Introduction.

For the past six years Atlanta University has conducted through its annual Negro Conferences a series of studies into certain aspects of the Negro problems. The results of these conferences put into pamphlet form and distributed at a nominal price have been widely quoted and used. Certainly the wisdom of President Horace Bumstead and Mr. George G. Bradford in establishing the conferences, and the co-operation of graduates of this and other institutions have been amply vindicated and rewarded by the collection and publication of much valuable material relating to the health of Negroes, their social condition, their efforts at social reform, their business enterprises, and their institutions for higher training.

Notwithstanding this success the further prosecution of these important studies is greatly hampered by the lack of funds. With meagre appropriations for expenses, lack of clerical help and necessary apparatus, the Conference cannot cope properly with the vast field of work before it.

Studies of this kind do not naturally appeal to the general public, but rather to the interested few and to students. Nevertheless there ought to be growing in this land a general conviction that a careful study of the condition and needs of the Negro population — a study conducted with scientific calm and accuracy, and removed so far as possible from prejudice or partisan bias — that such a study is necessary and worthy of liberal support. The twelfth census has, let us hope, set at rest silly predictions of the dying out of the Negro in any reasonably near future. The nine million Negroes here in the land, increasing steadily at the rate of over 150,000 a year are destined to be part and parcel of the Nation for many a day if not forever. We must no longer guess at their condition, we must know it. We must not experiment blindly and wildly, trusting to our proverbial good luck, but like rational, civilized, philanthropic men, spend time and money in finding what can be done before we attempt to do it. Americans must learn that in social reform as well as in other rational endeavors, wish and prejudice must be sternly guided by knowledge, else it is bound to blunder, if not to fail.

We appeal therefore to those who think it worth while to study this, the greatest group of social problems that has ever faced the Nation, for substantial aid and encouragement in the further prosecution of the work of the Atlanta Conference.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL WORK OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY.

The work of social study at Atlanta University falls under six heads:

A. Courses of Study.

The work in the department of Economics and History aims not only at mental discipline but also at familiarizing students with the great economic and social problems of the day. It is hoped that thus they may be able to apply broad and careful knowledge to the solution of the many intricate social questions affecting the Negro in the South. The department aims, therefore, at training in good, intelligent citizenship; at a thorough comprehension of the chief problems of wealth, work and wages; at a fair knowledge of the objects and methods of social reform; and with the more advanced students, at special research work in the great laboratory of social phenomena, which surrounds this institution.

The more advanced courses of study now offered include:

Modern European History (1 year.)
Economics (2 terms.)
Political Science (1 term.)
Sociology, with special reference to the Negro (1 year.)

Special research courses are offered to graduate students. The library of Atlanta University is one of the best in the South and is gradually gaining a good equipment in historical and sociological works.

B. General Publications.

Members of the Department of Sociology of this institution have, from time to time, published the following studies and essays on various phases of the Negro problem:

Suppression of the Slave Trade, 335 pp., Longman's, 1896.

The Philadelphia Negro, 520 pp., Ginn & Co., 1899.

The Negroes of Farmville, Va., 38 pp., Bulletin U. S. Department of Labor, January, 1898.

Condition of the Negro in Various Cities, 112 pp., Bulletin U. S. Department of Labor, May, 1897.

The Negro in the Black Belt, 17 pp., Bulletin U. S. Department of Labor, May, 1899.

The Study of the Negro Problems, 21 pp., Publications of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, No. 219.

Strivings of the Negro People, *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1896.

A Negro Schoolmaster in the New South, *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1899.

The Negro and Crime, *Independent*, May 18, 1896.

The Conservation of Races, 16 pp., Publications of the American Negro Academy, No. 2.

The American Negro at Paris, *Review of Reviews*, November, 1900.

Careers Open to College-bred Negroes, 14 pp., Nashville, 1899.

The Suffrage Fight in Georgia, *Independent*, November 30, 1899.

The Twelfth Census and the Negro Problems, *Southern Workman*, May, 1900.

The Evolution of Negro Leadership, (a review of Washington's "Up from Slavery,") *Dial*, July 16, 1901.

The Storm and Stress in the Black World, (a review of Thomas' "American Negro,") *Dial*, April 16, 1901.

The Savings of Black Georgia, *Outlook*, September 14, 1901.

The Relation of the Negroes to the Whites in the South, Publications of American Academy of Social and Political Science, No. 311. (Reprinted in America's Race Problems, McClure, Phillips & Co., 1901.)

The Negro Land-holder in Georgia, 130 pp., Bulletin of U. S. Department of Labor, No. 35.

The Negro as He Really Is, *World's Work*, June, 1901.

The Freedmen's Bureau, *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1901.

The Spawn of Slavery, *Missionary Review*, October, 1901.

The Religion of the American Negro, *New World*, December, 1900.

Results of Ten Tuskegee Conferences, *Harper's Weekly*, June 22, 1901.

The Burden of Negro Schooling, *Independent*, July 18, 1901.

The Housing of the Negro, *Southern Workman*, July, September, October, November, December, 1901, and February, 1902.

C. University Publications.

The regular University publications are as follows:

Annual Catalogue, 1870–1901.

Bulletin of Atlanta University, 4 pp., monthly; 25 cents per year.

No. 1. Mortality of Negroes, 51 pp., 1896, (out of print).

No. 2. Social and Physical Condition of Negroes, 86 pp., 1897; 50 cents.

No. 3. Some Efforts of American Negroes for Social Betterment, 66 pp., 1898; 50 cents.

No. 4. The Negro in Business, 77 pp., 1899; 25 cents.

No. 5. The College-Bred Negro, 115 pp., 1900, (out of print.)

No. 6. The Negro Common School, 1901; 25 cents.

List of Negro Newspapers; 2 cents.

Programme of Social Betterment; 2 cents.

Select Bibliography of the American Negro, for general readers, second revised edition, 1901; 10 cents.

Atlanta University Leaflets, 13 numbers; free.

D. Bureau of Information.

The Corresponding Secretary of the Atlanta Conference undertakes, upon request, to furnish correspondents with information upon any phases of the Negro problem, so far as he is able; or he points out such sources as exist from which accurate data may be obtained. No charge is made for this work except for actual expenses incurred. During the past years the United States Government, professors in several Northern and Southern institutions, students of sociology, philanthropic societies and workers, and many private persons have taken advantage of this bureau.

E. The Annual Negro Conference.

The Atlanta University recognizes that it is its duty as an institutiou of learning to throw as much light as possible upon the social problems of the South. For this purpose graduate study of the Negro problems has been carried on for six years through the cooperation of graduates and former studeuts of Atlanta, Fisk, Howard, Lincoln, Clark, Wilberforce and other Universities, Spelman Seminary, Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, the Meharry Medical College and other institutions. The results of each annual investigation are first reported in May of each year to the Negro Conference which assembles at the University. It is theu discussed and afterward edited and printed the following fall. The attendance at these conferences is largely made up of local city Negroes, although Southern whites are always on the programme and visitors from abroad are usually present. Au attempt is made here especially to encourage practical movements for social bettermeut, and many such euterprises have had their inceptiou here. Au endowment for this work would greatly increase its usefuluess.

F. The Lecture Bureau.

The department has for some time furnished lectures on various subjects counected with the history and couditiou of the American Negro, aud upon other sociological and historical subjects. School duties do not admit of the acceptance of all invitatious, but so far as possible we are glad to extend this part of the work. Expenses must iu all cases be paid aud usually a small honorarium in addition, although this latter is often contributed to any worthy cause. Duriug the past few years lectures have beeu giveu before the

Twentieth Century Club of Bostou.
The Unitarian Club of New York.
The Americau Academy of Political aud Social Scieuce.
The American Society for the Exteusion of Uuiversity Teaching.
The American Negro Academy.
Hampton Institute.
Fisk Uuiversity, etc., etc.

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO FOR GENERAL READERS.

For the benefit of uumerous iuquirers after the best literature on the Negro problems, the following short bibliography is giveu:

History.

G. W. Williams: History of the Negro Race in America (Putnams).
Slavery.
H. Wilson: Rise and Fall of the Slave Power.
H. Greeley: The American Conflict.
T. R. R. Cobb: Historical Sketch of Slavery.

G. Bancroft: History of the United States.
W. Goodell: Slavery and Anti-Slavery.
H. von Holst: History of the United States (Callaghan).
Slave-trade.
H. C. Carey: The Slave-trade.
W. E. B. DuBois: Suppression of the Slave-trade (Longmans).
J. R. Spears: The Americau Slave-trade (Scribners).
A. H. Foote: Africa and the American Flag.
The Negro in the Various States.
J. H. Moore: Slavery in Massachusetts.
Edward Bettle: Notices of Negro as Connected with Penusylvauia.
Americau Society of Church History, Vol. VIII (Pennsylvania).
W. E. B. DuBois: The Philadelphia Negro (Ginn).
M. Tremain: Slavery in the District of Columbia (Americau Historical Association, 1890).
E. Ingle: The Negro in the District of Columbia (J. Hopkius Uuiversity).
J. R. Brackett: The Negro in Marylaud (J. Hopkius University).
————: Progress of the Colored People of Maryland (J. Hopkins University).
B. C. Steiuer: The History of Slavery iu Couuecticut (J. Hopkins University).
E. V. Morgan: Slavery in New York (Americau Historical Assoc., 1890).
C. T. Hickok: The Negro iu Ohio (W. Reserve University).
D. Horsmanden: The New York Couspiracy, 1712.
H. S. Cooley: A Study of Slavery iu New Jersey (J. Hopkins Uuiversity).
J. S. Bassett: History of Slavery in North Caroliua (J. Hopkius Uuiversity).

(Cf. the Various State Histories.)

Slave Codes.
W. Coodell: Americau Slave Code.
T. R. R. Cobb: Law of Negro Slavery.
J. C. Hurd: Law of Freedom aud Boudage.
Character of Slavery.
F. A. Kemble: Ou a Georgia Plautatiou,
H. A. Wise: The End of au Era.
H. B. Stowe: Uncle Tom's Cabiu.
F. Douglass: My Bondage and My Freedom.
J. Fitzhugh: Cauuibals All, or Slaves Without Masters.
S. Northrup: Twelve Years a Slave.
Economics of Slavery.
J. E. Cairues: Slave Power.
H. R. Helper: Impeuding Crisis.
F. L. Olmstead: Cotton Kingdom.
Opinions of Slavery.
G. Livermore: Opinious of Founders of the Republic, etc.
W. Jay: Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery.

J. H. Hopkins: Views of Slavery.
N. Adams: South-side View of Slavery.
J. G. Calhoun: Works.

Colonization.

Reports of American Colonization Society.
J. H. T. McPherson: Liberia (J. Hopkins University).
Crummell: Africa and America.

The Abolition Movement.

L. M. Child: The Oasis.
W. Birney: J. G. Birney and His Times.
T. H. Benton: Thirty Years View.
Reports of American Anti-Slavery Society.
F. B. Sanborn: Life and Letters of John Brown.
J. F. Clarke: Anti-Slavery Days.
F. J. May: Recollections of Our Anti-Slavery Conflict.
P. Pillsbury: Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles.
Gov. McDuffie: Letter on Slavery Question (American History Leaflets.)

Emancipation.

Life of Garrison, by His Children.
W. H. Siebert: Underground Railroad.
W. Still: Underground Railroad.
M. G. McDougal: Fugitive Slaves (Fay House Monographs).
A. B. Hart: Salmon P. Chase.
E. L. Pierce: Charles Sumner.
Nicholay & Hay: Abraham Lincoln.
American Annual Encyclopedia, 1861–1865.
Extracts from the Dred Scott Decision (American History Leaflets).
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Reconstruction.

Atlantic Monthly, 1901.
E. McPherson: History of Reconstruction.
J. G. Blaine: Twenty Years in Congress.
A. W. Tourgee: Fool's Errand.

Negro Soldiers.

W. Nell: Colored Americans in the Wars of 1776 and 1812.
Emilio: A Brave Black Regiment.
T. W. Higginson: Life in a Black Regiment.
G. W. Williams: Negro Troops in the Rebellion.
J. T. Wilson: Black Phalanx.
G. W. Moore: Notes on Employment of Negroes in * * * the Revolution.

Present Social Condition.

Best Sources of Information.

1. United States Census, (especially 1850 to 1900)
2. Reports of the U. S. Bureau of Education. (Sections on Education of the Negro; cf. especially the late reports, 1894–1900. For index to sections on Negroes in earlier reports see Report for 1893–1894, pp. 1044–1047).
3. Bulletins of the U. S. Department of Labor:
   (a) Negroes of Farmville, Va., No. 14.
   (b) Negroes of the Black Belt, No. 22.
   (c) Negroes in Cities, No. 10.
   (d) Negroes of Sandy Spring, Md., No. 32.
   (e) Negro Land-holder of Georgia, No. 35.
4. Publications of Atlanta University, (Atlanta, Ga.):
   (a) Mortality of Negroes
   (b) Negroes in Cities.
   (c) Social Betterment of Negroes.
   (d) Negroes in Business.
   (e) The College-bred Negro.
   (f) The Negro Common School.
5. Proceedings and Occasional Papers of the Slater Fund (Baltimore, Md.):
   (a) Proceedings, 1882–1901.
   (b) Occasional Papers.
   No. 1. Documents relating to the Origin and Works of the Slater Trustees.
   No. 2. Memoir of the Life of John F. Slater.
   No. 3. Curry: Education of Negroes since 1860.
   No. 4. Gannett: Statistics of the Negroes in the United States.
   No. 5. Curry: Difficulties * * * Connected with Education of Negroes.
   No. 6. Gannett: Occupations of the Negroes.
   No. 7. Bacon: Negro and the Atlanta Exposition.
   No. 8. Johnson: Fifth Tuskegee Conference.
   No. 9. Hobson & Hopkins: Colored Women of the South.
   No. 10. Gilman: Study in Black and White.
   [Nos. 1–6 are reprinted in Report of U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1894–1895, Ch. 32.]
6. Publications of the American Negro Academy:
   No. 1. Miller: Review of Hoffman's Race Traits and Tendencies.
   No. 2. DuBois: Conservation of Races.
   No. 3. Crummell: Two Addresses.
   No. 4. Cook: Comparative Study of the Negro Problem.
   No. 5. Steward: The San Domingo Legion, etc.
   No. 6. Love: Disfranchisement of the Negro.
   No. 7. Grimke: Martyrs of 1822.

(For these address the Secretary, 1439 Pierce Place, Washington, D. C.)

7. Atwater & Woods: Dietary Studies with reference to the Food of the Negro in Alabama, in 1895–6. (Bulletin U. S. Department of Agriculture, No. 38).
   Frissell & Bevier: *Do.* in Virginia (Bulletin No. 71).

8. Hampton Negro Conference, Annual Reports.
9. Southern Educational Conference (formerly Capon Springs) Annual Reports, 1898.
10. DuBois: The Philadelphia Negro (Ginn).
11. Bruce: The Plantation Negro as Freeman.
12. Cable: The Freedman's Case in Equity.
    The Silent South.
    The Convict Lease System.
13. Fortune: Black and White (Fords).
14. Crogman: Talks For the Times.
15. Morgan: The Negro in America.
16. Gaines: The Negro and the White Man.
17. C. H. Brooks: History G. U. O. of Odd Fellows.
18. Hoffman: Race Traits and Tendencies.
19. Washington: Future of the American Negro.
20. Tourgee: Appeal to Cæsar.
21. Labor and Capital: Report of Blair Committee, 1885. (See Senate Documents 48th Congress).
22. America's Race Problems (Addresses before American Academy Political and Social Science, 1901, (McClure, Phillips).
23. J. Koren: Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem (Chapter 6).
24. American Social Science Association: Annual Reports, Nos. 9, 11, 18, 32, 34, 37, 38, 39.
25. A. J. Cooper: A Voice From the South.
26. A. G. Haygood: Our Brother in Black.
27. N. F. Mossell: Work of Afro-American Women.
28. D. A. Payne: History of the A. M. E. Church.
29. W. J. Hood: History of the A. M. E. Z. Church.
30. I. G. Penn: Afro-American Press.
31. J. M. Trotter: Music and Some Highly Musical People.
32. R. F. Campbell: Some Aspects of the Race Problem.
33. Bibliography of Negro (in Report U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1893–1894, pp, 1038–61).

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Population, age and sex.
1: 1790–1900, especially 1850, 1860, 1880, 1890 and 1900.
5 b: No. 4, Gannett.
6: No. 1, Miller.
18, Hoffman.

Family Life, Sexual Morality, etc.
3: a, b, c, d.
4: b, c.
5: No. 9.
6: No. 1, 2.

10: DuBois.
18: Hoffman.
33: See Periodical Literature.

Migration (Cf. Colonization).
Inter-State: 1: 1850-1900; *Nation*, Vol. 28; Cf. "Negro Exodus" in 33.
To Africa: 19.
Delaney: Condition * * * of Colored People.
Blyden: Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race.
A. M. E. Church *Review*, Vol. 2.
Spectator, Vol. 66.
De Bow's *Review*, N. S. Vol. 1.
Cf. 33.

Education.
Bibliography, 33, pp. 1038–47.
General Reports:
2: 1870 to date.
For States: *Ibid.* See also Reports of State Superintendents, etc.
History of Negro Education:
Brief Sketch of Schools for Black People * * in 1770, Philadelphia, 1867.
Barnard's American Journal of Education, Volumes 18, 19.
History American Missionary Association.
C. C. Andrews: History New York African Free Schools.
Reports of Mohonk Negro Conferences, 1890, 1891.
5 b, No. 3: Curry.
Reports of Freedmen's Bureau, cf. 33.
Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 12.
Special Reports on Public Schools in D. C., 1869 and 1871; (U. S. Bureau of Education).

Higher Education of Negro.
W. T. Harris: Address at Atlanta University.
E. C. Mitchell: Address (2: 1894–95, p. 1360).
4. e, College-bred Negro.

Industrial Education of Negro.
19, Washington.
Twenty-two Years' Work of Hampton, 1891.
Journal of Social Science, November, 1893.

Common Schools.
2: 1870 to date.
4 f, The Negro Common School.
9, Reports for 1901.
21, Testimony.
5 b, No. 5, Curry.
R. R. Wright: Negro Education in Georgia.
33, Bibliography of Periodical Literature.

Occupations, Wages, etc.
1, 1890, 1900.
3, a, b, c, d, e.
4, b, d, e.
5, No. 6, Gannett.
7, Dietary Studies.
10, Philadelphia Negro.
21, Blair Committee.

Health and Mortality:
1, 1850–1900.
4, a, b.
6, No. 1.
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10, DuBois.
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Property.
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10, DuBois.

Religion.
1, 1890.
3, a.
4, c.
10, DuBois.
16, Gaines.
28, Payne.
29, Hood.
New World, December, 1900.

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23.

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3 a, b.
4, c, d.
10, DuBois.
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Crime.
1, 1880–1900.
3, a, b, c, d.
6, No. 1.
8, Reports.
10, DuBois.
11, Bruce.
Wilcox: Negro Criminality.
18, Hoffman.
19, Washington.

Amalgamation.
1, 1860, 1890.
3, a.
6, Nos. 1, 2.
10, DuBois.
23, Fortune.
16, Gaines.
D. G. Croly: Miscegenation, N. Y., 1864.
F. Douglass: *North American Review*, Vol. 142.

Suffrage (Cf. Emancipation and Reconstruction).
6 f, Love.
20, DuBois.
12, Cable.
13, Fortune.
20, Tourgee.
21, Blair Committee.
22, Race Problems.
W. A. Dunning: Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction.
H. Brannon: Fourteenth Amendment.
Periodicals: *Forum*, IV, XIV.
Putnams, XII.
Westminster, CXXXV.
Nation, XXVIII.
New England Magazine, V., XV.
North American Review, CXXIII, CXXVIII, CXXXVI.
Arena, V.
S. B. Weeks: History Negro Suffrage, (Pol. Sci. Q. IX.)
(See *Legislation*).

Chief Negro Periodicals.
New York *Age*, New York, N. Y., weekly.
Guardian, Boston, Mass., weekly.
Tribune, Philadelphia, Pa., weekly.
Colored American, Washington, D. C., weekly.
Georgia Baptist, Augusta, Ga., weekly.
Voice of Missions, Atlanta, Ga., monthly.
Conservator, Chicago, Ill., weekly.
Planet, Richmond, Va., weekly.
Star of Zion, Charlotte, N. C., weekly.
Freeman, Indianapolis, Ind., weekly.
Southwestern Christian Advocate, New Orleans, La., weekly.
Express, Dallas, Texas, weekly.
Christian Recorder, Philadelphia, weekly.
A. M. E. Church *Review*, Philadelphia, quarterly.
Howard's American Magazine, NewYork, N. Y., monthly.
Colored American Magazine, Boston, monthly.
Cf. 30 and 4, d.

Lynching.
Chicago *Tribune* (Annual Summary).
Wells-Barnett: Red Record.
(Cf. Index to Periodical literature).
Legislation.
Summary of Legislation, N. Y. State Library, 1890—

Courses of Reading.

Short Statement of Facts: 5 b (No. 4), Gannett.
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Short Course of Reading: 15, 19, 20, 12, 6 (No. 2, 3, 4), 11, 5 b (No. 3, 5, 6), DuBois' Slave-Trade.
Longer Course of Reading: Williams' History, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 18, 20, 22, 26.

The Negro in Fiction.

T. N. Page: In Ole Virginia.
H. B. Stowe: Dred.
" " " Uncle Tom's Cabin.
O. Schreiner: Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland.
A. Tourgee: Bricks without Straw.
H. Martineau: Hour and the Man.
E. E. Hale: Mrs. Merriam's Scholars.
F. C. Phillips: Question of Color.
G. Allen: In All Shades.
W. D. Howells: An Imperative Duty.
J. U. Lloyd: Stringtown on the Pike.
P. L. Dunbar: The Sport of the Gods.
C. W. Chesnutt: House Behind the Cedars.
" " " The Wife of His Youth.
" " " The Conjure Woman.

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Distinctive Works:
1773—Phillis Wheatley: Poems. London.
1793—Richard Allen: Life. Philadelphia, 8vo, 69 pp.
1810—Act of Incorporation, Causes and Motives of the African Episcopal Church. Philadelphia.
1829—David Walker: An Appeal, etc. Boston.
1838—Appeal of 40,000 Colored Citizens. Philadelphia.
1852—M. R. Delaney: Condition * * * of the Colored People. Philadelphia.
W. C. Nell: Services of Colored Americans in the Wars of 1776, 1812. Boston.
1854—F. E. W. Harper: Miscellaneous Poems. Boston.

1855—Frederick Douglass: My Bondage and Freedom. New York, 464 pp.
1862—William Douglass: Annals of St. Thomas. Philadelphia.
1863—W. W. Brown: The Black Man. New York, 310 pp.
1867—B. T. Tanner: Apology for African Methodism. Philadelphia, 468 pp.
1875—Sojourner Truth: Narrative. Boston, 320 pp.
1881—W. S. Scarborough: First Greek Lessons. New York, 150 pp.
1878—J. M. Trotter: Music and Some Highly Musical People. Boston, 505 pp.
1883—J. M. Langston: Freedom and Citizenship. Washington, 286 pp.
1883—W. Still: Underground Railroad. Philadelphia, 780 pp.
1884—T. T. Fortune: White and Black. New York, 310 pp.
1885—D. A. Payne: Domestic Education. Cincinnati, 184 pp.
1887—W. J. Simmons: Men of Mark.
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A. Grimke: Charles Sumner. New York, 515 pp.
P. L. Dunbar: Lyrics of Lowly Life.
B. T. Washington: Up From Slavery.
C. W. Chesnutt: The Marrow of Tradition.

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Cf. Southern Workman.
Cf. Journal of American Folk Lore.
Harris: Uncle Remus.

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American Society for Extension of University Teaching: Brief on Negro. Philadelphia.
Report U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1893-1894.
Bibliography of Negro Authors, Library of Congress (Ms.)
Correspondence Bureau, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

THE NEGRO COMMON SCHOOL.

BY THE EDITOR.

1. *Scope of the Inquiry.*—The present study grew directly out of the study of last year relating to the College-bred Negro. Fifty-three per cent of the Negro graduates of colleges are teachers and when we add to this the large number of graduates of Normal and Industrial schools who are teaching it is plain that the chief work of the Negro schools thus far has been the furnishing of teachers. At the same time it is clear that the public school system in the South is to-day woefully inadequate. The object of this inquiry is, therefore, to show the present condition of the public schools, the field open to Negro teachers and the need of adequate training for them. The data here presented have been derived from several sources: First, from the printed school reports of the several States; secondly, from the reports of the Freedmen's Bureau and the United States Bureau of Education, and, thirdly, from the returns sent in on three sets of blanks distributed in certain districts. The first blank sent to county superintendents asked:

1. Where do most of your Negro teachers get their education?
2. In how many cases have Negroes built and paid for their own school-houses?
3. Do they ever tax themselves to prolong the school-term?
4. What are the chief defects of the Negro teachers?
5. How do they compare with White teachers?
6. What are the chief needs of the Negro schools?

The second blank was sent to superintendents of selected city schools and had the following questions:

1. Number and grade of Negro teachers employed?
2. Number of colored pupils in the various grades?
3. Are White teachers employed at all in the Negro schools?
4. How many Negro school-houses are there and what is their seating capacity?
5. What is the pay of colored teachers?
6. Where were these teachers educated?
7. Do they make efficient teachers?
8. How do they compare with the White teachers?
9. What are their chief defects?
10. When were Negro teachers first employed in the public schools?

The third blank was sent to principals of town and city colored schools:

1. Sex?

2. Length of service?
3. Graduate of————————year————course————————?
4. Number and grade of teachers under you?
5. Salary of teachers?
6. Salary of White teachers of similar grade?
7. Efficiency of teachers?
8. Chief defects?
9. Where were they educated?
10. Number and grade of pupils?
11. Seating capacity of rooms?
12. How many registered applicants cannot be admitted to your school as pupils?
13. Home training of pupils?
14. Attitude of parents?
15. Attitude of city officials toward Negro schools?
16. Furniture and appliances in rooms and annual expenditure therefor?
17. How many children drop out at each grade and how many finish at your school?
18. What is the great need of Negro schools?

The answers to these blanks, coming from widely separated places and answered in most cases with apparent candor, served to supplement the general statistics and throw light on them. In addition to this a circular letter was sent to country school teachers, principally in Georgia, which brought many interesting replies.

2. *The Negro Teacher.* In 1869 an officer of the Freedman's Bureau wrote: "Will the colored race make good teachers? I can see no good reason why they should not. * * * * I have not had an opportunity of visiting personally many of the schools taught by colored teachers, but reports are all favorable, and I feel assured they are the ones we must look to for the future education of their race." By the census of 1890 over 25,000 colored teachers were reported, and in their hands practically the whole work of the public school system for Negroes rests. There has not hitherto been sufficient recognition of the immense labor and sacrifice involved in giving the colored race teachers of their own blood in a single generation. Americans look for large results, but surely if there were no other result of years of philanthropy and charity in the South but these Negro teachers, this would be no ordinary return to the labor involved. The exact number of teachers reported by the United States Bureau of Education is:

Teachers in Colored Schools,*	1887	15,815
" " " "	1888	18,219
" " " "	1889	22,956
Colored Teachers	1890	24,072
" "	1891	24,150
" "	1892	24,741

*Includes a small number of White teachers in the years 1887 and 1889.

Colored Teachers	1893	25,615
" "	1894	26,570
" "	1895	27,081
" "	1896	26,499
" "	1897	27,435
" "	1898	26,909
" "	1899	28,560

Only about 15,000 of these were returned in the Occupation statistics of the census of 1890**—7,236 men and 7,864 women.

The conjugal condition of these teachers is as follows:

	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Divorced.
Men	3,341	3,691	184	20
Women	5,991	1,446	384	43

Their ages are:

Years.	Men.	Women.
10–14	3	34
15–24	1.964	5,180
25–34	3,572	2,068
35–44	1,337	399
45–54	249	102
55–64	60	36
65 and over.	18	10
Age unknown.	33	35

Young unmarried women between the ages of 15 and 30, and men between 20 and 40, about equally divided between the single and married, are thus seen to form the bulk of the colored teachers. It is thus evidently a changing body, the young women especially leaving the profession to become housewives. Probably not less than 75,000 individual teachers have been engaged in the Negro schools since 1887, and perhaps 100,000 since the opening of the schools.

The chief sources of the Negro teachers are the colleges, normal schools and the public schools themselves. Of 17 colleges reported in the report of the United States Bureau of Education for 1890, 720 out of 1,386 living graduates whose occupations were known, or 52 per cent, were teachers; or leaving out housewives and students, 58 per cent. In later years occupations are somewhat more diversified, and still the principal occupation of graduates is teaching:

**In the same census 24,000 Negro teachers are returned under educational statistics. There is no explanation offered of this discrepancy.

Name of Institution.	Catalogue Used.	Total Graduates.	Teachers.
Atlanta University	1900–1901	381	192
Fisk University	1899–1900	397	219
Howard University*	1896	253	65
New Orleans University	1898	92	56
Tuskegee Institute	1896–1897	218	116
Walden University	1899–1900	170	57
Hampton Institute	1890	698	588
Virginia N. & C. I.	1898–1899	303	201
Wilberforce University	1898–1899	213	81
Livingstone College	1898–1899	166	41
Benedict College	1900	234	112
Talladega College	1898–1899	104	26
Rust University	1899–1900	84	55
Atlanta Baptist College	1898–1899	101	35
Totals		3,414	1,844

This does not include those who have taught but do not now teach, but it does include some who teach and who do other work beside. Fifty-four per cent are thus shown to be teachers.

The chief work of the Southern schools for Negroes, therefore, has plainly been to furnish teachers for the Negroes.

3. *The Need of Teachers.*—The illiteracy of the Negroes at emancipation was enormous. In the sixteen slave States probably over 95 per cent could not read and write. Seven years later, in 1870, the illiteracy was as follows:

Illiteracy of Negroes, 1870.

Maryland	69.5 per cent.
District of Columbia	70.5 per cent.
Delaware	71.3 per cent.
Missouri	72.7 per cent.
West Virginia	77.4 per cent.
South Carolina	81.1 per cent.
Arkansas	81.2 per cent.
Tennessee	82.4 per cent.
Kentucky	83.8 per cent.
Florida	84.1 per cent.
North Carolina	84.8 per cent.
Louisiana	85.9 per cent.
Mississippi	87.0 per cent.
Alabama	88.1 per cent.
Texas	88.7 per cent.
Virginia	88.9 per cent.
Georgia	92.1 per cent.

*College and Normal departments.

The South Atlantic States had 85 per cent of their Negroes illiterate, and the South Central States 86 per cent, while in the whole United States 79.9 per cent of the Negroes were illiterate. If we reduce these percentages to figures we have:

1870.	Negro Population 10 yrs. of age and over.	Negro Illiterates.
North Atlanta Division	144,980	40,200
South Atlanta Division	1,552,065	1,319,780
South Central Division	1,553,447	1,318,765
North Central Division	204,383	115,284
Western Division	76,200	12,204
United States	3,511,075	2,806,233

This mass of ignorance existed too by the nation's own will. After feeble and hesitating opposition to the slave trade in some quarters, the United States proceeded deliberately to import a mass of Negroes and train them in ignorance. The unwritten law of the land was that Negroes should receive no instruction. In the North this custom gradually was given up, but with the cotton gin in the South it crystalized into law.

In 1832, Alabama declared that "any person or persons who shall attempt to teach any free person of color or slave to spell, read or write, shall, upon conviction thereof by indictment, be fined in a sum not less than $250, nor more than $500."*

Georgia in 1770 fined any person who taught a slave to read or write £20. In 1829 the State enacted:

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

In 1833 this law was put into the penal code, with additional penalties for using slaves in printing offices to set type. These laws were violated sometimes by individual masters and clandestine schools were opened for Negroes in some of the cities before the war. In 1850 and thereafter there was some agitation to repeal these laws and a bill to that effect failed in the senate of Georgia by two or three votes.

Louisiana, in 1830, declared that "All persons who shall teach, or permit or cause to be taught, any slave to read or write shall be imprisoned not less than one month nor more than twelve months."

Missouri, in 1847, passed an act saying that "No person shall keep or teach any school for the instruction of Negroes or mulattoes in reading or writing in this State."

*Individual exceptions to this law in the case of colored Creoles were made in Mobile in 1833, in accordance with the treaty of 1803 with France.

North Carolina had schools supported by free Negroes up until 1835, when they were abolished by law.

South Carolina, in 1740, declared: "Whereas, the having of slaves taught to write or suffering them to be employed in writing may be attended with inconveniences, be it enacted, That all and every person and persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter teach or cause any slave or slaves to be taught, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe in any manner of writing whatever, hereafter taught to write, every such person or persons shall for every such offense forfeit the sum of £100 current money."

In 1800 and 1833 the teaching of free Negroes was restricted: "And If any free person of color or slave shall keep any school or other place of instruction for teaching any slave or free person of color to read or write, such free person of color or slave shall be liable to the same fine, imprisonment and corporal punishment as by this act are imposed and inflicted on free persons of color and slaves for teaching slaves to write." Other sections prohibited white persons from teaching slaves. Apparently whites might teach free Negroes to some extent.

Virginia, in 1819, forbade "all meetings or assemblages of slaves or free Negroes or mulattoes, mixing and associating with such slaves, * * * * at any school or schools for teaching them reading and writing, either in the day or night." Nevertheless Free Negroes kept schools for themselves until the Nat. Turner Insurrection, when it was enacted, 1831, that "all meetings of free Negroes or mulattoes at any school-house, church, meeting-house or other place, for teaching them reading and writing, either in the day or night, under whatsoever pretext, shall be deemed and considered an unlawful assembly." This law was carefully enforced.

In the Northern States few actual prohibitory laws were enacted, but in Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and elsewhere, mob violence frequently arose against Negro schools, and in Connecticut the teaching of Negroes was restricted as follows in 1833: "No person shall set up or establish in this State any school, academy or other literary institution for the instruction or education of colored persons who are not inhabitants of this State, or harbor or board, for the purpose of attending or being taught or instructed in any such school, academy or literary institution any colored person who is not an inhabitant of any town in this State without the consent, in writing, first obtained, of a majority of the civil authority, and also of of the select-men of the town in which each school, academy or literary institution is situated." This was especially directed against the famous Prudence Crandall school, and was repealed in 1838.

Ohio decreed, in 1829, that "the attendance of black or mulatto persons be specifically prohibited, but all taxes assessed upon the property of colored persons for school purposes should be appropriated to their instruction and for no other purpose." This prohibition was enforced, but the second clause was a dead letter for twenty years.

The colored population of school age in the United States in 1890 was as follows:

	5 to 10 years.	10 to 15 years.	15 to 20 years.	TOTAL.
Boys....	317,999	307,374	245,104	870,477
Girls....	319,807	294,273	256.489	870,569
Total ...	627,806	601,647	501,593	1,741,046

By 1863 there must have been 1,800,000 Negroes of school age in the country, 1,650,000 of whom were in the slave States. It is with the education of these children and youth that we are to deal.

4. *The Negro Common School in the North.*—It will be of interest to digress a moment here and note the rise of facilities for Negro education in Northern States, where, in 1860, there were nearly 200,000 Negro children. The Negro schools of the North fall roughly under five different periods:

1st. 1704 to 1774—Period of the Pioneers.
2d. 1774 to 1820—Efforts of the Free Negroes.
3d. 1820 to 1835—Period of Partial Public Aid.
4th. 1835 to 1870—Period of Separate Public Schools.
5th. 1870 to 1890—Period of Mixed Schools.

In the first period we have the epoch-making efforts and far-seeing sacrifice of Elias Neau in New York and Anthony Benezet in Philadelphia. One of the first Negro schools in the land, if not the first, was that established in New York by Elias Neau in 1704. He gathered slaves and free Negroes to the number of 200, in his own house nightly, and kept the school open until his death in 1722. So, too, Anthony Benezet and the Quakers of Philadelphia opened a Negro school in 1770, which had a continuous existence until our day. After the Revolution the free Negroes were quickened to exertions in many directions, especially in founding churches, beneficial societies and schools. In Massachusetts a Negro school was formed at the house of Prince Hall, in 1798, and the teacher paid by the Negroes. In 1807 the Negroes of the District of Columbia, led by Bell, Franklin and Liverpool, three free Negroes, founded the first Negro school. This school, supported by the Negroes, lapsed for a while, but was revived in 1818, and many other schools were supported simultaneously. In Ohio the Negroes of Cincinnati opened a school of their own about 1820, and in New York the Negroes rallied to the support of the old Neau school. No record is available, of course, of the moneys thus spent by Negroes for education, but at a later period, 1839, it is instructive to know that the Negroes of Cincinnati alone were paying nearly a thousand dollars a year ($889.03) for their schools.

The energy and persistence of the Negroes led to benevolence and partial State aid. At first the States made no efforts to educate Negroes. In 1800 the Negroes of Boston tried to get the city to adopt their school, but it refused. About 1806 the city was induced to grant $200 a year to the school, and the children paid 12½ cents a week as tuition. It was claimed at the time that technically the public schools were open to Negroes, but no inducements were offered to make them attend, and the abstract right was rarely tested. In 1812 the Negro school was adopted by the city. A benevolent society conducted the Negro schools in New York up until 1834, when the city took hold. In Ohio the Negroes were excluded from white schools in 1828, and practically no provision made for them save through benevolence until 1849. The attempt to open private schools for Negroes was frowned upon as in the Prudence Crandall case, and nearly all higher institutions, except Oberlin,* were closed to Negroes.

From about 1835 on it became general for the Northern States to support wholly a separate system of Negro schools. They were usually poorer than the whites, worse taught and worse equipped, and wretchedly housed. Beginning with Massachusetts, in 1855, these separate schools have been abolished in nearly all Northern States. There are still schools in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, attended solely by Negroes and taught by Negro teachers. The attendance, however, is, in nearly all cases, voluntary on the part of the pupils, although in a few communities these schools really draw the color line.

5. *The Beginning of Schools in the South.*—The history of schools for Negroes in the South falls also into five main epochs:

1. The Ante-Bellum Schools.
2. The Army Schools.
3. The Schools of the Freedmen's Bureau.
4. The Missionary Schools.
5. The Public Schools.

Some few schools for Negroes existed here and there in the South before the war. In the District of Columbia, as already mentioned, no less than fifteen different schools were conducted here mainly at the expense of the colored people between 1800 and 1861. In Maryland, St. Frances Academy, for colored girls, was founded by the Roman Catholics in 1829. The convent originated with the French Dominican refugees, who came to Baltimore during the uprising in the West Indies. The sisters were colored. Another school, established in 1835, gave instruction to free colored children. In North Carolina there were before 1835 several schools maintained by the free Negroes. They had usually white teachers. After 1835 the few clandestine schools were taught by Negroes. In Charleston, S. C., there was a school for Negroes opened in 1744, which lasted some ten years. It was taught by a Negro, and was for free Negroes only, although some slaves who hired their time managed to send their children there. Free Negroes in Georgia used to send children to Charleston for education. They returned and opened clandestine schools in Georgia. In Savannah a French Negro, Julian Froumontaine, from San Domingo, conducted a free Negro school openly from 1819 to 1829, and secretly for sometime after. Schools were stopped nearly everywhere after 1830 and as slavery became more and more a commercial venture all attempts at Negro education were given up.

*By a vote of one majority in the trustee board Negroes were admitted to Oberlin in 1835. In some of the Eastern colleges like Bowdoin and Dartmouth, Negroes were occasionally admitted.

During the war the first complication that confronted the armies was the continual arrival of fugitive slaves within the Union lines. At first the commands were rigid against receiving them. "Hereafter," wrote Halleck early in the war, "no slaves should be allowed to come within your lines at all." Other generals, however, thought differently. Some argued that confiscating slaves would weaken the South, others were imbued with abolition sentiment for right's sake. Twice attempts were made to free the slaves of certain localities by proclamation, but these orders were countermauded by the President. Still the fugitives poured into the lines and gradually were used as laborers and helpers. Immediately teaching began and gradually schools sprang up. When at last the Emancipation Proclamation was issued and Negro soldiers called for, it was necessary to provide more systematically for Negroes. Various systems and experiments grew up here and there. The Freedmen were massed in large numbers at Fortress Monroe, Va., Washington, D. C., Beaufort and Port Royal, S. C., New Orleans, La., Vicksburg and Corinth, Miss., Columbus, Ky., Cairo, Ill., and elsewhere. In such places schools immediately sprang up under the army officers and chaplains. The most elaborate system, perhaps, was that under General Banks in Louisiana. It was established in 1863 and soon had a regular Board of Education, which laid and collected taxes and supported eventually nearly a hundred schools with ten thousand pupils, under 162 teachers. At Port Royal, S. C., were gathered Edward L. Pierce,s "Ten Thousand Clients." After the capture of Hilton Head in 1861 the Sea Islands were occupied and the Secretary of the Treasury designated this as a place to receive refugee Negroes. Mr. Pierce began the organization of relief societies in the North and established an economic system with schools. Eventually these passed under the oversight of General Rufus Saxton, who sold forfeited estates, leased plantations, received the camp-followers of Sherman's March to the Sea, and encouraged schools. In the West, General Grant appointed Colonel John Eaton, afterwards United States Commissioner of Education, to be Superintendent of Freedmen in 1862. He sought to consolidate and regulate the schools already established, and succeeded in organizing a large system.

A general system of schools was established in Tennessee and Arkansas with over 7,000 pupils.*

Other systems grew up elsewhere in different ways until it became manifest that some order must be gotten out of this chaos. Directly after emancipation there had been introduced into the House of Representatives at Washington a bill creating a Bureau of Emancipation. The following June a committee appointed by the Secretary of War recommended a temporary Bureau for the improvement, protection and employment of refugee freedmen. Gradually out of these beginnings the Freedmen's Bureau was evolved in 1865. This Bureau, in its final form, was a

*A good account of these schools will be found in the Publications of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, No. 3.

government of men, and partially ruled the South from the close of the war until 1870. "It made laws, executed them, and interpreted them; it laid and collected taxes, defined and punished crime, maintained and used military force, and dictated such measures as it thought necessary and proper for the accomplishment of its varied ends."*

The Bureau was especially active in the establishment of schools and virtually founded the common school system of the South. A General Superintendent of Schools, J. W. Alford, was appointed, and was very active. His resumè of conditions from 1865 to 1868 is the best picture of the educational activities of the Freedmen's Bureau:

"The first determination of the Commissioner was not to take this great charity from the hands of its voluntary patrons. The people of the North had been pouring out supplies for suffering soldiers, and this general flow of philanthropy was not to subside. It turned naturally to the freedmen. To lift them up, especially by education, was legitimately the work of the people. And yet there was need of cutting broader channels for the strong current of such noble endeavors. By unity, the forces employed could be economized, and the sphere of effort enlarged, dignified, and made permanent by well-defined and vigorous government support.

"The Commissioner, therefore, said in his Circular No. 2, May 19, 1865:

'The educational and moral condition of the people will not be forgotten. The utmost facility will be offered to benevolent and religious organizations and State authorities in the maintainance of good schools for refugees and freemen until a system of free schools can be supported by the reorganized local governments. * * * It is not my purpose to supersede the benevolent agencies already engaged in the work of education, but to systematize and facilitate them.'

"In his first report the Commissioner gave great credit to these agencies: 'Really wonderful results had been accomplished through the disinterested efforts of benevolent associations working in connection with the government.' But arrangements were soon made to give, on a larger scale, systematic and impartial aid to all of them. This consisted in turning over for school use temporary government buildings no longer needed for military purposes, and buildings seized from disloyal owners; also transportation for teachers, books, and school furniture, with quarters and rations for teachers and superintendents when on duty.

"Schools were taken in charge by the Bureau, and in some States carried on wholly—in connection with local efforts—by use of a refugees' and freedmen's fund, which had been collected from various sources. Teachers came under the general direction of the Assistant Commissioners, and protection through the department commanders was given to all engaged in the work.

"Superintendents of schools for each State were appointed July 12, 1865. It was their duty "to work as much as possible in conjunction with State officers who may have had school matters in charge, and to take cognizance of all that was being done to educate refugees and freedmen, secure

*See Atlantic Monthly, March, 1901.

protection to schools and teachers, promote method and efficiency, and to correspond with the benevolent agencies which were supplying his field.'

"*First General Report of Inspector.*—In September, 1865, your present General Superintendent was appointed 'Inspector of schools.' He traveled through nearly all the States lately in insurrection, and made the first general report to the Bureau on the subject of education, January 1, 1866.

"Extracts from this report give the condition at that time, of the freedmen throughout the whole South, with some glimpses of the great work taken in hand, better than any paper which could now be written. He says:

'The desire of the Freedmen for knowledge has not been overstated. This comes from several causes:

'1. The natural thirst for knowledge common to all men.

'2. They have seen power and influence among white people always coupled with *learning;* it is the sign of that elevation to which they now aspire.

'3. Its mysteries, hitherto hidden from them in written literature, excited to the special study of *books.*

'4. Their freedom has given wonderful stimulus to *all effort,* indicating a vitality which augurs well for their whole future condition and character.

'5. But, especially, the practical business of life now upon their hands shows their immediate need of education. This they all feel and acknowledge; hence their unusual welcome of and attendance upon schools is confined to no one class or age. Those advanced in life throw up their hands at first in despair, but a little encouragement places *even these* as pupils at the alphabet.

'Such as are in middle life—the laboring classes—gladly avail themselves of evening and Sabbath schools. They may be often seen during the intervals of toil, when off duty as servants on steamboats, along the railroads, and when unemployed in the streets of the city, or on plantations, with some fragment of a spelling-book in their hands, earnestly at study.

'Regiments of colored soldiers have nearly all made improvement in learning. In some of them, where but few knew their letters at first, nearly every man can now read, and many of them write. In other regiments one-half or two-thirds can do this.

"Even in hospitals I discovered very commendable efforts at such elementary instruction.

'But the great movement is among *children* of the *usual school age.* Their parents, if at all intelligent, encourage them to study.

'Your officers add their influence, and it is a fact, not always true of childen, that among those recently from bondage, the school-house, however rough and uncomfortable, is of all places most attractive. A very common punishment for misdemeanor is the threat of being *kept at home for a day.* The threat in most cases is sufficient.'

"The total number of pupils at this time, January 1, 1866, in all the colored schools, as near as could be ascertained, was 90,589; teachers, 1,314; schools, 740. In some States numbers had to be put down by general estimate.

"The report goes on to say:

'Much opposition has been encountered from those who do not believe in the elevation of the Negro. A multitude of facts might be given. It is the testimony of all Superintendents, that if military power should be withdrawn, our schools would cease to exist.

'This opposition is sometimes ludicrous as well as inhuman.

'A member of the legislature, in session while I was at New Orleans, was passing one of the schools with me, having, at the time, its recess. The grounds about the building were filled with childen. He stopped and looked intently, and then earnestly inquired, 'Is this a school?' 'Yes,' I replied. 'What! of niggers?' 'These are colored children, evidently,' I answered. 'Well! well!' said he, and raising his hands, 'I have seen many an absurdity in my lifetime, but *this is the climax of absurdities*?' I was sure he did not speak for effect, but as he felt. He left me abruptly, and turned the next corner to take his seat with legislators similarly prejudiced.

'*Petition for Schools.*—As showing the desire for education among the Freedmen, we give the following fact: When the collection of the general tax for colored schools was suspended in Louisiana by military order, the consternation of the colored population was intense. Petitions began to pour in. I saw one from the plantations across the river, at least thirty feet in length, representing ten thousand negroes. It was affecting to examine it, and note the names and marks (x) of such a long list of parents, ignorant themselves, but begging that their children might be educated; promising that from beneath their present burdens and out of their extreme poverty, they would pay for it.

'*Normal Schools Wanted.*—A class of schools is called for in which colored teachers can be taught. If dignified by the name of '*Normal schools,*' they should commence with training in the simplest elements of the art. Education for the Freedmen *as a whole* must be at first very rudimental. The text at present must be mainly in the spelling-book; and yet this is beginning to be universal. The Freedmen all want learning at once. This people are not like pagans in ancient countries who a thousand years hence will be mainly as they are to-day. Slaves, even in a country like this, could not be kept from many noble impulses. The war has been to them a wonderful school of knowledge, of thought, and of purposes; and now suddenly emancipated, these 4,000,000 are as 'a nation born in a day.'

'*Education at Once, for All.*—This great multitude rise up simultaneously, and ask for intelligence. With it they at once start upward in all character. Without it they will as quickly sink into the depravities of ignorance and vice; free to be what they please, and in the presence only of bad example, they will be carried away with every species of evil. And, then, what is the actual and astounding fact? One that startles philanthropy itself. A million, at least, of these four millions, (and mainly the rising generation,) are today ready to engage in the study of books. They cannot well be put off. Political, social, financial and moral considerations all ask that their demand be promptly met. If this million be divided into schools of fifty each, we need for its supply 20,000 teachers. Where are they to come from? The North can supply a few thousand. Perhaps the more noble of the white race here and there in the South will help us. But still at least 15,000 remain to be supplied from some other quarter.'

"These and kindred appeals had their effect. At the end of the school year, July 1, 1866, it was found that while complete organization had not been reached, the schools in nearly all the States were steadily gaining in numbers, attainment and general influence. School buildings had been multiplied, teachers showed more aptness and skill in their management and instruction, and pupils continued to make rapid progress. Educational societies were found to have enlarged their patronage and funds, with united agencies of greater efficiency and economy. The disposition of these societies to cooperate heartily with the Bureau, accepting its patronage, and adopting its general plans, became apparent.

"The official reports of Superintendents gave 975 schools, 1,405 teachers, and 90,778 pupils. But these figures were not a true exhibit of the actual increase. They did not include many schools which in that somewhat chaotic period failed to report. It was estimated that, in all the different methods of teaching, there had been during the preceding six months 150,000 Freedmen and their children earnestly and successfully occupied in study.

"Some change of sentiment had been observed among the better classes of the South; those of higher intelligence acknowledging that education must become universal—planters admitting that it would secure more contented labor. Leading statesmen plead that these millions would be a safer element in their midst, if made moral and intelligent; and religious conventions in many parts of the South passed resolutions urging their membership to give instruction to the Negroes.

"Still multitudes bitterly opposed the schools. The baser sort had become more brutal than at first; they would not consent to the Negro's elevation. He must, in their opinion, remain in every essential respect inferior to themselves. Teachers were proscribed and ill-treated, schoolhouses burned, and threats so strong that many schools could not be opened; and others, after a brief struggle, had to be closed. Southern men who felt that such outrages were inhuman, thought it not expedient, or had not the moral courage openly to defend the schools, and our correspondence continued to show that only military force for some time to come could prevent the frequent outbreak of every form of violence.

"The above statements should be modified as to some of the districts; but this was the general sentiment. It is a marvel how the schools went on. The tenacity and high-souled courage of teachers were admirable. It was more than heroism. There seemed a divine inspiration over the whole work. A creative power had said, 'Let there be light.'

"The country began to feel the moral power of this movement. Commendations of it came from foreign countries, and the universal demand of good men everywhere was that the work should go on.

"On July 16, 1866, the act of Congress to amend the Bureau bill, and continue it for the term of two years, was passed in Congress by a two-thirds vote, over the veto of the President.

"This bill greatly enlarged the powers of the Bureau, especially in regard to education. It sanctioned cooperation with private 'benevolent associations, and with agents and teachers duly accredited by them;' and also directed the Commissioner to 'hire or provide by lease buildings for purposes of education, whenever teachers and means of instruction, without cost to the government, should be provided.' And also, that he should 'furnish such protection as might be required for the safe conduct of such schools.'

"Five hundred and twenty-one thousand dollars were appropriated by Congress in the above bill for school purposes. The bill also provided a considerable fund by the sale or lease of property formerly held by the so-called Confederate States. Other educational expenses, except transportation of teachers, were to be paid out of the fund for refugees and freedmen.

"The schools, on the passage of the above act, assumed in all respects a more enlarged and permanent character.

"Schools in the cities and larger towns began to be graded. Normal or high schools were planned, and a few came into existence. The earliest of these were at Norfolk, Charleston, New Orleans and Nashville.

"Industrial schools for girls, in which were sewing, knitting, straw-braiding, etc., having proved a success, were encouraged. School buildings, by rent or construction, were largely provided, and new stimulus was infused into every department.

"The whole freed population, in view of new civil rights and what the Bureau had undertaken for them, had gained an advanced standing, with increasing self-respect and confidence that a vastly improved condition was within their reach.

"Up to this time it had been questioned whether colored children could advance rapidly into the higher branches. We now found that 23,737 pupils were in writing, 12,970 in geography, 31,692 in arithmetic and 1,573 in higher branches, and that out of 1,430 teachers of the day and night schools, 458 were colored persons. All doubts as to the ability of colored children to learn, with capacity for higher attainment, were therefore rapidly passing away.

"The winter of 1866–1867 proved to be very severe. The poverty of parents, during a number of weeks of the coldest weather, was such they could not provide suitable clothing and shoes for their children. The general attendance of very many schools was diminished, and in others rendered unusually irregular.

"Improved school laws were, during the winter, passed by some States, and yet producing but little practical effect; in others there was no movement on the subject, or it was totally defeated.

"Rebel theories of reconstruction, and the encouragement given that their views would succeed, brought a variety of other untoward influences to bear upon the education of the colored race.

"Very decided progress, however, still continued to be made. The January report stated that the actual results reached since these schools commenced, both in numbers and in advancement, were surprising. At the end of the school year, July 1, 1867, it could be said: 'We look back with astonishment at the amount accomplished. Such progress as is seen under auspices admitted to be unfavorable, the permanency of the schools, scarcely one failing when once commenced, the rapid increase of general intelligence among the whole colored population, are matters of constant remark by every observer. Thus far this educational effort, considered as a whole, has been eminently successful. The country and the world are surprised to behold a depressed race, so lately and so long in bondage, springing to their feet, and entering the lists in hopeful competition with every rival.'

"This Bureau had expended during the current fiscal year, which ended October 1, 1867, for all school purposes, $643,766.20; the balance above the appropriation having been taken from the 'Freedmen's and Refugees' Fund.'

"The school appropriation for the year to end July, 1868, is $525,000, its use being restricted mainly to transportation of teachers and rent, repair and construction of school buildings. It allows, as heretofore, nothing for salaries of teachers, school books and apparatus, or any incidental expenses. All this is still left for the educational societies to supply.

"Great credit is due these societies for their liberality and promptness in meeting the above wants. Their consolidation, with some denominational exceptions, into the two central institutions, the 'American Missionary Association' and the 'American Freedman's Union Commission,' has given great vigor and thoroughness to their cooperation, and produced universal confidence. Their teachers, with scarcely an exception, deserve much credit for ability and unwearied perseverance. We heartily commend them and the institutions they represent to the continued patronage of the benevolent public.

"The whole amount expended from the commencement of the Bureau to January 1, 1868, for all school purposes, has been $1,066,394.28.

"We believe that no public fund was ever used with greater care and economy, nor with more benefit, not only to the Freedmen, but to the best interests of the whole Southern country. The vast amount of good accomplished cannot be told in mere figures. It has also been in a way to unite the popular heart to the work and call out the greatest amount of cooperative effort, volunteer contributions to Freedmen's schools being in the aggregate fully equal to the sum expended by this Bureau.

"This expenditure has been impartial. Refugees and other poor whites of the States lately in rebellion have not been overlooked. In every case where they could be brought into schools it has been done. All parts of the South, city and country, have been explored and equally supplied, as far as possible, with their proportion of these means of instruction."

The school report the last six months in 1868 was as follows:*

Day schools	1,198	
Night schools	228	
Total	1,426	
Tuition paid by Freedmen	$ 65,319 48	
Expended by Bureau	67,208 48	
Total cost	$180 247 44	
Schools sustained wholly by Freedmen		469
Schools sustained in part by Freedmen		531
School buildings owned by Freedmen		364
School buildings furnished by Bureau		417
White teachers		1,031
Colored teachers		713
Total enrollment		81,878
Average attendance		58,790
Pupils paying tuition		26,139

*From Fifth Semi-Annual Report, January 1, 1868.

The report of the Freedman's Bureau for 1869 was virtually a final summing up of the work. General Howard says:

"But the most urgent want of the Freedmen was education; and from the first I have devoted more attention to this than to any other branch of my work.

"My former reports on this subject and those of the General Superintendent of Education have been so full, that a very brief review only is here needed. I found many schools already in existence in those localities that had been for some time within the lines of our armies; these had been established and maintained to a great extent by benevolent associations of the North. As early as September 17, 1861, the American Missionary Association commenced a school for 'contrabands' at Hampton, near Fortress Monroe. On the 8th of January, 1862, Rev. Solomon Peck, D. D., of Boston, established a school at Beaufort, South Carolina. Another was opened at Hilton Head the same month by Barnard K. Lee, Jr. A more general movement was inaugurated by the efforts of E. L. Pierce, Esq., of Boston, and Rev. M. French; and on the 3d of March, 1862, about sixty (60) teachers and missionaries were sent out by societies organized in Boston and New York. Others followed; some working independently, others supported by local churches, and others by new relief associations formed in Philadelphia, Cincinnati and other towns. In the early part of 1864 an efficient school system was instituted in Louisiana by Major General Banks, then in command of that State. I did not attempt to supersede these benevolent agencies already engaged in the work of education, but gave them every possible facility for continuing and enlarging their operations. Though no appropriations had been granted by Congress for this purpose, by using the funds derived from rents of 'abandoned property,' by fitting up for school houses such government buildings as were no longer needed for military purposes, by giving transportation for teachers, books and school furniture, and by granting subsistence, I was able to give material aid to all engaged in the educational work. With the aim to harmonize the numerous independent agencies in the field, and to assist all impartially, I appointed a Superintendent of Schools for each State, who should collect information, encourage the organization of new schools, find homes for teachers, and supervise the whole work. The law of July 16, 1866, sanctioned all that had been previously done, and enlarged my powers. It authorized the lease of buildings for the purposes of education, and the sale of 'Confederate States' property to create an educational fund. Appropriations were also made for the 'rental, construction and repairs of school buildings.' This enabled me to give a more permanent character to the schools, and to encourage the establishment of institutions of a higher grade. In each State at least one normal school has been organized for the training of teachers, and several chartered col-

leges for the freed people are already in successful operation. In addition to these, an institution of still higher grade, a university, has been founded in this district, incorporated by Congress, and designed to furnish facilities for classical, scientific and professional culture. In all the schools of every grade the number of pupils has steadily increased, and the standard of scholarship has rapidly advanced. * * * *

"It is believed that not less than two hundred and fifty thousand (250,000) colored adults and children have received some instruction during the past year. Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the noble band of Christian teachers who have carried on successfully this work of education. Many of them have come from the very best circles of refined and cultivated society, and have been exposed to privations, hardships and perils which would have discouraged any who were not moved by the spirit of the Divine Teacher. To them belongs the credit in great measure for all that has been accomplished. They have done the hard work; they have been the rank and file in the long fight with prejudice and ignorance. When they first entered the field as teachers, so general and bitter was the opposition to the education of the blacks, that scarcely one white family dared to welcome them with hospitality. When they were insulted and assailed, very few had the courage to defend them; but their good conduct finally overcame prejudice, and better sentiments have gradually grown up in many parts of the South. Hostility to teachers and schools has in a great measure ceased. Since the Freedmen have been invested with all the rights and privileges of Freedmen, and already exert a powerful political influence, it is admitted by all intelligent and fair-minded people that they must be educated or they will become the tools of demagogues and a power for evil rather than for good. This necessity has already led to the organization of a system of free schools in some of the reconstructed States. Until this is done in every State, and such public schools are in practical operation, the safety of the country, and especially of the South, will demand the continuance, by some agency, of the educational work now carried on by this Bureau. Not only this, but means should be provided for greatly extending these operations to meet the wants of the whole people. The foregoing report shows that not more than one-tenth of the children of Freedmen are attending school. Their parents are not yet able to defray the expenses of education. They are already doing something, probably more in proportion to their means, than any other class. During the last year it is estimated that they have raised and expended for the construction of school-houses and the support of the teachers not less than two hundred thousand dollars ($200,000). They have shown a willingness to help, and as they prosper and acquire property, they will assume a larger share of the burden, either by voluntary contributions or by the payment of taxes for the support of schools."

To this the General Superintendent of Education adds:

"From the Freedmen themselves we continue to receive hearty response to all our appeals. Thirst for knowledge does not abate. A taste of it,

and even its advanced attainments, only redoubled the desire. Productive industry is now furnishing them with means for paying tuition, and all of their color who, in our normal schools, have been prepared to teach, enter with alacrity upon the work, and pursue it with success. The benevolent associations do not tire. If some are doing less, others increase their efforts, and new agencies, especially under church organization, are coming into the field. An effort, the last year, almost unanimous, has been made to organize and endow high and training schools for the preparation of teachers. This effort has been eminently successful. Thirty-nine such schools, as will be seen, having 3,377 pupils, with many normal classes in those of a lower grade, are reported.

"While the above schools will be urged forward, attention will now be turned to the destitute populations in rural and remote districts, where, until recently, danger threatened our unprotected teachers.

"Superintendents have aided largely in distributing the Peabody fund in nearly all of the States. This arrangement was made with Dr. Sears, the general agent of that fund, at the commencement of the year, and great good has thereby been accomplished at very little added expense. The late concentration of this Bureau more directly upon the work of education, meets with general approbation. This, the hearts of our friends at the North were set upon, and it has everywhere rejoiced the Freedmen. We hope that our legislators will add a hearty approval, and increase the present appropriation to any reasonable amount which may be needed. At the opening of the coming school term superintendents generally will need some assistance: some States are larger, making it quite impossible for one man to traverse their extended territory, inspecting, noting destitutions, organizing new schools, procuring teachers, and reporting systematically the whole. If large results are hoped for, the force employed must be in due proportion. The present educational schedule of this Bureau contemplates increased results the coming year. Arrangements have been made by which a portion of current expenses of all schools of thirty pupils each will be paid, while the construction of school-houses in destitute regions will be aided to the full extent of the means in hand.

"The people and Congress will decide upon the continuance of this educational organization. We can only say that reports and correspondence from all quarters urge this; the Freedmen with united voice beg for it, and their friends both North and South are demanding continuance of governmental aid, with arguments which seem unanswerable. We report larger numbers now than ever before, and yet it should be said that there are also many under instruction in inferior schools usually with colored teachers, throughout the interior of the Southern States, but which do not in any way appear in our report. This is the home effort of this people after knowledge, imperfect indeed, and with no outside patronage from any quarter. If such schools were counted, a considerable larger number would appear. We only give in our report those within the actual knowledge of our superintendents.

"The Freedmen assist in support of their schools to the extent of their ability. As their condition is improved, their willingness to contribute for educational, as they always have for religious interests, exhibits itself in the largely augmented amount paid for the support of schools. Forty-four thousand three hundred and eighty-six pupils paid $103,836.19 for tuition. This is by far the largest aggregate sum we have yet had the privilege of reporting; while many thousands of dollars were expended for board and salaries of teachers, and for construction of school-houses, of which we received no report, the actual amount of which would greatly increase the above sum."

The total schools, attendance and disbursements of the Freedman's Bureau was as follows:*

INCREASE OF EDUCATION.

Date.	Schools.	No. of Teachers.	Pupils.
1866	975	1,405	90.778
1867	1,839	2,087	111,442
1868	1,831	2,295	104,327
1869	2,118	2,455	114,522
1870	2,677	3,300	149,581

EXPENDITURES FOR SCHOOLS.

Year.	Expended by			Total.
	Freedmen's Bureau.	Benevolent Associations.	The Freedmen.	
1866	$123,655 39	$ 82,200 00	$ 18,500 00	$ 224,359 39
1867	531,345 48	65,087 01	17,200 00	613,632 49
1868	965,806 67	700,000 00	360,000 00†	2,025,896 67
1869	921,182 16	365,000 00	190,000 00†	1,479,182 16
1870	976,853 29	360,000 00	200,000 00†	1,536,853 29
Total			$ 785,700 00	$ 5,879,924 00

† Estimated by the Bureau officials.

* From Report of the Record and Pension Office, U. S. Government, to Dr. J. L. M. Curry, May 21, 1894, published in Occasional Papers of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, No. 3. The above report gives also another set of figures "made up from the reports of the Superintendents of Education of the several States under the control of the Bureau from 1865 to 1870." These disagree with the Bureau reports chiefly in totals expended by Benevolent Associations and Freedmen. The discrepancy is, however, of little importance as these two items are chiefly estimates in the Commissioner's reports and probably were not calculated in the regular Superintendents' reports. Moreover the Bureau reports were in great confusion after the closing of the Bureau on account of the summary proceedings of the War Department. The totals of the regular reports of the Bureau are, therefore, it would seem more reliable than an attempted report made up thirty years later from defective records. Cf. Communication of General Howard, 42 Cong. 3d Session, House Misc. Doc., No. 87. There is internal evidence also of the inadequacy of the later totals. For instance, the Bureau reports, in 1869, an expenditure of $365,000 given by Benevolent Societies for education. The new report gives only $27,200, a manifestly absurd figure.

The work of the Benevolent Societies has been mentioned. The chief societies, reported by the Freedmen's Bureau as at work in 1868 and 1869, were:

African Civilization Society, New York.
African Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Society, Washington, D. C.
American Advent Mission Society, Michigan.
American Baptist Free Mission Society, New York.
American Baptist Home Mission Society, New York.
American Missionary Association, New York.
Board of Domestic Missions, Ref. PresbyterianChurch, Pittsburg, Pa.
Board of Missions for Freedmen, Ref. Presbyterian Church, Ohio.
Baltimore Association, Baltimore, Md.
Delaware Asso. for the Moral Improvement of Col. People, Wilmington, Del.
First Normal School Association, Richmond, Va.
Freedmen's Aid Society, Methodist Episcopal Church, Cincinnati, O.
Freedmen's Committee, Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends, Ohio.
Free Will Baptist Home Mission Society, New Hampshire.
Friends' Association of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa.
Friends' Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa.
American Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa.
American Freedmen's Union Commission, New York.
Friends' Freedmen's Association of New York, New York City.
General Assembly's Committee on Freedmen. Pittsburg, Pa.
Michigan Freedmen's Aid Commission, Michigan.
National Freedmen's Relief Association, Washington, D. C.
National Theological Institute and Home Miss. Society, Washington, D. C.
National Theological Institute and University, Washington, D. C.
New England Branch Amer. Freedmen's Union Commission, Boston, Mass.
New England Friends Freedmen's Aid Society, New Bedford, Mass.
New York Branch Amer. Freedman's Union Commission, New York.
New York Yearly Meeting of Friends, New York.
Pennsylvania Branch Amer. Freedmen's Union Commission, Philadelphia, Pa.
Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions, New York.
Protestant Episcopal Home Mission to Colored People, New York.
Richmond Educational Association, Virginia.
Scriptural Tract Society, Boston, Mass.
Soldier's Memorial Society, Boston, Mass.
United Presbyterian Board of Missions, Alleghany City, Pa.
Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, Cincinnati, O.
Yearly Meeting of Friends, Indiana.
Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission, Michigan.

The chief society was the American Missionary Association and next in importance came the various Freedmen's Union Commissions, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, the Baptist Home Mission Society and the Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church. Beside these the Episcopalians, Catholics and Friends have done work. In addition to these agencies there was the Peabody fund, given in 1887, and the Slater fund available first in 1884. A resumè of the work of the American Missionary Association will suffice to show the character of the labors of all these societies:*

"The Home department embraced two distinct fields, the West and the South, and the largest number of home missionary workers employed by the Association was 112 in 1860, fifteen of them being located in the slave States and in Kansas.

"The missions in the *slave States* gave rise to some of the most stirring events in the history of the Association, which has the distinction of beginning the first decided efforts, while slavery existed, to organize churches and schools in the South, on an avowed anti-slavery basis. These efforts were necessarily confined to the white people, for in the domain of slavery, anti-slavery churches and schools for the blacks were impossibilities. But in October, 1859, came the march of John Brown into Virginia, bringing universal terror to the South, and with it the expulsion of all our missionaries from the slave States.

"The crisis so long impending came at length, and the Union armies, entering the South in 1861, opened the way for the instruction and elevation of the colored people. The Association felt itself specially called and providentially prepared to engage in this work, and the first systematic effort for their relief was made by it. Large numbers of 'contrabands,' or escaping fugitive slaves, were gathered at Fortress Monroe and Hampton, Va., and were homeless and destitute. The Association sent Rev. L. C. Lockwood as a missionary, to make investigations. He reached Hampton September 3, 1861, and the next day arrangements were made for meetings in several places, the house of ex-President Tyler being one of them—a new use for that mansion, and a new era for the colored people.

"But the great event in Mr. Lockwood's mission was that on the 17th of September, 1861, he established *the first day school among the freedmen.* The teacher of that humble school was Mrs. Mary S. Peake, an intelligent colored woman. That little school laid the foundation for the Hampton Institute, and was the forerunner of the hundreds that have followed. The school-house stood on the coast where, two hundred and forty-one years before, the first slave-ship entered the line of the American continent. That first slave-ship and this first Negro school will hereafter be contrasted as the initiators of two widely different eras—of barbarism and civilization.

"The Proclamation of Emancipation, dated January 1, 1863, insured the permanent freedom of those who reached the Union lines. A sense of

* From the History of the A. M. A., published by the Society.

justice to the long-oppressed slave awoke an enthusiasm at the North, second only to that which impelled the soldiers to enter the army. Hundreds of ladies, refined and educated, many of them teachers in the Northern schools, volunteered their services. Clothing and supplies were offered in large quantities, and Freedmen's Aid Societies were multiplied.

"The American Missionary Association rapidly extended its work. At Norfolk, the school of the previous year now numbered 1,200 pupils. In the three Sabbath-schools there were 1,500, of whom 500 were adults. On many plantations around Norfolk, abandoned by the white owners, but still occupied by the ex-slaves, the Association opened schools and preached the gospel. The estate of ex-Governor Wise was thus occupied, and his mansion was used as a school-house and a home for teachers of colored people. Teachers were also sent to Newbern and Roanoke Island, N. C.; to Beaufort, Hilton Head, St. Helena and Ladies' Island, S. C., and to St. Louis, Mo.

"The success of our arms on the Mississippi, culminating in the surrender of Vicksburg, July 4th, opened a wide door of usefulness, which the Association entered promptly and efficiently. Its force was scattered over the field held by our armies, in the District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri and Kansas.

"The year 1865 was marked by events of more than usual importance to the Freedmen and the Association. Prominent among these were the close of the war; the establishment, by act of Congress, of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the holding of a National Council of Congregational Churches in Boston, which recommended to the churches to raise $250,000 for the work among the Freedmen, and designated this Association as the organization providentially fitted to carry it forward. The Association accepted the responsibility and prepared itself for the enlarged work. It appointed District Secretaries at Chicago, Cincinnati and Boston, and collecting agents in other portions of the Northern States. It also secured the services of several esteemed ministers of the gospel, who acted as its representatives in soliciting funds in Great Britain, and it succeeded in securing a little more than the $250,000 recommended by the council. Its receipts from all sources ran up from $47,828 in 1861 to $253,045 in 1866, and $420,769 in 1870. * * * *

"Our missionaries and teachers were to some extent the objects of embittered hate and ruffianly threats, but God mercifully protected them and made them moral supporters of their flocks and schools. There was no want of courage on their part to enter or remain in the field; the number of teachers, which was 320 in 1865, was enlarged to 528 in 1867, 532 in 1868, and 533 in 1870."

The final stage of the Negro public school was the State systems. The South was ruled by the army and the Freedmen's Bureau until the new governments, authorized by the Reconstruction act of 1867, were established. These so-called Carpet Bag governments established the public school systems of the South.

6. *The Negro Governments and the Public School*,* 1868–1876.—The governments of the Southern States which survived the war made few attempts to establish public school systems, particularly so far as Negroes were concerned. They especially feared idleness and social revolution on the part of the blacks, and passed laws accordingly. Alabama declared "stubborn or refractory servants" or those who "loiter away their time" to be "vagrants," who could be hired out at compulsory service by law, while all Negro minors, far from being sent to school, were to be "apprenticed," preferably to their father's former "masters and mistresses." In Florida it was decreed that no Negro could "own, use or keep any bowie-knife, dirk, sword, firearms or ammunition of any kind" without a license from the judge of probate. In South Carolina the Legislature declared that "no person of color shall pursue the practice of, art, trade or business of an artisan, mechanic or shopkeeper, or any other trade or employment besides that of husbandry or that of a servant under contract for labor until he shall have obtained a license from the judge of the district court." Mississippi required that "if a laborer shall quit the service of the employer before the expiration of his term of service without just cause, he shall forfeit his wages for that year." Louisiana said that "every adult freed man or woman shall furnish themselves with a comfortable home and visible means of support within twenty days after the passage of this act" and that any failing to do so should "be immediately arrested," delivered to the court and "hired out, by public advertisement, to some citizen, being the highest bidder, for the remainder of the year." Some States, like Florida, attempted partial legislation on the public schools, but in few, if any States was a comprehensive system planned until the carpet bag governments were installed.

The so-called "carpet-bag" governments, which under the sway of the army and the Freedmen's Bureau succeeded the State governments of war time, have undoubtedly many sins to answer for. Supported by ignorant and unlettered Negroes, and led in many cases by unscrupulous Northerners and Southerners, they were extravagant and funny. And yet we must give them credit for what they did well:

"*They instituted a public school system in a region where public schools had been unknown.* They opened the ballot-box and jury-box to thousands of white men who had been debarred from them by a lack of earthly possessions. They introduced home rule into the South. They abolished the whipping-post, the branding iron, the stocks and other barbarous forms of punishment which had up to that time prevailed. They reduced capital felonies from about twenty to two or three. In an age of extravagance they were extravagant in the sums appropriated for public works. In all that time no man's rights of person were invaded under the forms of law."** Again,

* Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina and South Carolina were readmitted to their full rights as States of the Union in June, 1868; Georgia, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia were not admitted until 1870. Tennessee had reentered in 1866.

** Albion W. Tourgee, quoted in Love's Disfranchisement of the Negro, p. 10.

Thomas E Miller, a Negro member of the late Constitutional Convention of South Carolina, said:* "The gentleman from Edgefield (Mr. Tillman) speaks of the piling up of the State debt; of jobbery and peculation during the period between 1869 and 1873 in South Carolina, but he has not found voice eloquent enough nor pen exact enough to mention those imperishable gifts bestowed upon South Carolina between 1873 and 1876 by Negro legislators—the laws relative to finance, the building of penal and charitable institutions, *and, greatest of all, the establishment of the public school system.* Starting as infants in legislation in 1869, many wise measures were not thought of, many injudicious acts were passed. But in the administration of affairs for the next four years, having learned by experience the result of bad acts, we immediately passed reformatory laws touching every department of State, county, municipal and town governments. These enactments are today upon the statute books of South Carolina. They stand as living witnesses of the Negro's fitness to vote and legislate upon the rights of mankind."

Although recent researches have shown in the South some germs of a public school system before the war, there can be no reasonable doubt, but what common school instruction in the South, in the modern sense of the term, was founded by the Freedmen's Bureau and missionary societies, and that the State public school systems were formed mainly by Negro reconstruction governments. The earlier State constitutions of Mississippi "from 1817 to 1865 contained a declaration that 'Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government, the preservation of liberty and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.' It was not, however, until 1868 that encouragement was given to any general system of public schools meant to embrace the whole youthful population."† In Alabama the Reconstruction Constitution of 1868 provided that "It shall be the duty of the Board of Education to establish throughout the State, in each township or other school district which it may have created, one or more schools at which all the children of the State between the ages of five and twenty-one years may attend free of charge." In Mississippi the constitution of 1868 makes it the duty of the Legislature to establish "a uniform system of free public schools, by taxation or otherwise, for all children between the ages of five and twenty-one years." Arkansas in 1868, Florida in 1869, Louisiana in 1868, North Carolina in 1869, South Carolina in 1868 and Virginia in 1870 established school systems. The constitution of 1868 in Louisiana required the General Assembly to establisc "at least one free public school in every parish," and that these schools should make no "distinction of race, color or previous condition." Georgia's system was not fully established until 1873.

7. *The Fifteenth Amendment and the Negro Schools*, 1873–1880.—In the border States—Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and

* *Ibid*, p. 11. The italics are ours in both cases.

† Report U. S. Bureau of Education, 1875, p. 233.

Missouri—the development of the Negro schools was somewhat different. Missouri and West Virginia established free schools about the time the other Southern States did and made provision for Negroes. Tennessee tried to start a school system for both races in 1867, but met numerous hindrances, chief among which was "a bitter opposition from quarters not desirous of the education of colored children." Delaware, Kentucky and Maryland established school systems for white children, but refused at first to make any provision for colored schools, and at last granted them only taxes raised by Negroes.* Not before 1880 were colored children in these States put on the legal footing of whites in regard to schooling. The decisive reason for this is given in the report of Superintendent Henderson for 1875–1876: "The elevation of this class is a matter of prime importance since a ballot in the hands of a black citizen is quite as potent as in the hands of a white one. To the 49,000 white voters unable to read their ballots, more than 50,000 Negroes, making an aggregate of more than 90,000 illiterate electors, or more than one-third of the entire voting population of the commonwealth."**

So much is being said today about the fifteenth amendment that we are apt to forget that in all human probability the passage of this amendment was decisive in rendering permanent the foundation of the Negro common school. If the Negroes had been left a servile caste, personally free, but politically powerless, it is not reasonable to think that a system of common schools would have been provided for them by the Southern States. Serfdom and education have ever proven contradictory terms. But when Congress, backed by the nation, determined to make the Negroes full-fledged citizens, the South had a hard dilemma before her: either to keep the Negroes under as an ignorant proletariat and stand the chance of being ruled eventually from the slums and jails, or to join in helping to raise these wards of the nation to a position of intelligence and thrift by means of a public school system. The nightmare of the carpet bag governments hastened the decision of the South, and although there was a period of hesitation and retrogression after the overthrow of Negro rule in the early seventies, yet eventually every Southern State confirmed the work of the Negro legislators and maintained the Negro public schools along with the white.

To be sure the school systems established in the carpet bag period were not all good nor were they administered well in all cases. In 1873 the school reports from South Carolina complain that "one of the most serious hindrances to the proper and judicious administration of the school system and second only to that occasioned by the condition of the school finances, lies in the fact that many of the school officers are eminently disqualified for the positions they hold." Ignorance and embezzlement of public funds were subsequently charged against some. Nevertheless there were as time passed evident signs of improvement. In

* Kentucky granted all taxes raised from Negroes, the other States, school taxes.

** Report U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1876.

Florida a Negro, Jonathan C. Gibbs, "a graduate of Dartmouth College and of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey, who had been sent South in 1865 as an agent of the Old School Presbyterian General Assembly, to organize schools and churches in its interest among the Freedmen," had so commended himself as to be appointed Secretary of State with Governor Reed of Florida, under the constitution of 1868. In this office he continued till his entrance, at the close of 1872, on the office of Superintendent of Instruction. "It was then a post of considerable difficulty, as the first enthusiasm for a new school system had subsided and political complications and embarassment about school funds had come in to hinder progress. But by his energy and enthusiasm in the cause he so far succeeded that, in the month of August, 1873, he had the pride and pleasure of saying before the National Educational Association: 'The census of 1860—ante bellum—shows that Florida had in her schools 4,486 pupils, at an expense of $75,412. To-day Florida has 18,000 pupils in school, at an expense of $101,820; fully four times as many pupils, at an increase of only 33 per cent expense.'"*

The critical period of doubt and suspense that ensued after the fall of the "carpet-bag" governments lasted two or three years. In Arkansas it was reported in 1873: "At the date of the last report, (September 30, 1870,) the free school system had been in successful operation rather more than two years. During that time many difficulties had been surmounted; the prejudice which at first existed in the minds of the people, especially with regard to the education of the colored children, had been overcome, and schools had been established in nearly all the counties in the State; many excellent teachers had been attracted from the older States, and vigorous efforts were being put forth to build suitable school-houses and keep school open for a longer time than three months during the year. During the years 1871 and 1872 various influences and agencies have operated most disastrously against the free school system, so that it has been not only greatly hindered and embarrassed, but well nigh destroyed; and the vigorous growth of popular sentiment in favor of the system has declined into almost total indifference."†

In Alabama there was reported "An almost entire paralysis of primary education in the State" in 1874, and even the reforms of 1875 did not allow the State Superintendent to speak encouragingly. In Louisiana the political upheaval almost stopped the schools until the reconstruction of 1877. "Decrease and retrogression" is the burden of the report for 1876.

It is very difficult in this period to apportion praise and blame—to say how far the failure in many cases to make the State school systems work was due to the incompetency of Negro voters and their representatives, and how far to the opposition of the whites. Both certainly deserve a good share of condemnation. At any rate the crisis passed. The schools were founded. The Negroes were citizens and voters. The same men who

* Report U. S. Bureau of Education, 1876, p. 64.

† Report U. S. Bureau of Education, 1873, p. 12.

in 1865 had voted Negro children back into quasi-slavery, hesitated now, but saw that it was too late to turn back and took hold of the vast work of carrying on the schools.

"The reorganization of their [the Southern States] system of public education grew out of the complete enfranchisement of the colored race, and became necessary in order to adjust their new political relations to this race under the amendments to the Constitution of the United States."*

8. *The Financial Problem.*—The war had left the South bankrupt. The rehabilitation of the State governments on the simplest scale meant heavy burdens in taxation upon a ruined and poverty-stricken people. When, therefore, in addition to this they were asked, in obedience to public opinion and law, to add to their burdens the expense of a public school system, not only for the white children, but for the black children, there can be no reasonable doubt but that this demand was unfair. The whole nation was responsible for slavery. If the South sinned more in the development of the iniquitous system, it had at least the excuse of greater temptation in the fertile soil, and cotton and tobacco industry. And whatsoever the guilt of the South, certainly the rest of the nation profited and profited largely by Southern slave agriculture. Strict and far-sighted justice demanded, first, that the economic burden of emancipation be borne by the whole nation and not simply by the present slave-owners. The best method of distributing this burden would have been by the English precedent of compensation to owners. The vast cost, however, of a war in which the South was the aggressor, destroyed all hope of this eminently fair process. Granting this, nevertheless it was, secondly, the undoubted duty of the whole nation to reimburse the slave in some slight degree for years of stolen toil. The smallest return thinkable was free elementary education to black children. The North gave large and enthusiastic temporary aid to this end, as we have seen, but the vast cost of the permanent provision it demanded that the South should bear.

Under such circumstances it was perfectly natural that the South, smarting under the sting of defeat and overweighted with new poverty, should shrink angrily from the burden. And even when the South, as the silent price of the revolution of 1873 and 1876, shouldered the burden of black schools the financial problem that faced them was baffling. Roughly we may trace, in most States, three phases in the settlement of the financial difficulties, which differ from each other in the sources of school support:

1st Period—From interest on school funds and charity.
2d Period—From interest on school funds, indirect taxes, poll taxes and State appropriations.
3d Period—From the above sources and also from local taxation.

When the schools first began, local taxation was extremely unpopular. In Georgia, 1871, the report says: "In very few counties have taxes been levied for school purposes, and very little of the amount levied has been

* Report of U. S. Bureau of Education, 1888.

collected." In Alabama, 1872, "The people are so averse to local taxation that they will not in this way supplement the State funds." In Tennessee, 1872, there is wide-spread feeling "that property should not be taxed to educate those without means."* In this crisis the only recourse was to fall back on the various school funds held in trust by the States. These, for the most part, originated in gifts from the United States government**—the surplus revenue distributed by the act of 1837, and the "16th section" provision of the public land grants. In many States these funds, although set aside as school funds, had been squandered or lost, and the State paid interest on an imaginary principal by direct appropriation. In other States a considerable sum remained at interest. Florida, for instance, had a fund of $240,108.70 in 1870, and Louisiana reported a fund of $1,331,500 in 1871. It was peculiarly just that this money, coming from the nation, should be used for common schools at this juncture. And manifestly, too, there could be no just claim here that the whites were taxed for the blacks—the blacks having as fair and equitable a claim to these national gifts as any other children of the State.

The Peabody fund supplemented the interest on these funds, and this was in many States almost the sole reliance of the schools. Very early, however, there was added to this State appropriations. These appropriations were sometimes made and not paid for various reasons, but gradually the direct State appropriation from a general property tax became the larger part of the fund. So unpopular was this, however, for many reasons, but chiefly because whites were taxed for Negro schools, that other taxes had to be resorted to. The poll-tax system shifted the burden partially from the property-holding classes to the new freedmen. Sometimes this imposition of poll-taxes and the low valuation of property left a heavy burden of taxation upon the poor and the small house-holder. Even to this day the remains of this system of taxation is apparent in the South and has become unfair. In the seventies it was, however, a fair expedient to raise of poll-tax for school purposes, and this was done in a large number of States. For instance, in North Carolina, the school fund in 1872 was derived as follows:

From the Property Tax	$ 38,206 03
From Indirect taxes and Interest on Funds	125,448 31
From Poll Taxes	108,988 93

The indirect taxes were of various sorts, usually licenses, fees, etc. In Georgia they were, as finally arranged, as follows:

Half of the rental of a railway owned by the State and leased.
Tax on circuses.
State taxes on liquor dealers.
Net returns from the hire of convicts.
Fees from the inspection of fertilizers.

* Reports U. S. Bureau of Education.

** For an account of these National aids to education see Report of U. S. Bureau of Education, 1877, p. XII.

Cities and towns early set the example of adding to the State quota a considerable sum raised by local taxation, and this system is now, in the third period, spreading to country districts. Its spread, however, is bringing new problems. So long as the school revenue came from State funds, indirect taxes and the like, it seemed more like a gift to the small towns and country districts. As, however, they are now asked to tax themselves locally their poverty and the large Negro contingent are obstacles; and especially is the Negro school disabled, because in the country districts the ignorance of both races is greatest and the prejudice strongest. Consequently, there has come in this decade a reiteration and emphasis of the demand that whites should not be taxed for Negro schools.

"While the disposition to deal impartially with both races in respect to school provision is so general in the Southern States, it will be noticed that the proportion of the colored school population enrolled in the schools is very much less than that of the white school population. The reasons are apparent to every one personally familiar with the situation of affairs in this section. There are few school buildings for the use of colored people, the supply of teachers is extremely limited, while the poverty of the people, their irregular habits and capricious moods interfere with their school attendance, especially in the country districts. These are, however, all minor difficulties, *the most serious obstacle to the practical fulfilment of the school laws in the Southern States being the want of funds. It is not necessary to repeat here the proofs of the statement that the Southern States cannot of themselves bear the whole burden of the instruction and development of the Freedmen;* the fact is admitted; the responsibility of the nation in the matter is admitted; there appears to be an overwhelming sentiment in the country in favor of appropriations from the national treasury to meet the emergency."* This was written eight years ago. It is still true.

9. *The Growth of the System*, 1865–1900.—Two years after the end of the war something less than a hundred thousand black children were in school. In 1900 over a million and a half are enrolled:

*Report U. S. Bureau of Education, 1883. Italics are ours.

NEGRO CHILDREN ENROLLED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE SOUTH, 1865–1900.*

Date.	Enrollment.	Date.	Enrollment.
1866	90,778	1888	1,140,405
1870	149,581	1889	1,213,092
1877	571,506	1890	1,289.944
1878	675,150	1891	1,324,937
1879	685.942	1892	1,352,816
1880	784,709	1893	1,367,828
1881	802,372	1894	1,424,995
1882–1883	802,982	1895	1,441,282
1884	1,002,313	1896	1,428,713
1885	1,030,463	1897	1,460,084
1886	1,048,659	1898	1,506,742
1887	1,118,556	1899	1,511,518

We can best follow and comprehend this enormous growth by glancing at the conditions in the various States.

10. *Delaware.*—From 1870 to 1874 Delaware had no state system of schools. Each of the three counties had a superintendent appointed by the Governor, and each district a school committee elected by the people. This committee provided schools, employed teachers and levied the school-tax. In 1875 a State Superintendent was appointed and certain officials designated to act with him as a State Board of Education. "These officers throughout were for the schools for whites alone." Schools for colored youth had no recognition in this State at all until 1875. Before this date the Delaware Association for the Moral Improvement and Education of the Colored People did some work in cities, especially Wilmington. The colored people themselves, by tuition fees, paid "more than a third of our whole receipts from all sources and double the amount of all our other individual contributions combined."† In 1871 twenty schools and twenty-two teachers were reported, and an average session of 4½ months. In 1875 the Negroes were allowed to levy a tax of 30 cents per $100 for their schools. "In 1876 the present incumbent, H. C. Conrad, Esq., was appointed Actuary for the Delaware Association for the Education of the Colored People, in whose hands the education of the colored people was placed in 1875. On his advent to office he found 29 schools in existence, having an enrolment of 1,197, 'supported by donations from this association and contributions made directly by the colored people.' In 1881 the State made the first direct appropriation [$2,400,] which was materially increased in 1883, and still further augmented at the last session of the General Assembly [1887?], when the amount was raised from $5,000 to $6,000 annually, the law touching schools for this race simplified, and permission granted to the colored people of Dover and of Cedar

*For complete figures, 1866 to 1870, see § 5. From 1870 to 1876 there are no complete statistics. From 1877 on, the figures are those given in the Reports of the U. S. Bureau of Education.

†In 1870 the Negroes contributed $3,833.70 on the $10,483.24 expended.

Creek Hundred to elect their own trustees, who should levy and collect a school-tax and provide for the maintenance of colored schools in the districts at the same time created. The total amount distributed to the schools was $7,057.56, of which $4,713.23 came from the State and $2,344.33 from the school-tax fund. 'Each year,' says the Actuary, 'shows an improvement in the corps of teachers, those of the past year being, I think, better equipped in point of education and experience than those of any previous year.' During the year the Delaware Association for the Education of the Colored People, which had been engaged for the last twenty years in the education of colored youth, was disbanded, and the African School Society, incorporated in 1824, assumed the work. The two organizations were practically identical." "The marked appreciation which these people [i. e., the colored people] have displayed of the privileges conferred upon them by the constitution and the law, and their painstaking interest in all school matters are most encouraging signs for their successful work in the future."* The city of Wilmington was more liberal than the rest of the State from the beginning and has to-day a system of colored schools nearly as good as that of the whites. The colored principal, to whose energy and intelligence the success of the system is largely due, reports: "There is nothing that could be done by the Board of Public Education that is not being done." Under this principal are 22 teachers and 712 pupils.

Date.	School Population.	Enrollment.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment Attending.
1871	.....	1,195	.....		
1877	3,800	1,663	44		
1878	3,800	2,900	76		
1879	3,800	2,842	75		
1880	3,954	2,770	70		
1881	4,151	2,544	61		
1883–1884	5,500	4,226	76.90		
1884–1885	5,500	4,226	77		
1886–1887	5,750	3,563	61.97		
1888–1889	7,070	4,587		2,017	44.00
1889–1890	8,736	4,656	53.30	2,851	61.23
1891–1892	8,980	4,858	54.07	2,947	60.66
1894–1895			54.10		60.66
1895–1896			54.09		
1896–1897			54.10		

Thirty-three per cent (33.84%) of the colored children of Delaware, or about a third, are in regular attendance upon a school which lasts, on the average, 141 days a year.

The new act of 1897 has gone still further in making the Negro schools effective by laying out school districts. They still remain apparently, however, on a somewhat different footing from the whites.

*Cf. Report of the State Board of Education, p. 18, 1898.

In 1886, outside the city of Wilmington, the division of school funds was as follows:

RECEIPTS OF WHITE AND COLORED SCHOOLS IN DELAWARE IN 1886.

Pupils.	Number of Children 6 to 21 Years.	State Appropriation.		School Taxes.		Receipts.	
		Total.	Per Capita	Total.	Per Capita	Total.	Per Capita.
White	36,486	$60,607	$1 66	$185,994	$5 10	$246,601	$6 76
Colored	5,750	4,656	81	2,511	44	7,167	1 25

In 1898–1899 there were in Delaware and outside of Wilmington 2 graded and 87 ungraded Negro schools, with 91 teachers. The salaries were as follows for country districts:

Whites, average	$32 37
Negroes, average	28 38

The Negro schools were open, on the average, 141 days; the white schools, 157 days. Out of 6,787 children of school age 4,677 were enrolled, and 2,976 in actual attendance. The expenditures were:

	Whites.	*Negroes.*
Salaries	$141,059 05	$ 18,627 94
Text books	8,277 18	1,469 00
Other expenditures	44,964 40	2,740 00
Total	$194,300 63	$ 22,826 94
Raised by Taxation	$ 90,881 86	$ 2,883 00
State Fund	86,253 87	18,627 94

According to the census of 1900 there were in Delaware:

Whites, 5–20 years of age	48,782	81.8 per cent.
Negroes, 5–20 years of age	10,849	18.2 per cent.
Total	59,631	100 per cent.

Neither whites nor blacks pay for their schooling in direct taxation—the blacks' schools paying 12½ per cent, and the whites 47 per cent. Both receive most of their schooling from the State school fund. This school fund is only partially a tax on the present generation of tax-payers, or indeed upon Delaware at all, but "is derived from the income arising from the investment of Delaware's share of the 'surplus revenue' distributed by the United States to the several States, together with a portion of the proceeds arising from certain State fees and licenses." The Negro children of the State, as citizens of the land and as children of tax-payers, have a perfect right to a pro rata share of this fund. Such a share they have not received until within less than five years,* and even this year their pro

*Possibly less than one year.

rata would make their share over nineteen thousand. The education of Delaware Negroes, therefore, outside of Wilmington, is not costing the white tax-payers a single cent, and until recently the Negroes contributed large sums, belonging of right to them, to the education of the whites. Probably in Wilmington their schools cost white tax-payers something as their schools are unusually good there.

In Negro illiteracy Delaware stood fourteenth of the former 17 slave States in 1890:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 years and over.]*
71.3%	57.5%	49.5%	[62.7%]

11. *Maryland.*—The schools of Maryland are conducted by a State Board of Education, appointed by the Governor, Boards of County School Commissioners, appointed by the Governor, and District Trustees, appointed by the County Boards.† The school statistics are as follows:

Date.	School Population.	Enrollment.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1870	63,591	24,539	39		
1878		26,216	41		
1879		27,457	43		
1880	74,192	28,221	44		
1881		24,928	34		
1882–1883		28,934	39		
1883–1884	68,409	31,327	46		
1884–1885		32,690	48		
1885–1886		32,142			
1886–1887		33,257		11,993	45.08
1887–1888		32,536		14,221	43.71
1888–1899		34,072		15,227	44.70
1889–1890		36,372		17,202	47.30
1890–1891	69,045	34,796	50.40	17,273	49.64
1891–1892	69,880	34,274	49.10	17,056	49.76
1892–1893	70,550	37,386		16,597	
1893–1894	71,400	38,598	54.06	18,369	47.59
1894–1895	72,200	43,492	60.24	18,531	42.61
1895–1896	75,900	39,954	52.65	19,429	48.63
1896–1897	77,200	43,531	56.39	22,419	51.50
1897–1898	78,700	45,258	57.51	22,520	49.76
1898–1899	80,000	46,852	58.57	22,989	49.07

Twenty-nine per cent (28.74%) of the colored children of Maryland, or less than 3 in every 10, are in regular attendance upon a school which lasts, on the average, less than 188 days a year.

Up to 1872 nothing was done "by the State for the education of colored children, but the colored people, aided by benevolent associations, particularly the 'Baltimore Association,' established schools of their own."‡

* The illiteracy of the whole population is, of course, less than this.

† 1894.

‡ Report U. S. Bureau of Education, 1870, p. 157.

In Baltimore the pupils of the 13 schools paid $2,042.05 in tuition in 1869. The revised law of 1870 "requires that all the taxes paid for school purposes by the colored people of any county shall be used for maintaining schools for colored children." County Boards could add to this, but they did not, in most cases; and, too, they received their *pro rata* of the State fund, based on white and colored population, and gave it to the white Schools exclusively on the grounds that it could not "be spared"* for the Negroes. Baltimore was an exception, and was maintaining schools in a school system for Negroes in 1871 at a cost of $30,000. Over $400,000 was spent for the white schools. The Negroes formed 18 per cent of the population at that time. In 1872 the revised law directed that schools for Negroes be established in each county, and $50,000 was appropriated for them. This was increased afterward, but even as late as 1891, a County School Examiner of the State acknowledges that the provision of the law that schools shall be opened for Negroes in each district and kept open as long as the white schools, is very imperfectly carried out as "the necessary funds are not provided * * * * sufficient to carry out the purposes of the law in this regard." In 1871 the division of school funds was as follows:

Total white population, all ages	605,497
Total Negro population, all ages	175,391
Expenditures for white schools	$722,500 29
Expenditures for Negro Schools	4,611 40

In 1878 the $100,000 appropriated by the Legislature to the colored schools was taken out of the property tax for schools in general. This method of raising the Negro school fund still obtains, the appropriation for 1899 being $150,000. The expenditures, 1899, were as follows:

White population, 5–20 years	318,052
Negro population, 5–20 years	84,946
Apportionment for white schools	$2,945,464 29
Apportionment for Negro schools	330,718 10

Twenty per cent of the school children thus received 10 per cent of the school receipts. According to law the school taxes of Negroes go to Negro schools *plus* such amounts as the counties may appropriate, which are usually small. The county receipts were $159,710.86 in 1899 and $12,614.60 were paid for books, making $173,325.46. Just what part of this was appropriated from taxes paid by whites is not clear from the reports. The Negroes' *pro rata* share of the free school fund would be $10,000. It is probable that the Negroes of Maryland thus pay about one-eighth of the cost of their education, and possibly much more than this. The per capita of the school population 5–18 years, in Maryland, and the expenditure per pupil is estimated by the United States Bureau of Education as follows:

* Ibid, 1872, p. 150.

	White.	Colored.
1870	$6 56	$ 55
1875	7 32	1 97
1880	6 39	2 31
1885	6 70	2 58
1890	7 13	3 26
1895	7 91	3 59
1898	8 76	4 07

The average length of the school term for Negro schools in 1899 was 8.65 months, outside of Baltimore, and 10 months in that city. The average of the white country schools was a trifle longer, 8.8 months. In 1889 the average annual salaries of white teachers was reported as $386.25; of Negroes, $364 88.

In Negro illiteracy Maryland stands thirteenth among the former slave States:

1870	1880	1890	[1900 Males 21 and over.]*
69.5%	59.6%	50.1%	[40.5%]

12. *District of Columbia.*—The schools of the District of Columbia have been governed in various ways since their establishment in 1804. From 1869 to 1900 there was a Superintendent of white schools, and also one of colored schools, both appointed by the District Commissioner. Since that date there is one Superintendent of all schools with two assistants, one of whom has charge of the colored schools. These Superintendents are appointed by a Board of seven Trustees, two of whom are Negroes. Schools for colored children first received public recognition in the acts of Congress in 1862,† 1864 and 1866. These acts provided a Board of three Trustees for Negro schools, and ordered the white school Board to pay over to them the Negro *pro rata* of the school monies according to population. The first public school was organized in March, 1864. By 1872 there were 9 buildings and 4,661 children in school:

[*Note:* In the following statistics of states there are a few corrections due in part to misprints and in part to later information:

Page 47, fifth line from bottom, *one-third* instead of *one-eighth*.
" 59, eighth line from top, $100,000 instead of $500,000.
" 60, thirteenth line from bottom, $250,000 instead of $400,000.
" 61, fourth line from bottom, $372,000 instead of $475,000.]

*The illiteracy of the total population is, of course, less than this.

†Ten per cent of the Negro taxes were set aside for Negro schools.

Date.	School Population.	Enrolled.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1871		4,986			
1873		6,200			
1877	11,000	5,954	54		
1878	12,374	7,786	63		
1879		9,045	73		
1880	13,946	9,505	68		
1881	13,946	9,583	69		
1882–1883	13,945				
1884–1885	13,945	9,486	68		
1885–1886	14,000	11,640	83.10		
1886–1887	13,945	12,048		9,154	
1887–1888	18,200	12,796	70.31	9,538	74.50
1888–1889	18,200	13,004		8,597	77.00
1889–1890		13,332		10,079	75.60
1890–1891	21,633	14,147	65.40	10,506	74.26
1891–1892	23,280	14,490	62.34	10,833	74.75
1892–1893	23,620	14,502		10,982	
1893–1894	24,000	14,436	60.16	11,124	77.05
1894–1895	24,370	14,658	60.13	10,903	74.40
1895–1896	24,640	15,175	61.59	11,295	74.43
1896–1897	25,000	15,198	60.79	11,530	75 87
1897–1898	25,700	15,387	59 87	11,727	76.21
1898–1899	26,390	15,316	58 04	11,304	73.81

Forty-three per cent (42.84 per cent) of the colored children of the District of Columbia, or two in every five, are in regular attendance upon a school which lasts, on the average, 179.5 days a year.

The Superintendent of Colored Schools from 1871 to 1900 was a Negro, Mr. G. F. T. Cook, and to him much of the success of the colored schools is due. The colored people of the District have always had considerably less spent on them than on the whites. The following is the Bureau of Education's estimate of the per capita expense per school population (5–18 years).

	White.	Colored.
1875	$ 4 90	$ 4 85
1880	10 34	6 77
1885	9 91	7 02
1890	9 78	6 95
1895	11 24	7 75
1898	14 82	10 64

The total cost of the schools in 1899 was:†

White Schools		$728,652 40
Colored Schools		273,186 36
1900	White population, 5–20 years	51,212
	Negro population, 5–20 years	26,046

One half of this expenditure is paid by the United States Government. The Washington Negroes are probably the wealthiest group in the coun-

†Report of Trustees, 1899, pp. 25. 233.

try, and pay considerable in direct taxes. Probably then their taxes and their share of the United States appropriation pay three-fourths if not all their schooling. The school term in the District equals the whites, and was 179.5 days in 1899.

In illiteracy the District stood seventeenth among the former slave States, having the least of all in 1890:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 and over]†
70.5%	48.4%	35.0%	26.1%

13. *Virginia.*—The officers having general charge of school affairs are a State Superintendent of Public Instruction, elected by the Legislature for four years, and a State Board of Education, composed of the Superintendent, the Governor and the Attorney General. Local officers are County School Superintendents, appointed by the State Board of Education for four years and confirmed by the Senate; County School Boards, composed of the County School Superintendent and District School Trustees; School Trustees Electoral Boards, composed of the County Superintendent, County Judge and County Attorney; District Trustees, appointed by the School Trustee Electoral Board, and Sub-District Directors, elected by the voters of sub-districts for three years or appointed by the District School Board in case the sub-district fails to elect.

The State school fund of Virginia is derived as follows:

The proceeds of all former educational funds.‡

The proceeds of all public lands donated by Congress for school purposes.

All escheated property, all waste lands and all property forfeited to the State.

All fines collected for offenses against the State.

A direct appropriation from the State of not less than one, nor more than five, mills on the dollar of assessed property.

A poll-tax of $1 on all men over 21 years of age.

To this may be added county and district funds raised by taxation or donated. These funds, for two different periods, were as follows:

	1872	1897
State fund	$ 422,602 43	$ 783,569 95
		200,000 00§
County funds	219,863 63	254,298 60
District funds	249,104 33	270,312 22
City funds		315,630 56
Other sources	101,748 20	39,892 67
Total	$ 993,318 59	$1,863,704 00

No State money is to be paid to a district that has not sustained a school at least five months. Schools are to be graded in all localities where the number of children is sufficient. They are free to all persons 5–25, but white and colored are not to be taught in the same schools. The branches prescribed by law are orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and geography. No others may be admitted except by specific regulations, one of these being that the plan must have the sanction of the County School Board. Teachers are chosen by Sub-District Directors, but are employed by the District Trustees. To be thus employed, and to receive pay from public funds, they must have certificates from County Superintendents.

† The illiteracy of the total population is, of course, less than this.

‡ Funds from certain endowments, forfeitures and the like which amounted to $1,060,000 in 1816.

§ Direct appropriation.

The year that closed July 31, 1880, is reported by State Superintendent Ruffner to have been the best for the public schools since the organization of the new system in 1870. The number of such schools, the enrollment and average attendance, and the teachers employed, were each about double that of the troublous year preceding, while 77 more schools were graded, 363 more buildings were owned by school districts, $88,588 were thus added to the value of school property, and the average school term for the State was lengthened by six days. Then, too, "an increased amount of State school money was turned over," and the districts seemed to have come up encouragingly to the help of the State by raising local funds.

The statistics of Negro pupils in Virginia are as follows:

Date.	School Population.	Enrollment.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1871		39,000			
1872					
1873		47,596			
1874		52,086			
1875		54,941			
1876		62,178			
1877	202,640	65,043	32		
1878	202,852	61,772	30		
1879		37,768	18		
1880	240,980	68,600	28		
1881		76,959	32		
1882–83		85,328	35		
1883–84		103,310	43		
1884–85	265,249	109,108	41		
1885–86		111,114	41.90		57.65
1886–87		115,546	43.56	62,949	54.48
1887–88		118,831	44.80	64,422	54.21
1888–89	265,347	119,172		65,618	55.00
1889–90		122,059		68,317	56.00
1890–91	238,318	123,579	57.86	66,688	53.99
1891–92	241,440	116,700	48.34	62,481	53.54
1892–93	244,600	120,775		63,745	
1893–94	247,900	121,277	48.92	66,423	54 76
1894–95	240,000	120,453	50.19	64,700	53.71
1895–96	241,000	121,777	50.52	67,703	55.60
1896–97	242,000	123,230	50.92	68,203	55.34
1897–98		123,234			
1898–99	244,000	117,129	48.00	61,754	52.72

One-fourth of the children of Virginia (25.31 per cent) attend regularly a school of less than 119 days a year.

What the cost of colored schools is, and what part of the cost is borne by Negroes, is not clear from the school reports. First, however, it is

clear that here, as in Delaware, only a part of the funds are raised by direct taxation—in this case 60 per cent—the rest being in the nature of an endowment, together with the proceeds of indirect and poll-taxes. To these funds the Negro child has the same right as the white children; they are in part gifts to both from a former generation, for whose wealth the fathers of black and white toiled; or they are gifts from the United States; or they are results of fines for crimes to which the Negroes contributed the larger share, or they are the income from poll-taxes, which are the same for both races, although there are more defaulters among the Negroes.† The Negroes of Virginia own property assessed at $16,286,959 (1900). On this their district, county and State school taxes at 30 cents a hundred dollars must amount to about $48,860.87. This would make, with the Negroes' *pro rata* of the State fund,‡ a total contribution as follows:

Poll-taxes	$ 125,033 00
Property taxes	48,860 88
Share of Literary Fund	93,501 99
Total	$ 267,394 87

To this must be added the Negroes' share of the indirect taxes, which are not separately given in the School Report, but probably would increase the total contribution of colored people to $300,000 or $350,000.

As to the cost of the Negro public schools the best estimate is that of the Hampton Conference, 1901: "The average monthly pay of colored teachers in Virginia is about $23.80, probably not so high, as some teachers get less than $15.00 per month. The estimated pay of colored teachers for the year closing July 31, 1899, was $307,616.19; for white teachers it was $1,146,007.45. The number of white pupils enrolled was 241,696, and the number of colored pupils enrolled was 117,129. The colored enrollment is about one-third of the entire enrollment, the pay of colored teachers is about one-fifth of the entire salary account. The difference is still more apparent in the expenditures for the higher education of the two races for the year under consideration. The State paid to white institutions the following sums: University of Virginia, $60,000; Virginia Military Institute, $30,000; Polytechnic Institute, $15,000; Female State Normal School, $35,000; William and Mary, $25,000; School for the Blind and Deaf, $45,000; Medical College of Virginia, $5,000: total, $215,000. To the one colored institute, the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute, the State appropriated for the same year $15,000, or less than one-fifteenth of the entire appropriation. The total cost of education—common school and higher—for both races for 1898–99 was $2,201,264.49,‖ of which sum it is estimated that between $400,000 and $450,000 was expended for the education of the Negro. Surely this is a division of the school funds, and yet there

†The Negroes paid in poll-taxes in 1900, $125,033.

‡The Negroes formed, 1900, 38 per cent of the population 5 to 20 years of age.

‖It may be stated that in addition to this sum Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute received from the State in 1899, $10,329.36, proceeds from the Land Grant Income, but the Polytechnic Institute received from the same source twice that sum, namely, $20,658.72; the first named institution from the Agricultural and Mechanical College fund $8,000, and the latter $16,000.

are some who clamor for a still further reduction of the allowance for Negro schools." If we leave out the cost of higher education and assume that the cost of Negro teachers' salaries forms the same proportion to the total cost of Negro schools as the cost of all teachers' salaries in the State (1897, $1,403,972.72) bore to the total cost of schools (1897, $1,647,128.81), we have: Total cost of Negro schools, about $350,000; total contribution of Negroes, over $300,000. In other words, the education of the Negroes in Virginia today is costing the tax-payers of that State less than $50,000 a year, and has not in the whole period since 1870 cost them practically anything, if we remember that the Negro schools have often received even less than now. Naturally in a city like Richmond, Negro schools take some of the money of the whites.† On the other hand, in country districts, the process is often reversed, so that the net result seems to be as depicted above.

The school term in Virginia has increased from 93.2 days per year to 119 for all schools. The colored schools usually fall behind this, save in cities. In Negro illiteracy Virginia stood tenth of the slave States in 1890:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 years and over]††
88.9%	73.2%	52.7%	52.5%

14. *West Virginia.*—There is an elected Superintendent for the State and one for each county. Each district chooses a Board of Education of three members, and there may be also sub-district Trustees. The statistics of Negro children are as follows:

Date.	[Negro School Population.	Enrollment.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1877	5,980	2,847	48		
1878	8,295	3,551	48		
1879	7,279	3,775	52		
1880	7,749	4,071	53		
1881	8,104	3,884	48		
1882–83	8,420	4,447	53		
1883–84	8,637	4,607	53		
1885–86	9,720	5,590	57.50		
1886–87	9,887	5,691	57.56	2,817	49.49
1887–88	10,426	6,130	58.79	3,557	58.03
1888–89	10,497	6,209		3,589	57.30
1889–90		6,329		3,989	63.00
1890–91	10,400	6,428	61.81	3,811	59.29
1891–92	10,500	6,457	61.23	3,863	59.83
1892–93	10,700	6,438		4,113	
1893–94	10,800	7,185	66.53	4,102	57.10
1894–95	11,000	7,649	69.54	4,729	61.83
1895–96	11,300	7,230	63.97	4,467	61.79
1896–97		7,230	63.98		61.78
1897–98	11,500	8,512	74.02	5,614	65.95

Nearly half the colored children of West Virginia (48.81 per cent) are in regular attendance upon a school which lasts 111 days a year.

† Cf. Report of U. S. Bureau of Education, 1888–89, p. 1411.

†† The illiteracy of the whole population is, of course, less than this.

The State school fund consists of the permanent and invested funds, monies from waste lands and lands sold for taxes, the State's share of the literary fund of Virginia, estates of intestates, taxes on corporations, etc. The interest of this fund goes to the schools, together with a poll-tax of $1 on each male 21 years of age and over, and a State tax of 10 cents per $100. This is the State fund and is divided among the counties according to school population. Local taxes are added to this. In 1898 these funds were as follows:

General school fund	$ 349,982 22
District levies	1,610,431 32

The Negro youth of school age (5 to 20) were in 1900 only 14,823 out of 356,471 youth of all ages, or a little over 4 per cent. Schools were held as follows in 1898:

	White.	Colored.
High schools	33	5
Graded schools	271	18
Common schools	5,408	185
Total	5,752	208
Teachers	6,565	243

The Negroes seem thus to be getting a fair proportion of the funds and probably the cost of their schools is not wholly provided for by their taxes or their share of the school fund. There are no data available on this point.

The general school term in West Virginia has risen from 76.8 days in 1871 to 111 days in 1898. In Negro illiteracy this State stood fifteenth of the slave States in 1890:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 years and over.]
77.4%	55%	44.4%	37.7%

West Virginia has a compulsory attendance school law, passed in 1897, requiring all children 8 to 14 years of age to attend school at least 16 weeks a year. It is the only Southern State having such a law.

15. *Kentucky.*—The State has State and county Superintendents elected by the people; the districts have Boards of Trustees, of three members, for each race, the whites electing their Trustees and the blacks theirs. For some time no provision was made for colored schools. The report of 1870 said: "No satisfactory plan has yet been established by the Legislature for the education of the colored population, who have always manifested an eager and earnest desire for the education of their children. They have asked for a law to tax themselves for the purpose, but without success. The law, which merely provides that colored schools may be taught, is generally ignored, and money collected of colored people for school purposes applied to the support of paupers. In consequence of this misappropriation, the colored people avoid the tax by every possible subterfuge, and it now amounts to but little."

In 1873 and 1879 laws were passed appropriating various taxes paid by Negroes to their schools. The schools for white children were supported from the income of a State tax of 20 cents on the $100 valuation of property, with an optional district tax of 25 cents on the $100 of taxable property in ordinary districts and 30 cents in graded school districts, and from a capitation tax of 50 cents on persons sending children to school. The schools for colored children were supported from taxes on property owned or held by colored persons; from a capitation tax of $1 on each colored man over 21; from taxes on dogs kept by colored people and on deeds, suits or licenses for them; and from the proceeds of fines, penalties, etc., collected from them. These schools, according to a provision in the law, were to be aided before those for whites "by any congressional donation which hereafter may be made to the State in money or lands for the benefit of education, such funds to be applied exclusively to the support of colored schools until their funds shall be as great, in proportion to the population of school age, as are those for white schools."

In 1882 the annual capitation tax of $1 on each male colored person above the age of 21, reserved exclusively as the principal source of support of colored public schools, was repealed as unconstitutional by the General Assembly, reducing the per capita amount available for colored children from 48, for 1880, to 13 cents, for 1883. To obviate the ill effects of this the people voted "an additional tax of 2 cents on each $100 of property in this commonwealth, subject to taxation for State revenue purposes, for the benefit of the common school fund," and at the same time made the per capita and the school age the same for white and colored children. The result of this action is best shown by comparing the financial operations of 1880, in matters relating to education, with the operations of 1886. In 1880, $598,193 or $1.25 per capita were appropriated for the white and $31,951, or 48 cents per capita, for the colored. In 1886 the apportionment for the white schools was $865,052, a per capita of $1.65, and for the colored $164,429, a per capita of $1.65. In 1882–1883, the first year of the new order of things, $106,117 were disbursed for colored public schools, of which 16 per cent was received from colored tax-payers: in 1885–86, $167.666 were disbursed for colored schools, of which 8.6 per cent was from colored tax-payers. "That the people," says Superintendent Pickett, in his report for 1886, which should be considered rather as a retrospect of an educational period, "should by their own act draw the revenue from the white schools at so large a rate each successive year, to supplement the meager sum contributed by the colored people, is the most remarkable fact in the school history of Kentucky. That it should all be accomplished quietly and successfully without interruption of the schools, leading at the same time to a higher qualification of teachers, because required, and, consequently, to a higher standard in the schools * * * makes this an era in her history." Very soon, however, the *per capita* expenditures for Negroes fell below that of the whites and remained there.

The school statistics for Negro children follow:

Date.	School Population.	Enrollment.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1877	53,126	19,107	36		
1879	62,973		20		
1880	66,564	23,902	36		
1881	70,234		29		
1882–83	94,578		21		
1884–85	87,655	31,832	36		
1885–86			36.30		
1886–87	102,647	41,952	40.87	23,195	63.76
1888–89	109,158	42,526		28,833	67.80
1889–90		54,716		30,690	56.10
1890–91	90,400	55,574	61.48	31,593	69.64
1891–92	91,800	57,700	62.82	35,508	56.34
1892–93	93,200	61,300		25,200	
1893–94	92,460	73,381	79.38	25,031	34.10
1894–95	94,300	73,463	77.90	28,663	39.02
1895–96	95,400	62,508	65.54	39,658	63.44
1896-97			65.52		
1897-98	96,600	69,321	71.76	43,074	62.14

Forty-five per cent of the Negro children of Kentucky (44.59 per cent) regularly attend school for a term lasting 115.4 days per year.

The cost of education per capita of the school population in Kentucky is thus reported:*

	White.	*Negro.*
1880	$ 2 21	$ 36
1885	2 85	2 19
1890	3 71	3 13
1895	5 03	3 39
1897	4 59	3 34

The sources of the funds for schools in 1897 were as follows:

	Cities.	
	White.	*Colored.*
State fund	$ 259,482 97	$ 69,199 85
City taxes	562,684 87	18,735 88
Delinquent taxes	25,080 58	3 70
Tuition	5,836 63	237 22
Interest	7,571 83	
Other sources	89,086 65	2,117 67
Balance from last yr.	133,010 73	1,679 68
Total	$ 1,082,754 26	$ 91,974 00

* U. S. Bureau of Education.

	County Schools.	
	White.	*Colored.*
State treasury	$ 1,112,939 43	$ 203,671 40
Expenses Sup't. and books	79,274 75	1,658 37
Institute fees	9,539 45	1,091 65
Taxes voted for lengthening term, etc	37,175 25	4,243 13
Taxes levied for lots and buildings	161,410 54	8,054 07
Taxes for incidentals	27,779 19	3,173 80
Subscriptions by individuals	14,359 04	1,648 46
Tuition and other sources	42,800 23	4,807 11
Total	$ 1,503,277 88	$ 230,347 99
Total for cities	1,082,754 26	91,974 00
Grand total	$ 2,586,032 14	$ 322,321 99
1900, school population, 5–20 years	343,149	52,969

The State taxes are distributed pro rata according to population, and district taxes are applied according to race.* The Negroes contribute consequently $49,450.74 in local taxes *plus* their share of the State fund. Nearly one-half of this fund consists of endowments, indirect taxes, taxes on corporations, etc., in which the Negroes should share according to population. In direct State taxes the Negroes paid $13,988 in 1885. It seems probable, therefore, that the Negroes are dependent on white taxpayers for less than one-third of their school fund.

The teachers' wages show some difference on account of color in 1899:

Louisville.	White.	Colored.
Principal High School	$ 2,500	$ 1,650
Teachers High School	1,000–1,800	900
Teacher Normal Methods	1,100	1,000

In the counties, in 1887, white teachers received $31.15 per month, average, and Negro, $28.41. The school term has increased from 110 days in 1870 to 115.4 in 1897. In Negro illiteracy Kentucky stood seventh among the former slave States in 1890:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 years and over.]
83.8%	70.4%	55.9%	49.5%

* See Report U. S. Bureau of Education, 1888–89, p. 1414. Possibly there are exceptions to this rule in city systems.

16. *Tennessee.*—The system of public schools established in 1870 was a failure, and in 1872 many counties had not a single school. The law of 1873 gave more effective State and county supervision, and since then there has been steady progress. There are State and county Superintendents, both nominated, and elected School Directors in each district. The statistics of Tennessee are as follows for Negro pupils:

Date.	School Population.	Enrollment.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1877	111,523	43,043	39		
1878	112,100	54,242	49		
1879	126,288	55,829	44		
1880	141,509	60,851	43		
1881	143,295	67,766	47		
1882–83	140,815	56,676	40		
1883–84	150,832	77,293	51		
1884–85	155,659	80,888	52		
1885–86	158,450	84,624	53.40		72.22
1886–87				62,411	73.75
1887–88	161,393	80,127	53.41	56,332	
1888–89	162,834	94,435		64,711	68.50
1889–90		99,009		66,879	67.60
1890–91	155,800	105,458	67.69	72,682	68.92
1891–92	157,800	107,051	67.84	75,001	79.07
1892–93	156,000	94,980		64,127	
1893–94			59.50		67.53
1894–95	157,600	101,524	64.42	65,986	65.00
1895–96	160,300	100,499	62.70	67,348	67.00
1896–97	162,000	95,102	58.70	65,213	68.57
1898–99	169,000	101,931	60.31	69,140	67.83

Forty-one per cent of the colored children (40.9 per cent) attend regularly a school which lasts, on the average, 89 days per year.

The public schools of Tennessee are endowed with a permanent fund of $2,512,500, to which is added proceeds from lands sold for taxes, etc. There is also a poll-tax of $1, and a property tax of 1½ mills on a dollar. Local taxes, not to exceed the State tax, may be levied on "all property, polls, and privileges liable to taxation." Cities have special privileges in this respect.

There were in 1900 the following schools:

	White.	Colored.
Primary	5,262	1,558
Secondary	940	53
City Schools	85	56
Total	6,287	1,667
Teachers { Male	3,976	898
Teachers { Female	3,227	936
Total	7,203	1,834
School population, 5 to 20 years, 1900	589,451	190,925

The school fund for 1900 was as follows:

Balance from 1899	$ 705,040 85
Received from State	129,413 16
Received from Counties	1,529,445 26
Received from other sources	150,387 92
Total	$ 2,514,287 19

Judging from the proportion of teachers and schools, in the absence of other data, the Negroes received about $500,000 for their schools. To balance this is their *pro rata* of the income from the school fund, the poll-taxes from 112,000 polls, *minus* defaulters, the extra direct school-tax on polls in counties varying from 50 cents to $2, and their direct property tax. This cannot fall much below half the cost of their schools and it may amount to more. As in other States, the city school systems spend large sums on their Negro schools. Nashville particularly has an unusually good system. In nearly all cities the officials are reported to be friendly and interested in the colored schools. In Memphis the principal of the Colored High School receives $100 per month, other teachers $30 to $70.

The average school term in Tennessee has risen from 77 days in 1871 to 89 in 1899. In Negro illiteracy it stood eighth of the slave States in 1890:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 years and over.]
82.4%	71.7%	54.2%	47.6%

17. *Arkansas.*—The State Superintendent of Public Instruction, elected every two years, has general charge of the schools. The county court of each county appoints an Examiner, and each school district elects Directors of Schools. The school system was founded in 1868 and rearranged in later years. The statistics of Negro pupils are as follows:

Date.	Negro School Population.	Enrollment.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1871		13,210			
1872		2,500			
1877	43,518	7,255	17		
1878	57,087	8,897	16		
1879	62,348	13,986	22		
1880	54,332	17,743	33		
1881	65,206	24,360	37		
1882–83	69,113	23,139	33		
1883–84	74,429	37,568	50.50		
1886–87	96,543	46,798			
1887–88	99,784	50,570			
1888–89	106,300	56,382			
1889–90	112,472	59,468	52.87		
1891–92	117,300	64,191	54.71		
1892–93	117,940	66,921			
1893–94	121,000	76,056	62.84		
1894–95	124,500	82,429	66.21	48,120	58.38
1895–96	126,700	78,276	61.79	43,488	55.55
1896–97	128,500	82,192	63.96	50,977	62.02
1897–98	129,100	79,561	61.63	48,647	61.14
1898–99	131,000	76,546	58.43	48,174	62.93

Thirty-seven per cent (36.77 per cent) of the colored children of Arkansas, or less than two in every five, are in regular attendance upon a school which lasts, on the average, less than 70 days a year.

The school fund of Arkansas is made up of the proceeds of all lands granted by the United States, and from other previous funds, 10 per cent of the proceeds from the sale of State lands, etc. To the income of these funds is added a poll-tax of $1, a State tax not to exceed 2 mills on the dollar, and local taxation not to exceed 5 mills on the dollar. These sources yielded, 1900:

Balance on hand	$ 570,595 20
State common school funds	446,557 55
District tax	805,412 54
Poll-tax	163,564 55
Other sources	19.111 91
Total	$ 2,005,241 75

The teachers employed in 1900 were:

	White.	Colored.
Male	3,311	845
Female	2,207	596
Total	5,518	1,441

The average salaries of all teachers vary from $24 to $37 according to the grade. The relative number of white and Negro childen, 5 to 20 years of age, was in 1900:

Whites	380.815
Negroes	148,534
Total	529,375*

There are no data as to the relative cost of the schools of the two races save the number of teachers. According to this the Negro schools cannot cost much over $400,000, if that much. To balance this there are 87,000 Negro polls, the Negroes' share of the land funds, and the Negroes' direct taxes. The Negroes apparently pay at least three-fourths of their school fund.

The school term in Arkansas averaged 75 days in 1890 and 70 in 1899. In Negro illiteracy Arkansas stood ninth in 1890:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 years and over.]
81.2%	75%	53.6%	44.8%

18. *Missouri.*—The school system of Missouri dates from 1824, with a revision of the statutes in 1835; but after the war, the slaves having been emancipated and raised to the rank of citizens, a new constitution was formed. This constitution of 1865 and the statutes of 1866 paved the way for good schools for both white and colored. A new constitution and laws

*Including other "colored" persons.

were adopted in 1874. There are to-day State and County Superintendents and District School Directors, all elected by the people. Lincoln Institute was founded by Negro soldiers and aided by the State as a normal school for colored students. The school statistics of Negro pupils are as follows:

Date.	School Population.	Enrollment.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1875		14,832			
1877	32,910	13,774	42		
1878	37,880	19,208	51		
1879	39,013	20,790	53		
1880	41,489	22,158	53		
1882–83	41,790	24,838	59		
1883–84	44,795	26,131	58		
1884–85	44.215	27,674	63		
1885–86	45,930	29.125	63.40		
1886–87	47,663	30.469	63.92		
1888–89	47,478	32,168			
1889–90		32,804			
1890–91	48,900	34,622	70.80		
1891–92	49,860	34.513	69.20		
1892–93	51.000	31,113			
1893–94	51,700	33.916	65.60		
1894–95	52,600	32,199	61.21	20,430	63.45
1895–96	53,600	32,990	61.54	21,020	63.71
1896–97	54,200	31,915	58.88	21,820	68.37
1897–98	54.600	31,767	58.18	16.244	51 13
1898–99	54,700	30,114	55.05	15,349	50.97

Only twenty-eight per cent of the colored children of Missouri (28.06 per cent) regularly attend school. The length of their schooling averages 141 days a year.

Missouri is a State with a permanent school fund of twelve and a half millions. The sources of this fund were land grants by the United States, the sale of State property, and reimbursement for equipping United States troops during the Civil war. The present fund is increased yearly by various fines, forfeitures and indirect taxes. The school-tax was 51 cents on a hundred dollars, by which there was raised five and a half millions out of the nine and a half millions of total receipts. There were in 1900:

	White.	Colored.
Teachers	15,397	804
School-rooms	14,243	769
School-houses	10,006	472
Persons, 5–20 years	1,049.414	55,767

The Negroes appear to be receiving in Missouri a fair proportion of school funds according to population, which would be about $475,000. Their share of the endowed funds is about $200,000. Something, then, between one-third and one-half of the money spent on their schools comes from white tax-payers. The Negro schools of St. Louis are particularly

good. The enrollment in the country schools, however, is evidently very low, showing lack of supervision and encouragement.

The average school term in Missouri has increased from 90 days in 1871 to 141 in 1899. In Negro illiteracy Missouri stood sixteenth in 1890 among the slave States:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 years and over.]
72.7%	53.9%	41.7%	31.9%

19. *North Carolina.*—There are State and County Boards of Education, elected, a State Superintendent, and County Superintendents appointed by the county officers. In the school districts there are two sets of school committees—one for each race appointed by the county boards. The school system of the State was organized as a system by the act of 1869. This law was amended in 1872 and 1873, and a new constitution and law came into effect in 1876 and 1877. This brought a general awakening and established the present system.

The statistics of Negro schools are as follows:

Date.	School Population.	Enrollment.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1872		16,387			
1875		55,000			
1877	141,031	73,170	52		
1878	148,613	81,411	55		
1879	154,841	85,215	55		
1880	167,554	89,125	53		
1881	174,292	100,405	58		
1882–83	176,836	88,236	50		
1883–84	189,988	132,648	70		
1884–85	199,237	112,941	57		
1885–86		117,562	59		
1886–87	212,789	123,145	57.87	71,466	58.03
1887–88	216,837	125,884	58.06	75,230	59.76
1888–99		125,844		75,230	59.80
1889–90		116,689		68,992	59.10
1890–91	217,000	115,812	53.37	71,016	61.32
1891–92	218,650	119,439	54.64	66,746	55.87
1892–93	223,700	124,398		72,417	
1893–94	227,800	128,318	56.34	75,940	59.17
1894–95		128,318	56.33		59.18
1895–96	233,700	126,540	54.14	75,826	59.93
1896–97			54.15		59.92
1897–98	232,400	138,152	59.45	68,894	49.87
1898–99	234,700	127,399	54.28	67,148	52.71

Only twenty-nine per cent (28.61 per cent) of the Negro children of North Carolina are regular attendants of the public schools. The average school term is 68.3 days a year, or less.

The school fund for 1900 was made up as follows:

General poll-tax	$ 339,265 68
General property tax	454,452 99
Local property tax	3,067 79
Fines and forfeitures	16,682 43
Auctioneers and estrays	33 22
State Treasurer	90,379 73
Other sources	38,743 19
Total	$ 1,018.143 61

Of this the whites paid in actual taxes on property and polls*		$ 576,577 22
The Negroes, *do*		76,772 05
Total		$ 653,349 27
Total indirect taxes		364,749 34
Cost of white schools**	$ 651.401 53	
Cost of Negro schools	237.928 45	
Persons, 5–20 years, 1900 — White	490,782	
Persons, 5–20 years, 1900 — Negro	260,755	

If the indirect taxes were divided pro rata according to population the total Negro contribution to the schools would be $203,340 07. In other words, the whites get for their schools practically every cent of their direct taxes, contributing a part of their quota of the indirect taxes to the Negro schools, and bearing probably the cost of supervision in addition to various general expenses. It seems, then, fair to say that the total share of the Negroes in school expenses is about $275,000, of which they pay $200,000 or 73 per cent.

There may, of course, be considerable argument as to the equitable division of indirect taxes. Certainly a division in the same proportion as direct taxes would be altogether unfair, since it is well known that such taxes seldom fall on the propertied classes to any great extent. Moreover, this division accredits to the whites of North Carolina all the taxes on the thousands of dollars of property invested by Northerners in her industries. This property tax, it might well be argued, could as well be claimed by the blacks as whites, since neither contribute the tax nor own the factories. Mr. S. M. Finger, State Superintendent of North Carolina, frankly said in 1889: "But perhaps you say the Negroes are in the way. * * * Do you know that, including poll-tax, which they actually pay, fines, forfeitures and penalties, the Negroes furnish a large proportion of the money that is applied to their public schools?"†

*Report Superintendent Public Instruction, 1900, p. 369.

**Not including, apparently, supervision and some general expenses.

† Report U. S. Bureau of Education, 1888–89, p. 1415.

Neither white nor colored children in this State are getting the schooling they need. The facts concerning the two races are as follows:

PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE PER SCHOOL POPULATION, 5–18 YEARS.

	White.	Negro.
1875	$ 74	$ 53
1880	79	66
1885	1 16	1 12
1890	1 18	99
1895	1 28	1 02
1898	1 17	1 03

	White.	Negro.
Average length of school term, 1900	73 days	65 days
Average salary of teachers, 1900 { Males	$26 18	$22 41
Average salary of teachers, 1900 { Females	21 14	19 82
Value school property, 1900	$839,269	$258,295
Number of school-houses, 1900	4,798	2,120
Number schools taught	5,047	2,344
Assessed value of taxable property, 1900	$242,342,103 98*	$9,492,668 97

The school term in North Carolina has increased from 50 days in 1891 to 68.3 days in 1899. In Negro illiteracy this State stood sixth in 1890:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 years and over.]
84.8%	77.4%	60.1%	53.1%

20. *South Carolina.*—The school system of this State was established by the constitution of 1868, which provided for free schools regardless of race or color; a general act was passed in 1870, and modified in 1871. The State revenues were in such a plight, however, that little progress was made until about 1872, when schools became general, and in 1873 there was "marked improvement and progress." The political revolution of 1876 disorganized the school system somewhat, and lack of means nearly closed them for a time. The school laws were amended in 1877 so as to do away with the unwieldy central board of education. In other respects the legislation of "carpet-bag" times remains as the basis of the system to-day. There are elected State and County Superintendents. The County Superintendents associate two persons with themselves as a board for examination. This board appoints three District Trustees to manage affairs in each school district.

*All corporations, Northern investments, etc., are, of course, included here. Strictly speaking, they are not all the property of North Carolina whites.

The school statistics of colored children are as follows:

Date.	School Population.	Enrollment.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1870		8,263			
1872		38,635			
1873		46,535			
1874		56,249			
1871		63,415			
1876		70,802			
1877	144,315	55,952	39		
1878		62,121	43		
1879		64,095	44		
1880		72,853	50		
1881	167,829	72,119	43		
1881—82		80,575	48		
1882—83		101,591	61		
1883—84		99,565	59		
1884—85		99,565			
1886—87	180,495	92,601		65,697	70.95
1887—88		103,334		74,075	71.68
1888—89	180,475	104,503		69,892	66.90
1889—90		111,888		80,614	72.00
1890—91	271,837	116,535	42.87	81,004	69.51
1891—92	275,770	113,219	41.06	80,827	71.38
1892—93	279,800	120,579		87,134	
1863—64	283,900	120,590	42.48	87,128	72.25
1894—65	288,100	119,292	41.41	84,895	71.17
1895—96	292,200	123,178	42.15	91,810	74.52
1896—97	296,500	139,156	46.93	99,930	71.81
1897—98				99,932	
1898—90	305,300	146,477	47.98	107,693	73.52

Thirty-five per cent of the Negro children of South Carolina (35.27 per cent) are regular attendants of a school which lasts, on the average, 75 days a year.

The receipts of the school fund, 1900, were as follows:*

Balance on hand	$ 188,610 94
Poll-tax	135,840 55
Three mill property tax	497,798 83
Extra property tax	112,254 07
Indirect taxes‡	156,930 59
Total	$ 980,682 76†

This money was expended as follows:*

‡Chiefly from liquor sales in the Dispensary.

†Total incorrect; so printed in Report.

*South Carolina School Report, 1900.

	White.	*Negroes.*
Teachers	$ 561,604 24	$ 183,120 40
Other purposes	132,203 36	19,913 05
Total	$ 693,807 60	$ 203,033 45
Population, 5-20 Ys.	218,323	342,401

The Negroes may be estimated to have contributed the following amounts:

Poll-tax	$ 65,000 00
Property tax	50,000 00
Pro rata of indirect taxes	91,647 00
Total	$ 206,647 00

The report of schools is not clear as to the city schools. Possibly in some of them the Negro schools are costing the white tax-payer something. In the State as a whole, however, it certainly seems fair to say that Negro schools are not costing white tax-payers a single cent.

The wages of Negro teachers in this State are very low. In the official report the highest average for any county is $180.17 (Charleston county), and the lowest $29.26, *per annum*, (Lexington county). A correspondent writes: "Possibly you will be shocked to learn that in this State there are Negro teachers who receive $10, $12.50 and $15 per month. Indeed it would not surprise me if the majority does not receive $15 or less. Being apprised of this it will cause you no surprise that the great majority of Negro teachers of this State are startlingly incompetent and unfit to teach."

The school report says: "It is a misnomer to say that we have a system of public schools. In the actual working of the great majority of the schools in this State there is no system, no orderly organization. Each county supports its own schools, with practically no help from the State as a whole. Each district has as poor schools as its people will tolerate—and in some districts anything will be tolerated."*

And finally the energetic Superintendent, John J. McMahon, says plainly: "A sham, a notorious fraud, a false pretense, persisted in as a policy is ruinous to character. If we do not intend that the Negro schools shall in some way help the Negroes and the State we ought to close them. There is no half-way ground for an honest man that thinks."**

The school term varies in different counties from 7 (in two counties) to 26 weeks, averaging 15 weeks a year.

The Atlanta *Constitution*† has this to say of the schools of this State:

"Some curious facts are exhibited in the annual report of the Superintendent of Education as to the relative cost of instruction in the public schools for whites and colored. The cost of the Negro schools attended

*Report of 1900, pp. 12, 13.

**Ibid, p. 105.

†December 26, 1900.

by 155,602 children was $202,171, or a fraction less than $1.30 per pupil for the school year. The expense of the white public schools was $700,540, and these were attended by 126,395 children, costing $5.54 per pupil. So that 30,000 more Negroes than whites are receiving a common school education at three and a half times less cost to the State. * * * * * The cost is in the more expensive equipment and machinery in the white schools. For example, in Charleston the white schools were attended by 4,802; the colored by 7,709, and the cost of Charleston's white schools was $87,420, the colored schools $12,979. In Richland county, in which Columbia is situated, 2,208 whites and 4,817 Negroes attended school, and the respective cost was $33,233 and $10,270. In the graded schools of both cities the races are equally provided for, receiving the same term of instruction.

"The fact that the Negroes are more generally taking advantage of opportunities to obtain common school education than the whites is proven by the reports from the overwhelmingly 'white' counties of the Piedmont belt, bordering western North Carolina. In York county, with a large white majority, 5,979 Negroes and 4,066 whites attended school, the cost of the instruction for Negroes being but $6,934; that of whites four times greater. In Fairfield 1,642 whites and 4,827 Negroes is the record. In Spartanburg, with probably four times as many whites as Negroes, 8,305 whites and 5,062 Negroes were in the schools.

"Beaufort was the only county in the State where more was expended for Negro than white education."

South Carolina stood fourth in Negro illiteracy of the slave States in 1890:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 years and over.]
81.1%	78.5%	64.1%	54.7%

21. *Georgia.*—The Negro school system of Georgia started in the memorable conference at Savannah in December, 1864, when Stanton, Secretary of War, and General Sherman met five or six of the leading Negro ministers, and after a dramatic interchange of opinion, free schools were decided upon. An old slave market was bought, the bars which marked the slave-stalls broken, and a school opened.

The provisional government under the constitution of 1865 gave the Legislature power to establish schools, but did not contemplate schools for Negroes. The new constitution of 1868 provided for schools for both races, but none were opened until the summer of 1871. In 1872, lack of funds compelled the suspension of the schools, but they were finally started permanently in 1873. The statistics of Negro pupils are as follows:

*For most of the information in this section we are indebted to the pamphlet on Negro Education in Georgia by President R. R. Wright, a graduate of Atlanta University.

Date.	School Population.	Enrollment.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1871		5,208			
1874		37,267			
1875		55,268			
1876		48,643			
1877	175,304	48,643	28		
1778	197,125	72,655	37		
1879	197,125	79,435	40		
1880		86,399	45		
1881	231,144	91,041	39		
1882—83	234,889	95,055	40		
1883—84	240,285	111,743	47		
1884—85	243,174	110,150	45		
1885—86		119,248			
1887—88	267,657	120,553	45.04		
1888—89		120,390			
1889—90		150,702			
1890—91	315,817		47.72		
1891—92	325,680	156,836	48.16	91,942	58.63
1892—93	330,700	161,705		97,971	
1893—94	335,900	174,152	51.84	104,414	59.96
1894—95			51.85		
1895—96	346,300	170,270	49.16	99,246	58.29
1896—97		179,180	51.74	90,179	50.33
1897—98	360,400	180,565	50.10	109,386	60.58
1898—99	366,400	185,463	50.62	106,831	57.60

Twenty-nine per cent of the black children of Georgia (29.16 per cent) or three in every ten are regular attendants upon school for a term of less than 117 days per year.

From 1871 to 1899 there have been appropriated to the public schools from all sources $17,543,766.65.* If during these years the division of the school fund has been the same as today, there has been expended—

For white schools, 1871–1899.....$14,035,013 30
For Negro schools, 1871–1899†..... 3,508,523 35

Of this sum the Negroes have contributed in *poll* and *direct* taxes $1,169,584.45, and about two millions in indirect taxes. To prove this, let us take the statistics for one year, 1899:

		White.	*Black.*
School population, 1899...		341,521	319,349
Schools.....		5,045	2,910
Teachers	First grade.....	2,990	417
	Second grade...	1,594	886
	Third grade.....	983	1,661
Total.		5,567	2,964

*The figures, quotations and conclusions of this section are from the Emancipation day address of Rev. L. B. Maxwell, of the International Sunday School Union, to the Negroes of Atlanta, January 1, 1900.

†This is probably an over-estimate of the Negroes, especially in earlier years.

The total school appropriations were:

1. Direct taxes...	On property.....	$ 800,000
	On polls.....	238,515
2. Indirect taxes	From rental of a railway owned by the State and built in part by slave labor.....	210,006
	From State liquor tax.....	142,450
	From hire of State convicts.....	24,255
	From dividends on stock owned in the Georgia Railroad	2,046
	From fees from Inspection of fertilizers.....	6,173
	From fees from Inspection of oils.....	12,503
	From tax on shows.....	4,692
Total State school fund.....		$ 1,440,642

Calculating the amount paid to teachers by the average wages reported and noting other facts from the school reports, we have:

	White.	*Negro.*
Paid to teachers.....	$1,033,974 20	$284,038 05
School-houses.....	824	143
Public school property owned by counties....	376,645 42	69,240

The Negroes contributed in 1899:

Direct school taxes	On polls	89,003 00
	On property	26,347 43
Total		$ 115,350 43

Of the indirect taxes the Negroes pay in Georgia an unusual share. Their labor built the State railway and they ride on it; they drink their share of liquor, and get a good deal more than their share of the sentences to the penitentiary; they use oil and fertilizers and attend circuses. Certainly they are entitled at least to their numerical *pro rata* of the indirect taxes, or 48 per cent.* This would add $176,876.36 to their contributions to the school fund or a total of $292,248.99, which is more than their schools received from the State fund.

There are some considerations which offset this to a degree. The administrative expenses of the schools were about $122,000 in 1899, a small part of which the Negroes should bear. Then there are the town and city systems. Take for example. Atlanta. There are here the following schools and teachers:

	White.	*Negro.*
Boys' High Schools.....	1	0
Girls' High Schools.....	1	0
Grammar and Primary Schools..	15	5
Night Schools.....	1	0
Total	18	5

*48.3 per cent in 1900.

Teachers	170	40
Salaries of teachers and janitors, per annum	$110,564 97	$17,100
Persons of school age, 5–20, 1900..	17,648	12,417
	White.	*Negro.*
Persons of school age, 6–18†	10,997	7,302
Enrollment	9,902	3,735
Seating capacity of schools	8,474	2,007

The school report says: "The work in the Negro schools is as good as can be expected considering their crowded condition, and the fact that many of the grades receive daily only three and a half hours' instruction. More school-room for the Negroes is a necessity and has been needed for several years past."

As Atlanta's portion of the State school fund was $38,482.79 in 1899, it is clear that the Atlanta Negroes are paying for their own education, when their city and State taxes are considered. Their assessed property amounted to $793,910 in 1899. In other cities the conditions vary. In Athens, for instance, the Negro schools fare better than in Atlanta.

Local county taxes are raised to some extent in Georgia and possibly their distribution, if known, would reveal some differences not noted. In general, however, they are divided among the races about as the State and city funds.

It seems fair to say, then, that the Negroes of Georgia are paying for their own schools by their poll-taxes, their direct taxes, and by accrediting to them an equitable share of the indirect taxes devoted to school purposes.

The average wages of Negro teachers are:

First Grade	$ 25 80
Second Grade	20 76
Third Grade	16 65

The school term has increased from 59 days to 116.9 days per year in thirty years. In Negro illiteracy Georgia stood third of the slave States in 1890:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 and over.]
92.1%	81.6%	67.3%	56.4%

22. *Florida.*—The school laws of Florida to-day are those of the "carpet-bag" government, promulgated in 1869, and changed but little since. They were first put into practical and successful operation by the Negro Superintendent of Education, Gibbs, and are to-day administered by an unusually broad-minded man, William N. Sheats. There are State and County Superintendents of Education and State and County Boards, all elected. The school sub-districts elect Trustees.

The statistics of Negro schools in this State follow:

†Atlanta Census, 1898.

Date.	School Population.	Enrollment.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1871		4,524			
1877	42,001	16,185	39		
1878	42,001	18,795	45		
1879		18,195	45		
1880	42,099	20,444	49		
1881	47,583	30,322	64		
1882—83		27,012	57		
1883—84	32,692	32,410	99		
1885—86	36,143				
1886—87	36,143	31,566			
1887—88	33,596	31,566			
1888—89	52,865	34,008			
1889—90		37,281			
1890—91	59,690	37,342	62.56		
1891—92	61,950	36,599	59.07		
1892—93	64,350	36,770			
1893—94	66,770	37,272	55.81	25,386	68.13
1894—94			55.82		68.11
1895—96	70,670	36,787	52.06	24,143	65.63
1896—97	73,060	39,502	54.07	25,854	65.45
1897—98	75,640	40,798	53.94	27,675	67.83

Thirty-seven per cent of the colored children (36.59 per cent) attend regularly a school of 87 days a year.

The school fund of Florida is as follows:

Cash on hand	$ 74,608
Interest on State fund	35,557
State tax on property	88,892
Local county taxes	371,539
Back taxes	68,418
Poll-taxes	47,828
Fees and non-resident tuition	2,369
Local school district taxes	40,231
All other sources (fines, etc.)	24,627
Total	$ 754,072*

Of this there was expended—

For white schools	$522,919
For Negro schools	133,885

The per capita cost of education per school population is shown as follows:

	White.	*Negro.*
1893	$4 34	$1 42
1895	4 50	1 39
1898	5 92	2 27

*Total incorrectly given in Report.

The proportions of the school population, 5-20, were in 1900:

White	55.9 per cent.	110,537
Negro	44.1 per cent.	86,908

As to the Negro contribution to the school funds the Superintendent of Public Instruction has a calculation for nine counties, called Middle Florida. The italics are his:

"A glance at the foregoing statistics indicates that the section of the State designated as Middle Florida is considerably behind the rest in all phases of educational progress. The usual plea is that this is due to the intolerable burden of Negro education, and a general discouragement and inactivity is ascribed to this cause. The following figures are given to show that the *education of the Negroes of Middle Florida does not cost the white people of that section one cent.* Without discussing the American principle that it is the duty of all property to educate every citizen as a means of protection to the State and with no reference to what taxes that citizen may pay, it is the purpose of this paragraph to show that *the backwardness of education of the white people is in no degree due to the presence of the Negroes, but that the presence of the Negroes has actually been contributing to the sustenance of the white schools.*

"While Middle Florida, 'the black belt,' has been made the basis of this calculation, it should be observed that of the nine counties included, four combined (Liberty 5, Franklin 2, Lafayette 1, Taylor 0) have a total of only eight Negro schools:

Negro pro rata of State fund apportionment	$ 13,554
Negro school pro rata of $5,452.43 railroad and telegraph tax for school fund	3,630
Negro school pro rata of school-tax on $1,000,000 other property owned by non-residents (Est.)	3,000
Polls paid by about 10,500 taxable Negroes (Est.)	3,000
Property taxes paid by Negroes (estimated low)	800
Total paid for Negro schools (without the white citizens paying one cent)	$ 23,984
Actual cost of Negro schools, including pro rata of administration, etc	19,457

"If this is a fair calculation, the schools for Negroes not only are no burden upon the white citizens, but $4,527 contributed for Negro schools from other sources was in some way diverted into the white schools. A further loss to the Negro schools is in the fact that so few polls are collected from the Negroes by the county officials. The above estimate allows for $7,500 lost in this way. Should this amount be added, it will readily be seen that the Negroes should have very much better schools than they have before there can be the slightest foundation in fact for the plea that the presence of the Negro is a hindrance to education in Middle Florida."*

*See Report, June 3, 1900, p. 27.

It seems probable that in the remaining portions of the State, where there is more local taxation, the Negroes pay less in proportion of their school cost. Nevertheless, considering the small sum expended on Negro education in the whole State, they probably pay three-fourths of the cost of their schools.

The average monthly salaries paid in 1900 were:

	Whites.	*Negroes.*
Average	$ 36 81	$ 27 67
Aggregate	421,339 00	101,226 00

The total school-houses and property owned are:

	Whites.	*Negroes.*
Brick	10	3
Frame	1,780	1,393
Log	153	159
Total school property	$ 669,762	$134,839

The average school term for Negroes has decreased from 99 days in 1898 to 87 days in 1900.

In Negro illiteracy Florida stood twelfth in 1890, among the former slave States:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 and over.]
84.1%	70.7%	50.6%	39.4%

23. *Alabama.*—The constitution of 1867 established a system of schools, all the directing officials of which were appointed by a State board of large power. A severe struggle ensued, the people of the State refusing to cooperate with the board. In a memorial presented by the Board of Education to the General Assembly of 1873-74, they say that "since the organization of the present school system, in 1868," the provision of the constitution which requires the inviolable devotion of certain revenues and school funds to the purposes of education "has been disregarded by each successive Legislature. Each year an increasing percentage of the school fund has been diverted from its legitimate use to the defraying of the general expenses of the State." The indebtedness of the State to the school fund was $1,260,511.92 at the end of 1873. The result was continual lack of funds, no local taxes, and the few surviving schools were kept open by private contributions. In 1873-74 the schools were stopped altogether, and not until 1874-75 did the school system really get into working order. The present officers are an elected State Superintendent, County Superintendents, elected or appointed, and township Superintendents, elected or appointed.

The statistics of Negro schools are as follows:

Date.	School Population.	Enrolled.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance.	Per Cent of Eurollment.
1872		41,673			
1875		43,229			
1876	168,706	54,745	32		
1878	155,525	63,914	41		
1879	162,551	67,635	42		
1880	170,413	72,007	42		
1881	208,587	68,957	33		
1882—83	176,538	69,479	39		
1883—84	186,209	84,065	45		
1884—85	186,512	90,872	49		
1885—86	151,444	104,150	68.80		60.57
1886—87	212,821	98,396			
1887—88				63.995	
1888—89	226,925	105,106		69.273	65.90
1889—90		115,490		72,156	62.50
1890—91	249,291	115,400	46.33	72,156	62.48
1893—94	280,600	115,709	41.23	72,200	62.49
1894—95			41.24		62.48
1895—96	281,600	120,816	42.90	79,700	65.98
1896—97	286,900	120,921	42.15	82,770	68.45
1897—98		132,213	46.08	87,261	66.00
1898—99	296,200	143,212	48.35	126,015	87.99

Of the Negro children usually thirty per cent (in 1899, 42.54 per cent, in 1898, 30.41 per cent.) are regular attendants on a school lasting 62 days a year.

The school fund of Alabama is as follows:*

State appropriation	$ 350,000
Interest on 16th section fund	145,000
Poll-taxes	155,000
Total	$ 650,000

By the laws of Alabama the poll-taxes paid by each race go solely to that race and the local school officers may distribute funds "equitably" between the races and not *pro rata* according to population.

There were in 1900:

Persons of school age, 5-20:

White	394,152	53.8 per cent.
Negro	338,980	46.2 per cent.

The distribution of school facilities was as follows in 1899:

	White.	*Negro.*
Schools	4,646	2,320
Teachers	4,773	2,301
Average monthly pay	$ 25 05	$ 17 66
School term	68 days.	62 days.

*After October 1, 1900, the revenues will be increased to one million dollars by increased appropriations, interest and special taxes.

Besides these there were about 590 white teachers and 330 colored teachers in separate or town school districts.

The pay of teachers, length of schools and general school facilities would indicate that the Negroes get about 20 per cent of the school fund or, in 1899, about $130,000.

Their contributions are:

Poll-tax	$ 37,344 77
Pro rata of 16th section fund	66,990 00
Direct taxes, estimated	30.000 00
Total	$ 134,334 77

It is reasonable to suppose that the education of the Alabama Negro does not cost the white tax-payers a cent, except in a few cities like Mobile, Birmingham and Montgomery.

In Negro illiteracy Alabama stood sixteenth in 1890:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 and over.]
88.1%	80.6%	69.1%	59.5%

24. *Mississippi.*—The school system of this State was the legacy of its Negro government.† Its early progress was slow, but in 1873 the report says:

"Considering the short period of time that the system of public instruction has been in operation, the many difficulties and embarrassments necessarily attending its inauguration, the magnitude of the educational scheme—comprehending the providing of ways and means for the instruction of nearly half a million children, scattered over a large area of territory—the system of public education as a new and untried experiment in the State, the legislation adopted for its organization and maintainance necessarily crude and imperfect—receiving these considerations in all their bearing, the foregoing statement presents an exhibit of results which must be highly gratifying to the friends of popular education."

That the carpet-baggers grasped the fundamental idea of the public school system is shown by the school report of 1873:

"Again it is objected that a general tax compels the white men of the State to educate the children of the Negro. But as the Negro forms a majority of the entire population of the State, and in an eminent degree a majority of the producing classes, as such classes of every population—the laborer, tenant and consumer—indirectly bear the burdens of taxation, it follows that an assessment upon the property of the State would be principally paid by the Negro and, therefore, the ground of complaint, if any, against a general tax is with the colored people and not the white."

To-day the school system of this State is in the hands of a State board and Superintendent, who appoint County Superintendents. Districts are separate for each race, with three Trustees chosen by the patrons of the school.

†Cf. Garner's Reconstruction in Mississippi.

The Negro school statistics of Mississippi are as follows:

Date.	School Population.	Enrollment.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1872		45,429			
1875		89,813			
1876		90,178			
1877	174,485	76,154	44		
1878	187,064	96,982	52		
1879	205,936	111,796	54		
1880	251,438	123,710	49		
1881	239,433	125,633	52		
1882—83	252,212		50		
1983—84	267,478	141,398	53		
1884—85	259.105	149,373	58		
1885—86	260,000	158,300	60.90		59.32
1886—87	269,099	143,825	53.45	85,996	59.79
1888—89	273,528	172.338		102,708	59.60
1889—90		176,541		106,454	60.30
1890—91	284,200	173,378	61.01	104,298	60.16
1891—92	288,000	178,941	61.13	100,457	56.14
1892—93	294,100	180,464		101,894	
1893—94	308,800	186,899	61.51	107,494	57.51
1894—95	309,800	187,785	60.61	103,635	55.19
1897—98	315,000	196,768	62.47	120,547	61.26

Thirty-eight per cent (38.27 per cent) of the Negro children attend regularly a school which lasts, on the average, less than 101 days a year.

The school fund of this State was as follows in 1899:

Balance	$ 142,091 89
State tax	617,780 62
Poll-tax	246,365 67
School funds	137,184 47
County levy, etc	34,102 09
Other sources	18,352 74
Total	$1,195,877 48

The city and town systems received these amounts in addition:

Balance	$ 31,937 72
State distribution	59,185 49
Polls	29,102 02
City levy	153,077 54
School funds	8,496 25
County levy	11,968 89
Building fund	33,801 45
Tuition	5,540 96
Other sources	9,479 15
Total	$ 342,589 47

The relative number of the two races of school age (5–20 years), in 1900, was:

Whites	253,153	40 per cent.
Negroes	378,923	60 per cent.

The school facilities were as follows:*

	White.	*Negro.*
Teachers	4,419	3,033
	White.	*Negro.*
Average salaries	$ 30 49	$ 19 59

		Highest.	Lowest.
Per capita expense of education per enrolled pupil in the counties	Negroes	$ 4 40	82
	Whites	22 25	1 76

PER CAPITA EXPENSE IN TEN TYPICAL COUNTIES.

NAME OF COUNTY.	Population, 5 to 20 Years, 1900.		Per Capita Expense of Education per Pupil Enrolled 1899.	
	White.	*Negro.*	*White.*	*Negro.*
Adams	2,204	9,231	$ 22 25	$ 2 00
Bolivar	1,429	11,943	9 88	2 45
Tunica	488	5,550	12 15	2 07
Warren	3,423	11,329	16 06	2 03
Yazoo	4,375	13,379	7 02	1 63
Calhoun	5,173	1,850	2 61	1 77
Copiah	6,638	7,840	4 29	1 27
Tishomingo	3,652	433	2 40	3 10
Jones	5,328	1,795	1 95	1 98
Prentiss	5,098	1,391	2 60	1 23

It seems probable that the Negroes of Mississippi, forming 60 per cent of the school population, receive less than 20 per cent of the school expenditures, which were $1,306,186.17 in 1899. This would make the cost of Negro schools $250,000 or thereabouts. The income from Negroes' taxes added to their *pro rata* share of the school fund may be estimated as follows:

Poll-taxes	$ 10,000
State, county and city taxes	40,000
Pro rata of indirect taxes and school funds	232,229†
Total	$282,229

The Negroes of Mississippi without doubt are paying for all their schools by their direct taxes and their just share of other sources of income; and are also contributing a considerable sum to the training of white children.

* Excluding cities.

† The direct school taxes for 1899 amount to $1,151,448.12; the indirect taxes and income from school funds to $387,048.83. Sixty per cent of the latter is $232,229.30.

Moreover, they hereafter will receive even less than now according to the following clipping:

"At the recent election an amendment to the constitution changing the method of distributing the common school fund was adopted by a majority of 12,000 votes. The amendment is of a very important nature as it provides for a radical change in apportioning the annual appropriation of $1,000,000 to the common schools of the State. In brief, the counties whose poll-tax collections are equal to one-fourth of the pro rata of the common school fund will be benefited by several thousand dollars per year, while the counties whose poll-tax collections are less than one-fourth of the pro rata will lose in equal proportion. The amendment is a blow at the delta or black counties, where the Negro children are largely in the majority, while the hill or white counties will be very materially benefited."*

The school term in Mississippi has increased from 74 days a year in 1880 to 101.6 in 1899. The Negro school term is less than this. In Negro illiteracy Mississippi stood fifth in 1899:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 and over.]
87%	75.2%	60.9%	53.2%

As the State Superintendent wrote in 1899: "It will be readily admitted by every white man in Mississippi that our public school system is designed primarily for the welfare of the white children of the State, and incidentally for the Negro children."†

25. *Louisiana.*—There is in Louisiana a State Superintendent of Education and a Board, who appoint Parish School Boards. The Parish Boards appoint District Trustees of schools. The school system was started during the war, by General Banks, and made a State institution by the "carpet-bag" constitution of 1868. The constitution admitted all children to schools regardless of color. This was changed in the upheaval of 1876-77, but with this and a few other changes the school law remained as originally passed.

Of all States in the Union, Louisiana has since 1877 dealt most unfairly with her Negro children, and even today not much more than a fifth of the black school population is in regular attendance upon her schools, and their school term has been but 4½ months until recently. It is now reported as 6 months. There were in 1900 the following persons of school age, 5 to 20 years:

White	276,563	51.4 per cent.
Negro	261,453	48.6 per cent.

* *Atlanta Constitution*, 1900.

† Mississippi School Report, 1897-99, Insert following page 34.

The statistics of Negro pupils are:

Date.	School Population.	Enrollment.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1877*	108,548	40,000	37		
1878		33,632	31		
1879	133,276	34,476	26		
1880	151.384				
1881	142,190	23,500	17		
1883–84		30,118	20		
1884–85		40,909	27		
1886–87				29,317	71.66
1887–88		46,912		34,262	73.04
1888–89	176.097	51,539		37,656	73.10
1889–90		48,137		36,645	78.60
1890–91	199.900	55,021	27.53	38,317	69.64
1891–92	203,370	59,261	29.15	40,103	67.66
1892–93	206,900	62,654	30.29	42.018	67.05
1894–95	216,700	63,313	29 22	41,548	65.62
1895–96		65,917	30.44	44,943	68.11
1896–97	220,000	66,079	30.36	48.739	73.76
1897–98	236,500	71,609	30 28	49,752	69 48
1898–99	249,400	74,233	29 76	56,136	75.62

The school fund of Louisiana is as follows, 1899:

Balance on hand	$ 103,924 48
State property tax	289,594 88
Poll-tax	115,475 78
Local taxes	213,075 38
Tax on corporations	410,721 26
Interest on school funds	52,815 53
Other sources	58,723 14
Total	$1,244,329 75

The colored people of Louisiana in a memorial to the constitutional convention in February, 1899, said:

"The total increase of the two races [in enrollment] during these four years was 25,211, while the increase in the enrollment of white children alone was 22,712. It is evident from these facts that if the present rate of increase in the enrollment of white children shall continue, the time is not far distant when all white children of school age will be found in school some part of the year.

"Unfortunately the colored side of the public school question seems to partake of the complexion of the race. In truth, the two great divisions into which our citizenship seems at present to be divided, judged from the standpoint of our public schools, are evidently marching in opposite directions. A steady decline in the length of our school sessions since 1885 of 8.6 per cent and in salary of teachers 9 per cent for males, 19 per cent for

* Before 1877 the races were mixed in Louisiana schools.

females; a total enrollment of only 33 per cent of children of school age, assuming that the two races are nearly equal in population, coupled with the fact that the increase in enrollment between 1891 and 1895 did not quite keep pace with the probable increase in school population, while the increase in average attendance for the same period fell 5.8 per cent below the increase in enrollment; are facts which must fill every patriotic citizen with grave solicitude."

They then refer to the following figures:

I.

"NUMBER OF TEACHERS EMPLOYED IN THE WHITE AND COLORED SCHOOLS RESPECTIVELY.

"Comparing the two years of 1891 and 1895, we get the following results:

1891—White Males, 711; White Females, 1,405; Total..... 2,116
1891—Colored Males, 533; Colored Females, 354; Total..... 887

1895—White Males, 846; White Females, 1,728; Total..... 2,574
1895—Colored Males, 543; Colored Females, 418; Total..... 961

"It will be observed that, according to the figures above, the total number of white teachers for 1895 exceeds the total number for 1891 by 460, an increase of 21 per cent, and that the total number of colored teachers for 1895 exceeds the total number for 1891 by 74, an increase of a little over 8 per cent, the former exceeding the latter by 13 per cent.

II.

"NUMBER OF SCHOOLS FOR WHITE AND COLORED RESPECTIVELY FOR THE SAME PERIOD.

1891—White.....1,657 1895—White.....1,999
1891—Colored ..... 844 1895—Colored 895

"The increase of white schools the figures above show to have been 342, or 20 per cent; of colored, 51, or 6 per cent, the difference between them being 14 per cent.

III.

"THE AVERAGE SALARIES FOR WHITE AND COLORED TEACHERS, RESPECTIVELY, FOR THE YEARS 1884 AND 1895.

1884—White Males.....$33 95 White Females.....$29 45
1884—Colored Males..... 29 40 Colored Females..... 28 25

1895—White Males..... 39 68 White Females..... 32 73
1895—Colored Males..... 26 79 Colored Females..... 23 62

"These figures show that the average salaries of white male teachers during these eleven years increased five dollars and seventy-three cents ($5.73), or 16.8 per cent; of white females. three dollars and twenty cents ($3.20) per month, or 11 per cent; while the average salaries of colored males decreased two dollars and sixty-one cents ($2.61) per month, or 9 per cent, and of females, four dollars and sixty-three cents ($4.63), or 19 per cent. In this calculation the salaries of the colored teachers for 1895 have been taken as the base.

IV.

"AVERAGE LENGTH OF THE SESSIONS OF WHITE AND COLORED SCHOOLS, RESPECTIVELY.

"The comparison is between the years 1885 and 1895, and is based upon the report of Superintendent Lafargue for 1894-95, and of Superintendent Jack for 1890-91:

1885—White ..... 5.00 months 1895—White.....5.67 months.
1885—Colored..... 4.91 months 1895—Colored ...4.52 months.

"It will be seen that there was an increase in the length of the session of white schools during this period of ten years of .67 of a month, while in the case of the colored schools there was a decrease of .37 of a month."

As to teachers, they continue: "Thus we have one school for every 221 scholars, and one teacher for every 205. Under present circumstances, therefore, if we assume forty as the normal limit of scholars to teacher, we need at least five times as many teachers as we have at present; or if we take fifty scholars to the teacher, it would require 4,000 teachers to meet the present demand."

Since the Constitutional Convention there has been no marked improvement—certainly not 4,000 Negro teachers:

	1898.	1899.
White teachers	2,856	3,072
Colored teachers	1,039	1,085
Average salary, white, Males	$41 78	$41 79
Average salary, white, Females	31 77	32 24
Average salary, Negro, Males	$24 39	$24 25
Average salary, Negro, Females	23 68	22 20
Estimated salaries of whites		$770,506 62
Estimated salaries of Negroes		151,045 80

The school term of both races is now reported as the same—six months.

Number of schools, White..... 2,292
Number of schools, Negro..... 1,009

From these data it seems probable that the Negro school system of Louisiana costs not more than $200,000;* the Negroes contribute to the school fund something as follows:

Estimated direct taxes	$ 50,000
Poll-tax	35,000
Pro rata share of corporation taxes	200,000
Pro rata of school funds	25,000
Total	$310,000

*The total outlay for school-houses and repairs, both races, was only $34,000.

The Negroes pay in direct taxes nearly half of their schooling and in indirect taxes and share of school fund over 1½ times all that is spent upon them.

In Negro illiteracy Louisiana stood first in 1890, having the worst record of the whole Union:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 years and over].
85.9%	79.1%	72.1%	61.3%

Such figures give peculiar pertinence to the petition of the Negroes of this State in 1895 to the Constitutional Convention that disfranchised them:

"We cannot if we would forget the principal purpose for which the Convention has been called. We are profoundly convinced—and in this we trust we voice the universal sentiment, *that the establishment of a public school system adequate to the needs of all our citizens, irrespective of race or color is the first and fundamental step in any legislation intended to safeguard the ballot against abuse by the illiterate.* If our danger lies in ignorance, our safety must lie in intelligence.

"We believe in an intelligent ballot and for this reason we hold that it is the primary duty of the State to use every means to secure an intelligent citizenship. In a free country no State has the right to condition the elective franchise upon intelligence, and then deny its citizens the means of education. *To punish a man for his ignorance by withholding the right of the ballot, without which the distinction between self-government and a despotism disappears, when that ignorance is due to the neglect of the State, would be a most unnatural crime.*"

26. *Texas.*—"The free school system instituted in 1870 under the constitution of 1868 encountered the strong prejudices then prevailing in the South against Northern methods and laws that bore traces of their Northern stamp. These prejudices were especially intense against including the Negro population among those entitled to free schooling by the State, and against local taxes for the maintenance of any schools. Hence there were in the first years, besides the burning of the school-houses for colored people and a social ostracism of the teachers, efforts to prevent, by legal processes, the collection of the local tax for educating either white or colored youth.

"In spite of these hindrances the new school officers worked on. A better feeling on the part of many of the people soon came to aid their efforts, and the record of the first three years showed a substantial gain. For the next two years there was a superintendency, more of the soil, and hence in better favor with the people, under which some advance was made. But opposition was not silenced, and in 1875, 1876 and afterwards it showed its strength by breaking down the reconstruction constitution of 1868, by the obliteration of the school system founded on it, and by the institution of a wholly new one, which made the opening of schools in any community entirely voluntary; made attendance on them, if established, likewise wholly so; did away with the supervision of educated officers; shortened

from 12 years to six years the ordinary time for free schooling by the State; allowed this to be shortened still more by permitting communities to use a year's school funds for a school-house instead of for teaching: and, except in cities and towns, made no provision for allowing even those who wished to do so, to tax themselves for the extension of their educational advantages beyond mere elementary studies and a four months' annual term of school. This is the system that in 1880 still existed, but which had so demonstrated its inherent weaknesses that the chief State officers were urging its improvement"*

Finally a system was evolved with a State board and an elected Superintendent, elected County Superintendents, and Trustees elected in each school district. This system has worked very well; although but 30 per cent (30.88 per cent) of the Negro population, 5 to 18,† are regularly in school. The statistics of Negro pupils are as follows:

Date.	School Population.	Enrollment.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Daily Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1877	30,587	23,432	77		
1878	44,634	41,461	93		
1879	47,842	35,896	75		
1880	62,015	47,874	77		
1881					
1882–83	57,510	37,781	66		
1883–84	80,065	56,160	70		
1884–85					
1885–86	81,666	61,086	74.80		
1886–87	130,500	85,000	65.13	55,000	64.00
1887–88	135,184	84,463	62.48		
1888–89	139,939	96,809			
1889–90		104,471			
1890–91	190,500	121,929	64.01		
1891–92	197,200	132,797	67.33	74,708	53.54
1892–93	204,900	127,495		80,717	
1893–94	212,500	134,720	63.81	83,185	61.73
1894–95			63.40		61.75
1895–96	245,500	135,149	55.05	90,336	66.85
1896–97					66 84
1897–98	232,000	134,481	57.95	69,197	51.45
1898–99	248,100	126,689	51.06	76,621	60.48

Texas is peculiar among the Southern States in having a large endowed State school fund, the income from which alone amounted to $3,703,794.82 in 1900. To this was added $1,232,984.90 from local taxes and tuition, making a total of nearly five millions. The State fund is divided among the children regardless of color—the amount being $4.25 per capita of the school population. This situation makes it manifest that the Negroes'

*Report U. S. Bureau of Education, 1880.

†This is partly because of the Texas school age, 8-17 years. The legal Negro school population of Texas was 159,067 in 1900. Of these 48 per cent are in regular attendance.

share of the State land endowments pays nearly the whole of their schooling. There are few data as to the distribution of local taxes between the races. In the city of Austin there are:

White children of school age	2,911
Colored children of school age	1,222
White school property	$107,570
Negro school property	14,800
White schools	63
Negro schools	18

The average annual salaries paid teachers in the State were, in 1900:

White	$270 70
Negro	218 72

Of school-houses there were in 1900:

White	6,607
Negro	1,415

The school term averaged:

White	5.5 months.
Negro	5.03 months.

The proportion of whites and Negroes, 5–20 years, was in 1900:

White	955,906	78.6 per cent.
Negro	259,491	21.4 per cent.

From such data the following seems a fair conclusion: It is certain that three-fourths of the education of all children of both races is provided for by the State fund. The Negroes must pay in school taxes very nearly all of such additional schooling as they get beyond this. Their schools cost at least $800,000 in 1900. We may estimate that not more than one-fifth of this was paid by white tax-payers.

Texas stood eleventh in Negro illiteracy of the slave States in 1890:

1870	1880	1890	[1900, Males 21 and over.]
88.7%	75.4%	52.5%	45.1%

27. *Summary of State Conditions.*—The total Negro school population of the United States, 5 to 18 years of age, with enrollment and percentage of attendance is as follows:

Date.	School Population.	Enrolled.	Per Cent Enrolled.	Attendance.	Per Cent of Enrollment.
1877	1,513,065	571,506			
1878	1,578,930	675,150			
1879	1,668,410	685,942			
1880	1,803,275	784,709			
1881	1,929,187	802,372			
1882—83	1,944,572	802,982			
1883—84					
1884—85	2,043,696	1,030,463	50.42		
1885—86	2,020,219	1,048,659	55.80		
1886—87	2,222,611	1,118,556	50.32		
1887—88	2,264,344	1,140,405	50.26		
1888—89		1,213.092			62.30
1889—90		1,289,944			62.40
1890—91	2,543,936	1,324,937	52.08		62 14
1891—92	2,590,851	1,352.816	52,21		
1892—93	2,620.331	1,367,828	52.00		
1893—94	2,702,410	1,424.995	52.72		69.07
1894—95	2.723,720	1,441,282	52.92	856,312	59.41
1895—96	2,794,290	1,429,713	51.16	886,994	62.04
1896—97	2.816,340	1,460.084	51.84	904,505	61.95
1897—98	2,844,570	1,506,742	52 97	916,833	60.85
1898—99	2,912,910	1,511,618	51 89	969,011	64.10

Bringing together the percentages of the total Negro school population in the different States that regularly attend school, we have:

States.	Percentage of Negro Children, 5-18, in Regular Attendance.	Average Length of School Term.
Delaware	33.84 per cent.	141 days.
Maryland	28.74 " "	188 "
District of Columbia	42.84 " "	179.5 "
Virginia	25.31 " "	119 "
West Virginia	48.81 " "	111 "
Kentucky	44.59 " "	115.4 "
Tennessee	40.90 " "	89 "
Arkansas	36.77 " "	70 "
Missouri	28.06 " "	141 "
North Carolina	28.61 " "	68.3 "
South Carolina	35.27 " "	75 "
Georgia	29.16 " "	117 "
Florida	36.59 " "	87 "
Alabama	42.54 " "	62 "
Mississippi	38.27 " "	101 "
Louisiana	22.50 " "	120 "
Texas	30.88 " "	106 "
United States	33.26 " "	

In other words, one-third of the Negro children of school age in the United States are attending regularly a school lasting usually less than five months a year. Thus Negro children need about five times as much school-training as they at present

receive. This state of affairs points clearly to two great needs: *Better schools* and *compulsory attendance.*

Bringing together the statistics of illiteracy and arranging the States according to the illiteracy of voters in 1900, we have:

States.	All Persons 10 Years Old and Over.			Males, 21 Years Old and Over.
	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
District of Columbia	70.5	48.4	35.0	26.1
Missouri	72.7	53 9	41.7	31.9
West Virginia	74.4	55.0	44.4	37.8
Florida	84.1	70.7	50.6	39.4
Maryland	69.5	59.6	50.1	40.5
Delaware	71.3	57.5	49.5	42.7
Arkansas	81.2	75.0	53 5	44.8
Texas	88.7	75.4	52.5	45.1
Tennessee	82.4	71.7	54.2	47.6
Kentucky	83.8	70.4	55.9	49.5
Virginia	88.9	73.2	52.7	52.5
North Carolina	84.8	77.4	60.1	53.1
Mississippi	87.0	75.2	60.9	53.2
South Carolina	81.1	78.5	64.1	54.7
Georgia	92.1	81.6	67.3	56.4
Alabama	88.1	80.6	69.1	59.5
Louisiana	85.9	79.1	72.1	61.3
Massachusetts	18.5	15.1	15.4	10.5
United States	79.9	70.0	56.8	47.3

The cost of white and Negro schools in the Southern States may be summarized as follows:

Total whites, 5–20 years of age	7,064,115
Total Negroes, 5–20 years of age	3,263,016
Percentage of whites, 5–20 years of age,	68.40%
Percentage of Negroes, 5–20 " " "	31.60%
Cost of white schools	$31,755,320—87.20%
Cost of Negro schools	4,675,504—12.80%
If Negro schools were equal to white schools they would cost	14,670,586
Net deficiency of Negro schools	9,995.085
Total actual cost of white and Negro schools 1899	36,430,824
Total cost of schools if Negro schools equalled white schools	46,425,906
If white and Negro schools were equal to Massachusetts' schools they would cost, approximately	150,000,000
Net annual deficiency which the U. S. Government might contribute to, in part, approximately	100.000,000

In detail the figures are:

ESTIMATED COST AND SUPPORT OF NEGRO SCHOOLS.

States.	Proportion of Negroes, 5–20 Yrs., 1900.	Cost of White Schools, 1899.	Cost of Negro Schools, 1899.	Per Cent of School Fund.	Contribution of Negroes to Schools, 1899.	Per Cent.
Delaware	18.2	percent.	$ 22,826	10.5	$ 22,826	100
Maryland	21.1	" "	330,718	10.9	100,000	32
District of Columbia	33.7	" "	273,186	27.2	204,889	75
Virginia	38.2	" "	350,000	21.2	300,000	86
West Virginia	4 2	" "	72,535	3.5	36,278	50
Kentucky	13.1	" "	322,321	11.1	110,000	34
Tennessee	24.5	" "	400,000	15.9	250,000	63
Arkansas	28.1	" "	250,000	19.3	250,000	100
Missouri	5.1	" "	372,000	4.0	275,000	58
North Carolina	34.9	" "	276,000	27.0	200,000	73
South Carolina	61.1	" "	203,033	22.6	206,647	101
Georgia	48.3	" "	290,000	20.1	290,000	100
Florida	44.1	" "	133,885	20.4	100,414	75
Alabama	46.2	" "	130,000	20.0	134,334	103
Mississippi	60.0	" "	250,000	19.1	282,229	113
Louisiana	48.6	" "	200,000	17.6	310,000	155
Texas	21.4	" "	800,000	16.2	640,000	80
Total	31.6	" "	4,675,504	12.8	3,762,617	79.4

[NOTE. It must be remembered that these figures are careful estimates, but it is not claimed that they are absolutely accurate. The figures for Delaware, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana are most reliable. Those for District of Columbia, South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi and Texas are probable. In the cases of Maryland, West Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas and Missouri the data are meagre and the figures liable to revision. In all States certain city systems are not included.]

The total expenditure for schools in the South, as reported by the United States Bureau of Education, gives the per capita expenditure for white and Negro schools as follows. This is an estimate, however, made on the untenable assumption that the distribution of the school fund in all Southern States is as favorable as in the District of Columbia, Kentucky, North Carolina and Florida, where the basis of division is reported:

Year.	Total Expenditure for Both Races.	Estimated Expenditure Per Capita of School Population.	
		White.	Colored.*
1870-71	$10,385,464	$ 2 97	$ 49
1871-72	11,623,238	3 24	54
1872-73	11,176,048	3 03	54
1873-74	11,823,775	3 07	68
1874-75	13,021,514	3 18	96
1875-76	12,033,865	2 84	93
1876-77	11,231,073	2 53	96
1877-78	12,093,091	2 61	1 09
1878-79	12,174,141	2 60	1 00
1879-80	12,678,685	2 64	1 01
1880-81	13,656,814	2 76	1 09
1881-82	15,241,740	2 98	1 24
1882-83	16,363,471	2 96	1 63
1883-84	17,884,558	3 16	1 73
1884-85	19,253,874	3 31	1 86
1885-86	20,208,113	3 43	1 83
1886-87	20,821,969	3 44	1 86
1887-88	21,810,158	3 64	2 04
1888-89	23,171,878	3 63	2 03
1889-90	24,880,107	3 79	2 16
1890-91	26,690,310	4 06	2 13
1891-92	27,691,488	4 16	2 15
1892-93	28,535,738	4 26	2 00
1893-94	29.223,546	4 33	1 95
1894-95	29,443,584	4 30	1 81
1895-96	31,149,724	4 31	2 24
1896-97	31,144,801	4 30	2 19
1897-98	31,217,479	4 25	2 27

The meaning of the above figures can perhaps best be appreciated by turning our attention to an extract from a recent excellent pamphlet by Edward Atkinson.† He divides the States as follows:

GROUP I—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.

GROUP II—Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee. Missouri, West Virginia, Maryland and Delaware.

GROUP III—All other States and Territories in the Union.

He then gives the following figures:

* Probably over-estimated; Cf. below.

† The Race Problem: Its Possible Solution. Reprinted from *Manufacturer's Record*, of Baltimore, December 19, 1901.

	All Races.	Per Cent of all Whites.	Per Cent of all Blacks.	Per Cent of all Others.
I	16.50	10.24	64.70	2.35
II	18.31	17.46	25.14	.65
III	65.19	72.20	10.16	97.00
	100	100	100	100

"The next table discloses the population of each group, the proportion of persons of school age, 5 to 17 years of age, inclusive, and the appropriation for common schools in each group:

APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE SUPPORT OF SCHOOLS.

GROUP.	Population.	Persons School Age 5 to 17, Inclusive.	Per Cent of School Age to Population.	School Appropriations.	
				Per Head of Population.	Per Person School Age 5 to 17.
I	12,594,775	4,167,747	33.08	$ 79	$ 2 40
II	13,966,308	4,365,599	31.26	1 75	5 63
III	49,742,304	12,948,188	26.25	3 63	14 00
Total	76,303,387	21,581,534	28.00	$ 3 00	$10 71

"It thus appears that in Group I, where the proportion of children is the largest, all but a fraction native-born, having never been subjected to the immigration of foreign aduults, the appropriations are the smallest; while in Group III, where the proportion of children is least, owing to the enormous influx of foreign adults, the appropriations are greatest."

And he concludes that "the race problem exists only where there is ignorance and illiteracy among very large numbers of both blacks and whites."

28. *Negro Support of Negro Schools.*—According to the tables above Negro children and youth form 32 per tent of the population of the South; they receive 13 per cent of the school fund and of this amount they are paying in direct school taxes, indirect school taxes and their pro rata share of endowments, 80 per cent. The United States Bureau of Education says:* "In making an estimate of the white and colored school expenditure of the remaining Southern States [i. e., all except the District of Columbia, Florida, Kentucky, Maryland and North Carolina,] the most obvious assumption to make, in the absence of any positive information, is to consider that their white and colored school per capita expenditures bear the same ratio to each other each year as the average per capita given in

* Report, 1898-99, p. LXXXVIII.

Table C" [i. e., for the District of Columbia, Florida, Kentucky, Maryland and North Carolina.] If the figures of this report are at all correct the above estimate is unreliable, and the total expenditures for Negro schools since 1870 have amounted to about $69,968,671.48 instead of to $101,860,661, as reported by the Bureau of Education in 1898-99. Both these figures are estimates, but the figures of the Atlanta Conference would seem the more careful of the two. To be sure, they contain errors: probably clerical errors have crept into the work done in part by amateurs and with restricted means; in other cases the bases of the estimates are very meagre. Nevertheless, in the absence of more detailed and careful reports from State officials, it seems a fair inference to say that the Negro public schools of the South have not cost more than $70,000,000 in the years 1870 to 1899.

Moreover, it is also fairly clear that in seven States the Negro schools are not today costing the white tax-payers a cent:

States.	Cost of Negro Schools.	Contributions of Negroes.
Delaware	$ 22,826	$ 22,826
Arkansas	250,000	250,000
South Carolina	203,033	206,647
Georgia	290,000	290,000
Alabama	130,000	134,334
Mississippi	250,000	282,229
Louisiana	200,000	310,000
Seven States	$1,345,859	$1,496,036

In four other States the Negro schools are not costing the white tax-payers over 25 per cent of the total expense of such schools, and in many cases much less than this:

States.	Cost of Negro Schools.	Contributions of Negroes.
District of Columbia	$ 273,186	$ 204,889
Virginia	350,000	300,000
Florida	133,885	100,414
Texas	800,000	640,000
Four States	$1,557,071	$1,245,303

In four other States something between one-fourth and one-half of the cost of Negro schools is borne by white tax-payers:

States.	Cost of Negro Schools.	Contributions of Negroes.
West Virginia	$ 72,535	$ 36,278
Tennessee	400,000	250,000
Missouri	372,000	275,000
North Carolina	275,000	200,000
Four States	$1,119,535	$ 761,278

In the two remaining States, Maryland and Kentucky, the Negroes contribute at least 20 per cent of their school fund.

In nearly all the States there are a few town and city systems which are often not included in the State school report, where the cost of Negro schools is more nearly equal to that of the whites and where, consequently, the Negroes contribute proportionately less. Since, however, over 70 per cent of the Negroes live in the country, this affects comparatively few. With this exception, then, it can be said that apparently Negroes contributed to their schools as follows for 1899:

Total cost	$4,675,504	100 per cent.
Paid by Negroes, direct taxes	1,336,291	
Paid by Negroes, indirect taxes, etc.	2,426,326	
Estimated total	$3,762,617	79.4 " "
Paid by white taxes	912,887	20.6 " "

In the past the Negroes have undoubtedly contributed a considerably larger proportion than this. For instance, in Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky, they contributed more than the total cost of their schools for several years. In all the other States the tendency has been to use first indirect taxation for schools and then to add direct taxation until today a large proportion of the school taxes are direct. Now the indirect taxation fell more largely on the Negroes than the direct, since they are renters and consumers rather than land-owners. If Georgia be taken as a typical State in this respect, then the conclusion of the Conference, held last May, is true, viz: *That in the years* 1870 *to* 1899 *the Negro school systems of the former slave States have not cost the white tax-payers a cent, except possibly in a few city systems.*

Cost of Negro schools, 1870-1899	$ 69,968,671 48
Estimated total direct school taxes paid by Negroes, 1870-1899	25,000,000 00
Indirect taxes and pro rata share of endowments	45,000,000 00
Approximate total contributed by Negroes, 1870-1899	$ 70,000,000 00

This statement when first made was received with some incredulity and criticism, and probably will be now. This is simply because of the careless

statement that schools have been "given" the Negro without effort, which has been so often reiterated. From the beginning Negroes have willingly and eagerly contributed to their schools. From 1866 and 1870 they contributed $785,700 that was reported, beside much that was not.* Since then they have not only paid poll and property taxes and contributed to other forms of taxation, but have paid in tuition at private schools at least $15,000,000.† *It is a conservative statement to say, then, that American Negroes have in a generation paid directly forty millions of dollars in hard-earned cash for educating their children.*

Not only is this true, but the peculiar conditions of land tenure in the South make the Negro contribute largely to the public burdens without receiving any credit The Negroes of the United States occupied in 1890 549,632 farms. Of these they owned 120,738 or 22 per cent. The other 78 per cent of farms were rented. Of all the farms in the Southern States 61½ per cent are cultivated by owners and 38½ per cent by tenants, and most of these are Negro tenants. Now throughout the South the burden of taxation falls on real estate and land. Who pays this? Over a tenth of the owners are Negroes and pay direct taxes. But the taxes on the 38½ per cent of the farms cultivated by Negro tenants are really paid by the black tenants rather than the white land-owners. Tradition has long determined the income which the average land-owner expects from his land, while the year's rent is an easily variable quantity, changing from year to year.‡ Increased taxation of land means almost invariably increased rent for tenants and in nearly all cases the tenant pays not only rent proper but an increased sum, which covers taxes, expenses of fertilizers and interest on money advanced for maintenance. While, then, the landlord of the Black Belt may hand the money to the tax-collector, it is in most cases the black tenant who really bears a large part of the burden.

Again, the Negro as a house-renter is an indirect tax-payer. Of homes as distinguished from farms, the Negro had in 1890:

Owned	143,550—19 per cent.
Rented	717,587—81 " "

A tax on houses "must ultimately fall on the consumer, in other words, the occupier,"§ so that the vast number of homes rented by Negroes throughout the South have their assessed taxes paid by black renters rather than white owners.

Further than this the Negro, as a consumer, pays an incalculable amount of indirect taxes. It is thus clear that in no sense of the word has common school education in the South been a free gift to the Negro.

29. *White Support of Negro Schools.*—The insistence upon the fact that Negro revenues have supported Negro schools since the war, is made with

* Cf. p. 32. *Supra.*

† At Atlanta University alone they have paid about $250,000.

‡ Cf. "Negro as He Really Is," *World's Work*, June, 1901.

§ Mills' Political Economy, Book V, Ch. III., § 6.

no intention of detracting from the work of the white inhabitants of the land in behalf of Negro education. First and foremost, secondary and higher education has been largely a gift of Northern philanthropists and missionary societies. Southern people have also contributed to this somewhat. In cities like Nashville, Baltimore, Raleigh, Louisville, St. Louis and others, white taxes have very materially supplemented the Negro school funds. In the South in general the increased appropriations of later years have come increasingly from white tax-payers, so that to-day the Southern whites contribute about $2,000,000 annually to Negro schools. While this is no where near the amount of aid that over-zealous enthusiasts have claimed, it is still no insignificant accomplishment. For a people bankrupt and discouraged to spend a large proportion of the State income upon schools for Negroes rather than upon more selfish interests, even granted that most of the income belongs to Negroes, was in itself highly commendable. Moreover, outside mere questions of money, much moral encouragement and leadership have in some instances been furnished the Negroes in school matters; the whole organization of the schools has been for a generation in the hands of the white South, and whatever good these schools have accomplished must be credited largely to them. Finally, we must not forget that other burdens of the State—administration, courts, public conveniences and the like, have fallen more heavily on the whites than on the blacks, just as in all communities they fall more heavily on the rich than on the poor.

At the same time it is clear that the white rank and file have not yet clearly apprehended the real fundamental idea of the public common school. A considerable public opinion still regards it as a form of pauperism, while the masses of the whites think of it as a peculiar privilege rather than a universal duty. This attitude was pertinently attacked by a committee of Georgia Negroes in 1900. They addressed a petition to the legislature and said, in part:

GENTLEMEN:—There lies before your honorable body a proposed constitutional amendment known as the Bell bill, which is designed to cut down the present free school privileges of Negroes in this State. In behalf, therefore, of the 319,349 black children of Georgia, we, the undersigned, desire to lay before you certain considerations against the passage of this measure.

As you well know, the underlying principle of the free common school system is that the education of the citizens of a commonwealth is not merely a private matter; that simply because a human being is born poor or humble or black is no adequate reason why he should be deprived of a chance to make himself a useful member of society. On the contrary, poverty, hereditary weakness or racial differences are rather additional grounds for increased effort on the part of the State to supplement these defects. Nor is this duty of public education a matter of mere charity or almsgiving; it is, first, a wise measure of self-defense to guard the State against the errors and crimes of sheer ignorance. No system of education can insure wisdom and virtue and truth, but it cannot for a moment be denied that the nations and States that have fostered the common school are leading civilization to-day. Secondly, free elementary education is, as Dr. Curry so recently said in your presence, not a burden on the State but a paying investment. Georgia needs intelligence and thrift, and the cultiva-

tion of brains, whether in black or white heads, will bring even greater returns than the cultivation of the other resources of the State.

While our commonwealth is coming slowly but surely to recognize this truth so far as white children are concerned, there is still a powerful public opinion that regards the Negro common school rather as a burden than as a great work of public utility. And yet nothing could be more false than this attitude. The history of the world has proven that an intelligent, contented working class is the greatest possession of a nation, and that no effort or expense is in the end too great for the accomplishment of this result. The State of Georgia possesses in its Negro peasantry the germ of a willing, thrifty agricultural and industrial people, capable of contributing untold energy to the development of our State; therefore, the way to profit most by black labor is not to push it down, but to pull it up—not to discourage it in ignorance and sloth, but to encourage it toward intelligence and thrift. The greatest single agency for this is the Negro common school. Nor is the education of the black boy a burden or a menace to the white boy. The rise of one man does not involve the fall of his neighbor; on the contrary, it is the clear interest of a man to be surrounded by intelligence and decency rather than to live among dumb-driven cattle. The degradation of the black man is the real burden under which the Southern white man staggers to-day, and as that noted Georgian, Dr. Haygood, has said: "The degrading of the black woman is the damnation of the white woman's son."

The South has long since come to acknowledge that Negroes are human beings capable of improvement. If so, then in all matters affecting them, their interests and desires, as well as yours, must receive some attention. The black folk of Georgia desire knowledge; they want to become an intelligent, efficient people. For this they toil and strive and sacrifice—of this they talk and dream. If you want them to be satisfied, give them opportunities to improve and advance. If you want to depopulate the fields and plantations and fill the cities, then shut up the country school-houses and reduce farm life to one dead level of brute toil. It has been shown by Professor Branson, of the Georgia State Normal School, that while the illiterate Negro population of the State furnished three convicts per thousand, the Negroes who have profited by the public schools furnished only one convict per thousand. To lessen the still meagre opportunities of the black race will feed the spirit of discontent and prejudice, and increase lawlessness in the State of Georgia.

Give the black boy a chance! Furnish him ungrudgingly with the best elementary training. If he is an inferior, opportunity, far from spoiling him, will rather make him contented with his lot by proving to him his limitations; if, on the contrary, he has, as he firmly believes, the same capabilities as boys of other races, then repression is short-sighted.

Equal opportunity for all men is the spirit of the age-end, and that people who assert that the unrisen cannot rise and then emphasize the assertion by sitting on them, lead all fair-minded men to suspect them of insincerity.

Any proposition for the division of public income on the basis of the amounts paid into the public treasury by particular persons is inequitable. Who in the last analysis pays the tax on the land, the owner or the laborer? Who pays the tax on houses, the landlord or the tenant? How far is a great corporation's wealth due to its business sagacity and how far to the toiling millions who buy its goods? It is an economic heresy to say that because A is the agent who pays B's and C's taxes, that, therefore, he is supporting B and C. The labor and sacrifice of B and C are their contributions to the public good.

Moreover, such propositions are thoroughly undemocratic and dangerous: if only Negro taxes are to go to Negro schools, is not this an entering wedge for further discrimination? Why should not the income of workingmen alone be applied to workingmen's children? or the income from Italians to Italian children? or the income of rich men go solely to the education of the rich? If only our taxes are to go to our schools, by what shadow of justice could we be denied the right to administer our own school funds, and where would the dual government thus begun logically end this side of separate officials, separate courts, and separate law-makers?

In any social group the proposal to let members share in the benefits of society according to their several contributions to its welfare has at first a certain semblance of justice, until one asks, how shall these contributions be measured and compared; who contributes most to the State, the millionaire who pays one-thousandth of a vast income or the farmer who pays one-hundredth of his meagre crop? Unless the parable of the widow's mite does not apply to Georgia, surely the black people of this State sacrifice more to the public weal by the taxes they pay on fourteen million dollars worth of hard-earned property than the whites, whose accumulated wealth is due at least in part to the unrequited toil of our fathers.

"'From each according to his ability—to each according to his needs' is the ideal of modern society, and in the light of this dictum, there is not a boy in Georgia today so poor or so black as not to deserve from the State free common school-training."

30. *Present Condition of Schools: Reports of County Superintendents.*—Forty-two County Superintendents, from eleven different States, have answered certain questions put to them by the Conference. As to the places where the Negro teachers are being educated, their answers indicate that the county schools are being taught principally by teachers who have simply a common school training; for instance, in one county in Florida, where there are 50 Negro teachers, 4 are college graduates, 10 normal and high school graduates and 36 grammar school graduates.

Negroes are helping their own schools considerably, although to no such extent as they would if properly encouraged. In the counties reporting they have built and paid for 51 school-houses, and in three other counties are furnishing all the houses used. In five other counties they have furnished several houses, and in six counties are furnishing their churches for school purposes, usually, though not always, rent-free. One Florida county reports: "We have 40 colored school-houses, of which the Negroes have built and paid for 25; but some of these are very rude, not having more than $25 worth of material in them."

In ten counties they are reported as taxing themselves to prolong the school term. In some cases where they do not it is reported that "a majority of the best element would do so if required" (Va.) A Missouri county reports that the Negroes usually favor the extra school taxes levied, while in one Florida county they cast a vote of 60 against such a proposal in 1898. In Oklahoma: "In a great many cases they vote the tax to support their schools the entire time."

A query as to the chief defects of Negro teachers brought a variety of answers. Eight reported poor scholarship, four, defective character, and two that the teacher was "unpractical." Others reported as follows:

"The women are better than the men" (Md.)

"They are not broad in their ideals and do not emphasize the practical side of life" (Md.)

"They take political matters into the school-room" (Va.)

"They lack normal training" (Va.)

"They teach principally for the salary" (Va.)

"They lack a broad, liberal education" (S. C.)

"They lack practicability" (S. C.)

"They lack special training as teachers" (S. C.)

"I desire to commend the good character, virtue, dignity and deportment of our Negro teachers. They are models of good character for the imitation of their pupils" (Ga.)

"They do well in lower branches and in discipline, but not so well in higher branches" (Ga.)

"Ignorance is the first fault of most, then too low moral and religious character usually second" (Ga.)

"The craze for fine clothes and society distracts them and renders them frequently 'time-servers' without genuine interest in their work" (Ga.)

"Their defects are: 1. Lack of discrimination socially between the worthy and the unworthy of their associates and patrons. 2. Lack of interest in the home-life of patrons and pupils in such matters as tend to refine and elevate them. 3. Lack of philanthropic enthusiasm for the advancement of their people. 4. Lack of *accuracy* in teaching as well as in all other matters" (Ga.)

"They imbue pupils with an idea of avoiding labor by means of education" (Fla.)

"Besides the great want of intellectual training, which is universal, the great want is *moral* training" (Fla.)

"They fail to undertake the common branches. They pass over them too hurriedly and take up higher branches" (Okla.)

When asked to compare the colored with the white teachers in their jurisdiction, 6 superintendents said they compared favorably; one said they were nearly as good; seven said they were not as good, and eleven agreed that they were far inferior as a whole. Others reported as follows:

"None can pass the examination given white teachers" (Md.)

"They are far below in educational qualifications. Their pay is about half that of white teachers" (Md.)

"Those with the same grade of certificate compare favorably. Some are better than some whites—as a whole, however, they are much inferior" (Va.)

"They compare very favorably considering their opportunities, but they are still far behind" (Ky.)

"They are about as well qualified and often more enthusiastic" (Ky.)

"With two exceptions they are inferior" (Mo.)

"While many of the white teachers are deficient, the colored are much more so. I think honestly that with the present teachers it is questionable if the Negro children are receiving instruction which will really elevate them. They may learn a little from the books, but I am afraid they are harmed in morals and character" (Ga.)

"Some of the teachers are excellent, doing a work that would be a credit to any one" (Ga.)

"In knowledge of text books they are fully as good. In teaching principles of moral and social ethics they are wofully deficient. Of course, there are a few exceptions" (Ga.)

"A large proportion are conscientious and painstaking, but they are deficient in the breadth and culture that characterizes the white teachers" (Miss.)

"A few compare favorably" (Okla.)

As to the chief needs of Negro schools, ten superintendents answered "Teachers." Others said:

"Better teachers and compulsory attendance is needed" (Md.)

"Manual training; better buildings" (Md.)

"Industrial education" (Va.)

"School books" (Va.)

"More money and more teachers. One of my schools has an enrollment of 128, with an average attendance of 92 pupils and only one teacher" (Va.)

"White teachers" (Va.)

"Better teachers and longer terms" (Va.), (Ky.)

"More money. longer terms—not less than eight months—to instill into the minds of teachers and pupils that they are American citizens and should respect themselves and command the respect of others" (Va.)

"Better houses, better furniture and apparatus, teachers who are better educated and specially trained for the work, an increased educational sentiment among the Negroes to make them take the interest they should in keeping their children in school" (Ky.)

"Better system of schools" (Ky.)

"Good teachers; more thorough work in elementary branches; less attention to Latin and Greek; more manual training and domestic science" (Mo.)

"Less denominational friction" (Ga.)

"In order to run all the Negro schools we are sometimes forced to give certificates to teachers who do not fully merit them" (N. C.)

"Better teachers, better salary, so as to obtain the best teachers, and a mild compulsory school law" (N. C.)

"Better paid teachers" (S. C.)

"Better teachers, better school-houses, more money" (S. C.)

"Before all, competent, upright, enlightened teachers" (Ga.)

"Cooperation of parents and more money" (Ga.)

"1. Compulsory attendance. 2. More attention to matters of practical life, including such courses in manual training as will fit the pupil for an intelligent discharge of life's duties. 3. More thorough teaching of the responsibilities of domestic life and citizenship" (Ga.)

"Teachers with better morals; teachers better trained, more teachers; better school-houses" (Fla.)

"A new motive: to educate in order to hold the field of labor against all competition" (Fla.)

"Teachers selected for their moral traits rather than for their scholarship, so as to supplement the bad home-training of children" (Fla.)

"More practical training and white teachers" (Miss.)

"More culture" (Miss.)

"Better houses, better furniture and more constant supervision" (Miss.)

"Better educated teachers, better school-houses and more responsible local trustees" (Miss.)

"We are sadly in need of teachers who are better prepared to undertake the responsible work of teaching the future citizenship of this country" (Ky.)

31. *The Testimony of Country Teachers.*—The testimony of the County Superintendents will be supplemented by a few letters from colored teachers in towns and country districts:

"We have here one col'd common school of which I have been the teacher for the last 8 years. I enroll here every year from 100 to 125 scholars and teach for $35.00 per mo. (five mo.) out of which I am to employ such necessary help as the school would require to give general satisfaction.

"When I began to teach at this place we had school in the Methodist church. For the 1st 3 yrs. I continued to teach in the church but this caused considerable trouble at certain seasons of the yr. or during the time of the protracted meetings and I resolved to build a school-house which I succeeded in doing—furnishing the most of the money myself. The building is 20x30 and of course constructed of very cheap material and plain ordinary benches and desks made of pine lumber, 5 small black boards and a few pictures. Of course the building is too small for the No. of pupils that attend but that was just the best we could do. I am trying now to get on foot a general effort to construct a high school here. I've met with but little encouragement—owing to financial needs. The people here are generally poor. They have to depend almost entirely on farming for their living. We have nothing in our school above the common school course but elementary Algebra. There are 17 colored schools in this county, all of which except 1 or two have 3rd Grade teachers. They teach for a salary of $15.00 pr. month in the State notes, or promises to pay when there is money in the treasury. Of course these teachers are not able to hold the notes they get, at the close of each month having to pay their board which is 5 or 6 dollars. So they must have these notes discounted, which they can do now at ¾ of 1%. The col'd people here and throughout the county are far from being idlers and loafers. With their hard-earned dollars they are trying to imitate the whites in accumulating property of every kind. Most of these teachers have to teach in the church and there are one or two churches in most every community. Where they don't teach in the church the school building is of course poor and unfit to use as a school-house.

"We have 80 on roll and over half are in the first grade. We have a new Commissioner for this county. I think he is more interested in the education of the colored people than the last one—so they say. I met him once. He seems to be in the work if the Board will let him. I have been requested of a margin [of my wages]* but not in this county."

"This is my first term in Coffee county. I have a verry good school at this place. The children are somewhat backwards in their study. I think that is due to the shortness of the school term in this county which are only 16 weeks for the year. The people here are very Generous and seams willing to help themselves. Their condition are not as good as it might be owing to the condition of the place. It is only a large saw-mill station with a few small Terpentine stills near. The mill is run by colored labor all too except the Boss men. We have no school-house, teach in the church. I went before the Commissioner for help for some seats, he informed me that they never help in this way and that the schools were supported in this county by the State fund only. The salerys are poor. They are only a living chance for women."

"The community is very fine for school, and the condition of people and homes differs according to thrift; quite a number own homes, and some have accumilate property of right smart value.

"The city council several years ago built a school-house for the colored people valued at about $500.00. Since that time it has been blown down and rebuilt by the colored people valued now at about $300.00. Has no furniture that's of any value, but very much needed. The enrollment of school 135. Studies: Orthography, reading, writting, English grammar, arithmitic and history.

"There is no effort to provide better school-houses and longer terms. The number of teachers for 135 pupils, two. Term of public school, five months: Pay for principal $32.50 per month, assistant $10.00, which must be third grade or no grade at all.

"The attitude of the whites to the col'd is favorable to some extent.

"Teachers scarcely get enough to pay very much of their wages, still I have arranged a plan and raised enough money to ceil one room of our school.

"We are greatly in need of better school-houses and also better teachers, and will be indeed glad for any help we can get.

"Small places are the ones that suffer."

"I am not prepared to state the exact number of Negro schools in the county at present, but it doubtless exceeds twenty; how far beyond I cannot tell, but know it doesn't reach thirty.

"The term varies from three to five months; it depends upon the school population in the various districts. If the population is large the term will last five months. However, only one district in the county receives the benefit of the long term and that is the county seat.

"The salary of Negro teachers varies from $12.50 to $30.00 per month. It is more accurately stated at the smaller price, for only two teachers get much more. I had first grade and only received $80.00 for four months' work and averaged 67 pupils. The patrons supplemented salary a small bit—about 50 cents during term per pupil.

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* *i. e.* Asked to share his wages with some official as a bribe for giving him the position.

My present school is to last three months at a salary of $90.00 for the term. One-third is paid by the patrons and balance by Board of Education. A part of the time I will teach more than sixty children in a house 16x14 feet. No seats worth commenting upon. The children often sit on part of each other. This is simply a picture of other schools. I describe mine that you may see others.

"If you will peep at some dilapidated old barns where the owner has built a new one, you will have some idea of our school-houses. I might add truthfully, you will have a correct idea of them. Some of them stand in low places and when it rains one must walk upon foot-logs to get in the house and out.

"No provisions are being made for better houses, in the strictest sense of the word. Of course teachers persuade the parrons to do something at times. but they won't do much. Most patrons are poor and ignorant and don't know the importance of doing, and if they knew they are not able to do. Sometimes the Board of Education gives a school ten or fifteen dollars to assist the patrons in preparing their schoolhouse.

"Very few Negroes have homes: they mostly rent and work on halves or for wages. Some few have little homes. I heard of one building a nice house but the whites advised him to not paint it, so he took their advice, which conduced to his personal safety or security. and he is yet living in his unpainted house. The whites advise the Negroes, that as long as they stay in a Negro's place they are all right, but they must not get out of that place. Some Negroes have been forced to leave their homes and go to other counties to live. In that case they usually rent their places or sell.

"Most Negroes are afraid to vote on election days for he expects something unpleasant may come to him afterward. He is advised by some leading white educators of the county to spend that day at home and do a big day's work for he might come out and make enemies by voting. and so many Negroes accept the advice of their white bosses Most Negroes have little manhood to give their children.

"Some whites who stand at the head of the educational system of the county tell us that the Negro will never attain much recognition in America. The majority of the Negroes has accepted that theory and exhibit very feeble actions of ambition and aspiration.

"Teachers can't prepare themselves for teaching because their wages are too small. I can't buy literature that I really need to study.

"The whites are very clever to me as an individual in this county."

"My school is the largest in the county, having reference to colored only. There are 150 children in —— district of school age, 125 of which have been enrolled for this term. The regular attendance is 95. We use the lower story of the Odd Fellows hall for our school building,which of course is inadequate. All of the work is carried on in one room. I have one assistant.

"The people are for the most part poor, and make barely their means of existence. Hence it is very difficult to secure sufficient books for all pupils. While some of the homes are kept neat and clean, and are in good sanitary condition, as a rule, they have the appearance of the hovels of a semi-barbarious people and the premises in general are void of attraction.

"About 20 per cent of the people. however, own their homes, but they don't seem to put forth much effort to improve them. There is a large saw-mill here and two turpentine distileries, from which the majority of the people get their living, most of them being content to dwell in the one-room shanty that is provided by the company. I have seen not a few families of as many as ten living, or rather existing, in such hovels. These same people are much given to buying organs or fine furniture, paying exorbitant prices for the same.

"The school furniture is very rude. There are practically no school appliances whatever. Reading, orthography, arithmetic, geography and grammar are taught; also U. S. history. Some other and higher studies are allowed in case of necessity. We have no advanced pupils.

"This is my first year in this county, therefore, I have no personal knowledge of any past efforts on the part of the people to provide better school-houses and longer terms. However, judging from the present condition of things, if any efforts have been put forth in that direction they have been absolutely futile. The public term is four months, and I know of no instance where it has or will be supplemented by the people this year. My people seems anxious for a longer term, but the majority are unwilling to make the necessary sacrifices that would be required for the same.

"We receive 5 cents per day per pupil from the State, while the patrons *agree* to pay 1 cent per day.

"It appears that we have the best wishes of the majority of the better class of whites throughout the county. There is no discrimination in teachers' wages.

"I learn that it has been the general rule amongst the teachers to discount the greater portion of their nominal wages. In fact, I have had one month of my salary discounted this year, and will have to discount more if we are not provided for by the Governor otherwise. The rate we pay is 1 cent per month on the dollar."

"Now the school is a very good one with about 40 pupils, averaging about 25 to 30 in attendance daily. They are pursueing the following: Spelling, reading, arithmetic, geography, grammar and history. These are the principal studies except writing.

"The homes of the people are very poor and their condition is the same—they are all rice farmers. They had a very good school-house, but the storm blew it down about three years ago, and since then the school has been tanght in the church, which has caused a lots of dissatisfaction every year when the school opens, so this year we have a dwelling house rented, while we are determined to commence the work on our new school-house the 1st of June. Now the school hasen't any furniture at all. We are trying now to get assistance in order that a better school-house may be built, but no efforts towards longer terms are being made. The white schools are better furnished than the colored in regards to furniture, as they are supplied with desks and good blackboards, but I am unable to say whether they are furnished by the county or patrons, but I can say that the colored schools has not received any aid from the board for the last eight years, as I have been in the county that long.

"Now I have known teachers to pay a percentage of their normal salary. I can't say what's the whites' wages, but colored's average about $16.00 per month."

"Our condition here is very poor and the condition of the most of our country schools are very much like ours. We have no school-house here. What little school we have we use the church for teaching in.

"The people are very indifferent as to sending their children to school. The County School Commissioner had to stop the teacher here this year because she had not enough pupils to pay her to teach, so you see that the school matter is on a very irregular line.

"The hours of school are from 8 A. M. to 3 P. M.. The number generally signed up to the teacher to attend school are 35 to 45. Regular attendants about 25 or 30. The studies will range from three to four grades. The term for public school is five (5) months.

"Respecting the community the people are all farmers. There is no effort to my knowledge to better the condition of the schools."

"The schools as a whole are in poor condition. They do very well in number of scholars, also in attendance, but the terms are short and the people so unwilling to pay, till the progress made is very poor and slow.

"This section is doing some better now than it has did in the past. For three years I have been its teacher and can speak sensably of its condition. Of course the people are very poor, but could do more along this line if they could be made to feel the demand. They seem to think if the child can read and write well enough to write a letter and read the answer, it does well, and so stops it. The school-houses are few. We generally teach in the churches. This section now has a school-house, but it has not been finished.

"As yet the scholars have not reached any studies than those prescribed by the State board. As has been said, the people are beginning to think and work better for their children. The county gave us four months this term and the people paid for three months more, which has made us a seven months term. This is an advance. Also the school-house is an advance.

"The wages for teaching are awful meager. The county has paid me $18.75 per month for four months for three years right here. I call that short pay for the work I have done. The condition and wishes of the people is what held me here, not pay. We most always have to borrow money from the bank and give notes on our contracts. And the money is always high.

"The people are about to see and feel and, I believe, to become willing to do more for education."

"The colored school is run and governed by the town council. They are to furnish the school, but do little.

"We have a very small house with seven windows and one door. The furniture, 1 table, 2 chairs, 1 stove, 20 desks, 3 common size blackboards, 1 clock and a chart.

"The people are about all farmers.

"We have eighty-nine (89) students. The course of study for the first year is the chart and busy work, Baldwin's first, second, third, fourth and fifth combine reader.

"The fartherest advance class is now studing Sanford second Arithmetic, Reed and Kellogg's grammar, intermediate Baldwin's fourth and fifth reader and Maury's geography, advance Hansel History of the United State.

"We have two teachers. I get $20. The assistant gets $15. The school runs eight calender months, which is divided into two terms, spring and fall.

"The advance arithmetic class are finishing compound quantities.

"I don't know how to write you, but I write to the best of my ability. We work very hard for the upbuilding of our colored race.

"Neither one of us know very much, but we are teaching. We are both home girls and are teaching home, though we have but very little education."

"This county has a fair school system; about 15 Negro schools in the county. Why this number is so very small there is no farming going on in the county. All these schools are located upon turpentine stills and the average enrollment of each school is about 25; average attendance 18. You are paid by the grade license you hold and also the average attendance. Each teacher receives about fifteen dollars ($15.00) per month. No school-houses at all. The schools are taught in the churches instead.

"The Negro owns but a very small portion of the property. The county is the newest one in the State. I use this phrase to make it plain to the reader. Ten years ago only 50 Negro children were in the county, now about 1,500.

"In the town there is a public school system, which runs nine months in the year and a Board of Education governs the entire system of schools.

"I have been principal of the school three years. The school enrollment each year has been 175; average attendance 100. The studies persued are spelling, reading, arithmetic, grammar, geography. Also (physical) geography, U. S. history, physioligy.

"I am working at present to raise money to purchase land and build a school-house for the colored children of this and surrounding counties. The whites now are doing a great deal better toward the Negro in general than they have been in the dark days of —— county."

"1. The schools of this county are not what they ought to be on account of the small salary. Seven-tenths of the teachers get $12.50; two-tenths $20 to $25, and one-tenth $40. There are five (5) school-houses owned by the colored and not one by the county. Most of the schools are taught in Negro churches, some of which are in a dilapidated condition. Incompetent teachers are stumbling blocks to rapid intellectual advancement, and, second, low salaries drive competent ones ont of the profession. Schools are established wherever needed and a $12 teacher gets the position.

"2. No one to my knowledge pays a percentage to get a school, but some are favored and make presents to the County School Commissioner. It is not exacted, but gratuitously given.

"3. No efforts are being put forth to lengthen the term of the public schools.

"4. All the English branches to the extent of the ability of the teacher are taught in the common schools, though some stop in fractions because they can go no further.

"5. There are 2,363 colored children enrolled and they average 1,535. There are 1,062 whites enrolled and average 793. The irregularity of attendance of the Negro children and the failure of their parents to buy books when they need them entail an endless chain of woe to the teacher.

"6. Benches with no backs and no desks, a little blackboard or board often brighter than the teacher furnish the furniture, it beggars description.

"7. There is too much cohabitation between Negro women and white men to suit a moral growth."

"Our school-house has eight recitation rooms and a library containing about 125 volumes of the latest and best books for school children. It has an assembly room composed of two recitation rooms that have not as yet been separated, and contains a large stage for holding school exercises. The rooms are fitted with folding desks, and the school has an organ. The books and organ were purchased with money raised from school exhibitions. The stage was built out of the same funds.

"The colored people here have opportunity to earn a living by working in factories and as servants. Many of them have saved something and own good homes. The people, as a rule, in this section of the State—North Georgia—are not as intelligent as those of Middle Georgia. Many Negroes in the country in this community manage their own farms, i. e., they rent land and cultivate it. Some own good farms, others work as hired men. Within five miles of —— there is one who owns a ten-roomed house, built by himself, and barn and other farm houses. He owns about 80 acres of land. His is the most beautiful country home I know of owned by Negroes. There is another Negro in this county who owns 600 acres and also has a good deal of cash, so they say. There is one in town who is rated at about $30,000. There are five Negroes in this town each of whom, I suppose, is worth not less than $5,000.

"The home life of Negroes here, while far from what it ought to be, is much better than it was some years ago. The one-room domicile is fast becoming a thing of the past, and the great majority of the people secure two or more rooms for their families. Several colored families in this town own snug and beautiful homes.

"We have enrolled 350 pupils in school during the year now about to close, and I suppose we have about three-fifths of the town's colored children of school age. The colored people make great sacrifices to send their children to school. Parents send their children to school while they are doing servile work at miserable wages, and pay house rent.

"The average white seems to want the Negro children to go to school. Many of them employ the school children about their homes or stores before and after school hours and give personal interest in sending such children to school. In this connection I relate this story, which is one of about a half dozen that have occurred during the five years I have been here. A rich man has a cook who sends her little girl to school. The child reported to her mother some very slight punishment which she (the child) had received from her teacher as being unjust. Of course her report was not true. But a few days after that the man sent for me and asked about the matter and asked me to investigate the child's report. However, he approached me in a manly way. Other whites have written notes to my teachers, explaining tardiness or absence of some pupil in their employ.

"Previous to this year my salary was $40. This year they reduced it to $35. They claim they had to cut down expenses, and reduced the white teachers' salaries also. But the white teachers get considerably more than the colored. Two of the teachers in my school get $25 per month each; the other three $20 each. Of our teachers all have normal or academic education except two, and they (the two) are fairly well prepared for their work.

"Except in town and one suburban school, this county is very destitute of competent teachers. I do not think there are more than two schools in the county that have teachers that have fairly good educations. The others do not possess even a common school education. The reason of this is, the pay is so small that good teachers shun the country. They usually get from $5 to $20 per month—hardly ever over the latter figure.

"Taking all in all, the condition of my people here is pitiable indeed. They are too dependent for a living upon the whites. And yet it is nearly the same all over this broad land. A change must surely come, and through a broad Christian education, I believe, the change will be for the better."

"At this time there are a great deal of intrust taken in this school to have a long term school and for that purpose this section have bought a two-acre lot and have up ready for use a two-story frame building 30x40 feet. The whites are very liberal in helping. The wages are 75 cents to $1.50 per day."

This is the printed dedication notice:

"A Good time for All who will attend the Dedication of the new school building: the North Georgia High School, (colored) at ——, on Thursday, Nov. 29th, 1900, at 11:30 o'clock. A short history of the school will be read by the principle. The Dedication Sermon will be preached by Rev. ——, pastor First Baptist church, ——. After the sermon a grand 10 cents rally will be expected from the school children of North Georgia. Dinner will be furnished on the ground by the ladies for the benefit of the building. At 2 P. M., come together for the Dedication. Then several able ministers and orators are expected to make speeches. Then a general collection will be taken, the ceremony of Dedication. At 7:30 P. M. a grand entertainment will be given by the young people of North Georgia. Reduced rates given over the —— R. R. Tickets good to return the 30th. The public are invited to come and take part in the exercises."

From this testimony it is manifest that the country Negro schools need:

1st—Teachers.
2d—Better wages.
3d—Longer terms.
4th—Better school-houses.
5th—More efficient supervision.
6th—Renewed interest in common school training on the part of Negroes and whites.

The first four points hardly need further comment. The country is at present deliberately choosing the very worst Negro teachers it can find because the best cannot afford to teach there on account of low wages and short terms. As to supervision, Mr G. S. Dickerman, of the Southern Educational Conference, has well said:*

"In a conversation not long ago with the State Superintendent of Schools in one of the Southern capitals, I asked what application he would make of ten thousand dollars if it were put in his hands for the Negro children. He replied, 'I would employ supervisors who should devote themselves to the colored schools in the country districts,' and then he went on to say that in cities and large towns the schools for both races, having the oversight of competent local superintendents, were usually doing well. In smaller places, too, the white schools had, he said, a certain oversight from the more intelligent people, which was of great advantage, but the country colored schools had no proper supervision from any quarter."

Finally, both whites and blacks must be stirred to renewed interest in common school training. As many have insisted, the whites need this inspiration. But it is a mistake to suppose that effort among them is enough. Negroes, too, must be stirred to initiative and activity—to building schools, prolonging terms and keeping children in school. And a propaganda of this sort should be started at once, and on a wide scale.

32. *The Reports of City Superintendents.*—Thirty-four City Superintendents, from all the Southern States, sent in reports. In only three cases did the cities reporting maintain colored high schools, although nearly all had white high schools. Usually the Negro schools had eight grades. Nine school systems reported sufficient seats for the pupils enrolled. Five systems had in the aggregate 6,540 seats for 8,458 pupils, necessitating in most cases double daily sessions. This is true in a large number of other cases where no reports were made.

As to the efficiency of the Negro teachers, thirteen answer simply that they are efficient; four say most of them are, two that they are fairly good. Others say:

"Studious and progressive."

"Some of them very efficient, many not so. All are anxious to do good work and do all they can."

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*In *Atlantic Educational Journal.*

"We have a splendid set of educated, high-minded, earnest and competent teachers. Their moral characters are good and they are having a fine influence upon the Negro race."

"For the most part, yes; and they are improving."

"Some do excellently; all do their best."

"They vary—some are very good indeed, some are very poor."

"Some do, some do not."

"Fifty per cent are efficient."

When asked further: "How do the colored teachers compare with the whites?" ten answer "favorably." Others say:

"They are as good teachers in some respects; they have not the polish nor refinement of the whites."

"Only a few are as strong as the majority of whites."

"As a rule, not so efficient" (three).

"Fairly."

"Poorly, on the average."

"Not half so good."

"As a rule, the whites are better educated."

"Some compare well, the majority do not" (two).

"We never compare them" (Miss.)!

"About the same as white teachers with the same degree of scholarship. The whites are usually better educated."

"Fully their equals."

"They do, or they would not be retained" (Southern Illinois).

"Superior, for colored children."

As to their "chief defects" the following comments were made:

"Weak in elementary branches."

"Scholarship."

"Such as belong to mortals generally."

"Lack of proper early home influences."

"Our colored teachers are earnest, zealous in their work, but unfortunately, like many others, white as well as colored, they are not sufficiently prepared to do thoroughly intelligent work. However, there has been a great improvement in our colored schools in the past five years. Many of our colored teachers spend their summers at universities or summer schools and as a result we are reaping the benefit of this additional work on their part."

"Active, intelligent and capable."

"Those common to us all."

"The defects are more with the parents and children than with the teachers."

"The same as in white teachers."

"Scholarship; early associations have had their effect here."

"Need of better English training."

"Lack breadth of training."

"Lack thorough common school training."

"They do well for their opportunities."

"Nearly all are heavily burdened outside their school duties."

"Loose ideas of business principles and of morals."

"Too many pupils to a teacher."

"Those to be found in any teacher."

"Lack of sympathy. Inclination to be dictatorial and 'bossy.' They rarely, I believe, impress the children with a love for children, merely for the children's sake. They seem to be inclined to feel superior to their patrons, and to show this feeling. Much more depends on the Negro teacher than on the white teacher. The Negro teacher must do *everything*. He must furnish every incentive. He must overcome heredity and environment; be a teacher and a guide for parent and pupil, too."

Charleston, S. C., has white teachers in most of her Negro schools, and several Virginia cities have them in colored high schools. Nearly all others have colored teachers and have had them since the beginning of Negro schools.

33. *Testimony of Colored Principals.*—Seventy-three principals of schools from the following States answered our queries:

South Carolina	3	Tennessee	7	Arkansas	2
Florida	4	Missouri	9	Delaware	3
Georgia	10	Maryland	2	Mississippi	4
Texas	10	Alabama	3	Louisiana	2
Virginia	7	Kentucky	7		

Of these sixty-nine were men and four women; eleven had been teaching in their present position one year or less. The rest had been employed as follows:

Years.	2–4	5–9	10–14	15–19	20–24	25–29	30 and over.	Not Stated.
Cases	6	15	6	10	11	5	1	8
Av. Years	3	7½	11½	17	21½	25	31	

The average length of service of those who have been employed more than one year is 14.1 years. They were trained as follows:

In high schools	11
In common schools	6
Fisk University	10
Atlanta University	8
Hampton Institute	3
Lincoln Institute	3
Roger Williams University	3
Berea College	2
Alcorn College	2
Straight University	2
Wilberforce University	2

And one each from the Virginia N. and C. Institute, Pomeroy Academy, Colby University, De Pauw University, Yale University, Rust University, Webster College, Arkansas State Normal, State College of South Carolina, Avery Institute, Atlanta Baptist College, Geneva College, Talledega College, Montgomery Normal, Columbia University, Lincoln University, Howard University and Tuskegee Institute. Thirty-four were college graduates. These principals had in all 495 teachers under them, and 29,229 pupils. They form, therefore, a representative body, whose opinion as to Negro city schools is of weight.

In answer to the question as to the general efficiency of teachers under them, the answers were as follows:

"Excellent"—8 principals.

"Good"—31 principals.

"Medium"—14 principals.

"Some excellent, some poor"—2 principals.

"Need better appliances"—2 principals.

Others reported as follows:

"They pass the same examinations as the whites."

"They are all well trained—four are exceptionally so."

"One is excellent, eight are good, one is poor."

"Three-fourths of them are efficient."

"Well prepared, painstaking, alert."

"Not what they should be, but do fairly well."

"Earnest and faithful."

As to specific defects, it was answered:

"Need higher and broader training"—4 principals.

"Need more professional training as teachers"—10 principals.

"Show poor elementary training"—2 principals.

"Use teaching as a makeshift and do not propose to remain teachers"—2 principals.

"Lack of consecration and interest"—5 principals.

"Poor disciplinarians"—3 principals.

Other principals reported:

"They never mingle with the people outside the school-rooms."

"They lack spiritual insight in dealing with children."

"They are easily satisfied and lack seriousness."

"Some are socially imprudent."

"Some teach for the salary alone."

"There is some lack of harmony between them."

"Their pupils are so irregular as to hinder their work."

"They lack patience and inspiration."

"Some are married and have too many household duties."

A graduate of Columbia writes:

"In my thirteen years of school work, ranging from college to common public school, I have yet to discover over one of these new graduates who are as well up in practice as in theory. I was forced to teach actually for two terms as an undergraduate before the granting of my diploma, and it would be exceeding better should this practice more generally obtain in our universities than it does at present."

A comparison of salaries received by white and colored teachers in the same grade of work is of interest. In twelve cases the salaries of both races were the same, as follows: "$25-$40, $25-$33, $25-$30, $30-$50, $30-$65, $30-$120, $30-$60, $35-$100, $35-$60, $40-$50, $50-$85, $45.

In all other cases differences for the same kind of work were made as follows:

SALARIES OF WHITE AND NEGRO TEACHERS IN FIFTY-THREE SOUTHERN CITIES.

(Dollars Per Month.)

Negroes...	35, 60	25, 40	30, 40	35, 37½, 40	
Whites....	45, 50-60, 70	45	30, 47	45, 50, 60	
Negroes...	25, 37½, 40, 57½	25-50	40, 45, 63	40, 70	
Whites....	40, 50, 90	30-100	40, 90, 100	60, 120	
Negroes...	40, 63	35-80	55-125	30-75	40-50
Whites....	58½. 90	45-90	55-150?	40-100	40-60
Negroes...	30-60	30-100	15, 25, 50	40-100	40-90
Whites....	35-100	40-150	30-75	45-125	45-122
Negroes..	25-40	30-35	32-50	30-50	30-50	13½-52½
Whites ...	30-60	45-50	50-80	20-55	40-60	30-100
Negroes..	20-50	40-100	15-25	33⅓-66⅔	25, 27½, 50
Whites ...	35-40	50-150	35-40	50-75	50, 75, 150
Negroes...	20, 25, 45	40, 35, 35, 35, 37½, 37½, 40, 40, 65
Whites....	30, 45, 50, 75	60, 50, 50, 52½, 50½, 57½, 60, 65, 80, 110
Negroes...	35, 45, 75	20, 25, 30, 35, 60	20-100	45
Whites....	60, 75. 125	35, 40. 50. 75, 100	40-150	50-60
Negroes...	7 Teachers receive $235	20	25, 27, 50	35, 40, 55, 95
Whites....	6 Teachers receive 350	40	35, 40?	50, 90, 100, 180
Negroes...	25, 27½, 37½	20, 20, 20, 25, 25, 25, 30, 50	20, 40
Whites....	35, 45, 50	50, 50, 50, 50, 60, 60, 75, 133⅓	35, 150
Negroes...	40, 40, 25, 25, 30, 30, 35, 35, 100	45½	20-25	45-70
Whites ...	40, 40, 45, 50, 50, 50, 50, 50. 125	55½	32-35	50-100
Negroes..	20, 30, 22½, 25, 25, 25, 45, 60	41-70	35-40	63-75
Whites ...	25, 60, 30, 40, 45, 60, 65, 90	55-85		50-60	60-120
Negroes..	30, 50	35-60	50-65		
Whites ...	45. 100	40-125	65-80		

[EXPLANATION.—The upper line gives the salary received per month by Negro teachers, the lower line the corresponding salaries received for the same grade of work by whites. The upright lines divide the different cities.]

There are three different causes of these discrepancies in wages:

1st. Some States, like Texas, pay their teachers according to the grade of certificate which they hold, and the whites gaining better certificates get better wages. This, however, works both ways. Low salaries, as in Mississippi, drive out good Negro teachers, leaving only third grade

teachers; and in other cases actual discrimination, despite the examinations passed, is charged. One report from a Louisiana town says:

"The discrepancy between the salaries of the two principals is greater than that between the assistants. This is due to a preconcerted movement to drive as many first grade colored teachers out of the public school work as possible, with as much technical adherence to the law as possible."

2d. In the case of a few of the more highly paid white principals certain duties of superintendence over the whole system are added and the salary includes compensation for this.

3d. Probably the chief reason for difference is the law of "supply and demand," viz.: The Negro teachers can seldom get lucrative employment in other lines and must take what is offered, while white teachers can only be attracted to this profession by wages as high or higher than they might get in commercial or other employment. It is, however, dangerous and unfair to take full advantage of this fact among Negroes, since the blacks being disfranchised and without social influence can set no standard below which the efficiency of their teachers must not fall. Through ignorance and helplessness, therefore, they may have incompetent and immoral teachers over their children, hired at a low salary, when a higher salary would get better men and women. It is self-accusation in most cases, therefore, when County Superintendents complain of immoral Negro teachers. They need not—they ought not to hire them, and they can get others if they offer living wages. Of course such a superintendent, elected by white votes, must follow white public opinion if he wishes to retain his office; where such public opinion demands the least expenditure of public moneys possible for Negro schools, the result will be, naturally, worthless teachers and bad schools.

The seating capacity of the school-rooms show that most of the teachers have too much work—their classes vary from 30 to 90, and average from 40 to 60. In eleven cases there was not enough seating room for the applicants, as many as 400 in one case being on the waiting list.

As to the home-training of the pupils sent to the Negro public schools, one principal tersely expressed the prevailing sentiment when he said it was "exceedingly deficient—here lies our trouble." Their reports say:

"Good"—1 principal.

"Fair"—8 principals.

"Ordinary"—3 principals.

"Improving"—4 principals

"Generally poor"—8 principals.

"Poor"—18 principals.

"A few, good; the rest, bad"—5 principals.

"Very poor"—8 principals.

"Good, bad and indifferent"—4 principals.

Others answered:

"From excellent to none."

"Parents abet insubordination, but are improving."

"In the main poor, some cases moderately good, others excellent."

"Ten per cent very good, 20 per cent good, 30 per cent medium and 40 per cent poor."

"Most of them rely on the school for all their training."

As to the attitude of the parents the principals reported thus:

"Friendly and interested"—33 principals.

"Passive, indifferent or apathetic"—22 principals.

Others said:

"Often hostile—do not favor the correction of their children."

"Many interested, some indifferent."

"Hold aloof and come only to find fault."

"Cooperation is hindered by denominational differences."

"Awakening."

"Anxious for their children, but easily satisfied."

"Hostile."

"They send the children, but take no further interest."

It was, of course, a delicate matter to ask these principals for an opinion as to the attitude of their official superiors, the school officers. They were assured that "all answers are regarded as confidential" and yet their testimony is guarded and must be interpreted with reserve. Some left the question blank, others, about twenty-one, answered with a rather perfunctory "good" or "friendly." Fourteen principals answered emphatically that the attitude of the school officials was "very generous," "excellent" and "encouraging." Thirteen principals complain of the school boards as "indifferent," "careless" and "nonchalant." Thirteen others offer mild criticism in such phrases as "fair," "*seemingly* favorable," "according to Southern standards, fair," "improving, but very official," "*sufferable.*" Some of the principals, after commending the school officials, afterward criticise them elsewhere in a tone similar to the following:

"More real interest of a genuine kind on the part of school officials, better appliances, better and more inviting school buildings, a more liberal spirit toward colored teachers is needed: manifestation of the spirit of education and not simply compliance with the letter of the law."

The buildings, furniture and appliances of the colored schools are reported as usually poor, although in a number of cases they are excellent. Some of the reports are:

"No appliances and little furniture."

"Inconsiderable expenditures."

"Very, very little expended."

"Excellent building, good appliances."

"Well furnished."

"Only desks and blackboards."

"Fair—not much apparatus."

"Furniture, library and apparatus."

"Organ, clocks, library, pictures."

"Practically no expenditure."

"None, save that bought by teachers."

"Antiquated benches, each seating 12; no appliances save those I have bought. No annual expenditure."

"Five dollars, annually, expended."

"Very little—good desks, little else."

"Library of 1,000 volumes, desks, organ, maps, charts and pictures."

A condition met with in many cases is reported as follows:

"We have no public school building for colored children in this city, while there are five for the whites. A movement is now on foot by the colored people to raise money enough to erect a building, but is not meeting with support. The school is taught in one large hall, rented from the Baptist church, and there is no division between the principal's and assistant's departments."

The principals were also asked how many children drop out at each grade, and how many finish the common school course. One gave these figures:

First Grade—Dropped out	30
" " Finished	20
Second Grade—Dropped out	10
" " Finished	26
Third Grade—Dropped out	17
" " Finished	41
Fourth Grade—Dropped out	12
" " Finished	29
Fifth Grade—Dropped out	12
" " Finished	29
Sixth Grade—Dropped out	8
" " Finished	14
Seventh Grade—Dropped out	3
" " Finished	None this year.

In two schools there were enrolled:

	1st School.	2d School.
First Grade	452	41
Second Grade	189	23
Third Grade	150	70
Fourth Grade	148	59
Fifth Grade	80	35
Sixth Grade	33	20
Seventh Grade	23	3
Eighth Grade	10	0
Ninth Grade	8	0

In another school there were in the—

Primary grades	225
Intermediate grades	105
Grammar grades	35
High School grades	7

Other answers were:

Of 100 per cent entering first grade, 6¼ per cent finish the eighth grade.
" " " " " " " 10 " " " " " " "
" " " " " " " 2 " " " " " " "

A school enrolling 108, graduates 8 from the eighth grade.
" " " 483, " 10 " " " "
" " " 418, " 10 " High School.
" " " 750, " 25 " eighth grade.

In general it was reported:

"After the seventh grade only 25 per cent remain."

"Numbers diminish as the prices of books increase."

"Boys drop out at about 15 years of age."

"Up to the fifth grade there is little dropping out."

"Of 100 entering the first grade, 20 drop out in the first three years, 20 more in the next three, 15 in the seventh year, and 10 graduate from the eighth grade."

The question: "What is the great need of Negro schools?" brought a variety of answers. They demand chiefly:

1. Better trained teachers and better salaries to attract them.
2. Better school-houses and apparatus.
3. Better supervision.
4. Compulsory attendance.

Some of the typical answers are appended:

"Better paid teachers. There is very little supervision done by the white boards and superintendents, so the Negro school is largely what the Negro teacher is willing to make it, because of race interest, not because of the salary received."

"More schools, better apparatus, more capable teachers."

"More teachers who have the interest of the race at heart and less who can only find fault with the white people."

"Teachers who make teaching a profession and not merely a stepping-stone to something else."

"For parents to send children promptly and regularly. Many parents keep their children at home because they have no clothes, etc. Parents are generally indifferent."

"1. Compulsory education.

"2. More competent primary teachers.

"3. A more effectual line of demarkation between the scope of the public school and the work of the colleges. Say, limiting the former to complete instruction in the rudimentary branches, the three R's, and the latter to polytechnic and scientific, professional education."

"Teachers better in scholarship and more efficient in work. Better facilities for doing work. Schools also need teachers who are more interested in the work and race, and who have a higher object before them than the mere pittance received as salary."

"1. Better qualified teachers.

"2. Longer terms.

"3. Better salaries that more efficient teachers may be secured.

"4. A plan that will keep the children under the good influence of good teachers continuously, thus correcting the influences of bad environments."

"Teachers fully prepared intellectually, morally, socially, physically. Teachers thoroughly devoted to the work. Compulsory educational laws. Longer school terms, higher rate of taxation for schools. A thorough awakening of the Negro's moral, spiritual, intellectual and social character."

"Thoroughly educated Negro teachers, who are not ashamed of their Negro extraction."

"More regular attendance, a larger per cent of boys in upper grades; the girls outnumber them four to one."

"Greater interest by school officials."

"Higher education with industrial training."

"The Negro schools need thorough and original teachers, and above all, teachers whose morals are pure."

"More efficient teachers and a greater manifestation of interest, both by patrons and county officials."

"Competent teachers of character, first of all, and this includes sufficiency of number of such teachers."

"Industrial training in order that the educated and partly educated will have less difficulty in finding employment that is not repulsive to their tastes and thus prevent, to some degree, the demoralization of our schools

by incompetent teachers who crowd out the competent by working for smaller salaries and frequently by more corrupt methods."

"Conscientious teachers. I declare positively that our teachers throughout the country—everywhere—do not manifest any interest, except on pay-day. Then they go to balls and such places, etc. They have no books. Won't join reading circles nor any other society for improvement. They spend enough time in a normal school to get a State certificate and they are done."

"Honest, earnest, competent teachers."

"The greatest need of Negro schools in this city is a compulsory law that will make the parents keep their children in school till they finish the course."

"We furnish books to all who claim they cannot purchase them."

"There seems to be less disposition now than formerly on the part of the masses of our people to push the education of their children very far because they do not see that the graduates of our schools have any great advantage in the matter of 'bread-winning' over those who are merely able to read, write and calculate fairly well. It would be interesting to know how general this feeling is."

"Teachers of broadest culture—college graduates, with normal training."

"Cooperation of parents."

"Better homes and better teachers."

"Use well what we have—then ask for more."

"The great need of Southern schools is a good drill in morality. We cannot do too much work along this line. Too often the home is destitute of this one and greatly essential attribute, and the teacher must bear the blame. This one great defect is causing us much serious trouble."

"The great need of Negro schools is to make the people realize their deplorable and benighted condition. They pander to the ignorant preachers and are satisfied if they are tolerably able to spell out the contents of a letter. They put a low estimate on education. Parents have no incentive for sending their children to school since they do so when they feel like it, and think they are doing the teachers a favor if they keep them in regular attendance."

"Better teachers; 'heart-training' teachers.'"

"Professionally trained teachers, better salaries."

"Better buildings and apparatus."

"Apparatus and consecration."

"Better teachers, parents who know how and who are disposed to appreciate the teacher's work, and who will assume their own part of the responsibility and not leave it all to the teacher."

34. *The Persistent Demand for Teachers.*—The Negro race in the South needs teachers today above all else. This is the concurrent testimony of all who know the situation. For the supply of this great demand two

things are needed—institutions of higher education and money for schoolhouses and salaries. It is usually assumed that a hundred or more institutions for Negro training are today turning out so many teachers and college-bred men that the race is threatened with an over-supply. This is sheer nonsense. There are today less than 2,750 living Negro college graduates in the United States; and less than 1,000 Negroes in college. Moreover, in the 164 schools for Negroes, 95 per cent of their students are doing elementary and secondary work, work which should be done in the public schools. Over half the remaining 2,157 students are taking high school studies. The mass of so-called "normal" schools for the Negro are doing simply elementary, common school work, or at most, high school work with a little instruction in methods. The Negro colleges and the post-graduate courses at a few other institutions are the only agencies for the broader and more careful training of teachers. The work of these institutions is hampered for lack of funds. It is getting increasingly difficult to get funds for training teachers in the best modern methods and yet all over the South, from State Superintendents, county officials, city boards and school principals, comes the wail, "We need *Teachers!*" and teachers must be trained. As the fairest-minded of all white Southerners, Atticus G. Haygood, once said: "The defects of these colored teachers are so great as to create an urgent necessity for training better ones; their excellences and their successes are sufficient to justify the best hopes of success in the effort, *and to vindicate the judgment of those who make large investments of money and service to give to colored students opportunity for thoroughly preparing themselves for the work of teaching the children of their people.*"

The truth of this has been strikingly shown in the marked improvement of white teachers in the South. Twenty years ago they were not as good as the Negro teachers. But they, by scholarships and good salaries, have been encouraged to thorough normal and collegiate preparation, while the Negro teachers have been discouraged by starvation wages and the idea that any training will do for a teacher. If carpenters are needed it is well and good to train men as carpenters; if teachers are needed it is well and good to train men as teachers. But to train men as carpenters and then set them to teaching is wasteful and criminal; and to train men as teachers and then refuse them living wages unless they become carpenters is rank nonsense.

The United States Commissioner of Education says in his last report:

"For comparison between the white and colored enrollment in secondary and higher education, I have added together the enrollment in high schools and secondary schools, with the attendance on colleges and universities, not being quite sure of the actual grade of the work done in the colleges and universities. The work done in the secondary schools is reported in such detail in this office that there can be no doubt of its grade."

He then makes the following comparisons:

PERSONS IN EVERY MILLION ENROLLED IN SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION.

	Whole Country.	*Negroes.*
1880.....	4,362	1,289
1900.....	10,743	2,061

And he concludes: "While the number in colored high schools and colleges had increased somewhat faster than the population, it had not kept pace with the general average of the whole country, for it had fallen from 30 per cent to 24 per cent of the average quota. Of all colored pupils one (1) in one hundred was engaged in secondary and higher work, and that ratio has continued substantially for the past twenty years. If the ratio of colored population in secondary and higher education is to be equal to the average for the whole country it must be increased to five times its present average."* And if this be true of the secondary and higher education it is safe to say that the Negro has not one-tenth his quota in college studies. How baseless, therefore, is the charge of too much higher training! We need Negro teachers for the Negro common schools, and we need first-class normal schools and colleges to train them. This is the work of higher Negro education and it must be done.

35. A THIRD APPEAL TO CÆSAR.— *Years ago a wise man wrote an "Appeal to Cæsar" and warned the nation that unless the general government gave money for education in the South, education would be neglected and race antagonism intensified. And the nation laughed. Later a senator in Congress begged and pled for national aid to Southern schools until the nation grew tired, pushed the old man out of Congress and put a politician in his place. To-day, for the third time, the question is before us. The Southern schools are bad. The white schools are bad. The Negro schools are worse. The South is still poor, and, worse than that, it is, to a vast degree, ignorant. Race antagonism can only be stopped by intelligence. It is dangerous to wait, it is foolish to hesitate. Let the nation immediately give generous aid to Southern common school education.*

* Report U. S. Bureau of Education, 1899-1900. Vol. I. pp. LVIII-LIX.

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