MONOGRAPHS ON EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

EDITED BY

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

President of Columbia University in the City of New York

Monograph No. 18

EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO

BY

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

Principal of the Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama

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EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

A SERIES OF MONOGRAPHS

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20. EDUCATION THROUGH THE AGENCY OF THE SEVERAL RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS. DR. W. H. LARRABEE, *Plainfield, New Jersey.*

EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO

I INTRODUCTION

I could make no more fitting introduction to this monograph — dealing with a race which has grown from twenty native Africans imported into the country as chattel slaves in 1619, to fully 10,000,000 of free men, entitled under the federal constitution to all the rights, privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, in 1899 — than to reproduce here in part the eloquent remarks of President William McKinley, made at Chicago, October 9, 1899, showing in the fewest possible words the national growth in population, in territory and in material wealth, a growth which has no parallel in the various history of the human race, only comprehending, as it does, a little more than a century of national life. President McKinley said:

"On the reverse side of the great seal of the United States, authorized by congress, June 20, 1782, and adopted as the seal of the United States of America after its formation under the Federal constitution, is the pyramid, signifying strength and duration.

"The eye over it and the motto allude to the many signal interpositions of Providence in favor of the American cause. The date underneath, 1776, is that of the declaration of independence, and the words under it signify the beginning of a new American era which commences from that date. It is impossible to trace our history since, without feeling that the Providence which was with us in the beginning, has continued to the nation His gracious interposition. When, unhappily, we have been engaged in war He has given us the victory.

"Fortunate, indeed, that it can be said we have had no clash of arms which has ended in defeat, and no responsibility resulting from war is tainted with dishonor. In peace we have been signally blessed, and our progress has gone

on unchecked and even increasing in the intervening years. In boundless wealth of soil and mine and forest nature has favored us, while all races of men of every nationality and climate have contributed their good blood to make the nation what it is. From 3,929,214 in 1790 our population has grown to upward of 62,000,000 in 1890, and our estimated population to-day made by the governors of the states is 77,803,241.

"We have gone from thirteen states to forty-five. We have annexed every variety of territory, from the coral reefs and cocoanut groves of Key West to the icy regions of Northern Alaska — territory skirting the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, the Pacific and the Arctic and the islands of the Pacific and Carribean sea — and we have extended still further our jurisdiction to the faraway islands in the Pacific. Our territory is more than four times larger than it was when the treaty of peace was signed in 1783. Our industrial growth has been even more phenomenal than that of population or territory. Our wealth, estimated in 1790 at $462,000,000, has advanced to $65,000,000,000.

"Education has not been overlooked. The mental and moral equipment of the youth upon whom will in the future rest the responsibilities of government have had the unceasing care of the state and the nation. We expended in 1897–98 in public education, open to all, $202,115,548; for secondary education, $23,474,683; and for higher education for the same period, $30,307,902. The number of pupils enrolled in public schools in 1896–97 was 14,652,492, or more than 20 per cent of our population. Is this not a pillar of strength to the republic?

"Our national credit, often tried, has been ever upheld. It has no superior and no stain. The United States has never repudiated a national obligation either to its creditors or to humanity. It will not now begin to do either. It never struck a blow except for civilization, and has never struck its colors. Has the pyramid lost any of its strength? Has the republic lost any of its virility? Has the self-

governing principle been weakened? Is there any present menace to our stability and duration?

"These questions bring but one answer. The republic is sturdier and stronger than ever before. Government by the people has been advanced. Freedom under the flag is more universal than when the Union was formed. Our steps have been forward, not backward. From Plymouth Rock to the Philippines the grand triumphant march of human liberty has never paused. Fraternity and union are deeply imbedded in the hearts of the American people. For half a century before the civil war disunion was the fear of men of all sections. That word has gone out of the American vocabulary. It is spoken now only as an historical memory. North, south, east and west were never so welded together, and while they may differ about internal policies they are all for the Union and the maintenance of the integrity of the flag."

II DEVELOPMENT OF POPULAR EDUCATION

As the early efforts to educate the Negroes of the sixteen southern states, after the war of the rebellion, in 1865,— they were declared no longer to be slaves, but human beings with souls to be saved and intellects to be cultivated, to the end that they might be the better prepared to discharge the serious obligations of manhood and citizenship,— are intimately connected with the development of the common school system of New England, it will be necessary here to describe in as brief a manner as possible the growth of popular education in those states. If this principle of popular education had not been so firmly rooted in the heart and conscience of the people of the New England states by the Pilgrim fathers, the history of education of the Negroes would have been distinctly different and, perhaps, not possible at all. The spirit which actuated these sturdy pioneers from the old world, who have blazed the way for American civil and religious liberty and the development of a system of popular education which has come to permeate the entire republic — forty-five mighty states, each sovereign in all

matters of its internal policy — was prophesied by Bishop Berkeley, in the lines that follow, which have endeared their author's memory to all lovers of education and liberty in America:

The Muse, disgusted at an age and clime
Barren of every glorious theme,
In distant lands now waits a better time
Producing subjects worthy fame.

In happy climes, where from the genial sun
And virgin earth such scenes ensue,
The force of art by Nature seems outdone,
And fancied beauties by the true;

In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
Where Nature guides and virtue rules,
When men shall not impose for truth and sense
The pedantry of courts and schools —

There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

* * * * * *

Westward the course of Empire takes its way;
The first four acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day.
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

Our country is now divided into four distinct groups of states — the New England, the middle, the southern and western states — but it can of truth be said that all of them have drawn their theories of education, of theology and statesmanship, from the ten states in the middle and New England group, especially from the latter. The sixteen states in the southern group have not profited so much from this source as the nineteen states in the central and western group, but they have been influenced in a very marked way since the war of the rebellion, and are being more and more influenced now, by the work of New England men and women engaged in the active work of education among the Negroes of the southern states.

The development of the common-school principle kept pace with that of the population in New England from the

earliest settlement of the colonies, through the period of the revolutionary war, and for some time after the colonies had achieved their independence of Great Britain and established the Federal Union. During this period many academies and colleges, notably Harvard and Yale, were founded, to meet the growing demand for higher and more thorough education of the people. But from 1810 to 1830 there was a notable decline in the character, extent and efficiency of the public school system in New England. Massachusetts and Connecticut had always been foremost in the maintenance of the system. As far back as 1647 a Massachusetts statute "compelled every township of 50 families to establish a public school for all children, and every town of 100 families to set up a grammar school, where youth might be fitted for Harvard college." This was the first law ever passed by which a self-governing community was authorized to offer the elements of knowledge to all children and youth. In 1683 every town of 500 families was required to sustain two grammar and two writing (or elementary) schools. On this broad foundation the original people's common school of the colony of Massachusetts Bay stood during the one hundred and thirty-eight years of colonial life, until the organization of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, in 1780.

"The support of the common school through all the grades, including the university at Cambridge, was incorporated in the constitution of 1780. By a constitutional amendment in 1855 it was ordered that no public money should be used for the support of the schools of any religious sect."

There was continuous development of the public school system in New England in this direction up to 1834, when the general school fund of Massachusetts was established.

Dr. A. D. Mayo, M. A., LL. D., among the most reliable and popular authorities on educational subjects in the United States, from whom I have quoted in the preceding paragraphs, says further:

"It is plain from this brief record that the American common school was as practically organized in all essential respects in 1837 as to-day, when the state assumed additional responsibility by establishing the first board of education, of which Horace Mann became the first secretary. This fact disposes of the statement, somewhat industriously propagated, that Horace Mann virtually created the present common school system of the country by his administration of twelve years as secretary of the Massachusetts board of education, from 1837 to 1849. There was, doubtless, ample need that Mann and his illustrious group of co-workers should accomplish the reformation of the public schools of that day. But the foundation had been laid, and there was no call for the destruction of anything; only for the return to the original habit of town supervision, additional legal authorization of all that then existed, and especially the waking of the people to the call of the new time for the more vital and generous support of their own system of public education, reorganized according to the improved methods of a progressive age. In nothing was the educational statesmanship of Horace Mann more evident than in his immediate grasp of the solution, his estimate of the points of attack, and his commanding influence over the foremost public men and wise manipulation of the legislature of the commonwealth during his entire administration."

The honors which belong to Horace Mann, as head of the educational system of Massachusetts, in awakening among the people renewed interest in their common schools, and in securing such legislation as was necessary to place the system upon an effective and assured foundation, were shared by some of the best and ablest men in the commonwealth. Their combined enthusiasm and labors aroused popular interest in the cause of public education throughout the New England and the middle states, which gradually spread to the splendid states of the western group.

What Horace Mann accomplished in the public school system of Massachusetts Henry Barnard accomplished in

perfecting the systems of Connecticut and Rhode Island, both of which he was instrumental in reorganizing and perfecting. The great republic has produced no two men whose life work has wrought more for national education, and, therefore, for national strength, than that of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard.

But, strangely enough, little provision was made in this great and far-reaching revival in these free states, from 1830 to 1860, for public school education for the children of those who were termed in those days "free people of color," although the anti-slavery contest, which was to end in the war of the rebellion, and its sequence of inestimable benefits to all the people, the bondsman and the free man, was in its height during this educational revival which was to give new life and energy to the republic. The Negro's social and political status in the free states was of the most unsatisfactory sort. In the matter of educational and religious instruction he had, in a large measure, to shift for himself, and in many localities, when he did this, the hoodlum element of the white population molested and terrorized him at its pleasure, in some instances wrecking and destroying the modest schools he or his friends had provided for his benefit. But what he did for himself and what his friends did for him in the matter of education during the trying years preceding the war of the rebellion, will be more extensively related under the next heading of this monograph. What relation the labors of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard sustained to the inauguration of public education in the sixteen southern states after the war will be seen when we come to treat of that phase of the subject.

III EDUCATION OF NEGROES BEFORE 1860

It was the general policy of the sixteen slave-holding states of the south to prohibit by fine, imprisonment and whipping the giving of instruction to blacks, mulattoes or other descendants of African parentage, and this prohibition was extended in most of the slave states to "free persons of color" as well as to slaves.

But it has been the general policy of the slave system in all ages to keep the slaves in ignorance as the safest way to perpetuate itself. In this respect the American slave system followed the beaten path of history, and thus furnished the strongest argument for its own undoing. The ignorance of the slave is always the best safeguard of the system of slavery, but no such theory could long prevail in a democracy like ours. There were able and distinguished men among the slaveholders themselves who rebelled against the system and the theories by which it sought to perpetuate itself. Such southern men as Thomas Jefferson, Henry Clay, Cassius M. Clay, and hundreds of others, never became reconciled to the system of slavery and the degradation of the slave.

The general character of the laws enacted on this subject by the slave states can be inferred from the following law, passed by the state of Georgia in 1829:

"If any slave, Negro, or free person of color, or any white person shall teach any slave, Negro or free person of color to read or write either written or printed characters, the said free person of color or slave shall be punished by fine and whipping, at the discretion of the court; and if a white person so offend, he, she or they shall be punished with a fine not exceeding $500 and imprisonment in the common jail, at the discretion of the court."

There were no laws in the slave code more rigidly enforced than those prohibiting the giving or receiving instruction by the slaves or "free persons of color." And yet in nearly all the large cities of the southern states — notably in Charleston, Savannah and New Orleans — there were what were styled "clandestine schools," where such instruction was given. Those who maintained them and those who patronized them were constantly watched and often apprehended and "beaten with many stripes," but the good work went on in some sort until 1860, when the war that was to be "the beginning of the end" of the whole system of slavery, put a stop to all such effort for the time being.

There is no more heroic chapter in history than that which deals with the persistence with which the slaves and "free persons of color" in the slave states sought and secured a measure of intellectual and religious instruction; for they were prohibited from preaching or receiving religious instruction except by written permit and when at least five "white men of good reputation" were present at such gatherings. But there has never been a time in the history of mankind when repressive laws, however rigidly enforced, could shut out the light of knowledge or prevent communion with the Supreme Ruler of the universe by such as were determined to share these noblest of human enjoyments. True, only a few, a very few, of the blacks and "free people of color" were able to secure any appreciable mental instruction; but the fact that so many of them sought it diligently in defiance of fines and penalties is worthy of notice and goes far towards explaining the extraordinary manner in which those people crowded into every school that was opened to them after the war of the rebellion had swept away the slave system and placed all the children of the republic upon equality under the Federal constitution. Nor was this yearning for mental instruction spasmodic; thirty-four years after the war all the school houses, of whatever sort, opened for these people are as crowded with anxious pupils as were the modest log school houses planted by New England men and women while the soldiers of the disbanded armies of the north and south were turning their faces homeward. A race so imbued with a love of knowledge, displayed in slavery and become the marvel of mankind in freedom, must have reserved for it some honorable place in our national life which God has not made plain to our understanding. In His own good time He will make plain His plans and purposes with regard to this people who were allowed to serve an apprenticeship of 250 years of slavery in a democratic republic.

In the free states of the north very little more provision was made, as late as 1830, by the state for the education of

the Negro population than by the slave states. There was no prohibition by the state against such instruction, but there was a very pronounced popular sentiment against it, when prosecuted by benevolent corporations and individuals. In 1833 the Connecticut legislature enacted the following black law, for the purpose of suppressing a "school for colored misses" which Miss Prudence Crandall had been forced to open in self-defense, at Canterbury:

"Whereas, attempts have been made to establish literary institutions in this state for the instruction of colored persons belonging to other states and countries, which would tend to the great increase of the colored population of the state, and therefore to the injury of the people; therefore,

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

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

The cause of this law was the acceptance by Miss Crandall of a young colored girl into her select school for young ladies. The parents of the white students insisted upon the dismissal of Miss Harris, the bone of contention, but Miss Crandall refused to do so, when the white students were withdrawn. Miss Crandall then announced that she would

open her school for "young ladies and little misses of color." The people of Canterbury protested against this course, and persecuted legally and otherwise Miss Crandall and her 20 pupils. When they found that they could not intimidate the brave woman the legislature was appealed to, and the law I have quoted was enacted. Under it Miss Crandall was arrested and placed in the common jail. The following day she was bailed out by Rev. Samuel J. May and others. The case was tried three times in the inferior courts, and was argued on appeal before the court of errors, July 22, 1834. The court reserved its decision and has not yet rendered it. Several attempts were made to burn Miss Crandall's house, and finally, September 9, 1834, about 12 o'clock at night, "her house was assaulted by a number of persons with heavy clubs and iron bars, and windows were dashed to pieces.[1] The school work was abandoned after this upon the advice of Rev. Mr. May and other friends. The obnoxious law was repealed in 1838.

All this sounds rather odd when it is remembered that the citizens of no state in the republic have contributed as many of their sons and daughters to the educational work among the Negroes of the south since the war, with the possible exception of Massachusetts, as Connecticut, and that two of her citizens, John F. Slater and Daniel Hand, contributed each the princely sum of one million dollars for the education of the Negroes of the southern states. Surely this all indicates one of the most remarkable revolutions in the public opinion of a state of which we have any record.

Schools established for the education of Negro youth were assaulted and wrecked in other free states, but the good work steadily progressed. Private schools sprang up in all the middle and New England states, Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts leading in the work, their white citizens contributing largely to their support. There were many of these schools, some of them of splendid character, in Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, Washington and

[1] Williams' History of the Negro race, vol. IV, p. 156.

Cincinnati. They were gradually absorbed into the public school system, and none of them now exist in an independent character, except the Institute for colored youth at Philadelphia, Lincoln university, in Chester county, and Avery institute at Allegheny City, all in Pennsylvania.

In 1837 Richard Humphreys left $10,000 by will, with which the Institute for colored youth was started, thirty members of the Society of Friends forming themselves into an association for the purpose of carrying out the wishes and plans of Mr. Humphreys. A remarkable feature of the constitution adopted by the trustees, in view of the present consideration of the subject by those concerned in Negro education, is the following preamble:

"We believe that the most successful method of elevating the moral and intellectual character of the descendants of Africa, as well as of improving their social condition, is to extend to them the benefits of a good education, and to instruct them in the knowledge of some useful trade or business, whereby they may be enabled to obtain a comfortable livelihood by their own industry; and through these means to prepare them for fulfilling the various duties of domestic and social life with reputation and fidelity, as good citizens and freemen."

The measure of progress which has been made in public opinion and in the educational status of the Negro race in the middle and New England states can easily be estimated by the fact that as recently as 1830 no Negro could matriculate in any of the colleges and other schools of this splendid group of states, and that now not one of them is closed against a black person, except Girard college at Philadelphia, whose founder made a perpetual discrimination against people of African descent in devising his benefaction; that Negro children stand on the same footing with white children in all public school benefits; that the separate school system has broken down entirely in the New England states and is gradually breaking down in the middle states, New Jersey and Pennsylvania being the only states in the latter

group which still cling to the principle; and that in many of the public schools of both groups of states Negro teachers are employed and stand upon the same footing as white teachers. Indeed, Miss Maria L. Baldwin, an accomplished black woman, is principal of the Agassiz school, at Cambridge, Mass., and in the large corps of teachers under her, not one of them, I believe, is a member of her own race.

All this is a very long stride from the condition of the public mind in the middle and New England states when Negro children were not allowed to attend any public school or college and when a reputable white woman was persecuted, jailed and her property destroyed, in 1834, for accepting a young colored woman into her select school. This remarkable change in public sentiment argues well for the future of the Negro race and for the republic, which for more than a century has agonized over this race problem, and is still anxious about it in the sixteen southern states, where a large majority of the Negroes reside and will, in all probability, continue to reside for all time to come.

IV PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH AFTER THE WAR

Dr. A. D. Mayo, M. A., LL.D., one of the best authorities on educational matters in the United States, says that "it is still a favorite theory of a class of the representatives of the higher university and college education to proclaim the invariable legitimate descent of the secondary and even elementary schooling of the people always and everywhere from this fountain head," the southern states, and that, "in one sense, this assertion is 'founded on fact.'" But, although most of the southern states were committed to the theory of public education, the system of slavery stood in the way of the development of the theory. Popular education and slavery, like oil and water, will not mix. The educational energy of the south expanded rather along academic and collegiate than common school lines. The slave-holding aristocrary drew the social line against the poor whites as

well as the slave blacks, and while dooming the latter to mental darkness by stringent laws, rigidly enforced, the same result was accomplished in the case of the former by the steady development of the old English theory of academy education, chartered for the most part by the state but supported almost wholly by their patrons, and therefore inaccessible to the children of the poor whites. It was due to this fact that so very large a percentage of the southern white population figured in the first census after the war of the rebellion as illiterate and so figure to a large extent even to-day, twenty-nine years after the beneficent operation of the public school system in all of the states of the south.

If the south, because of the existence of the slave system more than anything else, drifted away from the theory of public school education, prior to 1860, it has nobly rectified its mistake since 1870. Upon this point Dr. Mayo says, speaking of Virginia, which has always set the pace for her sister states of the south — and especially in the matter of education, under the leadership of Dr. W. H. Ruffner (from 1870 to 1882), who has been appropriately styled the Horace Mann of the south :

" But the condition of the educational destitution in which the state found itself in 1865, in the hour of its dire extremity, was the logical result of the narrow English policy it has pursued in this as in other directions; and, in 1870, the cry went up, from the sea sands to the most distant recesses of the western mountains, for the establishment of the American people's common school.

" In nothing has the really superior class of Virginia more notably declared its soundness, persistence, and capacity to hold fast to a great idea than in the way in which it stood by the educational ideas of Jefferson through the one hundred turbulent years from the outbreak of the war of the revolution to the inauguration of the people's common school in 1870."

As it was with Virginia, so it was with the other southern states. A revival was begun in public or common school

education, in 1870, which is still in progress, such as swept over New England and the middle states from 1830 to 1860. Broken in fortune and bowed with defeat in a great civil war, the south pulled itself together as a giant rouses from slumber and shakes himself and began to lay the basis of a new career and a new prosperity in a condition of freedom of all the people and in the widest diffusion of education among the citizens through the medium of the common schools. Perhaps no people in history ever showed a more superb public spirit and self-sacrifice under trying circumstances than the people of the south have displayed in the gradual building up of their public school system upon the ruins of the aristocratic academy system. The work had to be done from the ground up, from the organization of the working force to the building of the school houses and the marshalling of the young hosts. The work has required in the aggregate, perhaps, the raising by taxation of $514,922,268, $100,000,000 having been expended in maintaining the separate schools for the Negro race. This must be regarded as a marvelous showing when the impoverished condition in which the war left the south in 1865 is considered. But it is a safe, if a time-honored saying, that "where there is a will there is a way." The southern people found a way because they had a will to do it; and it is not too much to claim that the industrial prosperity which the south is now enjoying is intimately connected with the effort and money expended in popular education since 1870.

The statistical tables will show more eloquently than could be done by words the growth of the public school system in the southern states since 1870. These tables are furnished at the conclusion of the monograph, together with other tables showing the growth in other directions in secondary, academic, collegiate and industrial education.

It is interesting to note that the total enrollment of the sixteen southern states and the District of Columbia for the year 1896–97 was 5,398,076, the number of Negro children being 1,460,084; the number of white children 3,937,992.

The estimated number of children in the south from 5 to 18 years of age was 8,625,770, of which 2,816,340 or 32.65 per cent were children of the Negro race, and 5,809,430 or 67.35 per cent were white children. The number of Negro children enrolled was 51.84 per cent of the Negro population and 67.79 of the white population. When the relative social and material condition of the former is contrasted with that of the latter, it must be admitted that the children of the former slaves are treading closely upon the heels of the children of the former master class in the pursuit of knowledge as furnished in the public school system.

During the year 1896–97 it is estimated that $31,144,801 was expended in public school education in the sixteen southern states and the District of Columbia, of which, it is estimated, $6,575,000 was expended upon the Negro schools.

Since 1870 it is estimated that $514,922,268 have been expended in the maintenance of the public school system of the southern states, and that at least $100,000,000 have been expended for the maintenance of the separate public schools for Negroes. The total expenditure for each year and the aggregate for the twenty-seven years, as well as the common school enrollment of white and colored children for each year since 1876 are shown in table 2 at the end of the monograph.

The significance of the facts contained in the two foregoing paragraphs will be appreciated by Europeans as well as Americans. The fact that 2,816,340 children of former slaves were in regular attendance in the public schools of the late slave-holding states of the south for the year 1896–97, and that $6,575,000 was expended for their maintenance, gathered entirely from public taxation and funds for educational purposes controlled by the states, should be regarded as the strongest arguments that could be presented to Americans or to foreigners to prove that the race problem in the United States is in satisfactory process of solution. That there is grave doubt at home and abroad upon this subject I freely acknowledge; but judging entirely from

such facts as are here recited, and from observation in the black belt covering a period of eighteen years, I am free to say I have no doubts whatever as to the ultimate outcome. The people of the southern states, the old slave-holding class, have not only accepted in good faith the educational burden placed upon them, in the addition of 8,000,000 of people to their citizenship, but they have discharged that burden in a way that must command the admiration of the world. That my own people are discharging their part of the obligation is shown in the statistics of school attendance I have given, and in the further fact that it is estimated they have amassed since their emancipation $300,000,000 of taxable property. While this may seem small as a taxable value as compared to the aggregate of taxable values in the southern states, it is large, indeed, when the poverty of the Negro race in 1865, with all the advantages and disadvantages of slave education and tradition to contend with, are considered. When a race starts empty-handed in the serious business of life, what it inclines to and amasses in a given period is valuable almost wholly as a criterion upon which to base a reasonable deduction as to its ultimate future.

In all matters affecting my race and its future in the United States, I indulge an optimism which I endeavor to keep within the bounds of reasonable hopefulness. I have this faith because of the facts in the situation, because I have faith in the possibilities of my race and in the humanity and self-interest of my white fellow-citizens, not only of the south, but of the north and the west as well, and because as a historical fact social revolutions seldom if ever go backwards. The Negro race is compelled to go forward in the social scale because it is surrounded by forces which will not permit it to go backwards without crushing the life out of it, as they crushed the life out of the unassimilable aboriginal Indian races of North America. In this matter of statistics I have presented, it is clearly to be seen that the Negro race, in its desire for American education, possesses the prime element of assimilation into the warp and woof of

American life, and if its desire for the Christian religion be added we have the three prime elements of homogenous citizenship as defined by Prof. Aldrini, viz.: Habitat, language and religion.

It seems well to me to say this much, adduced from the statistics of common school education in the late slave states of the sixteen southern states and the District of Columbia, where the bulk of the Negro people reside, as a logical conclusion in a problematical situation, concerning which many wise men are disposed to indulge a pessimism which confuses them as well as those who have to deal immediately with the perplexing condition of affairs. I submit that the common school statistics of the southern states leave no room for doubt as to the ultimate well-being of the Negroes residing in those states.

V GROUND WORK EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

In the preceding chapter the extraordinary development of the public school system of the sixteen southern states and the District of Columbia has been hastily recorded from 1870 to 1896–97. It is a record worthy of the proud people who made it,— people who have from the foundation of the republic been resourceful, courageous, self-reliant; rising always equal to any emergency presented in their new and trying circumstances, surrounded on every side, as they were, by a vast undeveloped territory, and by a hostile Indian population, and fatally handicapped by a system of African slavery, which proved a mill stone about the neck of the people until it was finally abolished, amid the smoke and flame and death of a hundred battles, in 1865. There are none so niggardly as to deny to the southern people the full measure of credit which they deserve for the splendid spirit with which they put aside their prejudices of more than two centuries against popular common school education on the one hand, and their equally prescriptive prejudice against the education of the Negro race under any circumstances on the other. Few if any people in the various history of mankind have so completely overcome two such prejudices." On this point Dr. Mayo says:

"Almost one hundred years ago young Thomas Jefferson drew up a scheme for the education of the people of Virginia, which, had it been adopted, would have changed the history of that and of every southern state and the nation. He proposed to emancipate the slaves and fit them, by industrial training, for freedom; to establish a free school for every white child in every district of the colony; to support an academy for boys within a day's horseback ride of every man in the Old Dominion, and to crown all with a university, unsectarian in religion, elective in its curriculum, teaching everything necessary for a gentleman to know. This plan received the indorsement of many of the most eminent men of the day, and exalts the fame of Jefferson as an educator even higher than his reputation as a statesman."

All that Jefferson dreamed and outlined for the people of Virginia and of the south has been more than accomplished for both races in Virginia and in the south. The possibilities of a common school, collegiate and industrial education have been placed in easy reach of all the people, and the people are justifying the splendid faith of the Sage of Monticello by the earnestness with which they are taking advantage of the opportunities provided for them by the states and a munificent Christian philanthropy — a philanthropy which has given fully $40,000,000 of money and thousands of devoted men and women teachers to illuminate the mental darkness generated by the system of slavery. Surely no better monument than this philanthropy could be erected to perpetuate the memory of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, in relighting the fires of popular education in the middle and New England states, for without their labors and sacrifices in this cause that philanthropy would not have been possible. Truly,

"God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform;
He plants his footsteps in the sea
And rides upon the storm."

But the public school system of the southern states had to have other and more substantial foundation than was offered at the close of the war of the rebellion, in 1865, by the academy and college system which had been fostered and developed as best adapted to a social condition whose corner stone was the slave system. Without this foundation, firmly and wisely laid in the fateful years from 1865 to 1870, by the initiative of the Federal government, magnificently sustained by the philanthropy and missionary consecration of the people of the New England and middle states, the results which we have secured in the public school system of the south from 1870 to the present time would not have been possible. All the facts in the situation sustain this view.

It is creditable to the people of the New England and middle states that they, who had been engaged for four years in a Titanic warfare with their brethren of the southern states, should enter the southern states in the person of their sons and daughters, and with a voluntary gift of $40,000,000, or more, to plant common schools and academies and colleges, in the devastation wrought by the civil war, upon the sites where the slave auction block had stood for 250 years, thereby lifting the glorious torch of knowledge in the dense mental darkness with which the slave system had sought to hedge its power; nor is it less creditable that the southern people accepted this assistance and builded upon it a public school system which promises to equal that in any of the other sections of the republic.

In anticipation of the condition of affairs that would arise when hostilities should cease, as early as the spring of 1865, before the war was over, an act was passed by congress providing for the relief of the destitute of the south. The act was entitled "an act to establish a bureau for the relief of freedmen and refugees." May 20, 1865, Major-General O. O. Howard was appointed commissioner of the Freedmen's bureau. General Howard,—who founded the institution which bears his name at Washington and gave it a princely

endowment,[1]—"gave," says the historian Williams, "great attention to the subject of education; and after planting schools for the freedmen throughout a greater portion of the south, in 1870, five years after the work was begun, he made a report. It was full of interest. In five years there were 4239 schools established, 9,307 teachers employed, and 247,333 pupils instructed. In 1868 the average attendance was 89,396, but in 1870 it was 91,398, or 79 3-4 per cent of the total number enrolled. The emancipated people sustained 1324 schools themselves, and owned 592 school buildings. The Freedmen's bureau furnished 654 buildings for school purposes."

In 1879, according to the same authority, "there were 74 high and normal schools, with 8,147 students, and 61 intermediate schools, with 1,750 students in attendance. In doing this great work,—for buildings, repairs, teachers, etc., —$1,002,896.07 was expended. Of this sum the freedmen raised $200,000. This was conclusive proof that emancipation was no mistake."

Mr. Williams says further (p. 393) that it appears from the reports of the Freedmen's bureau that the earliest school for freedom was opened by the American missionary association, at Fortress Monroe, Va., September, 1861, and before the close of the war Hampton and Norfolk were leading points where educational operations were conducted; but after the cessation of hostilities teachers were sent from the northern states and schools for freedmen were opened in all parts of the south. During the five years of its operations the bureau made a total expenditure of $6,513,955.55. No money was ever more wisely or beneficently expended. While a goodly portion of it was expended in food and clothing, and the like, for the destitute freedmen, by far the most of it went into school houses and into the salaries of school teachers, and finally became the basis if not the inspiration of the public school system of the southern states; it certainly did become the inspiration and the

[1] History of the Negro race, p. 385.

foundation of the 178 schools for secondary and higher education which exist to-day independently of the public school system or of state control, although many of them are recipients of state assistance.

While the Federal government was planting these schools among the freedmen, the people of the middle and New England states were sending thousands of dollars into the south and sending an army of devoted men and women to back up and carry forward the educational work among the freed people. In the extent of it, it was and it continues to be the most striking example of Christian brotherhood and benevolence in the annals of mankind. Through the agency of the Federal government and northern philanthropy, schools for the freed people were planted everywhere, and grew and prospered, and continue to grow and prosper, as such schools never have done before.

Writing on this subject in the *Southern workman* (January, 1898), the organ of the Hampton institute, T. Thomas Fortune said:

"It is true that the public and private interest which aroused the north especially, to the importance of lifting into the glorious sunlight of knowledge the great mass of Afro-Americans who had so long stumbled and fallen and grovelled in the darkness of ignorance and superstition and immorality, with which the institution of slavery was compelled to hedge itself about in order to insure existence, has no parallel in the history of mankind. We seek in vain for philanthropy so instant and generous and continuous, and for missionary spirit so noble and capable and self-sacrificing, as that which answered the Macedonian cry that came out of the log cabins of the south,

> "'When the war drums throbbed no longer, and the battle flags were furled,
> In the parliament of man, the federation of the world.'"

"And what a herculean task was theirs! The New England men and women who went into the waste places of the south, following closely upon the heels of the warlike host that stacked their arms at Appomattox court house, formed

an army as heroic as ever went forth under the standard of the cross to 'redeem the human mind from error.' No wealth could have purchased the service and the sacrifice they undertook for God and humanity, and no memorial of affection or granite shaft can ever adequately commemorate their works. There are some services and sacrifices which it is impossible to reward. These evangels went into a hostile country, armed with Puritan faith and New England culture, and by singleness of purpose and gentleness of character disarmed the prejudice of the whites and won the respect and confidence of the suspicious blacks, who had been educated in the school of slavery to distrust all Greeks, even those bearing gifts. But in the progress of time all this was changed, and prejudice and suspicion were transformed into respect and confidence.

"What have been the results? After thirty years of effort there are 25,615 Afro-American teachers in the schools of the south, where there was hardly one when the work began; some 4,000 men have been prepared, in part or in whole, for the work of the Christian ministry, and a complete revolution has been effected in the mental and moral character of Afro-American preachers, a service which no one can estimate who is not intimately informed of the tremendous influence which these preachers exercise everywhere over the masses of their race; the professions of law and medicine have been so far supplied that one or more representatives are to be found in every large community of the south, as well as in the north and west, graduates for the most part of the schools of the south; and all over the south I have found men engaged in trade occupations whose intellects and characters were shaped for the battle of life by the New England pioneers who took up the work where their soldier brothers laid it down at the close of the war. But the influence of these teachers upon the character, the home life, of the thousands who are neither teaching, preaching nor engaged in professional or commercial pursuits, but are devoted to the making of domestic comfort and happi-

ness for their husbands and children, in properly training the future citizens of the republic, was one of the most necessary and far-reaching that was exercised, and the one which to-day holds out the promise for the best results in the years to come."

It was these New England men and women who labored all over the south from 1865 to 1870 who made possible the splendid public school results so eloquently depicted in the statistical tables given at the end of this monograph. Their labors did not end in the field of primary education in 1870; they remained at their posts until they had prepared the 25,000 Negroes necessary to take their places. "When shall their glory fade?" And even unto to-day hundreds of them are laboring in some one of the 169 schools of secondary and higher education maintained for the freed people.

VI BEQUESTS FOR SOUTHERN EDUCATION

In the inauguration and development of the educational work in the southern states and the District of Columbia there have been other potential agencies than those already enumerated. It has been shown that the Federal government, operating through the Freedmen's bureau, of which Major-General O. O. Howard was commissioner, between 1865 and 1870 established 4,239 schools, employing 9,307 teachers, with an enrollment of 247,333 pupils, at a total expense of $1,002,896.07, of which the freedmen themselves raised $200,000; that the American missionary association, founded in 1846, was among the first agencies to enter the southern educational work, as it has since been the most active and effective; and that the southern states, from 1870, when they assumed control of the common school system, to 1896–97, spent in primary education, $514,922,268, of which at least $100,000,000 was devoted to the free education of the slaves. These enormous expenditures (see table 2) were largely supplemented by private benevolence, estimated at a total of $40,000,000, much of which went into primary school buildings and education, the buildings in

most instances having been gradually relinquished to the states.

As the American missionary association was among the first to enter the southern school work, it is proper to give it a conspicuous place in this monograph. The extent of its operations in the southern field can be inferred from the fifty-third annual report of the executive committee (September 30, 1899). From this report it appears that the association has in the southern educational work of secondary and higher education 5 chartered institutions, 45 normal and graded schools, 26 common schools, being 76 schools, with 414 instructors and 12,428 pupils. The receipts for the current work for the year (1898–99) were $297,681.98; expenditures, $296,810.84. The total receipts for all purposes for the year were $370,963.44, of which $71,960.50 is credited to income from the Daniel Hand fund. The work of this association has been inestimable.

At the annual meeting of the American missionary association, at Providence, R. I., October 23–25, 1888, it was announced that Mr. Daniel Hand, of Guilford, Connecticut, had given the association $1,000,894.25, in trust, to be known as the "Daniel Hand educational fund for colored people," the income of which shall be used for the purpose of educating needy and indigent colored people of African descent, residing, or who may hereafter reside, in the recent slave states of the United States." In addition to this princely gift Mr. Hand provided that his residuary estate, amounting to the sum of $500,000, should be devoted to the same purpose, to be disbursed through the association. Mr. Hand made his wealth in the south, where he settled in Augusta, Ga., in 1818, and he, therefore, had an intimate knowledge of the educational needs of the emancipated people. He was a man of devout nature.

But the fund which had the most influence upon the development of the primary and secondary education of the southern states was that of $2,000,000 established by George Peabody, of Danvers, Mass. (the first gift of $1,000,000

being made February 7, 1867, the second $1,000,000 being added July 1, 1869). In addition, $1,100,000 in bonds, indorsed by Mississippi, and $384,000 Florida bonds were given to the trustees appointed to administer the trust, but these bonds were ultimately repudiated by Mississippi and Florida, although both of them were beneficiaries of the trust,— Mississippi by $86,878 and Florida by $67,375, from 1868 to 1897. The general purposes of the trust, as Mr. Peabody stated it, in his letter to the sixteen trustees designated by him, were that "the income thereof should be applied in your discretion for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral or industrial education of the young of the more destitute portions of the southern and southwestern states of our union; my purpose being that the benefits intended shall be distributed among the entire population, without other distinction than their needs and the opportunities of usefulness to them."

Mr. Peabody laid the foundation of his immense fortune in Georgetown, D. C., and Baltimore, from 1812 to 1837. In the latter year he permanently settled in London, England, and began business there, where his benefactions equalled those he made in the United States, of which the trust fund for educational purposes was the most considerable, but by no means the only one. Mr. Peabody started life as a poor boy, but he had a natural genius for making money, and, what is far rarer, as the poor of London and our southern states can testify, a natural genius for so devoting his wealth to public uses as to accomplish the most good.

The trustees of the Peabody fund, of which the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop was chairman, were particularly fortunate in securing as the first general agent Dr. B. Sears, then president of Brown university. In 1848 Dr. Sears had succeeded Horace Mann as secretary of the Massachusetts board of education and as its executive agent, and served in that capacity until 1855, when he was called to the presidency of his *alma mater*. He was still president of Brown university when called to the work of the Peabody fund,

April 9, 1867. He had been grounded in the common school theories of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard and in the work of higher education as president of a great university. He was eminently fitted, therefore, to do much towards shaping the public school system of the southern states.

Dr. J. L. M. Curry, the present able general agent of the fund, says of Dr. Sears (who died July 6, 1880), in his "History of the Peabody fund" (page 67):

"The highest commendation of his work is to be found in the persuasive, potential influence he exerted in behalf of popular education. School superintendents bore their strong and cheerful testimony to his rare insight into the educational needs of the south, and to his influence in stimulating to proper and wise action."

Dr. Curry succeeded Dr. Sears February 2, 1881, and with the exception of three years, when he was minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to Spain, he has been the working force in shaping the policy of the fund to the present time. Dr. Curry,— himself a southern man,— learned, eloquent, an indefatigable worker, and passionately devoted to the highest educational ideas and to the cause of southern education, as the representative of the Peabody fund and the Slater fund, has done equally as much as Dr. Ruffner and Dr. Sears in shaping the southern educational movement. In speaking of the general effects of the fund, Dr. Curry says (History of the Peabody education fund, p. 25):

"The fund has been a most potent agency in creating and preserving a bond of peace and unity and fraternity between the north and the south. It instituted an era of good feeling; for the gift, as Mr. Winthrop said, 'was the earliest manifestation of a spirit of reconciliation toward those from whom we had been so unhappily alienated and against whom we of the north had been so recently arrayed in arms.' No instrumentality has been so effective in the south in promoting concord, in restoring fellowship, in cultivating a broad

and generous patriotism, and apart from its direct connection with schools, it has been an unspeakable blessing in cementing the bonds of a lately dissevered union."

From 1868 to 1897 the income of the fund amounted to $2,478,527.13, of which $248,562.25 was expended in maintaining the Normal college for whites at Nashville, Tenn., and $398,690.88 for scholarships at the same college. The remainder was expended in rendering aid to the needy public schools of the south and in stimulating normal and industrial education for both races.

March 4, 1882, Mr. John Fox Slater, of Norwich, Conn., created a trust fund of $1,000,000, stating that the "general object which I desire to have exclusively pursued is the uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the southern states and their posterity by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education." He declared in the same relation: "The disabilities formerly suffered by these people and their singular patience and fidelity in the great crisis of the nation, establish a just claim on the sympathy and good will of humane and patriotic men. I cannot but feel the compassion that is due in view of their prevailing ignorance which exists by no fault of theirs."

"But it is not only for their own sakes," Mr. Slater said further, "but also for the safety of our common country, in which they have been invested with equal political rights, and I am desirous to aid in providing them with the means of such education as shall tend to make them good men and good citizens — education in which the instruction of the mind in the common branches of secular learning shall be associated with training in just notions of duty toward God and man in the light of the Holy Scriptures."

The fund is administered by a trustee board, and like the Peabody fund, composed of some of the most distinguished citizens of the republic. The Slater fund is used almost exclusively at the present time in promoting industrial education at a number of the largest institutions for colored people.

These princely donations by three private citizens, aggregating a fund of $4,000,000, have been supplemented by millions of dollars more from private citizens which have gone to the building up of the educational waste places of the south, to which all of the great church denominations have contributed, and still contribute, more or less as organized bodies. As the outgrowth of all the benefactions and effort since 1865 there are now, according to Dr. Mayo, 169 schools of secondary and higher education in the southern states maintained for the Negro people. They are fed constantly by the common schools, and all the agencies working together are fast reducing the ignorance bequeathed as a terrible legacy by the slave system to the southern states. We shall search history in vain for a parallel to the munificence, the Christian charity and the personal sacrifice which the people of the great republic have contributed since 1865 to the education of the lately enslaved people of the Negro race.

VII PRESENT EDUCATIONAL STATUS

It was natural and to have been expected, after the New England men and women who had graduated out of the white heat of the high educational enthusiasm created by Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, Dr. Sears, and others, from 1830 to 1860, had laid the foundation of the primary education among the emancipated people of the southern states, that they would then turn their attention to the secondary and higher education of the same people. That is what they did. As fast as they prepared young men and women to take their places as school teachers (and at the present time there are more than 25,000 such teaching in the public schools of the south), these New England men and women retired from the field as public school teachers. They were actuated almost wholly by Christian missionary spirit. They heard the loud "Macedonian cry" and responded to it with a devotion and self-sacrifice which will always remain one of the most luminous and striking pages in missionary effort.

But there was another and a splendid work for them to do in laying the foundation of the secondary and higher education as the necessary supplement of the primary educational work. At the present time there are 169 such schools in the sixteen southern states and the District of Columbia. Some of them are magnificent seats of learning; such, for example, as Howard university, at Washington; Atlanta university, at Atlanta; Fisk university, at Nashville; Wiley university, at Marshall, Texas, and the like, so that the southern state which has no such school of higher learning is poor indeed. And these schools were founded, for the most part, and are maintained in the main by northern philanthropy — a philanthropy of which George Peabody, John F. Slater and Daniel Hand are the most striking examples. The money value and the income of these schools is set forth in table 8 of the appendix; while the character, teachers and students are set forth in tables 3 to 7 inclusive. The fact that the income of these 169 schools in 1896–97 was $1,045,278, that $540,097 of it was derived from unclassified sources, that the several states and municipalties contributed $271,839, and that the students paid in tuition fees $141,262, shows that all the best forces of the republic — the state, the Christian philanthropist and the grateful beneficiary — are all working harmoniously together to prepare the children of the former slaves for the proper and high duties of citizenship. The public school system,— with 1,460,084 pupils enrolled of Negroes, in 1896–97, as against an enrollment of only 571,506 in 1876–77,— is a fixture and serves as a constant feeder of the 169 schools of higher learning. Thus the whole system, it will be seen, of primary, secondary and higher education, is in harmonious relationship and must grow stronger and stronger every year.

It should not be overlooked, however, that besides the splendid advantages offered the Negroes by these 169 schools of higher learning, all of the colleges and universities of the northern and western states are accessible to Negro students

who prefer them, color distinctions not being recognized or tolerated in the management of these schools. The white colleges and universities of the southern states, like the public school system, are conducted rigidly upon lines of race separation.

It was a natural development of the educational effort in the southern states that when the schools of secondary and higher education had become fixed facts that a desire should have grown up for other institutions whose principal object should be the industrial education of such of the Negroes as desire that sort of education. Of late years industrial schools have sprung up all over the southern states, and they are growing constantly in favor with the masses, because of their economic condition and the growing demand for skilled workmen in all avenues of industry. In the early days of the educational work of the southern states little stress was laid upon the industrial training of the people. Mental and moral and religious training was considered the all-important thing. Perhaps it was,— to a people who had dwelt in mental, moral and religious darkness from 1620 to 1865. They needed the great light of mental, moral and religious truths as a firm and sure foundation upon which was to be built a structure of technical education, out of which should naturally grow the industrial and commercial rehabilitation of the people, without which there can be no character, no strength, no prosperity in an individual or a race. This principle was recognized by the 30 members of the Society of Friends, who established the Institute for colored youth at Philadelphia, in 1837, to which reference has already been made.

The good Friends were very much in advance of their time, and a great many good people of both races have not caught up with their idea as yet. However,there has been a very great and satisfactory awakening all over the republic during the past decade, among all races of the population, as to the vital importance of technical education. The fact that 13,581 Negro students were receiving industrial training

in schools of the south, in 1896–97 (see table 7), speaks volumes, as compared to the 2,108 who were receiving collegiate education (see table 3), and the 2,410 who were receiving classical instruction (see table 4), and the 1,311 who were taking the professional course (see table 6) in the same year; making a total of 5,829 taking the higher education, or 7,752 fewer than were taking the industrial course. Indeed, the growth of the industrial theory of education among Negroes in the past decade has not only been phenomenal but it is by all odds the most encouraging fact in a situation not without its discouraging features.

It is a rare compliment to one of the wisest and best of the New England men who engaged in the southern educational work that his theory of industrial training has taken such a firm root in a rich soil. This good and wise man was General Samuel Chapman Armstrong. While other men and women were devoting themselves to the necessary work of founding schools of secondary and higher education for the freed people, General Armstrong, in 1868, busied himself in founding and developing the Hampton normal and agricultural institute at Hampton, Va., which, says the historian of the work, "beginning in 1868 with two teachers and 15 students in the old barracks left by the civil war, the Hampton school has grown, until at the beginning of the present year (1899) there were on the grounds 1,000 students. Of these 135 are Indians, representing ten states and territories. Of the 80 officers, teachers and assistants, about one-half are in the industrial departments. Instead of the old barracks there are now fifty-five buildings."

The Hampton normal and agricultural institute is without doubt at the present time the center of all that is best, wisest and most permanent in the educational development of the black man in the south. It is by far the largest and most important seat of learning in the country for the development of the Negro. It has a large property now valued at over half a million of dollars, and has in constant operation all the industries by which the colored people find

it necessary to make a living. Under the wise supervision of Dr. H. B. Frissell, the successor of General Armstrong, this institution is constantly growing, broadening and deepening its influence among the people. The work of the Hampton institute has not only resulted in turning the attention of the Negro population to the importance of industrial education, but has had a marked influence in shaping the education of the white south in the same direction.

It was the constant aim of General Armstrong to educate the head, the heart and the hand of the student, to make strong school teachers and skilled mechanics and agriculturalists, and his aims have been amply justified by results. General Armstrong was born of missionary parents in Hawaii. He was educated in this country. He was a soldier in the war for the preservation of the union and commanded a regiment of black soldiers. His was a pious and lovable nature which delighted to do the Master's work by reaching out the hand of assistance to the lowest and most needy of the Master's children.

Out of the Hampton institute has grown the Tuskegee normal and industrial institute, located at Tuskegee, Ala., in the black belt of the south. The Tuskegee institute has grown from a log cabin to an institution possessing 42 buildings with 2,300 acres of land, 88 instructors and about a thousand students. It gives instruction in about twenty-six different industries, in addition to giving training in academic and religious branches. A large number of graduates of Tuskegee are turned out every year and are at work in various portions of the south as teachers in class rooms, instructors in agricultural, mechanical and domestic pursuits. Quite a number of these graduates and students cultivate their own farms or man their own industrial establishments. The property owned by the Tuskegee normal and industrial institute is valued at $300,000, and the buildings have been very largely built by the labor of the students themselves. One rather unique feature of the Tuskegee normal and industrial institute is that the institution is wholly officered

by members of the Negro race. Aside from Hampton, Tuskegee is one of the largest and most important centers of education in the south, especially in the direction of industrial development.

The work of the Hampton institute and Tuskegee is not only proving itself valuable in showing the rank and file of the colored people how to lift themselves up, but it is equally important in winning the friendship and co-operation of the southern white people. The influence of the young men and women turned out from these two institutions, as well as from other institutions, is gradually softening the prejudice against the education of the Negro, and in many striking instances bringing about the active co-operation and help of the southern white man in the direction of elevating the Negro.

There have been many other schools than the Tuskegee institute founded on the Hampton idea, and the number is increasing every year. Nearly all the southern states are now maintaining industrial schools not only for the blacks but for the whites as well, for the education that is good and necessary for the black is equally so for the white boy.

From the facts and conclusions set forth, hastily withal, in this monograph it will readily be seen that from the educational point of view the Negro race has, since 1865, taken full advantage of its splendid opportunities, and that the present affords splendid promise that the future, which so many dread, will, in the providence of God, take care of itself.

TABLE 1 — *Common school statistics, classified by race, 1896–97*

STATE	ESTIMATED NUMBER OF PERSONS, 5 TO 18 YEARS OF AGE		PERCENTAGE OF THE WHOLE		PUPILS ENROLLED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.		PER CENT OF PERSONS 5 TO 18 YEARS ENROLLED		AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE		PER CENT OF ENROLLMENT		NUMBER OF TEACHERS	
	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored
Alabama	334 700	286 900	53.84	46.16	198 605	120 921	59.34	42.15	*b* 130 330	*b* 82 770	65.57	68.45	4 725	2 398
Arkansas	331 700	128 500	72.08	27.92	234 078	82 192	70.57	63.96	144 532	50 977	61.75	62.02	5 617	1 564
Delaware (1891–92)	39 850	8 980	81.61	18.39	28 316	4 858	71.06	54.10	*b* 19 746	*b* 2 947	69.73	60.66	1 064	106
District of Columbia	45 440	25 000	64.51	35.49	27 797	15 198	61.17	60.79	21 783	11 530	78.36	75.87	734	356
Florida	92 240	73 060	55.80	44.20	65 913	39 502	71.46	54.07	43 623	25 854	66.18	65.45	2 016	642
Georgia	369 000	346 300	51.59	48.41	266 991	170 180	72.36	51.74	150 504	90 179	58.61	50.33	6 014	3 347
Kentucky (1895–96)	557 400	95 400	85.39	14.61	337 618	62 508	60.57	65.52	247 203	39 658	73.23	63.44	8 727	1 482
Louisiana	256 500	220 000	48.48	51.52	103 868	66 079	30.36	30.03	75 384	48 739	72.58	73.76	2 690	1 052
Maryland	268 000	77 200	77.64	22.36	186 416	43 531	69.56	56.39	111 208	22 419	59.66	51.50	4 062	774
Mississippi (1894–95)	212 700	300 800	40.71	59.29	162 830	187 785	76.55	60.61	90 048	103 635	60.83	55.19	4 591	3 264
Missouri	890 300	54 200	94.26	5.74	642 237	31 915	72.02	58.88	468 611	21 840	73.08	68.37	14 176	762
North Carolina (1895–96)	389 700	233 700	62.51	37.49	244 376	126 544	62.71	54.15	155 800	75 826	63.79	59.92	5 129	2 756
South Carolina	176 700	296 500	37.34	62.66	119 027	130 156	67.36	46.93	82 627	99 932	69.48	71.81	2 928	3 045
Tennessee (1895–6)	480 300	162 000	74.78	25.22	386 483	95 102	80.47	58.70	272 963	65 213	70.63	68.57	7 357	1 898
Texas (1895–96)	800 500	245 500	74.53	25.47	481 419	135 149	60.14	55.05	340 913	95 336	74.68	66.84	10 470	2 747
Virginia	340 100	242 000	58.43	41.57	244 583	133 234	71.92	50.02	145 218	68 293	59.37	55.34	6 448	2 127
West Virginia (1895–96)	274 300	11 300	96.04	3.96	208 435	7 230	75.00	63.98	130 614	4 467	65.54	61.78	6 219	235
Total	5 800 430	2 816 340	67.35	32.65	3 937 992	1 460 084	67.79	51.84	2 661 106	904 505	67.58	61.95	92 458	27 435
Total, 1889–90	*a* 5 132 948	*a* 2 510 847	67.15	32.85	3 402 420	1 296 959	66.29	51.65	2 165 249	813 710	63.64	62.74	78 903	24 072

a United States census.

b Approximately.

TABLE 2 — *Sixteen former slave states and the District of Columbia*

YEAR	COMMON SCHOOL ENROLLMENT		Expenditures (both races)
	White	Colored	
1870–71	.....	.....	$10 385 464
1871–72	.....	.....	11 623 238
1872–73	.....	.....	11 176 048
1873–74	.....	.....	11 823 775
1874–75	.....	.....	13 021 514
1875–76	.....	.....	12 033 865
1876–77	1 827 139	571,506	11 231 073
1877–78	2 034 946	675 150	12 093 091
1878–79	2 013 684	685 942	12 174 141
1879–80	2 215 674	784 709	12 678 685
1880–81	2 234 877	802 374	13 656 814
1881–82	2 249 263	802 982	15 241 740
1882–83	2 370 110	817 240	16 363 471
1883–84	2 546 448	1 002 313	17 884 558
1884–85	2 676 911	1 030 463	19 253 874
1885–86	2 773 145	1 048 659	20 208 113
1886–87	2 975 773	1 118 556	20 821 969
1887–88	3 110 606	1 140 405	21 810 158
1888–89	3 197 830	1 213 092	23 171 878
1889–90	3 402 420	1 296 959	24 880 107
1890–91	3 570 624	1 329 549	26 690 310
1891–92	3 607 549	1 354 316	27 691 488
1892–93	3 697 899	1 367 515	28 535 738
1893–94	3 835 593	1 424 995	29 223 546
1894–95	3 845 414	1 441 282	29 372 990
1895–96	3 861 300	1 429 713	30 729 819
1896–97	3 937 992	1 460 084	31 144 801
Total	.....	.....	$514 922 268

TABLE 3 — *Teachers and students in institutions for the colored race in 1896–97*

STATE	Number of schools	TEACHERS			STUDENTS											
					ELEMENTARY			SECONDARY			COLLEGIATE			TOTAL		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Alabama	13	104	111	215	1 131	1 427	2 558	1 223	1 008	2 231	38	12	50	2 392	2 447	4 839
Arkansas	8	20	29	49	593	696	1 289	253	210	463	23	7	30	869	913	1 782
Delaware	1	3	0	3	.....	.....	.....	24	6	30	10	2	12	34	8	42
District of Columbia	4	85	31	116	144	148	292	408	590	998	342	82	424	894	820	1 714
Florida	5	10	15	25	250	329	579	67	96	163	.....	.....	.....	317	425	742
Georgia	20	71	153	224	1 354	2 416	3 770	629	1 049	1 678	174	16	190	2 157	3 481	5 638
Illinois	1	1	1	2	.....	.....	.....	16	24	40	0	0	0	16	24	40
Indiana	2	8	10	18	26	27	53	35	50	85	.....	.....	.....	61	77	138
Kentucky	7	34	40	74	453	784	1 237	466	586	1 052	98	80	178	1 076	1 450	2 467
Louisiana	6	48	50	98	841	1 193	2 034	186	181	367	49	21	70	1 076	1 395	2 471
Maryland	6	8	20	28	60	183	243	93	186	279	10	0	10	163	369	532
Mississippi	9	42	52	94	415	561	976	520	334	854	105	72	177	1 040	967	2 007
Missouri	5	17	16	33	236	247	483	171	218	389	5	0	5	412	465	877
New Jersey	1	3	5	8	11	7	18	17	16	33	0	0	0	28	23	51
North Carolina	23	84	90	174	983	1 661	2 644	672	860	1 532	201	60	261	1 856	2 581	4 437
Ohio	2	14	9	23	71	79	150	82	97	179	47	15	62	200	191	391
Pennsylvania	3	17	8	25	111	156	267	236	137	373	48	0	48	395	293	688
South Carolina	12	48	75	123	1 202	1 270	2 472	410	524	934	14	3	17	1 626	1 797	3 423
Tennessee	14	49	101	150	1 772	2 272	4 044	570	601	1 171	193	179	372	2 535	3 052	5 587
Texas	10	40	59	99	568	1 006	1 574	349	440	789	84	31	115	1 001	1 477	2 478
Virginia	14	70	123	193	1 458	1 745	3 203	433	941	1 374	85	2	87	1 976	2 688	4 664
West Virginia	3	11	10	21	94	111	205	84	105	189	.....	.....	.....	178	216	394
Total	169	787	1 008	1 795	11 773	16 318	28 091	6 944	8 259	15 203	1 526	582	2 108	20 243	25 159	45 402

TABLE 4 — *Classification of colored students, by courses of study, 1896–97*

STATE	STUDENTS IN CLASSICAL COURSES			STUDENTS IN SCIENTIFIC COURSES			STUDENTS IN ENGLISH COURSES			STUDENTS IN BUSINESS COURSES		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Alabama	11	3	14	2	1	3	392	497	889	9	6	15
Arkansas	52	29	81	32	38	70	168	229	397	7	0	7
Delaware	3	0	3	5	2	7	2	0	2	0	0	0
District of Columbia	129	218	347	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	52	49	101
Florida	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	233	326	559	0	0	0
Georgia	121	150	271	46	68	114	735	1 359	2 094	0	0	0
Illinois	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	24	40	0	0	0
Indiana	35	50	85	.....	.....	.....	.....	.... .	.....	.....	.....	. .....
Kentucky	73	161	234	3	12	15	70	170	240	2	1	3
Louisiana	47	35	82	53	28	81	330	422	752	10	7	17
Maryland	40	107	147	0	0	0	57	237	294	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi	41	30	71	21	6	27	129	187	316	0	0	0
Missouri	19	11	30	64	111	175	18	20	38	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Carolina	175	14	189	33	55	88	533	696	1 229	69	25	94
Ohio	14	3	17	15	9	24	56	40	96	15	2	17
Pennsylvania	165	29	194	35	29	64	56	29	85	5	6	11
South Carolina	67	31	98	12	17	29	678	658	1 336	10	20	30
Tennessee	218	176	394	55	50	105	486	775	1 261	0	0	0
Texas	40	7	47	57	44	101	186	237	423	0	0	0
Virginia	44	36	80	14	57	71	522	767	1 289	0	0	0
West Virginia	18	8	26	.....	.....	.....	.....	... .	.....	0	0	0
Total	1 312	1 098	2 410	447	527	974	4 667	6 673	11 340	179	116	295

TABLE 5 — *Number of colored normal students and graduates in 1896–97*

STATE	STUDENTS IN NORMAL COURSES			GRADUATES OF HIGH SCHOOL COURSES			GRADUATES OF NORMAL COURSES			GRADUATES OF COLLEGIATE COURSES		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Alabama	828	669	1 497	8	10	18	308	281	589	2	0	2
Arkansas	103	61	164	7	4	11	6	7	13	3	1	4
Delaware	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia	75	79	154	27	58	85	26	36	62	5	0	5
Florida	17	10	27	0	2	2	7	3	10	0	0	0
Georgia	114	240	354	44	71	115	3	41	44	9	5	14
Illinois	0	0	0	1	4	5	.....	.....	.....	0	0	0
Indiana	.....	.....	.....	6	10	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky	77	144	221	.....	.....	.....	4	13	17	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana	12	60	72	14	19	33	8	17	25	5	0	5
Maryland	17	33	50	11	19	30	1	11	12	2	0	2
Mississippi	85	156	241	14	4	18	24	26	50	3	0	3
Missouri	61	57	118	14	23	37	6	5	11	2	0	2
New Jersey	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Carolina	221	232	453	44	14	58	33	36	69	11	2	13
Ohio	29	54	83	7	20	27	2	12	14	7	3	10
Pennsylvania	54	29	83	.....	.....	.....	5	6	11	30	0	30
South Carolina	102	223	325	37	58	95	14	43	57	0	0	0
Tennessee	266	365	631	55	111	166	31	60	91	16	2	18
Texas	137	138	275	24	30	54	14	24	38	5	1	6
Virginia	108	65	173	20	54	74	36	89	125	3	0	3
West Virginia	76	84	160	0	2	2	9	9	18	0	0	0
Total	2 382	2 699	5 081	333	513	846	537	719	1 256	103	14	117

TABLE 6—*Colored professional students and graduates in 1896–97*

STATE	STUDENTS IN PROFESSIONAL COURSES			PROFESSIONAL STUDENTS AND GRADUATES											
				Theology		Law		Medicine		Dentistry		Pharmacy		Nurse training	
	Male	Female	Total	Students	Graduates	Students	Graduates	Students	Graduates	Students	Graduates	Students	Graduates	Students	Graduates
Alabama	107	25	132	107	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	25	0
Arkansas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delaware	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
District of Columbia	295	0	295	73	14	79	25	106	22	20	4	17	8	0	0
Florida	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia	154	39	193	151	11	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	2
Illinois	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indiana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kentucky	13	0	13	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Louisiana	38	5	43	0	0	0	0	38	8	0	0	0	0	5	0
Maryland	2	0	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mississippi	5	52	57	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	52	8
Missouri	4	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Jersey	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Carolina	116	6	122	43	7	11	3	51	7	0	0	11	8	6	0
Ohio	15	0	15	13	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pennsylvania	48	0	48	48	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Carolina	50	36	86	47	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	22
Tennessee	221	0	221	36	1	6	2	150	34	18	6	11	4	0	0
Texas	4	9	13	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	3
Virginia	65	2	67	65	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
West Virginia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1 137	174	1 311	611	68	104	30	345	71	38	10	39	20	174	35

TABLE 7—*Industrial training of colored students in 1896–97*

STATE	PUPILS RECEIVING INDUSTRIAL TRAINING			STUDENTS TRAINED IN INDUSTRIAL BRANCHES												
	Male	Female	Total	Farm or garden work	Carpentry	Bricklaying	Plastering	Painting	Tin or sheet metal work	Forging	Machine-shop work	Shoemaking	Printing	Sewing	Cooking	Other trades
Alabama	1 117	988	2 105	294	195	17	17	17	8	45	12	38	69	542	125	687
Arkansas	132	182	314	40	29	0	0	0	0	14	9	3	23	119	83	13
Delaware	34	6	40	14	20	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	2	.....	3	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia	151	74	225	.....	88	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	13	.....	71	43	.....	.....
Florida	76	118	194	44	68	.....	.....	44	.....	.....	.....	1	10	112	63	.....
Georgia	251	1 272	1 523	23	165	9	9	7	0	11	11	0	66	956	85	283
Illinois	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Indiana	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky	20	201	221	18	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	81	81	120
Louisiana	394	433	827	73	78	10	1	21	60	10	48	0	45	319	70	209
Maryland	48	207	255	0	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	4	.....	164	147	75
Mississippi	360	432	792	90	94	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	47	57	416	160	104
Missouri	65	140	205	0	31	.....	.....	.....	.....	22	12	.....	.....	140	.....	.....
New Jersey	28	23	51	15	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	23	15
North Carolina	442	1 116	1 558	66	142	26	20	14	2	80	5	31	65	941	446	236
Ohio	83	133	216	0	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	46	67	65	0
Pennsylvania	28	88	116	0	28	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	16	.....	88	96
South Carolina	667	1 042	1 709	53	182	79	79	26	0	22	76	18	42	995	196	93
Tennessee	142	416	558	5	41	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	92	407	116	6
Texas	421	693	1 114	167	125	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	5	36	517	214	2
Virginia	452	915	1 367	125	77	7	10	10	1	19	16	18	42	760	318	814
West Virginia	59	132	191	.....	52	.....	8	.....	.....	4	40	.....	4	126	69	.....
Total	4 970	8 611	13 581	1 027	1 496	166	144	149	85	227	248	185	689	6 728	2 349	2 753

TABLE 8 — *Financial summary of the 169 colored schools.*

STATE	Value of benefactions or bequests, 1896-97	Volumes in library	Value of library	Value of grounds, buildings, furniture and scientific apparatus.	Amount of state or municipal aid	Amount received from tuition fees	Amount received from productive funds	Amount received from sources unclassified	Total income for the year 1896-97
ma	$35 377	16 125	$15 970	$532 247	$14 730	$7 271	$7 766	$36 778	$60 545
sas	1 020	5 660	2 935	170 200	8 200	5 807	2 100	4 145	20 252
vare	200	...	...	17 800	4 000	...	...	4 200	8 200
ict of Columbia	0	17 319	14 500	965 000	32 600	7 914	9 000	11 000	60 514
da	15	2 376	2 350	70 500	11 500	292	0	145	11 937
gia	10 703	33 770	29 659	1 324 262	17 300	23 014	5 700	81 115	127 129
ois	...	169	190	18 000	...	...	...	...	...
ana	...	212	200	2 500	...	...	...	...	...
tucky	133	18 567	17 025	294 203	29 220	5 094	4 578	8 173	47 065
isiana	2 600	10 700	8 800	326 236	9 000	4 054	6 440	22 610	42 104
ryland	...	5 000	4 400	110 000	12 900	3 200	1 240	11 610	28 950
ssissippi	8 110	16 820	24 400	431 500	9 750	7 313	10 000	23 222	50 285
ssouri	200	2 910	2 159	166 300	18 000	1 761	125	2 996	22 882
ew Jersey	0	100	75	1 000	3 000	0	0	0	3 000
orth Carolina	24 464	17 250	16 035	523 710	17 889	8 588	725	49 857	77 059
hio	0	6 600	6 500	108 000	16 400	1 822	1 323	8 771	28 316
ennsylvania	...	14 000	14 000	214 000	...	...	...	...	...
outh Carolina	1 745	8 475	5 680	212 500	3 100	8 485	1 000	37 633	50 218
ennessee	47 538	18 166	17 330	904 400	3 100	24 958	2 800	38 633	69 491
exas	1 950	7 575	6 700	324 600	20 600	23 683	500	25 134	69 917
irginia	167 480	17 400	11 223	888 000	25 550	7 681	37 224	164 406	234 861
Vest Virginia	3 515	5 600	3 600	110 000	15 000	1 325	1 559	9 669	26 553
Total	$305 050	224 794	$203 731	$7 714 958	$271 839	$141 262	$92 080	$540 097	$1 045 278