing of a slave was murder; but in 1851 the Supreme Court of Georgia repudiated this on the ground that the master had absolute dominion over his slave. Thomas Jefferson, in 1781, in his Notes on Virginia, said: "There must be

an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this and learn it. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his morals and manners undepraved by such circumstances. With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labor. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that His justice cannot sleep forever; that considering nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events, that it may become probable by supernatural interference."

Seventh.—Education was forbidden under severe penalties. When Mrs. Auld of Baltimore was teaching Fred. Douglass to read, her husband said in the presence of the slave child (a

remark which inspired him to escape): "It is contrary to law to teach a nigger to read. It is unsafe and only lead to mischief. If you teach him to read the Bible, it will make him discontented. Next thing he will be learning to write, and then he will run away." The distribution of Bibles among the negroes was prohibited. "In North Carolina the patrols were ordered to search every negro house for books or prints of every kind. Bibles and hymn books were particularly mentioned."

The religious instruction of slaves mentioned by clergymen and others must be understood only as "oral instructions," for books were not put in their hands. A Sabbath School for children included only this: and a Southern clergyman complained that the attitude of the South toward the Bible in the hands of the negroes was the same as that of the Roman Catholic Church in reference to the common people. The dense ignorance of the negro exhorters and preachers concerning the Bible, will explain many a strange and eccentric interpretation of Scripture.

In the Virginia House of Delegates in 1832, Mr. Berry said: "We have, as far as possible, closed every avenue by which light may enter the slaves' minds. If we could extinguish the capacity to see the light, our work would be completed; they would then be on the level

of the beasts of the field, and we should be safe."

Kentucky was one of the few Southern States in which slave education was not expressly prohibited. But in 1834, the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky said: "Slavery dooms thousands of human beings to hopeless ignorance. If slaves are educated, it must involve some outlay on the part of the master. It is inconsistent with our knowledge of human nature to suppose he will do this for them. Throughout the whole land, so far as we can learn, there is but one school in which, during the week, slaves can be taught. The light of three or four Sunday Schools is seen glimmering through the darkness that covers the population of a whole state. Here and there a family can be found, where humanity and religion impel the master, mistress or children to the laborious task of private instruction."

The North Carolina Baptist Convention in 1830, in a report concerning the religious instruction of the colored people, explained this term thus: "Resolved, that by religious instruction be understood verbal communications on religious subjects." But even this was opposed in South Carolina, for when in 1838, the Methodist Conference of South Carolina appointed a missionary to labor among the colored people, he was suppressed by the principal citizens who affirmed "the incompatibility of slavery with the

mental improvement and religious instruction of slaves." They said, "verbal instruction will increase the desire of the black population to learn, of course when they see themselves encouraged, they will supply themselves with Bibles, hymn books and Catechisms." "We consider the common adage, 'knowledge is power,' and as the colored man is enlightened, his condition will be rendered more unhappy and intolerable. Intelligence and slavery have no affinity with each other." ("American Slave Code." Goodell, pp. 336-7.)

The Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia in 1833 made this statement, (presumably the impartial opinion of some of the most intelligent and upright Southern citizens). "There are over two millions of human beings in the condition of heathen, and some of them, in a worse condition. The negroes are destitute of the gospel and ever will be under the present state of things. In the vast field extending from Maryland to the Sabine River (the southern boundary line), and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, there are not twelve men exclusively devoted to the religious instructions of the negroes. In the present state of feeling in the South a ministry of their own color could not be obtained nor tolerated. But do not the negroes have access to the Gospel through the stated ministry of the whites? We answer No!

The negroes have no regular or efficient ministry; as a matter of course, no churches; neither is there sufficient room in the white churches for their accommodations. We know of but five churches in the slave-holding states built exclusively for their use. These are all in Georgia. We may now inquire, whether they enjoy the privileges of the Gospel in their own houses, and on our plantations? Again we return a **negative answer**. They have no Bibles to read by their own firesides. They have no family altars; and when in affliction, sickness or death, they have no minister to address to them the consolation of the Gospel, nor to bury them with appropriate services."

Again in 1834 the same Synod said: "The Gospel, as things are now, can never be preached to these classes successfully in the same congregations. Where it cannot be done conveniently the negroes must catch the Gospel as it escapes through the doors and windows." "If the master is pious, the **house servants alone** attend family worship, and frequently few or none of them. So far as masters are engaged in the work of religious instructions an almost unbroken silence reigns over this vast field."

Consider, also, that all meetings of slaves, even for religious worship were prohibited except in daylight, and where a number of whites were present. Later, the time was in some localities

extended to nine o'clock; but often these meetings were discouraged, as they were regarded as affording slaves from distant plantations an opportunity for too much interchange of ideas.

This opposition to all instruction had a strong philosophy behind it, as a gentleman said to Mrs. Frances Anne Kimble in 1839 in Georgia, where her husband owned a plantation: "Merely teaching the negroes to read impairs their value as slaves." On the other hand, the hopelessness of their condition destroyed all ambition, except in special cases, and made them indifferent to learning.

It is interesting, also, to note the effect of this condition of affairs upon the physical characteristics of the negro. It should be remembered that the great mass of the slaves, men and women, were field hands, rude laborers, and that only a few were employed in the house, or trained to habits of decency and cleanliness. There were, doubtless, some modifying influences at work, and many Christian men and women tried to alleviate some of these hardships.

Such close acquaintance with slavery made some of the best Southerners its foremost opponents.

In 1774, Jefferson wrote: "The abolition of domestic slavery is the greatest object of desire in these colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state." Patrick Henry and

John Randolph longed for its speedy abolition, as did George Mason, whose grandson drafted the Fugitive Slave Law—an illustration of the effect upon the human mind of the wealth and gain wrapped up in slavery. President Madison hoped to see it removed. Washington wrote to Robert Morris: "There is no man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see some plan adopted for the abolition of it." Washington in his Farewell Address said: "I never mean to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery shall be abolished by law."

Henry Laurens of South Carolina, President of the Continental Congress, and Minister to Holland, wrote: "I abhor slavery. I was born in a country where slavery had been established by British Kings and parliaments, ages before my existence. Nevertheless I dislike it." Then expressing his desire to manumit his slaves, he says: "Great powers oppose me—the laws and customs of my country, my own and the avarice of my countrymen." (His slaves were worth £20,000.)

Washington freed his own slaves in his will. But, not only did the fact, that so far the children and family would be impoverished, touch some in deferring manumission by will; there was no clear evidence that such individual acts would be hopeful to solve the problem. The free col-

ored people had little opportunity to advance or rise, and slaves without education or morality needed wise and sympathetic friends when freed. Under the circumstances, these were few in the South. Every slave owner who attempted to alleviate the lot of the negro was subject to the suspicions and attacks of the rapacious slave owners. Slavery as an institution depended on a united front against all attempts to raise the negro, as our citations from the best men show. If he remained in the South, the Freedmen lived in unfriendly surroundings. If he traveled North he was a stranger in a strange land, without preparation, or money. The problem of emancipation by the individual owner was a serious one; and we should have large sympathy for those who inherited such a responsibility.

On the other hand we can have no complete sympathy for the negro, and no just conception of what are his difficulties in education and industry, unless we remember his savage condition for centuries in Africa, and how great and long was the neglect of his moral and intellectual development in this country, and how truly he was made as the beasts of the field, without an inspiring past or future.

1. State the effect of slavery on the Negro?
2. Give his relation to the laws, especially of marriage?
3. What was the law concerning education and property?

4. What did Jefferson think was the influence of slavery on the whites?
5. Give the views of the Presbyterian Synods of the South.
6. How did the best Southerners feel concerning the ownership of slaves?
7. What were some of the difficulties which pious and thoughtful slave owners felt concerning the freeing of their slaves?
8. Did not many do considerable to alleviate the lot of the slave?



BARBER SEMINARY.

CHAPTER VI.

EDUCATED NEGROES.

It is sometimes asked, Are there any negroes who give evidence of special force of character and intelligence? In the eighteenth century, Jefferson expressed a doubt as to the negroes' capacity, but justly remarked: "Whatever their degree of talent, it is no measure of their rights." It is scarcely fair to judge a race, emerging from such complete degradation, by less than fifty years of opportunity. And yet it is remarkable, that there are so many, who with the handicap of such a past, and the hindrances of social exile and contempt, have risen to positions of influence and given evidence of considerable talent. When some names are mentioned, it is often objected that the exceptional characters are mulattoes, in which the white blood is the secret power. This is only so far true as that the negro of mixed blood has oftener had greater advantages of association, and from the very fact of his white parentage has had sometimes a greater consideration by his owner, who was often his father.

But Benjamin Banniker, a full-blooded negro slave in Maryland, escaping with his wife to New England, became a clockmaker and manifesting excellent mechanical powers, began to give much attention to astronomy. So marked was his ability and his fame as an astronomer, that Jefferson invited him to visit him in his home, Monticello.

In 1743 in Hayti was born of slave parents the child who was to be afterwards known as Toussaint L'Ouverture. His father was an African prince of the Arrados tribe, and his mother a negress of the island. As his baptism took place on All Saints' Day (Toussaint) he was thus christened Toussaint. At the age of fifty, having been a coachman, and afterwards an overseer, and also having learned to read and write, and having made some progress in Mathematics and Latin, he became a leader of the blacks in assistance to the French government which in 1790 had decreed political freedom to all the free people of color. An insurrection of the slaves followed, and in 1793 the French government (following the Revolution in France) proclaimed universal freedom. Toussaint became the leader of the blacks, and assisted the French who were opposed by the English and Spaniards, who wished to continue slavery. The French governor, recognizing Toussaint's victory, exclaimed: "Cet homme fait ouverture partout,"

(this man makes an opening everywhere); and his soldiers henceforth called him L'Ouverture. He was a man of great force of character, patience and ability. He was the wise and just leader of the blacks, showing great intelligence in their guidance, and meeting death by starvation in prison, under the commands of Napoleon who had treacherously made him captive. The eulogistic lecture of Wendell Phillips on his **Hero of Hayti**, is well worth reading by those who doubt the capacity of the negro; but more significant is the comment of a Spanish general who said: "He was the purest soul God ever put into a body."

Another negro of marked ability was Ignatius Sancho, born in 1729, who escaped to the North, and afterwards sailed for England, where he gained the respect of all his neighbors.

In the year 1817 on a plantation of Maryland, was born a child of a white father and slave mother, who was given the name of Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey, afterwards dropping the last name, and taking that of Douglass, at the suggestion of a colored friend who was assisting him at the age of twenty-three to escape. This friend had just been reading **The Lady of the Lake**, and fancying the name gave it to him who has ever since been known as Frederick Douglass. Though even in Massachusetts, to which he fled, he found race hatred

and prejudice limiting his toil and progress, he became increasingly earnest to assist the abolition of slavery. The remark already quoted, which was let fall by the husband of the lady who in Baltimore was teaching him to read, had led him after so many years to escape to freedom, and he remembered his people in slavery. He developed great powers as an orator, which he used in advancing the cause of anti-slavery, and after the war was honored by the U. S. government with a number of positions of prominence in its gift. It may be recalled in passing, that when some one was remarking to Douglass upon the comfortable position the slave held, as cared for by his master, and raised above want, and expressing surprise that Douglass had left such a place, Douglass quietly answered: "My place is vacant. If you regard it so highly, you can take it."

Another negro of marked talent and ability was the Rev. Henry Highland Garnett, born a slave, who became the pastor of the Shiloh Presbyterian Church in New York City. He died at Monrovia in 1882, having been appointed Minister to Liberia by the United States.

The late D. J. Sanders, D. D., President of Biddle University, N. C., was a slave until seventeen years of age, when beginning his education while a shoemaker, he advanced until he graduated at the Western Theological

Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, where he ranked well as a student and distinguished himself by taking a prize in Hebrew. Being elected to the Presidency of Biddle, after some years as pastor, he was noted for his executive ability, his power as a persuasive speaker, and the strong impression for the best ideas he made upon his students. The high estimate in which his University is held by the white people of Charlotte is largely due to his intelligence, prudence and scholarly life. If it be objected that these instances are largely suggestive of the oratorical ability of the negro, we may mention Henry O. Tanner, the artist whose paintings **The Raising of Lazarus** (bought by the French government for the Luxembourg), **The Annunciation**, and **The Flight of Judas**, have received high praise, while recently his picture, **The Two Disciples at the Tomb** was awarded at Chicago the first prize for the best American painting.

The works of Edmonia Lewis, the sculptor, have received the praise of many intelligent and cultured people. Her busts of Longfellow and John Brown, her groups **Hager in the Wilderness**, **Death of Cleopatra**, **Marriage of Hiawatha**, show a talent which is above color or race.

Dunbar the poet, and S. Coleridge-Taylor, the musical Composer, show what the negro can accomplish in literary and musical lines.

Among the living mention need only be made

of Booker Washington, Grimke, Du Bois, and others who have shown how from the lowliest conditions, the negro can rise to marked influence and usefulness. There are scores, and even hundreds of educated, able colored men who are at the head of, or on the Faculties of the increasing number of educational institutions for the negro in this land, while an increasing number are showing marked ability in Law, Medicine and business.

The Philadelphia "Press" has recently said in an editorial: "Where the negro communities in our Northern cities and the Southern States relied wholly twenty or twenty-five years ago on white physicians, they now have their own. In the South the negro physician is receiving a recognition achieved by no other member of his race. In many cities he is received in consultation by white practitioners, and in more than one Southern county the young negro doctor, fresh from a Northern college, is the best-equipped and best educated physician in the countryside. If we turn to the general mass of colored races the world over, outside of Japan, there is no body of 10,000,000 human beings, not white, who have so many college graduates, so many educated physicians, so large a share in civilized life or are making more progress than the general body of American negroes."

We might multiply the examples of marked

ability among the negroes. A remark which E. G. Murphy of Alabama makes in his recent work on **The Present South** is apposite here. Having stated that the illiteracy of the negro males of voting age in the South had been reduced from 88 per cent. in 1870, to 52 per cent. in 1900, he says: "Nor would I be disposed to seek the negro's promise in the marked reduction of the illiteracy of the masses, nor in the marked distinction of such artists as Tanner or Dunbar, or such leaders as Washington, Grant or Walker.

All promise and all attainment are worth while but the only adequate measure of social efficiency and the only test of essential racial progress lies in the capacity to create the home; and it is in the successful achievement of the idea and institution of the family, of the family as accepted and honored under the condition of Western civilization that we are to seek the real criterion of negro progress." "The heritage of the negro—his heritage from slavery and the dark age which preceded slavery—has given him but small equipment for his task. * * * * *

And yet those who would observe broadly and closely will find a patiently and persistently increasing number of true families and real homes, a number far in excess of the popular estimate, homes in which with intelligence, probity, industry, and an admirable simplicity, the man and the woman are creating our funda-

mental institution. Scores of such homes, in some cases hundreds, exist in numbers of our American communities, exist for those who will try and find them, and will try, sympathetically, to know them. But one of the tragic elements of our situation lies in the fact, that of this most honorable and most hopeful aspect of negro life the white community, North and South, knows practically nothing. Of the destructive factors in negro life, the white community hears to the utmost, hears through the press and police court; of the constructive factors of negro progress—the negro school, the saner negro church, the negro home—the white community is in ignorance.” To this thoughtful opinion of one Southerner, let us add the remarks of another, Joel Chandler Harris (Author of “Uncle Remus.”) “A stranger in the South sees the helpless array of loafers, both white and colored, at the railway stations, and he comes to the conclusion that the whole population is thriftless—he visits a city, and he observes the negro barbers and the hotel waiters performing their antic follies on the guitar or zither, or he witnesses the insolence of a negro barber, and he concludes that all the negroes are of the same irresponsible order. But it is not so, nor even measurably so. One thing is certain, when we come to form our conclusions and make up our judgment on the testimony of little things we make a confession

of prejudice and intolerance, and we find it impossible to take a broad and catholic view of the whole question, whatever it may be. We cannot fairly judge a race, or a country, or a religious institution, or a social organization—nay, not even the Republic in which we take pride—unless we measure it by the standards set up by the men who are its best representatives. Unless we judge every human institution by its best products, instead of its worst, we shall find ourselves far from the truth—and this being so, who are we that we shall judge the products of the Almighty by their worst, instead of their best results?" May not these two Southern writers remind us that the negro is one of "the products of the Almighty," which we are to intelligently judge?

1. Should the talent or capacity of the Negro affect his rights?
2. Have there been any who gave evidence of talent?
3. What is the length of time since the mass have had an opportunity?
4. What is the opinion of intelligent observers concerning Negro progress?
5. What class of negroes is most likely to be seen in the South?
6. Where are the greatest evidence of progress?
7. What do Harris, Murphy and Edwards report?



A SEWING ROOM.



A KITCHEN.

CHAPTER VII.

REASONS FOR ASSISTING THE NEGRO.

1. The fact that we have had, practically, two hundred and fifty years of their unrequited labor. We have used their bodies and minds as stepping stones for our prosperity and wealth, and in some instances have used them as soldiers for our defense, without any adequate or just recompense. Mere justice makes us regard them as our wards.

2. Less than forty-five years ago they were ushered into a freedom for which they were unprepared by training, traditions or religion. Owing scarcely their clothes upon their backs, without tool or house, an acre of ground or a dollar of savings, they were thrown upon the world almost as helpless as Romulus and Remus upon the site of Rome. Justice and pity should call out our assistance.

3. Neither the negro nor the South is able to provide churches and schools. It is of course true that the South, impoverished by the war, has been unable to meet the ordinary demands upon her people. Yet she has done much,

spending four dollars to every one contributed by the North. And yet Dr. Chas. W. Dabney, President of the University of Tennessee said in 1903, concerning the 2,500,000 negro children of school age in ten Southern States: "One-half of the negroes get no schooling whatever." Consider what Dr. Dabney says of the white children, and then reflect how much less the negro can be given: "In North Carolina the average citizen gets only 2.6 years, in South Carolina 2.5 years, in Alabama 2.4 years schooling, both private and public. In the whole South the average citizen gets only three years of schooling of all kinds in his entire life; and what schooling it is! But why is it that the children get so little education? Have we no schools in the country? Yes, but what kind of schools? The average value of a school property in North Carolina is \$180, in South Carolina \$178, in Georgia \$523, in Alabama \$512. The average monthly salary of a teacher in North Carolina is \$23.36, in South Carolina \$23.20, in Georgia \$27 and in Alabama \$27.50. In other words, in these states, in schoolhouses costing an average of \$276 each under teachers receiving an average salary of \$25 a month, we have been giving the children in actual attendance five cents worth of education a day for 87 days only, in the year." If this is true of all the children, what a picture it gives of the negro share! And

then reflect that in 1903, 1,250,000 negro children had no schooling whatever.

Mr. Murphy in his "The Present South" says: "It is an utter impossibility to secure the negro's educational development speedily by the South."

One reason for this is that the population of the South is so largely scattered and rural. As George S. Dickerman says: "The one State of Massachusetts has 20 cities of over 25,000 inhabitants. The ten States south of Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri with an area 85 times as great have only 19. Massachusetts has 110 communities of over 4,000 inhabitants. These ten States have altogether only 146 communities of this rank. Massachusetts people live in cities. Southern people live in the country and are to do so in the future. Only a small part live in communities of even 1,000 inhabitants.

"Now it is a serious question in the North, how to provide good schools for the country. But in the South this is the main question. Southern cities, like Northern cities, have institutions which are their pride; but the cities are few in the South and play a subordinate part. The multitudes are widely scattered. The nation has yet to open its eyes to the possibilities lying dormant in these great Southern States—17,000,000 people in these stretches of territory, none of whom live in a village of 1,000 inhabitants!"

These extensive quotations have been made to bring before the reader the extent and nature of the problem of giving an education to the negro. There are few so foolish as not to believe an education is necessary. Mr. E. G. Murphy (in "The Present South") well says: "Education brings its dangers. But the risk of making fools is of smaller import than the larger chance of making men." These figures show that the greatest problem in educating the negro is the country school, that there were more than a million negroes of school age in 1903 attending no school whatever, and that the South by itself cannot supply its vast rural population with even the poorest schools. It is, therefore, evident what a great work is to be accomplished by the parochial schools, such as are carried on in many hamlets by the Presbyterian Board of Missions to the Freedmen, to which the children from the adjoining country for miles resort, and from which some of greater capacity pass to the seminaries and schools of higher training. And yet there are hundreds and thousands of such rural communities, practically destitute, where such schools should be established, if the rising generation is to be made useful citizens, and intelligent Christians.

4. Nor is the South by itself able to supply missionaries and religious teachers for this great multitude. They are not in town or cities, and

if they are to be reached by the gospel, it must be brought to them in their little settlements. Unless the churches and philanthropists of the North unite in this great work of evangelizing the negro, large numbers of them must remain ignorant of the truth, and possessing only a superstition which lends itself to immorality.

5. The negro must be helped to education and religion, for the ignorant and vicious class in every community is a constant menace to decency, and an influence for vice and crime. Vice has no consideration of color. There is no racial or social separation in immorality. The immoral whites and blacks easily consort, and have no prejudice of color. The ignorant and debased negro corrupts the white youth, just as the vicious whites lead the dependent negroes astray. For the protection of society, for the creation of a moral population in the future, the North must come to the help of the South with church and school, and workers in every good work. It will not do to say that if the past had been different, the necessity would be different, or that the South is reaping what it has sown. This is not true. Those who sowed are long since dead, and the noble and earnest Southern citizens who today are facing these difficulties have no special responsibility for this condition of need. It belongs to us as a nation.

6. We should help the negro, because he is the heathen at our doors. The command of Christ to preach the gospel to every creature applies to these, who in the providence of God, are so near us, and often become our neighbors. They must have a religion pure and undefiled—a true moral training—a true standard of upright living, and they cannot give it to themselves. This is Foreign Missions at our very doors. But it is Foreign Missions, *plus* the dangers and needs of our own population; all the claims of China and India added to souls who touch our own lives and safety, and upon whom something of our national existence will, in the future, depend. The example and command of the Lord Jesus Christ call us to such a work.

1. Why should we assist the Negro?
2. What is the distribution of Southern population?
3. Has the Church a special work?

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EDUCATION REQUIRED.

It is varied and yet one. Thus, first, it must be a religious education, for we must not seek merely to help these people to live more comfortably or to know more. They must be taught morality, a true faith: the knowledge of God and His will. They must be given the hope that maketh not ashamed, the faith which leads to righteousness of life, unselfishness of heart, and a confidence in a life to come. The state and public schools may not do all this. Of course they cannot preach the gospel. But the Christian Church must do it, or the work will never be complete. Not only do we want these people to become industrious and economical farmers mechanics, laundresses, servants and successful business men, lawyers and physicians; but we wish them to seek and serve God first. Otherwise we may simply educate criminals. Religious teaching, and therefore churches and Sabbath schools are a necessity.

Second. We must give to all the elementary education. "The three Rs" are the crying need of

the masses, the simple rudiments of knowledge.

But, third. Some must be trained and fitted for a higher work. Those who show talent or capacity for larger tasks should be helped to a higher education. The leaders of this race must be rightly and completely trained, and should be given every proper advantage. Those who are to be the teachers, physicians, lawyers and ministers of this people, should have every opportunity to thoroughly prepare themselves for this life. Those who assert that only the simplest and most rudimentary education should be provided, fail to realize that this will simply continue the dependance of the negro, and stunt his true ambition and character. As the Southern writer already quoted, E. G. Murphy, says: "That every race is a wiser, safer and better social force for having a leadership—wise, well informed and true—is axiomatic. No race can succeed, as one of their number has wisely said, by allowing another race to do all its thinking for it. The 'troublesome' negro at the South is not the negro of real intelligence, of sound and generous training, but the negro possessing, or possessed by the distorted fancies of an untrained will and a crude *miseducation*. The very segregation of the negro race seems thus to establish the necessity for the real training of their abler minds,—for those differentiations of negro ability which will give to the race a sane and

instructed leadership from within. The development of this leadership, the opportunity of freer and larger growth, are more important to the South and to the interests of racial separation than can easily be realized." Such an opinion from a resident of Alabama may well offset the assertions of men who either would wish the condition of slavery resumed, or hold down this people universally to be hewers of wood and drawers of water forever.

Let it be considered also that this more advanced education should be given *in* the South. Some of the more capable or prosperous may attend Northern schools; but the large majority are better trained, and retain the sense of responsibility best if educated not far from their homes and spheres of future life. The President of one of the most successful colored universities in the South states that he is convinced that the medical graduates of his institution have profited more by being trained among their own people than if they had sought their higher education at the North. We shall best prepare these teachers and leaders of their race by establishing and generously supporting such schools of higher training as may fit the more capable for a large and useful life.

Fourth. Industrial training must be given. The training in every kind of skilled labor—in farm work, and domestic service is greatly needed

by a large number. It is the preparation for the industrious and useful life, whereby self-respect is fostered, saving encouraged, homes obtained, and manual labor honored. It counteracts the old theory, which was one of the worst effects of slavery, that work is a disgrace, and the idler a gentleman; and it puts into young men and young women the power to find remunerative employment, or to so attempt farming as to reach comfort, and independence. While the advocacy of industrial training must not overlook the necessity of a good elementary training for the masses, and special training for the more capable, it is right in claiming a large attention and a complete development. This has been from the first recognized by the best religious teachers, and, as will be seen, on another page, the Presbyterian Board of Missions to the Freedmen made such training at an early date, a part of its school system.

1. What kind of education should be given the Negro?
2. Should the Higher Education be given?
3. What place should Industrial Education have?
4. Is there more than this required?



DAYTON ACADEMY, CARTHAGE, N. Y.



A CABIN HOME.

CHAPTER IX.

BEGINNING OF WORK.

Schools for "contrabands" were started by the benevolently inclined as early as September, 1861—taught under the guns of Fortress Monroe. In 1862 General Grant appointed General Eaton in the Department of Tennessee and Arkansas to look after the education and other needs of the Negro. In 1863 General Banks, of the Department of the Gulf, instituted schools in Louisiana under military control. In 1864 the Secretary of War enlarged General Eaton's powers and extended his superintendency over the whole Southern field. In 1865 Congress created the "Freedmen's Bureau," appointing General Howard as "Commissioner." The scope of this Bureau was far beyond the mere idea of education, and General Howard's authority was almost unlimited within his sphere. Schools, asylums and other institutions were built. The Bureau was authorized to co-operate with benevolent societies, and some of these associations greatly benefited by its aid. Atlanta University, Hampton Institute, Fiske University, New Orleans

University, Howard University—all owe their existence and present vigor from aid first received from the "Freedmen's Bureau." The Presbyterian Church, however, has nothing it received from this source except one small piece of property, and even this is not held directly by the Board, but by Trustees for the use of the Board. The Freedmen's Bureau was discontinued in 1872 and its affairs transferred to the War Department. This "Freedmen's Bureau" and our "Freedmen's Board" are very different institutions, although many not thoroughly informed frequently send us communications addressed to "The Freedmen's Bureau."

BEGINNING OF PRESBYTERIAN WORK.

The Presbyterian Church, North, began missionary work among the Negroes of the South fully a year before the close of the Civil War. Two Committees were at work under the direction of the General Assembly (O. S.) as early as 1864—one with headquarters at Indianapolis and the other at Philadelphia. The work of these two Committees from necessity was confined by military lines, and was chiefly in connection with military and "contraband" camps and hospitals. In May, 1865, the General Assembly meeting in Pittsburgh, united these Committees under one general Committee, entitled "The

General Assembly's Committee on Freedmen." It met by order of the Assembly in the lecture room of the First Church, Pittsburgh, and was organized June 22d, 1865.

Before the reunion there was another work similar in character and purpose with headquarters in New York, carried on as a "Freedmen's Department," in connection with the Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions (N. S.). This "Freedmen's Department" existed only two years, making its second annual report in 1870. When the two Assemblies united in 1870 the work among the Freedmen, as carried on from New York and Pittsburgh, was consolidated and a new Committee appointed. This new Committee was organized by direction of the Reunited General Assembly June 10th, 1870, in Pittsburgh, Pa.

INCORPORATION OF THE COMMITTEE.

For twelve years the Committee continued to work as originally constituted; but the question of the ownership of the property necessary for the work, and the handling of bequests made the incorporation of the work desirable. In 1882 the General Assembly at Springfield, Ill., sanctioned the change, and the Committee obtained a charter September 16th, 1882, and became a corporate body under the name of

“The Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.” It is desirable that persons desirous of making bequests to the work shall note the legal title of the Board, and employ it in their last will and testament as the recipient of their gifts.

LOCATION OF THE BOARD.

When it was determined by the General Assembly (O. S.) meeting in Pittsburgh in 1865 to appoint a Committee to establish schools, churches, and the preaching of the gospel among the Freedmen, it was found that only ministers and elders from Pittsburgh and its vicinity would agree to undertake the work. At the beginning, and for no inconsiderable time afterwards, the churches of Pittsburgh, Allegheny, and the surrounding country were the only ones freely opened in behalf of the Freedmen. It was with the greatest difficulty that the first Secretary, Rev. S. C. Logan, D. D., succeeded in obtaining permission to present this cause to the churches of the larger cities and towns, and in the country at large. This location has proved a wise one, and the churches in Pittsburgh and vicinity have been its most hearty and generous supporters, and their ministers and elders and devoted women have been its wise counselors, and steadfast friends.

TRANSFERS AND CHANGES PROPOSED
AND CONSIDERED.

It was not strange that persons unacquainted with the special nature and requirements of the work, and uninformed concerning its details and responsibilities should suggest a consolidation with some of the other Boards in the interests of economy. In 1874 the General Assembly ordered the Committee on Freedmen to make all necessary arrangements for a final merging with the Board of Home Missions, and as soon as possible to transfer the churches under its care to the Board of Home Missions. In January, 1878, the Committee transferred 80 churches, 27 ministers and their churches, and two catechists. They retained as not ready to transfer "22 ministers, 25 catechists, 56 churches, and the entire work of evangelical education." The Assembly's Standing Committee in May, 1878, asked that the school work be retained by the Committee on Freedmen; and after considerable discussion a resolution was offered that the work "as at present be carried on by the Committee of Freedmen be continued."

The Assembly adopted this and directed "That the churches hitherto transferred from the care of the Freedmen's Committee to the Board of Home Missions be transferred to the Committee of Missions for Freedmen." In 1879

the report on Home Missions says: "Early last year (January, 1878) the Freedmen's Committee turned over to the Board of Home Missions all their missionaries engaged exclusively in preaching, and the churches under their care; but action taken in May, 1875, by the Assembly rendered it impossible for the Board to discharge the trust which had been accepted at the beginning of the year; whereupon the whole work pertaining to the Freedmen was recommitted to the Committee.

After the incorporation of the Committee as a Board, the question of transfer or consolidation was again taken up in 1887 by the appointment of a special committee to look into the affairs of the Board, of which Mr. Franklin Shephard was chairman. The report of this committee which endorsed the Board's work and recommended an increase of office force and facilities for carrying forward the work, was in 1888 referred to the Standing Committee of the General Assembly at Philadelphia, of which Rev. Dr. Dickey was chairman. The Standing Committee recommended the adoption of the suggestions of the Special Committee, provided it "should be the final expression of the will and judgment of the church that this work among the Freedmen should be prosecuted, as at present, by a distinct Board of Missions for Freedmen." In view, however, of the "unrest" in the Church,

they recommended a Committee of not less than five ministers and five elders, to confer with Freedmen and Home Mission Boards," and by every possible means endeavor to discover a plan of operation on the question of uniting the two boards that will promise a settled judgment in the Church," etc. This Committee conferred during 1888-9, and in 1889, in New York, reported, recounting its work and deliberations, and recommended unanimously in a long and full report against consolidation for many reasons, (adding that these conclusions reached were opposite to their original opinions.)

1. The Peculiar Work—growing out of the negroes' great needs. "The peculiarity is not of race or color or section; but it is of destitution and of consequent dependence (experience has shown the necessity of providing for the freedmen everything, for the Church finds them in absolute want. Before the Gospel is presented, the freedman must be educated to comprehend it.) School houses and school teachers must be provided. Ground must be bought and churches must be built. Seminaries and academies and colleges must be provided and sustained. And when provided all these helps must be cared for. The oversight covers all details. The condition of those whom the Church would help and elevate, requires constant watchfulness. There is also necessity of establishing and caring for

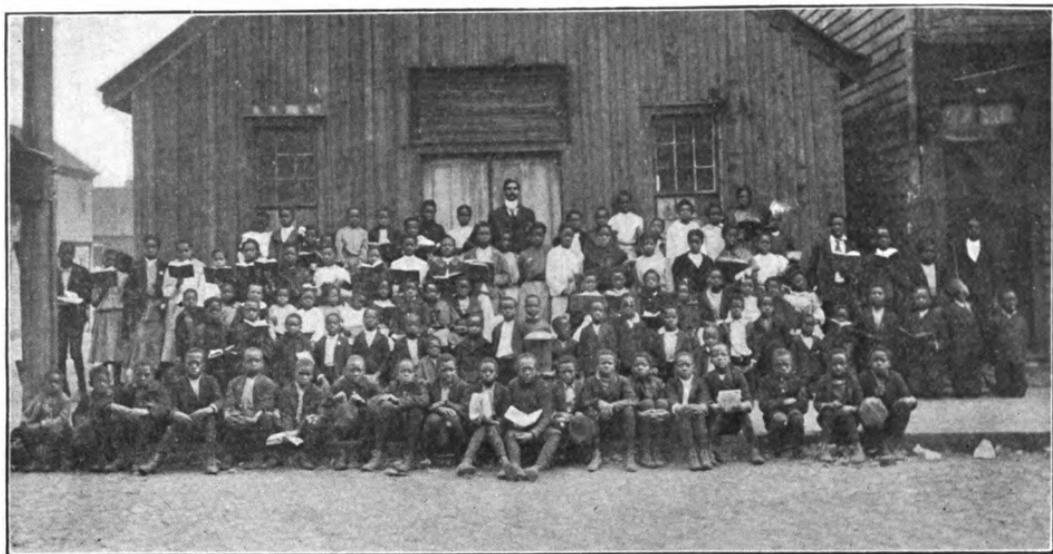
industrial schools in which capable persons may teach the various trades. Teachers and preachers must be trained to instruct and care for their needy fellows. What the Board of Foreign Missions is expected to do for people in heathen lands, the agency of the Church entrusted with work among the Freedmen is expected to do for the needy millions in the South. Education, Evangelization, Church Erection and the training of people in trades, that they may learn self-support—all these are the responsibilities of the Church, and the duties devolved on those who may be entrusted with the care of the Freedmen.

2. The success of the work. 3. The distinct work will receive more money. 4. Legal difficulties—titles would be imperiled. 5. The Home Board charter does not give the power to do this work; its power would have to be enlarged.”

This reference to the details of operation leads to a consideration of

THE VARIETIES AND MANY-SIDED NATURE OF THE WORK.

1. At the outset the purpose was the preaching of the gospel, and the religious nurture of this people. But it was at once apparent that a race without any degree of education, unable to read the Bible, and exposed to the temptations



A PAROCHIAL SCHOOL.

of sudden liberty must be taught the rudiments of an education.

2. Hence parochial schools were established under the care and supervision of missionaries and pastors, in which religious knowledge should be inculcated by the Scriptures and the Catechism, along with these rudiments. These parochial schools have been established wherever it seemed wise and useful, and have been of incalculable benefit in training the little children in the precepts of the Bible along with the elementary essentials. Large numbers have thus been afforded an opportunity to obtain a simple education and at the same time to be trained in the knowledge of God and the essentials of morality. These schools have in many cases been the nursery of the church, and the open door to many an alert and eager mind to seek a broader education.

3. So the Board has established academies and boarding schools, where a more complete education might be given, which shall not only fit these girls and boys to become intelligent and skilled mechanics and workmen, and intelligent workers in household and home, but where teachers of their own race might begin their preparation. It is exceedingly desirable that well taught and religiously trained young men and women should be produced from among the negroes, who shall be wise and faithful teachers for their people. Such boarding schools are

exceedingly useful and necessary, because they instruct these girls and boys in cleanliness, good manners, propriety of action, honesty and purity of life to a degree quite impossible if they remain in their own homes. Remembering what kind of homes these people possessed in their poverty and degradation—the one room cabins which sufficed for large families, it must be evident that these boarding schools were very desirable, where hourly and continuously these untaught hearts were surrounded with refining and elevating influences.

These schools vary in the extent of their teaching, but from each and all have gone out young women who were trained for useful lives, for the duties of home and neighborhood, and the requirements of motherhood and family life. Here the boys have acquired some skill in labor or trade, or given evidences of a fitness for a professional life. These schools attempt mostly to impart these useful elements of an education—but it is not a mistake to assist some of these pupils to portions of a higher education. The great purpose has been well expressed by President Roosevelt: "For the many, elementary education; for the few who are to be leaders of their race, the higher education." It has often been found that something above the elementary education is very useful to some minds whose life work seems only mechanical. Joel Chandler

Harris (of Uncle Remus fame) is certainly a Southerner in experience and feeling, and unlikely to take an exaggerated view of negro education. Yet he says: "I know of a young negro who is a good Latin scholar—and he helps his father make boots and shoes. This may be pretty bad, but if any one can show me that he makes a worse shoe with his Latin than he would without it, I shall turn a readier ear to complaints (against the higher education) that at present strike me as farfetched."

4. In addition to these boarding schools of a high class it has seemed necessary to establish an institution of the higher education, where those worthy youths who feel called to the gospel ministry can be thoroughly trained, and where those who evince a capacity for a professional life, or the work which requires special training may be given an adequate preparation. It has seemed wisest to many of the most experienced friends of this race that even their training for the profession should be carried on in the South, and among the people and associations with which their future is to be spent. Certainly it has been a most useful and beneficent cause to educate the candidates for the ministry in continued association with the circumstances and limitations of the people with whom they are to live and sympathize.

5. The Board is also called upon to assist

congregations in erecting churches and manses. It, also, builds schools, keeps them insured, effects repairs, and has constant supervision over the farms and their products. The extent of detail is very great, for the Board requires monthly reports from ministers and schools, which include the duties performed, the services held, the pupils enrolled, the amount contributed for self-support or derived from tuition, and the expenditure of funds received from the Board. Recognizing the position and authority of the Presbyteries, and carefully acknowledging their rights, and their responsibility for their members, the Board only requires that ministers commissioned by it, and receiving its assistance shall keep the Board informed of their faithfulness. In case of their negligence or the unworthiness of any, the Board merely withdraws its support, and leaves to the Presbytery the question of their worthiness to continue in that field. All this renders it highly important and necessary that the Board shall have a close and constant supervision of each minister and his field, and by an accurate and systematic recurrence of reports, that it may encourage and assist those who are most faithful, or stir up and rebuke those who are lacking in energy and devotion.

SELF-SUPPORT.

The attainment of self-support is kept before each church as the ideal condition. Each congregation reaching such a condition sets free the missionary funds to be used on other and more destitute fields. It must be remembered, that like so many of the white churches on the Home Mission field, this attainment is not always possible, so long as congregations are weak, and the majority of members are decidedly poor. The scale of wages for the larger number of the colored people especially in the villages and country districts is very low, and often varies with the failure of crops. After meeting the expenses of fuel and repairs and lights, the support of the pastor is considerable of a burden for the struggling people.

In the school work, the effort to teach the scholars the value of their education by the payment of tuition is constantly made. Coming from these families so limited in resources, these pupils are taught to defray some portion of the cost of their tuition, and even the assistance of scholarships does not free them from this responsibility.

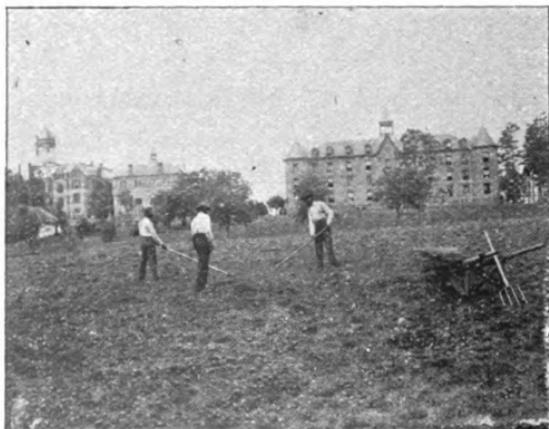
So great is the number of those who are eager to enter our Boarding Schools, often begging for permission to attend, that the Board is compelled to accept, with few exceptions, only

those who make some worthy effort to contribute to their support.

1. Where was the work begun by the Presbyterian Church?
2. Why was the Board located at Pittsburg?
3. What action has the Church taken concerning consolidation?
4. Was it carefully investigated and discussed?
5. What variety is there in the work as carried on by the Board?
6. Is self-support sought among the churches under its care?



BIDDLE UNIVERSITY, CHARLOTTE, N. C.



FARM WORK AT BIDDLE UNIVERSITY.

CHAPTER X.

SOME RESULTS OF THE HIGHER TRAINING.

There are, doubtless, some who have not realized the importance of our highest institution, Biddle University, which contains the Theological Seminary and College. But it will be interesting and useful to sum up briefly what this school has accomplished, and how often, aside from its work of ministerial education, it has prepared young men for great usefulness in business and mechanical life. The late President Sanders, himself a striking example of what such opportunities for culture can effect in one who up to the seventeenth year of his age was a slave, and while supporting himself as a shoemaker, obtained the beginning of his education, has written:

“It will be informing and therefore helpful to take some note of Biddle graduates and what they are doing, without individualizing too much, so to speak. For instance, there have been 427 graduates from the Normal and Preparatory school. About half of these continued their

education; the other half dropped out and became agriculturists, tradesmen and teachers in the common schools. Only about ten per cent. of the enrollment from the beginning have graduated from the regular courses, due to the fact that for the first ten years there was no student material except in the rudimentary studies. While these classes were large, the poverty of the patrons prevented regular and prolonged attendance by their boys. Certainly it is fair to presume that this large number of short stayers have contributed considerably to the good of the community as a result of having attended Biddle.

With reference to the living graduates; two are in the tailoring business, four are in printing, two in the Government printing office at Washington earning large pay, one city and managing editor of a paper at Portsmouth, Va.; one the foreman of the press department of the National Baptist Publishing House at Nashville, the largest negro publishing enterprise in the world; two are holding good paying and responsible positions in an iron foundry at Knoxville; several are in the brick business, five are in the United States Mail service, two are boss carpenters and are doing well, four are successful lawyers, eight are dentists, nine are pharmacists, twenty-four are successful physicians, forty-nine are professors and teachers. A goodly number of these are

noted both on account of their efficiency and the prominence of the positions they hold. Eleven of these are professors at Biddle, eight of whom were called to fill their present places after years of successful experience as teachers, principals and professors in other schools. Twelve of the alumni are now in the theological department, and in the ministry there are seventy-nine, all except four of these being in the Presbyterian ministry. With reference to the theological department, there are one hundred and five graduates at work in the South and two in the North. More than one-half of the colored Presbyterians of the country are dependent upon Biddle preachers for their pulpit instruction, and a colored Presbyterian population of sixty thousand are under their influence and leadership. These facts are freighted with profound and far-reaching significance as setting forth the work and value of Biddle University as a Presbyterian institution in the southland; let every praying, liberal Presbyterian ponder them.

Such is the leadership furnished by Biddle. Her graduates sent out into every walk of life where they may go, are men of positive Christian character. Those not found in the ministry, are in the eldership, or the Sabbath school, leading the moral and Christian forces of their respective communities."—From Leaflet published by the Board.

In this connection there may be for many a very helpful suggestion in the following editorial from "The New York Sun," which is here cited, not to lessen the importance of any one institution, but to do what the friends of Tuskegee and its leader would gladly do, viz: draw attention to the other workers and other institutions who are accomplishing an equally important task, but less generally known. It may stimulate Presbyterians especially to learn from the *Charlotte Observer* where Biddle University is located, how the judicious and intelligent management of this institution has won the respect, and entrenched itself in the good opinion of the white people of one of the most progressive and intelligent cities of the South. The editorial to which the heading "THERE ARE OTHERS" is given, is as follows:

"A great many well meaning persons in this part of the country have contracted the habit of assuming that the Tuskegee Institute, presided over by Dr. Booker Washington, is the only important college in the South devoted exclusively to the education of negroes and conducted wholly by colored men and women. Dr. Washington's activity, indeed, in various fields of publicity has been such as to overshadow and obscure scores of competent colored educators who are also doing useful work and contributing to the solution of the social problem.

The truth is that there are many excellent training schools for the colored youth scattered all over the South. There is one, for example, in upper Alabama, not far from Huntsville, presided over by Professor William H. Council, himself a negro; and of similar institutions in North Carolina the *Charlotte Observer*, a Southern organ of the most genuine and representative type, has this to say:

"The slight trouble which has arisen between one of the classes in Shaw University, Raleigh, and the faculty of the institution leads us to remark upon the almost invariably good behavior which characterizes all connected with every college for negroes with which we are acquainted. It would be hard to find better behaved student bodies anywhere than those of Biddle University, this city, and Livingston College, Salisbury, both conducted entirely by colored people and the latter having no accountability to any white person or organization. We should not fail to add that the graduates of such institutions do them distinct credit and display none of the bad traits which ill wishers used to predict. Manual training, an excellent thing for the white man, is very much better still for the negro, and the fact appears to receive no small measure of recognition from the colleges just mentioned; but, even apart from this consideration, no enemy of the higher education

of the negro could find any comfort in Charlotte or Salisbury. We believe that this is no less true of Greensboro and the State Colored A. and M. College in that city, and, in fact, if there is any exception to the rule we are not acquainted with it.'

Of course this does not by any means complete the list of Southern educational establishments devoted to the exaltation of the colored people, nor is the *Observer* by any means the only Southern newspaper, speaking for the better element of the white population, which encourages and lauds such undertakings.

Tuskegee now owns 2,000 acres of land, eighty-three buildings of all kinds, barns, live stock, farm implements, etc. There is a great endowment fund, likewise a grant of land by Congress together with various other benefits representing available financial assets. Undoubtedly Tuskegee is far more richly endowed than any other similar establishment at the South—perhaps more than all the rest of them put together. It is not altogether clear, however, that this particular institute is doing more real good, in proportion to its opportunities, than even the least of its contemporaries.

The hypothesis in which we take chief interest, however, is to the effect that our Southern fellow citizens are not antagonizing the negro, either as regards his higher education or his



CARPENTER WORK AT BIDDLE.



PRINTING AT BIDDLE.

material advancement. Some very unfortunate misapprehensions have grown out of the mistaken postulate concerning Dr. Booker Washington's majestic isolation. There are others, and plenty of them."

GENERAL RESULTS.

1. There are 218 educated colored ministers preaching to 371 churches and missions. These churches have a membership of 23,000, with Sabbath Schools enrolling 22,000; 97 of the ministers are also engaged in teaching.

2. 115 schools are in operation, of various grades, from the University to the parochial, with an attendance of 14,000. The teachers of these schools, with the exception of the five seminaries for girls, and two co-educational boarding schools are all colored graduates of our own and other mission schools, while hundreds are teaching in the public schools of the South.

3. The whole number of workers, preachers and teachers is 455.

SOURCES OF INCOME.

These are, 1st. Church Collections. While these have been fairly encouraging as evincing an increasing interest in this important work and a deeper sense of responsibility, it is to be

regretted that so large a number take up no collection for this cause. Nearly 4,000 are thus deficient, and while there may be proper reasons for this in a few cases, it is a matter for consideration by pastors and elders, whether the injunction of the General Assembly, that each congregation should be afforded an opportunity to contribute to this work so heartily endorsed by the Assembly should not heartily be obeyed. Doubtless the multiplicity of other demands is felt to be a burden, and pastors are so pressed that they shrink from the appearance of an undue urgency; but it certainly is wise and proper and Christian to inform the people of the nature and value of the work, and offer them the opportunity to act as hearts aroused to generous purposes may lead them to give.

2d. Sabbath Schools and Young People's Societies contribute somewhat. Aside from the amounts given, it is exceedingly important that the children and youth who are soon to be the mature members of our churches shall have learned the importance of this line of missionary effort, and acquired habits of benevolence.

3d. Women's Societies. These have proved one of the most reliable and cheering sources of income for the Board. Following the suggestions of the Board in the most willing and harmonious spirit, year by year they have set before themselves some special work, and arranged

a just apportionment of gifts. Under the advice of the Board, which has always appreciated their devotion and motives, they have made it possible to make many improvements in school buildings and appointments, have gathered the funds for new buildings, arranged a supply of scholarships, and by personal endeavors have stimulated a greater degree of giving.

The following extract from the Tenth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Department of the Woman's Executive Committee may be of interest here, as it explains the method of forwarding the contributions:

"In May, 1884, the General Assembly in session at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., recommended that the Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions "permit such societies under its care as may desire to do so, to contribute according to their pleasure to the cause of Freedmen, and send the results to the Woman's Executive Committee, to be forwarded to the Treasurer of the Board of Missions for Freedmen."

With the approval of the Board of Home Missions and the Board of Missions for Freedmen, the Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions organized a Freedmen's department, with headquarters at Pittsburgh. It was not, however, until December of that year that the first meeting was held. The following May they were able to report \$3,010.58 contributed through

the Home Missionary Societies. At the meeting of the General Assembly that year (1885) the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That in view of the success which has already attended the organization of a Woman's Department for Freedmen, under the Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions, and of the pressing demand for labor within the sphere marked out for this department, it be affectionately urged upon all Women's Home Missionary Societies of our church to give this work a place in their sympathies, their prayers and their benefactions."

The women of the church responded to this resolution, and each year shows an increased interest in this work. In the ten years of our existence we have contributed \$276,518.27. This has been expended only upon such objects as are approved by the Board of Missions for Freedmen. It has been used for building and furnishing schools, for teachers' salaries, for scholarships, and a considerable portion has gone into the general fund of the Board."

4th. Individual Givers. These range from those who take scholarships or send small amounts for special use, to those who erect buildings and enable us to expend larger amounts to increase the usefulness of our different institutions. This varied generosity has at times applied itself to the support of a teacher or the furnishing of

a room, and at times has doubled the capacity and multiplied the efficiency of a growing seminary. Of these larger gifts mention may be made of the foundation gift of Biddle University, of Barber Memorial, of the Hall and dwelling and farm at Harbison College, of McMillan Hall at Mary Allen Seminary, and of McGregor Hall and the annual gift for support at Haines Institute, of Phipps Hall at Harbison, and others. The gifts from individuals and families have made possible an enlargement and furnishing from which the Board might have shrunk in the fear that the appropriations for its ordinary and general work might be endangered, especially as it is not always certain whether the contributions from the church at large would be as great as in the past. Churches so often vary in their giving, and weather and other circumstances so often interfere with collections where systematic giving is not practiced, that there is sometimes a sudden deficiency in receipts which warns the Board against an undue outlay, or the projection of new enterprises. It is under these conditions that individual givers—especially those of larger amounts, are of great assistance to the Board and enable it to make advances greatly needed, and promising the happiest and most beneficial results. It is sincerely hoped that many more individuals will consider this opportunity to make large and blessed gifts, and by the devotion

of considerable sums to this work to place some weak and struggling institution on a firm basis, and lift it to a greater strength and degree of usefulness. In this connection it is proper to remark, that it is in this line of special objects, by setting before themselves the raising of funds for some building that the Woman's Committee have so often made possible the enlargement and greater efficiency of our seminaries. While assisting in the general work, they have planned the concentration of gifts, by the societies of certain regions, for a single work requiring an expenditure too great for the Board to attempt unless the support of its missionaries and teachers is fully secured. There are fields awaiting individual givers, both where institutions may be wisely established, and where those already existing may be made more vigorous.

5th. Legacies. This is, naturally, an uncertain reliance. Great benefits have, however, resulted from the generous provision made by those who wished that though they were dead they still might be speaking, and still continuing the work which had been so important to them while living. While these bequests have often been used in the general work, there are times when they are of sufficient size to devote to some special purpose, remaining as a kind of endowment or foundation for a continued work. It is desirable that those able to make such bequests

however small, shall remember the Board in their wills, designating it by its full title as incorporated, and thus be ever widening the circle of their loving work for Christ.

AN IMPORTANT FACT.

It should be carefully considered that it is of great importance that the income of the Board should be maintained or increased. Pastors, sessions and individuals should exercise a care to sustain the Board in its financial work.

It is sometimes said that the Board must be governed solely by business principles, and that it should limit its expenditures to its resources. This is exactly what the Board attempts to do. At the beginning of the year, partly on the basis of what the General Assembly says the Board has a right to expect from the church, but more from the evidence of past receipts, it sends out its commissions for ministers and teachers, and arranges for its schools. It is compelled to work by faith largely through the year, as a large portion of the receipts do not appear until past the new year. If these fall off, if the churches and others do not fulfill the usual obligation, it is impossible to close the year without a debt, which will be a burden upon the future. It must be considered that the Board cannot, in this state of affairs, cut off suddenly the salaries

of its workers, close its schools, and so economize. It has educated ministers and teachers, called them into the work, gathered churches, established schools, and certainly it cannot be expected to abandon them in mid year. Railroads or manufactories may lay off employees, and close works, when receipts diminish; but it would be a strange and unchristian economy which would withdraw support from pastors and schools, where Christ's work was being successfully pushed. There is a truer business policy in holding and conserving a work which is far different from that of a railroad or factory, a work which is not for one day or two, and in which harsh or unwise efforts to reduce expenses may be of great injury. The failure of the Church to meet the proper expectations of the Assembly may and does govern the schedule of the next year, postpones plans for enlargement, and cuts down appropriations, even where devoted men and women are already laboring on pittance. The Board never can be charged with either a failure to apply proper business principles to its work, or with too strongly relying upon the amount suggested by the Assembly. In a church like ours and so large as ours, it should be not an extravagant expectation to look for \$300,000 from our over 1,000,000 members. The church could easily give it. But the Board has governed its expenditures by its past experience. It has let

prudence wait on promises, only hoping that there shall be by all a faithful effort to make the recommendation of the Assembly a reality, and the guarantee of a larger work. It believes that with a little more earnestness and care, and the acceptance of information, these increased collections can be at once made possible.

1. What are some of the results of the Higher Training?
2. Is there a need of advanced institutions?
3. What is the number of ministers and churches under our Board?
4. What are the sources of income of the Board?
5. What is the method by which Women's Societies forward their contributions to the Board?
6. Can a Missionary Board be managed like a manufactory, and govern its expenditures entirely as a business corporation?
7. Is the amount recommended by the General Assembly too large for the Presbyterian Church?
8. How many of our churches fail to contribute anything?

CHAPTER XI.

A SURVEY OF RESULTS.

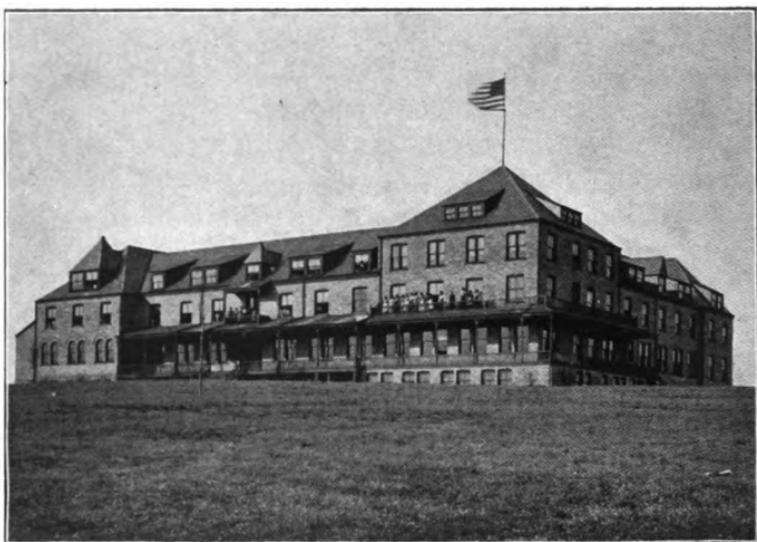
Mere figures do not convey much information, or satisfy the natural questioning. But it may be said that probably 50,000 people have professed their faith in Christ under the preaching of our ministers. The enrollment of our Sabbath Schools, adding year to year, must have reached 400,000, and the total enrollment of students in our day schools from the time we began would count up to 250,000.

The indirect influence of our work upon the communities in which our churches and schools have been established is hard to calculate; but the lives of thousands of our quiet, intelligent and order-loving citizens that are the product of our schools and churches must be included in the calculation, if we want to form an estimate of the amount of good that has been accomplished by the Presbyterian Church in its work among these people.

There is a temptation to judge of this race and the result of efforts to elevate it by superficial and partial method. The statements of individ-

uals who are desirous they should always be kept in ignorance and a partial bondage—mere hewers of wood and drawers of water for a more favored race are more especially considered than the actual facts or the beliefs and opinions of the best and most intelligent Southern whites. Any one who wishes to understand the situation and his own responsibility, will find that without exception the wise and Christian leaders of Southern opinion, believe there is an advance in the intelligence and worthiness of the negroes where proper efforts have been made. Of course the best results are always quiet. It is the effect of education and religious training to make men unassuming, industrious and separate them from the places where the idlers congregate. They are a large and hidden multitude, just as in Elijah's time, even the seven thousand faithful servants of God, whom the prophet did not see or count, and had forgotten.

It is possible to illustrate by a recent occurrence what these quiet, industrious and moral negroes are doing. In the city of Augusta, Ga., the best colored people, led by Presbyterians, and at the suggestion of the colored principal of our Normal and Industrial Institute there, petitioned the City Council to close the negro dance halls and saloons, that the colored youth should be preserved from the temptations of intemperance and immorality;



MARY HOLMES SEMINARY, WEST POINT, MISS.



LAUNDRY AT MARY HOLMES SEMINARY.

and they succeeded. An education and Christian training which produces a people with such ambitions and energy are worthy of encouragement and support. Miss Laney, having obtained from the city of Augusta the old pest house for a Colored Hospital, secured a trained nurse from Boston; and she has not only cared for the hospital, but has trained a number of the colored young women for nursing as a life-work. These are but isolated cases, which might be multiplied and which show how these people are desirous of better things, and cultivating a noble spirit of responsibility and moral usefulness. A race which is scarcely more than a generation distant from the limitations and degradation of slavery, certainly gives considerable evidence of capacity for civilization and development, by such aims and efforts.

The Presbyterian Church has its part to accomplish in assisting to educate and evangelize a race which is accumulating property, building better and more attractive houses, developing its own ministers, lawyers and physicians, and its own capable leaders.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

The Presbyterian Church was among the first to enter upon an industrial training in its schools. The Charter of Scotia Seminary, which is more

than thirty-five years old, specifies its object to be "to educate colored girls in religion and in the arts and services usually taught in seminaries of a high order, and *in those domestic duties which belong to the highest type of wife, mother and teacher.*" In 1880 Brainerd Institute declared its industrial department was formed to enable students "to help themselves in obtaining an education, to develop the strength and hardihood which came from self-help, to maintain and promote habits of industry." At Biddle University one of the larger buildings is devoted to this purpose, and only lacks the money to more completely furnish it, and increase its usefulness. At different schools, farms, gardens and shops are employed to teach these youth intelligent labor and skill, and make them ready for self-support. The list of those who have gone from our highest institution, Biddle University, shows how many have profited by this industrial training.

It must always be remembered, however, that trained mechanics and skillful domestics are not always sober, honest or virtuous, and the first purpose of our work must be to lay religious foundations of character and impart an elementary education with moral principles.

1. What are the general results?
2. Are these people helpful to public morals?
3. Has Industrial Education been sought by our schools?
4. Is it the only education desirable?

CHAPTER XII.

IS THERE GOOD PROGRESS?

There are critics who fear there is no advance, who assert that crime has increased, and these people are less industrious since slavery.

Let us hear from a Southerner. Joel Chandler Harris has recently said: "I am familiar with the history of a county in middle Georgia where the negroes have a majority of the population. In that county lynching is unknown because the particular crime that incites to lynching is unknown. Such a crime has never been committed in the county. It may be thought this is a descent to the particular, but the point I desire to make is that the overwhelming majority of the negroes in all parts of the South, especially in the agricultural regions, are leading sober and industrious lives. A temperate race is bound to be industrious, and the negroes are temperate, as compared with the whites. I am speaking, of course, of the negroes on the farms, but even in the towns the majority of them are sober and industrious.

I am bound to conclude from what I see all

about me, and upon what I know of the race elsewhere, that the negro, notwithstanding the late start he has made in civilization and enlightenment, is capable of making himself a useful member in the community in which he lives and moves, and that he is becoming more and more desirous of conforming to all the laws that have been enacted for the protection of society."

Another writer criticizing the charge of laziness and shiftlessness in the negro says: "In 1859 the cotton crop averaged 480 pounds per capita to each slave. In 1902 with free negro labor it averaged 571 pounds per capita. The three staple agricultural products of the South are cotton, sugar and rice. The output of sugar has increased proportionately—the same is true of rice. Take the railroad system, the section bosses are white men, but the section hands proper are all colored men.

Take the lumber industry. Before the war the lumber industry was almost unknown anywhere in the South. Now there are a large number of lumber mills, and you will in connection with them find a large number of negro laborers.

Take the iron and mining industries. You will find that where not a single man worked in iron or steel mills or mining before the war, now there are thousands."

According to a bulletin recently issued by the

Census Bureau, there are nearly 4,000,000 negroes in the United States engaged in gainful occupations. These bread-winners constitute about 45 per cent. of the total colored population, as against 37 per cent. of the same class of the total white population and of 34 per cent. of the Southern white population. Over 746,000 farms are operated by negroes, of which 21 per cent. are owned entirely by them and an additional 4 per cent. are owned in part by the operators. That is to say, forty years after emancipation 25 per cent. of all negro farmers have become landlords.

In various trades we find that about 21,000 are carpenters, about 20,000 barbers, 15,000 are masons, 12,000 are dress-makers, over 10,000 are engineers and firemen, over 10,000 are blacksmiths, nearly 5,000 are shoemakers and about 200 electricians. There are 21,000 teachers and professors, nearly 16,000 ministers, about 4,000 musicians, 2,000 physicians, nearly 1,000 lawyers, 200 dentists, and a large number of bookkeepers, stenographers, etc.

SOME CHEERING SIGNS.

It is one of our greatest errors and dangers that we receive sensational reports, and moved by prejudice and emotion we fail to separate the innocent from the guilty. The popular impres-

sion is that the excitement of mobs is justified in the South; but after a full investigation at Atlanta by the most prominent citizens a complete revulsion of feeling took place—the very newspaper which had done most to incite the race prejudice, and was most violent in its condemnation of the negroes, has published the following statement:

“It does ring monstrous upon the conscience for Atlanta to learn from a reputable committee, after careful investigation, that not one of the victims of our September riot was remotely connected with any of the offenses charged against the race, and that there is not a vagrant in the entire list of the 12 killed and 70 wounded.”

It is also encouraging to find our ministers and teachers gaining the respect and sympathy of the best white people of the South. Of course, as in foreign lands there are those who decry the missionaries and their converts, there are those in the South who bitterly oppose every effort to elevate the negro; but the true Southerners endorse our schools, encourage our ministers, and are exceedingly glad that so many are being educated to morality and industry.

ECONOMY OF THE WORK.

In proportion to the amount of work done, as compared with the amount of money expended

few missionary fields cost as little, and there are few places where a small amount of money will go farther and do more. The average aid granted a minister is hardly \$300 a year. The average salary of a teacher is barely \$20 a month, and this often for only six months.

RESUMÉ OF THE SCHOOL WORK.

The schools are distributed as follows: Biddle University, which stands at the head, is at Charlotte, N. C. Then come five large boarding schools for girls, Ingleside, at Burkeville, Va.; Scotia, at Concord, N. C.; Barber Memorial, at Anniston, Ala.; Mary Holmes Seminary, at West Point, Miss.; Mary Allen Seminary, at Crockett, Texas. Next are the fifteen co-educational boarding schools. In North Carolina, Albion at Franklinton; Mary Potter at Oxford; Dayton at Carthage. In South Carolina, Brainerd at Chester; Harbison College at Abbeville; Immanuel at Aiken. In Georgia, Haines at Augusta. In Tennessee, Swift Memorial at Rogersville. In Arkansas, Cotton Plant Academy at Cotton Plant; Richard Allen at Pine Bluff; Monticello at Monticello; Arkadelphia at Arkadelphia. In Indian Territory, Oak Hill at Brilliant and Fee Memorial at Camp Nelson, Kentucky.

Besides these there are a number of Academies,

High Schools and larger parochials, such as Holbrook St. School, Danville, Va.; Kendall at Sumter, S. C.; Mt. Vernon at Palatka, Florida; McClelland at Newnan, Georgia; Goodwill at Mayesville, S. C.; Newton at Chattanooga, Tenn., and about ninety-four others scattered through the South.

COMMENDATION.

During all the forty-two years in which the work has been prosecuted, first by the Committee on Freedmen and afterwards by the Freedmen's Board, the General Assembly has never disapproved of a single act, but has from year to year approved of all its proceedings and commended its policy in gratifying terms. Ministers and others who visit our schools and churches and make themselves familiar with the work seldom fail to speak and write most approvingly of what they have seen.

1. What is the opinion of intelligent observers of the Negro in the South?
2. Do our ministers and teachers gain the respect of the whites?
3. Is our work economically pursued?
4. What are some of the higher schools under the care of the Board?
5. What opinion have the General Assembly and visitors to our schools of their work and character?

CHAPTER XIII.

OTHER WORKERS AMONG THE FREEDMEN.

The American Missionary Association.—

This Association, working under Congregational auspices, felt itself called in 1861 to engage in the work among the colored people, and on the 17th of September in that year established the first day school for the "contrabands," or escaping fugitive slaves at Hampton, Va. The Proclamation of Emancipation, January 1, 1863, insured permanent freedom of negroes who reached the Union lines, and the Association rapidly extended its work. It now sustains as institutions, Fisk University, Tenn.; Talladega College, Alabama; Tongobo University, Mississippi; Straight University, Louisiana. Theological departments are maintained in Howard University, Talladega College, Fisk University and Atlanta Seminary. There are 57 educational institutions, including common schools, with 434 instructors, and 13,000 pupils.

This Association possesses endowments amounting to over \$2,000,000 (including the Daniel Hand

Fund of \$1,415,000, and the Joseph K. Brick Fund of \$184,266).

The American Baptist Home Missionary Society.—There are several organizations connected with the various Baptist Churches of this country and acting independently of each other. This particular society maintains 46 missionaries and 260 teachers among the colored people, and 30 schools and colleges have been maintained wholly or in part by this society. The most important are the Atlanta Baptist College, Atlanta, Ga.; Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.; Bishop College, Marshall, Texas, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.; Virginia Union University; Florida Institute, Live Oak, Fla.; Roger Williams University, Nashville, Tenn.; and over 500 students for the ministry are enrolled in these and other schools. This Society expended \$90,000 in 1905-6 for the support of its school work, and \$5,000 for mission work among the negroes.

The Women's Baptist Home Missionary Society maintains Spilman Seminary at Atlanta, Ga.; Mather School at Beaufort, S. C.; Hartshorn Memorial College at Richmond, Va.; Waters Normal Institute at Winton, N. C.; Jackson College at Natchez, Miss.; Americus Institute, Ga.; Coleman Academy, Gibslan, La. This society assists in supporting a number of teachers in institutions carried on by Negro Baptists.

The National Baptist Convention is an organization of Negro Baptists, and has its Mission Boards, its schools and colleges. Thirty-five High schools and colleges, beside many lower schools, are under the direct control of Negro boards and faculties, though only partially supported by them.

The Southern Baptist Convention has twenty colored preachers enrolled among its missionaries.

The Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church maintains one Theological School, the Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.; nine Colleges, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.; Claflin University, Orangeburg, S. C.; Clark University, Atlanta, Ga.; Geo. R. Smith College, Sedalia, Mo.; New Orleans University, New Orleans, La.; Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark.; Rust University, Holly Springs, Miss.; Walden University, Nashville, Tenn.; Wiley University, Marshall, Texas; eight Academies and two Medical Schools. In the 24 schools, owned wholly or in part by this society the enrollment last year was 7,613, and its expenditures for the year ending June 30, 1906, were \$127,331.

Freedmen Work by P. E. Church.—The Domestic Department of the *Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the P. E. Church* in the U. S. carries on the St. Augustine's Nor-

mal and industrial School at Raleigh, N. C., with 400 students learning trades, and connected with it is *St. Agnes Hospital and Training School* for Nurses. There are also *St. Paul's Normal and Industrial School* at Lawrenceville, Va.; *St. Athanasius' Parochial and Industrial School*, Brunswick, Ga.; *St. Mark's Academy and Industrial School*, Birmingham, Ala.; and ninety parochial schools besides. *The Bishop Payne Divinity School* at Petersburg, Va., and *King Theological Hall*, Washington, D. C., are for the training of ministers of this race. \$73,000 are expended in this work per annum.

The United Presbyterian Board of Freedmen's Missions maintains Knoxville College at Knoxville, Tenn., and schools at Bristol, Tenn.; Athens, Tenn.; Riceville, Tenn.; Cleveland, Tenn.; Birmingham, Ala.; Camden, Ala.; Canton Bend, Ala.; Miller's Ferry, Ala.; Prairie, Ala.; Midway, Ala.; Arlington, Ala.; Chase City, Va.; Bluestone, Va.; Norfolk, Va.; Henderson, N. C.; Townsville, N. C. In 1907 the enrollment in these schools was 3,956 and in the Sabbath Schools, 3,364; 146 missionaries (male and female) were employed, and the membership in the churches was 991. The maintenance of the schools cost \$60,000, and improvements were made at a cost of \$23,000. The total expense of the Board was \$92,000.

Hampton Institute.—In 1868, under the auspices of the A. M. Association, this school was started, with the late Gen. Armstrong, as its principal, and in 1870 it was incorporated as the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. In 1906 it had 120 officers and teachers and 1,200 pupils, Negroes and Indians, with 60 buildings, 800 acres of farm land. Its receipts in 1906 were for general expenses, \$225,976; and its expenditures, \$208,896. In addition for Permanent Improvements it received \$27,766 and expended \$64,325. It has received large amounts from the Freedmen's Bureau, and large amounts from the Peabody & Slater Funds, and has an endowment of \$1,403,757.

Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute was established at Tuskegee, Ala., in 1881 by a graduate of Hampton Institute, Booker T. Washington. It now owns 2,000 acres of land, and 83 buildings of various kinds. During the year ending June 31, 1906, over 1,600 students attended the institute. Its current expenditures, not including those made for increase of plant and equipment were \$233,720, the main items being \$151,073 for salaries of officers, academic teachers and clerks, general expenses and maintenance of property and insurance; while \$76,516 were the net cost of Industrial and Training departments of industrial teachers.

Its income was (aside from special donations for increase of plant and equipment) \$211,786. It receives \$4,500 from the State of Alabama. It has received 25,000 acres of public land in Alabama, of which it has sold 4,000 acres at an average price of \$10.00 per acre. It has received for an Endowment Fund \$1,237,967 (which includes Mr. Carnegie's gift of \$600,000) and possesses a Capital Fund of \$842,868, while a recent residuary legacy of \$400,000 is dependent on only one advanced life.

Industrial Givers of Large Funds.—In 1867 George Peabody gave a fund of \$3,000,000 to be held for thirty years, and its income to be used for the promotion of "intellectual, moral, or industrial education in the most destitute portions of the Southern States." Much of this has been directly or individually used for the elevation of the colored people as well as for the whites. The fund itself is soon to be distributed where most needed.

Slater Fund.—In 1882 John F. Slater gave \$1,000,000, which has since been increased to \$1,500,000, for the benefit of the Freedmen. Mr. Slater gave as a reason for establishing this fund—"The disabilities formerly suffered by this 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 human and patriotic men. I cannot but feel the com-



OVER SEA AND LAND.
"We 'uns is a waitin' fo' dat school."

passion that is due in view of their prevailing ignorance, which exists by no fault of their own." This fund is used largely to assist industrial training.

Anna T. Jeanes Fund.—In 1907 Miss Anna T. Jeanes gave \$1,000,000, the income from which is to be applied to the establishment and support of schools for the negroes in the rural districts. Miss Jeanes realized, what is apparent to every student of the South, that there is a great lack of schools in the agricultural regions, where the bulk of the colored population is to be found. It will be observed that these funds, and large endowments are almost entirely applied to the mental or industrial training of the Freedmen. For this great sums are necessary; but it must be remembered that the evangelization of this race is equally necessary, and the formation of churches, the training of ministers and moral and intellectual leaders. The field for the gifts and sympathies and prayers of the Christian Church is as large as ever, and only that church can meet this responsibility.

There are great encouragements in this work, and great difficulties. As another has said: "If the bigness of the task is appalling, and the time required to do it indefinitely greater than our day of labor, so have all men found all grave social problems." But there is no need of discouragement. It is only the ignorant and envious

and idle class who oppose the elevation of the negro. The Creator never made a race or people which the Gospel and civilization cannot reach. Darwin learned the value of missionaries to the Patagonians by seeing the results, and ever after contributed to them. If we look at this work wrongly, it will seem foolish, but if we look at it from the Christian standpoint it will seem noble. The poet tells us of a wizard who

“Such wondrous things did show
That through one window men beheld the Spring,
And through another saw the Summer glow.
And through a third the fruited vines arow;
While still unheard, but in its wonted way
Piped the drear wind of that December day.”

God can let us look out of the window of hope and success and make us see this degraded people industrious and blessed.

He can make it possible for us to say of this land and work, as Sydney Carton said of Paris and its people when he rode to the guillotine in the horrors of the French Revolution, dying for his friend: “I see a beautiful city and a brilliant people rising from this abyss, and in their struggles to be truly free, I see the evil of this time and of the previous time, of which this is the

natural birth, gradually making expiation for itself and wearing out."

In a work of so great a character and involving so many interests, many of us can not expect to see the largest and ultimate result; but we can say with the poet:

Others shall sing the song,
Others shall right the wrong,
Finish what I begin,
And all I fail of, win.

What matter I or they,
Mine or another's day,
So the right word be said,
And life the sweeter made.

Ring, bells in unrequited steeples,
The joy of unborn peoples!
Sound trumpets, far-off blown!
Your triumph is my own.

1. When did the American Missionary Association begin its work among the Freedmen?
2. How many schools does it maintain?
3. Has it any endowments?
4. What work does the American Baptist H. M. Society carry on?
5. At what cost?
6. What other Baptist Societies maintain work of this kind?

7. What is the Freedmen's work of the P. E. Church? And expenditures?

8. When was Hampton Institute founded? Is it entirely for negroes? Has it a large endowment? What are its expenditures?

9. What is Tuskegee Institute? Has it an endowment? What is the nature of its training? What are its expenditures?

10. Is Hampton or Tuskegee responsible to any religious body, or definitely religious?

11. What are some of the large funds which have been established? What is their object?

12. Do these large gifts meet all the needs?

13. Has the church a special work?