

The **NEGRO: An AMERICAN ASSET**

A STUDY

REV. S. J. FISHER, D.D.

**Board of Missions *for Freedmen of the
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.***

506-10 Bessemer Building

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REV. S. J. FISHER, D.D.

Last Edition

BOARD of MISSIONS *for* FREEDMEN *of the*
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH *in the* U. S. A.
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“We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak.”

“I am the debtor to the Greeks and to the Barbarians, both to the wise and the unwise.”

PAUL, THE APOSTLE.

“The history of the rest of mankind offers no parallel to the story of the transportation of the Negroes from the African wilds to the shores of the American Continent. Contrary to his will, without knowledge of his destination, with no hope for the future, he was forcibly carried thousands of miles across an unknown sea, to an unknown fate, in an unknown land.

“The Anglo-Saxon can survive a long time on the capital he inherited from his ancestors, who have been training in the school of self-mastery for thousands of years. * * * But the Negro inherits nothing from his distant ancestors to help in the struggle of self-mastery and competition with a superior race. To the extent the white man returns to the distant type, to that extent he gains strength in the stubborn virtues, but to the extent the Negro returns to the distant type, he is weakened for the rough and strenuous struggle of our modern life.”

—*Weatherford in Negro Life.*

INTRODUCTION.

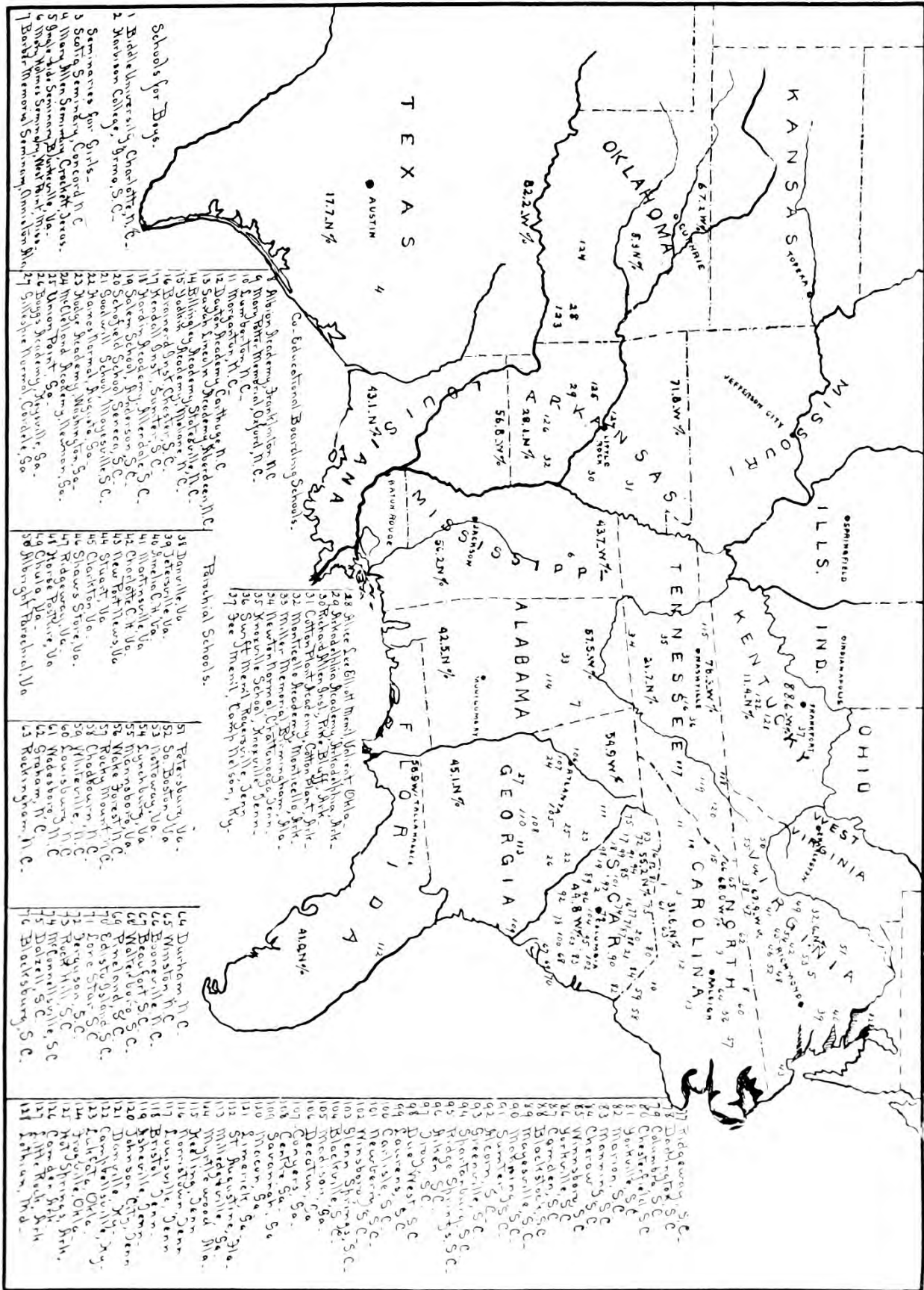
The Negro Problem, as it is incorrectly called, ought to be of great importance to every Christian and patriotic American. Strictly speaking, it is not a problem, for this implies a subject intelligible only to the learned, to which the ordinary principles do not apply, whose elucidation or solution is peculiar and complex. Such is not the fact concerning the elevation and development of the Negro race in this land. Like any other social or civic question, it requires intelligence and impartial consideration; but give it a true application of common sense, justice and the precepts of Christianity, and it is no longer hopeless or difficult. As the late Senator Hoar said: "We should have had little difficulty in dealing with the Negro or the Indian, or the Oriental, if the American people had applied to them, as the Golden Rule requires, the principles they expect to apply and have applied to themselves. How our race troubles would disappear if the dominant Saxon would but obey, in his treatment of the weaker races, the authority of the fundamental laws on which his own institutions rest!"

Not a
Peculiar
Problem

To this subject, everyone should give the best Christian attention. Let no one be deterred by the oft-repeated assertion that it is peculiarly a South-

ern problem, intelligible only to those who dwell in contact with so many of this race, and to be handled, defined and solved by them alone. With all proper recognition of the closeness of such contact, and familiarity with the difficulties, we challenge the conclusion that only those who dwell South of Mason and Dixon Line are fitted for this investigation, or capable of the best method of developing the Negro. Fact and experience are against such a conclusion. For, on the one hand, in these days of close intercourse and frequent travel, of long sojourn on the part of many in the South, of unnumbered essays, special investigation, and especially the knowledge gained by a large number of the most capable, intelligent and impartial men and women from above that line engaged in the uplift of the Negro, such a claim of superiority is unauthorized. And in the second place, it is acknowledged by some of the most earnest and loyal Southerners, that they have not met their responsibility, but have lost the power of such an association, and neglected their opportunities. Thus says a prominent Southern leader: "On this question of race relationship the pulpit in the South is remarkably silent. It is remarkably silent on the race question, even on the side of religion and religious duties. With few exceptions the direct contribution of the Southern clergy in establishing public sentiment on this question has amounted to

To be
Studied
by All



little, and may be left out of count." One of the earnest and capable Southern writers on this subject, one whose parents were slave-holders, and who has striven to touch the conscience upon this duty, says: "The Negroes do not love us as much as they did fifty years ago, nor trust us as they did. No Southern white can turn in sympathy to the service of the poor Negroes without being often startled, and sometimes sharply hurt by suspicions and mistrusts which peer at him from hidden places, and sometimes threaten to bar his way. We white people, if we really wish to win our way with the mass of Negroes, must live down much of the record of our last fifty years." It was the mature conviction of a prominent minister, reared in South Carolina, after a prolonged study of this question, that this claim of greater fitness, because of closeness of contact with the Negro was entirely mistaken, and that a truer vision and judgment were likely to be obtained by those who were not subject to the prejudices and doubt which the past entailed. Following Lincoln's words, uttered for a different purpose, "with malice toward none, and charity toward all," every intelligent Christian, no matter where he dwells, can and should study this subject, settle upon a wise course of action, create a wise public opinion, and in every way help the Negro to rise and be an asset, a blessing, an element of strength and progress for his country, to which

against his will he was brought, and in which he has endured a degrading oppression for so many generations, to be at last led out into a freedom, for which he had no education, and a life for which he was prepared only by immorality and poverty.

Nor should we underestimate the importance of this study for us as Americans. All the facts concerning the Negro life, character and future are of great significance. We are not dealing with the Negro as a distant race, which we are to seek as missionaries. We do not touch them as did Livingstone, or Nassau, or as Jean Mackenzie seeks them, or as Dr. Paton sought the heathen in the South Seas. The Negro is beside us, touching us in a thousand ways, lowering or upholding our laws and principles of justice, a citizen and an American, a blessing to our nation or a curse.

**Close to
Americans**

It is exceedingly desirable that every American should thoroughly and without prejudice study this subject. We must not be pessimistic, and shrink from it in a hopeless spirit created by real or imaginary difficulties. A study of the facts will make us hopeful, and Christian principles enable us to "do all things." We must not be unwisely optimistic. The remark of a Southerner, meant to encourage a troubled investigator, that "time and patience will work a remedy," of course was meant to include earnest effort, the persistent use of the best means, a faith that includes works. Time and patience

did not abolish slavery. Well had it been for North and South if relying on time and using a loving patience, we had also acted in a true wisdom, and set ourselves more courageously and intelligently to bring slavery harmlessly and as speedily as possible to an end.

1. Is this a real problem?
2. What principles are needed?
3. Senator Hoar's view?
4. Can Northerners understand the conditions?

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

In Black and White, Mrs. L. H. Hammond.
The White Man's Burden, B. F. Riley, D.D.
From Darkness to Light, Mary Helm.
Negro Life in the South, W. D. Weatherford.
Following the Color Line, Ray Stannard Baker.
Race Adjustment, Kelly Miller.
The Present South, E. G. Murphy.
The Negro and the Nation, George S. Merriam.
Up from Slavery, Booker T. Washington.
Is the Negro Making Good? C. E. Locke, D.D.
Negro Year-Book, Tuskegee, Ala.

FICTION DEALING WITH PAST AND PRESENT.

The Flower of the Chapdelaines, Geo. W. Cable.
The Testing Fire, Alexander Corkey, D.D.
The Climbers, Yorke Jones, D.D.

"The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passion, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his morals and manners undepraved under such circumstances." "The abolition of domestic slavery is the greatest object of desire in these Colonies where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state."

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

"There is no man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see some plan adopted for the abolition of it" (slavery).

WASHINGTON.

"A Negro has no rights which a white man is bound to respect."

CHIEF JUSTICE TANEY.
in Dred Scott decision, 1857.

CHAPTER I.

THE NEGRO IN THE PAST.

We cannot truly understand the Negro, and his needs, or provide the best training unless we know his past. The background of his savage years is necessary to produce a true picture. Each people or race has its root in the past, and inherited ideas and customs retain long their original power. Some of us pride ourselves on our Anglo-Saxon ancestry, realizing in a degree the persistent influence of inherited traits. We can neither understand the Negro, nor realize how great is his progress if we do not look back to the pit from which he was digged. We cannot sympathize or feel a loving consideration for this people unless we see him emerge from savagery. I may be pardoned the use of a comical incident to illustrate the difficulty in such an understanding, by giving the answer of a colored mother to a Judge, who remonstrated with her in not training her boy more successfully: "Judge, did yez ever have a good-for-nothin,' lazy, idle nigger son?" And when the Judge looked startled, she continued: "Then, Judge, yez don't know what such a boy is."

When the first shipload of slaves was landed at Jamestown, in 1619, they were not mere bondmen—ordinary slaves. Many whites were brought from

**White and
Black Slaves**

England, in the early colonials and sold as bondmen and bondwomen. But how different were those brought from Africa!

The contrast between the shipload of twenty slaves landing at Jamestown, and the 101 Pilgrims on the Mayflower, at Plymouth, is very instructive. The latter came with all the forces of a powerful civilization behind them, with all the intellectual and moral training which had produced Shakespeare, Bacon, Knox, Calvin, Cranmer, Luther, with a knowledge of God and His word that the translation in 1611 enriched, but did not create. For 100 years, the English mind and heart had been stirred by great religious discussion, (the Diet of Worms was held in 1520), and those Pilgrims were the flower and fruit of religious culture of centuries. They brought with them a firm belief (a) in a righteous and holy God, (b) in the worth and authority of the Bible, (c) in the importance of duty and an enlightened conscience, (d) in the sanctity of marriage and religion in the home, (e) in the necessity of pure and intelligent worship, (f) in the importance of education and schools, (g) in the reverence for law and the necessity of an upright government. All the richness of universities and intellectual progress, all the traditions and inherited influences of godly ancestors who endured great persecution for their faith, all the great and powerful principles of God's law and human prog-



YOUNG



OLD

ress were moving and fructifying in the hearts of these men and women who stepped upon Plymouth Rock, and calmly endured great trials.

Twenty slaves from Guinea, who the year before became the forerunners of the ten millions of Negroes in our land today, were savages, but not merely savages. They brought with them the superstitions and imbedded religious ideas of many centuries. They believed in (a) polygamy, (b) idols, (c) witchcraft and spirits, hoodoos and charms—all the ghostly and terrifying powers of demons and the unseen world, (d) the enslavement of enemies, (e) revenge, cruelty, and some of them brought also, the pride in royal birth and memories of kingship, to deepen the bitterness of their enslavement, to create a sense of superiority over other slaves—a distinction cherished for generations, and sometimes leading to revenge or suicide. Such mental and moral characteristics are not easily eradicated. Two centuries of degrading and hopeless slavery did not destroy them, especially when that slavery was face to face with an inconsistent Christianity. Crawford says (in "Thinking Black") of the Negro in Africa: "The black challenge to the missionary is, 'will you sit down here and live your Gospel for twenty years or so, and then we will believe you.'" They still practice the "white art," and "black art," *i. e.*, to protect against evil spirits or sickness, or to cause sickness

**African
Religion**

or death. Something of the belief in the witch doctor remained persistent here—this belief in one who can foretell the future, change a thing into something else, a man into a tree or lower animal, or assume himself such transformations at will. What Dr. Nassau says of the convert in Africa is true here: “In emerging from his heathenism and abandoning his fetichism for the acceptance of Christianity, no part of the process is more difficult to the African Negro than the entire laying aside of superstitious practices, even after his assertion that they do not express his religious belief. From being a thief he may now be an honest man; from being a liar, he can become truthful; from a status of ignorance and brutality, he can develop into educated courtesy. And yet in his secret thoughts, while he would not wear a fetich, he believes in its power and dreads its influence if possibly it should be directed against himself.” He also says of the slaves exported from Africa to the West Indies: “They established on those plantations the fetich doctors, their dance, their charm, their lore, before they learned English at all. And when the British missionaries came among them with church and school, outwardly everything was serene and Christian. Within was working an element of diabolism,—fetichism, there known by the name of *Obeah*, under whose leaven some of the churches were wrecked. And the same diabolism, known as hoo-

doo worship in the Negro communities of the Southern United States, has weakened the spiritual life of many professed Christians." Even life here could not easily cast out those beliefs of the African whom Missionary Good describes: "The Negro fancies the world is full of enemies, corporeal or spiritual, and is daily tortured with suspicions and superstitious fear. Every unusual place harbors a spirit presumably hostile."

Although our space will not permit an enlargement on this theme, it may be well for us, that we may appreciate the religious inheritance of the African here, to repeat Miss Mackenzie's remarks on the Bulu in West Africa: "In a world emptied of the original and paternal beneficence the Bulu is left to his perpetual struggle with the supernatural. To come to terms with the malice and hard won favor of minor and malignant spirits, the effort affords him a perpetual career of experimental magic." And what she says of fetiches—"the investment in a material object of spirit," the little images, the charms against fire and against water, and the charms against charms, the fetich a mother hangs about her baby's neck, the love potions to keep her man's love, has been ever true of the African here. We laugh at his fear of a graveyard, and his confidence in a rabbit's foot. Perhaps there is elsewhere a belief in signs, a consultation of fortune-tellers, a dread of the dark, until Christ

Super-
stitions

sets us free. We are not very far distant from a belief in witchcraft among Englishmen and Americans, and fortune-tellers still thrive.

We may appreciate the condition and fortune of those slaves better, perhaps, if we contrast them with the bondmen and women who at the same period entered the Southern colonies. Sold to pay debts, transported for crime and so bonded, prisoners taken in Monmouth's disastrous rebellion, and enriching not only their captor, but the favorites of the Crown, by the price they brought;—theirs was indeed an awful experience. But they brought with them much training of hand and mind, qualities of soul bondage might distress, but could not always destroy; and the hope which springs eternal in the human breast, helped them to endure. Hardships might oppress, and cruelties be practiced, but the white man's relation to his white bondman, could not in this land, be what a protected slavery of the Negro became to the African. Sometimes the white slave had resources above his owner, and after all, liberty came, and these families populated the South. But generations were to pass before the wrong of slavery was to be recognized anywhere, and emancipation slowly began. Meanwhile the Negro, with his savagery still unchanged, his heathenism only modified, and his mind left unlighted, and his hope denied, was born, labored and **died.**

1. Why is the history of the Negro desirable?
2. Difference between those who landed in 1619 and 1620?
3. What is characteristic of African religion?
4. Which religious ideas continued in America?
5. Is this natural? Is it peculiar of the African?
6. In what did the white and black slaves differ?

“May Heaven’s richest blessing come down on every one American, English, Turk—who will help to heal this open sore of the world.”

(Inscription on the grave of Livingstone in Westminster Abbey.)

“Traveling as a deckhand down the Mississippi, Abraham Lincoln reached a Southern city, where for the first time he saw a slave sale. When he saw a beautiful young Negro girl taken from her mother and sold to a bestial looking human brute, the young man withdrew from the crowd, and lifting his hand to Heaven, he vehemently took a solemn oath, ‘If ever I have a chance to hit that thing, I’ll hit it hard, by the Eternal!’ One glad day he hit it so hard that the shackles fell from 4,000,000 of human beings.”

CHAS. E. LOCKE, D. D.

CHAPTER II.

THE NEGRO AT EMANCIPATION.

We have seen that the first slaves were landed in America in 1619, and in 1863, almost 250 years later, the Emancipation Proclamation brought slavery to an end in America. It was a sudden act, and it must always be regretted that the slave States had not followed the example of the Northern States, and by a gradual emancipation avoided the evil consequences of a cessation of slavery, for which cessation neither whites nor blacks were prepared. At the North, while in accordance with the general opinion of mankind in the 17th century, there was little moral objection to slavery, there was less call for or reliance upon slave labor, among a hardy people accustomed to such activities, and who had been taught to regard labor as honorable. There was, however, a growing conscientiousness upon the subject, and the persistent influence of the Golden Rule and the other precepts of Christ began to compel men to consider the possible wrong of slavery. John Wesley's remark that "slavery is the sum of all wickedness" found a lodgment in many minds.

In 1775, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society was formed and in 1790, a memorial was sent to Con-

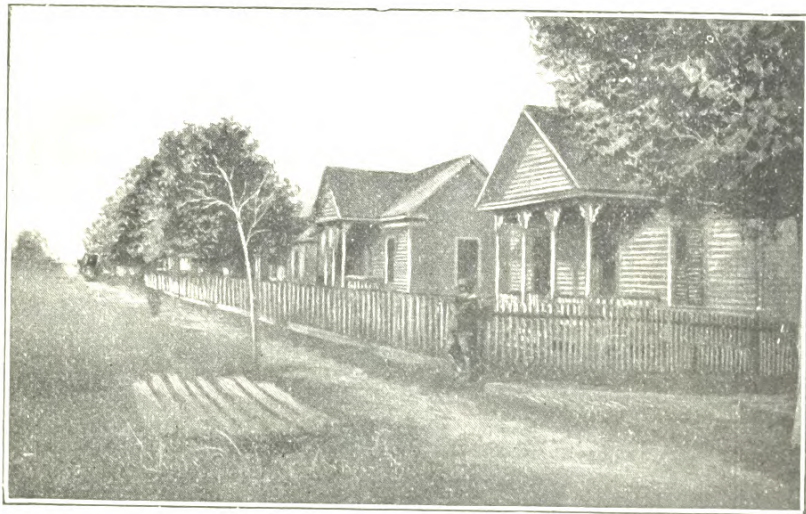
gress signed by Benjamin Franklin, asking that "means be devised for removing the inconsistency of slavery." Vermont abolished slavery in 1777, Massachusetts in 1780, and in the same year Pennsylvania provided for the gradual emancipation of her slaves. In 1799, New York adopted a gradual emancipation act, and all slaves were made free on July 4th, 1827. New Jersey which had 11,423 slaves in 1790, gradually freed her slaves by the act of 1804. The purpose of gradual emancipation was to provide education and training for the young, and to prevent hardship and suffering to the aged and infirm, who otherwise might have been thrown helpless upon the world after years of unrequited toil. This legislation compelled selfish slave owners to refrain from the avoidance of all responsibility for the young and old of the slaves, once their property, and set at liberty.

Although in 1776, the Continental Congress resolved that no more slaves should be imported, when the Constitution was adopted in 1788, Congress was prohibited from interdicting the traffic before 1808. In that year it was abolished, and in 1820 it was declared to be piracy.

It is an interesting fact that in 1798, Georgia abolished slavery, and also for awhile the aversion to slavery in some of the Southern States was stronger than in the Northern. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Henry and others expressed them-



BEFORE



AFTER

selves as anxious for its removal, and deplored its effect upon the whites as much as upon the slave himself. John Randolph said in Congress at that time concerning the internal slave trade: "What are the trophies of this infernal traffic? The handcuff, the manacle, the bloodstained cowhide. What man is worse received in society for being a hard master? Who denies the hand of sister or daughter to such monsters?"

Three influences, however, combined to lead the South to value and extend slavery. In 1792, the Cotton Gin was invented by Eli Whitney, and making the cultivation of cotton more profitable caused these States to value more highly the cheap labor of Negroes. The increased acreage given to tobacco and the sugar cane also added to the interest in slave labor, made it seemingly more necessary and profitable, and silenced the claims of humanity and religion. A second cause for the increased interest of the Southern States in the continuance and increase of slavery, was the allowance, in the Constitution of the United States adopted in 1789, to the Southern States of a Congressional representation based upon an enumeration which considered five Negroes as the equivalent of three white persons. If this three-fifths representation were not allowed, they refused to adopt the Constitution, and become parts of the New Nation; and although they declined to regard the Negroes as other than prop-

The
Cotton
Gin

Representa-
tion in
Congress

erty, they demanded their consideration as part of the population and requiring representation. This addition to the numbers upon which representation was based, while the Negroes had no voice in the choice of Representatives, gave the Southern States a great advantage in national legislation, and assisted them in overcoming the numerical and financial superiority of the North.

Labor

A third influence was the growing dislike to physical labor on the part of the whites, and the view of manual toil as menial and humiliating. All of these influences, created not only a vigorous defense and advocacy of slavery, but a demand for a wider territory where slavery should be allowed, and by whose citizens the influence of slavery in Congress should be made insurmountable. Another, and a more deplorable result also followed, the desire and attempt to find in the Christian religion and the Scriptures arguments for the righteousness of slavery, and proofs even of it as a blessing and a duty. Although the greatest, wisest and most devout Americans, among them leaders of Southern thought, felt the iniquity and degrading influence of slavery, and hoped for its speedy removal, yet under the influence of financial rewards, the larger number of the Southern people advocated it, many of the ministers proclaimed it as not only defensible, but divinely ordained, and every attempt to limit or remove it was regarded as wicked or

unkind. Hence, when the Presbyterian Church, (Old School and New School), took action looking toward the decrease of slavery, and its ultimate abolition, the Southern parts of these Churches separated from them. And in 1844, when the Methodist Episcopal Church, repeating its founder's denunciation of slavery, besought Christians to hasten abolition, a large number of congregations broke away from that Church. So intense was the feeling on the part of those interested in the preservation of slavery, that all newspapers and books which favored emancipation, or discussed the advantages of slavery were proscribed, and shut out from the post-office circulation.

Church
Differences

Already in 1850, the terrible inconsistencies of this defense and permission of slavery in this land revealed themselves in the passage of the atrocious Fugitive Slave law, which gave slave holders additional facilities in recovering their runaway slaves, and even made any one who assisted in the concealment or escape of a slave a violator of law and criminal. In 1852, largely as the result of the growing unrest of those who had hoped for a quiet abolition of the curse, and the increasing demand of the slave owners for protective legislation, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was issued. It was translated into twenty different languages, and, strange to say, when the Italian translation appeared its sale was prohibited by the Pope! Despite

Uncle Tom's
Cabin

all criticism and misapprehension, its essential truthfulness has never been successfully denied nor the propriety of its contentions. Unquestionably it deepened the Northern hostility to slavery, and prepared many who were then growing to manhood for the war which was to combine the preservation of the Union with the destruction of slavery. As Seward called it in 1858, it was "an irrepressible conflict" between freedom and slavery. In the same year Abraham Lincoln said "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."

So Emancipation came. Over four million slaves were set free. But no abolition of slavery could at once set free the slaves or the whites from the consequences of slavery. No violation of God's law can be continued for generations and its penalty escaped by a sudden cessation.

Condition
of Slaves

The slave was freed from the owner's claim, but not from the degradation and other evils of slavery. He emerged an uneducated, untaught man, crushed and distorted in morals. Never having had any property, unable to call the rags he wore or the hoe he held, his own; for generations living in the coarsest and poorest of houses, without the privilege of marriage, liable to have wife and children sold and carried to other parts of the land despite his prayers; taught by example that modesty or purity were no more expected of him than of the

animals he cared for; what could he be expected to be at Emancipation except a helpless, groping and deformed character? It may be said that practically all education was denied him. There was a widespread and enforced prohibition against the teaching of a slave to read; and so far did this fear lest the slaves by a little learning should become restless and intractable spread, that in large sections Sabbath Schools were discouraged, and preaching, and even oral instruction were placed under the ban. Whatever religious training was given them was more concerned with their attitude toward their owners, and, in some cases, to give them the solace of hopes of Heaven for the sorrows and hopelessness of earth.

All of these facts are entirely consistent with the statements made concerning the kindly and affectionate relation maintained in a number of families with special slaves. It should be remembered, however, that these were the house servants, the favored few who often from childhood sustained special relations to their owners, and were granted privileges, and enjoyed an unusual training. But the house servants were always a small number, as compared with the rest. On a plantation possessing five hundred or more slaves, it is not to be expected that more than fifty would enjoy this close relationship or privilege. The great mass of the men and women were rude, stolid, uncouth, la-

**Favored
Slaves**

boring in the fields, regarded generally as animals, and often despised by the favored slaves. Outside of the towns and cities the majority of slaves were mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, and in large regions were given no religious instruction whatever. In the household the servants were afforded a training for their lighter duties, and close continued contact often developed a strong affection, producing the remarkable devotion of the slave to the families so unprotected in time of war, a devotion and trustworthiness which reflect the highest credit upon the Negro, and may well be the ground of an expectation of a noble future.

We may rightly believe that a gradual emancipation, if it had been possible, would have done something to prepare these millions of stunted and helpless characters for the demands of freedom. But it was not to be. All the wrong and evil of slavery had to be faced, and without warning or preparation, these millions, as untrained in mind and body, as indifferent to religion or morals as Romulus and Remus in their infancy, were set free.

Nor could the act of Emancipation set the Southern States free from the consequences of slavery. Like Jefferson, many a thoughtful Southerner feared the degrading effect of slavery on the owner and the white race as much as upon the slave. It created a tyrannical nature, a disregard of responsibility, a conviction that the slave or black man had

no rights, and the laws encouraged this conviction, for some courts affirmed the owners' right of life and death over his slave. Then, too, slavery created a false idea of labor, styling it servile and degrading, and so making in the mind of the poorest white a sense of hardship in toil, a pride in idleness, and a prejudice against the slave and his tasks. Two of the most influential newspapers in the South have editorially commented upon this view of labor as degrading by so many whites, as standing in the way of the immigration of foreigners, who resent living where such views prevail.

Effect on
Masters

So the slaves found themselves at liberty, but without property of any kind or self-reliance, among a people embittered by defeat and loss, and determined to keep the Negro in subjection, in a region where the public school was scarcely known, and where neither schools nor churches would be provided in any sufficient number.

The U. S. Government made some attempts at aid, and a number of white owners of property in several states helped the Freedmen to acquire small farms. But it was left to the Northern Churches and philanthropists to enter the field of assistance, and by the proper preaching of the Gospel and religious training of the young, and the establishment of schools to help the Negro overcome the evil effects of slavery upon his character and mind.

It is difficult for many to comprehend the extent of the ignorance of many of these Freedmen, and the need of such schools. We who live in communities active and alert can hardly believe that there are tens of thousands of men and women who have never entered a good house, and never ascended or descended a flight of stairs. One of our Principals told the writer, that often when a Freedman brought his boy or girl to the Academy, and was taken up an ordinary staircase, so unfamiliar was he with the height, that he descended as cautiously, and as fearfully, as if he were on a narrow path overlooking a precipice. The helplessness and undevelopment are in many sections still pathetic and great.

1. What efforts made by Colonies and States toward abolition of slavery?
2. Why were these checked?
3. What did new Constitution do?
4. What religious difference arose?
5. Extent of limit on discussion in South?
6. Effect of a well-known book?
7. Seward's and Lincoln's expressions?
8. Condition at Emancipation?
9. Were there classes among the slaves?
10. How has the household slave blinded as to the facts?
11. How were the whites affected by slavery?

CHAPTER III.
NEGRO RELIGIOUS LIFE. CHURCHES
AND PREACHERS.

The Negro is naturally religious. An unbelief in a God, a divine Government and a Future Life is exceptional. The form of the religious belief of the Negro is largely the product of his teaching, associations and traditions.

1. He is extremely superstitious. He has inherited beliefs in ghosts, hoodoos, fetiches, charms and nostrums, still so prevalent in Africa and the Orient. And since ignorance is the mother of superstition, these have been continued even though modified.

2. His religion is largely emotional. Ultimately this characteristic may be an element of value, for a true emotion gives vitality and richness to religion, and prevents it from becoming formal and joyless. But emotionalism when uncontrolled, or aroused by ignorance, or half-truths, becomes a delusion, and causes destructive errors. During slavery the Negro had little religious instruction or training to restrain or purify his emotionalism, or uncouth enthusiasms. Denied the ability or opportunity to read, and often the possession of the Bible, which others might have read to him, encouraged in sensuality by the absence of mar-

Defects

riage, and ownership of or responsibility for his own children, or the aids to a true family life, forbidden all the higher rights of manhood or citizenship, the few religious truths he could be taught were based upon the prospects of a material Heaven, and the comforts of prayer and song. Such elements of Christianity merely encouraged an emotionalism, which counterbalanced the dreariness and hardship and sorrow of the present, and enabled the slave to endure.

Today this emotionalism is a very large element of worship or religious thought among the great mass of Negroes. Since they are still ignorant and unguided by a better training, largely lacking a true ministry, it is safe to say that of the ten millions of Southern Negroes, the controlling element in their religion is sentiment without morality, and the desire for a religious happiness without responsibility, or a conception of sin. The usual phrase, "getting religion," simply means an exhilarating excitement, the rise of physical and mental emotions produced not by spiritual truths, but by a gross imagination, or uncurbed fancy and the contagion of excitable natures. This evidences itself in song, shouting, contortions of the face and body, dancing before the pulpit, often continued until exhaustion results in falling to the floor and unconsciousness ensues. Although in all this emotionalism there is much reference to the

"Getting Religion"

forgiveness of sin and release from fear, there is no promise or desire for an amended life, or the fruits of salvation. It is an ecstasy of freedom from a divine judgment, not in any way related to a conviction of the evil of sin, to a regenerated heart, or a hunger and thirst righteousness.

3. It is thus lacking in moral principle, or ethical force. What another says of a county in Georgia is true of almost every other county in several States: "In the absence of clearly defined doctrines, the great shout, accompanied with weird cries and shrieks and contortions, and followed by a multifaried 'experience' which takes the candidate through the most heart-rending scenes, this today in———County is accepted by the majority of the churches as unmistakable evidence of regeneration." One of the wisest and most useful of the Negro ministers under the Freedmen's Board of the Presbyterian Church, told the writer, that when he began his ministry at a church in North Carolina, he found a regular preliminary of a series of revival meetings was the spreading of straw in the space before the pulpit to insure, a comfortable fall to the converts and worshippers, as overcome by their gyrations, they drop in a stupor.

Mr. Weatherford says, that after making an address at a Negro University, the Negro Physician, himself a Christian man, said that 98 per cent. was too low an estimate for the Negro men who live or

have lived impure lives, and yet 48 per cent. of them were church members.

**Immoral yet
Religious**

It is readily seen that a religion which appeals to the emotions, and creates no moral responsibility, and no desire to obtain a real sanctification, may be very popular, and result in a large number of church members, or reported "conversions." But it will also be apparent that it creates a widespread distrust of such church members, and a natural contempt for its ministry. A fair study of the character of the Negro ministry will teach us:

**Many
Ministers
Illiterate**

1. That the large majority of the Negro ministers are either illiterate, or untrained, or unfit to be moral leaders of their race. This is a harsh indictment, but it is safe to say that of the 14,500 ministers scarcely 10% are reliable religious guides. The greater number have never had any proper education or training to make them wise and devout preachers of the Gospel. Some of them are so illiterate they are unable to read the Bible, and incapable of understanding the meaning of the passage of Scripture they expound. The writer knows a Negro minister in Virginia who for ten years preached the same sermon from the same text, if that could be called a sermon, which after a brief preface, became a mere flow of meaningless words, exclamations and shoutings. If it be asked how he could obtain a congregation willing

to attend such a service, the explanation is, first, that to ignorant hearers such a sermon is sufficient to satisfy their conscience and imagination, and touch their vague emotionalism. And, second that the Negro ministry, though often confessedly lacking in education or morality, makes claims to an inspiration which attracts and impresses the illiterate.

2. One of the greatest obstacles the educated and truly devout Negro minister has to meet is this claim of inspiration by preachers who contrast their commission or authority with his own, and by vehement and plausible claims gain the following of the illiterate. Thus, the uneducated minister glories in his lack of knowledge, even in his inability to read the Bible, and declares that his sermon or message is directly from God, given by the Spirit, according to the promise. He calls himself a "Spirit preacher," while he terms the educated minister as "a book preacher," the latter dependent on book knowledge, on something man-made, the former, the recipient directly of a spiritual message, the messenger of God. With an ignorant, emotional audience, it is not difficult to see whose commission is most authoritative. This claim of inspiration so ludicrously linked up to a misinterpretation of the Scriptures, as in the custom of many of these ministers to always occupy an hour in preaching, since the promise of their receiv-

Inspiration
Through
Ignorance

ing divine aid is in connection with the condition, "It shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak!"

3. The misuse of Scripture, and the consequent evil inferences make a distressing condition. There are large numbers of Negro ministers, who are entirely fatalistic in their interpretation of God's government and human responsibility. That this is a characteristic or phenomenon of a considerable number of illiterate or untrained white preachers does not lessen the evil. Shakespeare recognized this misuse of God's Word and said:

"In religion what damned error
But some sober brow will bless it
And approve it with a text!"

There is a large and influential element of the untrained Negroes who are constantly being taught that no one can repent or come to God in conversion unless moved by God, and that one must await that moment, that he can do nothing to hasten it, and is responsible only to wait for it, that neither prayer nor thoughtfulness will be of use. These ministers are so fatalistic and mastered by the theory of man's irresponsibility, that they regard any appeal or exhortation as irreverent toward God, and they teach that any attempt to give a religious education, which is likely to impress the heart or prepare the way for a religious life, is a defiance of God. They even declare it wicked to organize

Fatalism

Sabbath Schools, and assert that it is better for the young to go rabbit hunting, etc., on the Sabbath, than to attend a Sabbath School or to be taught the Word. Appalling as this seems to us in our greater light, and perhaps incredible to some, it is a fact or condition with which the educated Negro ministry have to contend, and with the utmost difficulty, because such misinterpretations appeal to the illiterate and unregenerate nature. Often when courteously invited by an evangelical and educated minister to take part in a series of religious meetings, these "hard shell" ministers openly and unreservedly denounce the Gospel preaching of our minister, and condemn him for exhorting any one to seek God or turn to Christ.

4. One reason for this unworthiness and deplorable lack of training on the part of so many Negro ministers is the method by which they are commissioned or ordained. Thousands of these ministers pass no proper examination, and are subject to no oversight either before ordination or afterwards. There are large bodies of so-called Christians which are entirely devoid of a desire for a competent and devout ministry, and make no effort to obtain the proper persons to be set apart for the Gospel ministry. They are a law unto themselves, and when their own standards are low, it is not expected they will demand a piety higher than their own, or subject to discipline those who

No Responsibility

are no more immoral than themselves. "In an investigation made by Atlanta University, concerning the character of the Negro ministry, two hundred Negro laymen were asked their opinion of the moral character of Negro preachers. It is remarkable that only thirty-seven gave decided answers of approval. All the others made some qualification. Among faults mentioned by these laymen were selfishness, deceptiveness, love for money, sexual impurity, laziness, etc."

It should be remembered that while some of these Negro ecclesiastical bodies report large numbers of ministers and members, they are often of the type which cannot exercise much real oversight or control over individual members. Thus there are hundreds of ministers, doubtless, who have never been truly ordained or commissioned and yet they serve congregations, and act as authoritatively as if a great denomination was behind them.

With so large and varied a number of Negro ministers, of whom so great a percentage are neither devout or educated, it is not strange that the well nigh universal reputation of the Negro minister among the whites is discreditable, a subject of jest among the careless, but of deep sorrow and foreboding to all who hope for the moral elevation of the Negro, and realize the difficulty where there are such "blind leaders of the blind." It is,



BIDDLE QUINTETTE

however, greatly encouraging to know that though the number of true, earnest and efficient Negro ministers is as yet small, it is increasing, and also that of those ordained and watched over by the Presbyterian Church, the almost universal testimony of the whites in their communities is that they are most useful, reliable and Christian.

5. The Negro Churches. These vary according to the character of their members and their pastors. With so much illiteracy, and such limited conceptions of true Christianity, and such incompetent, and, at times, immoral pastors, many of these churches are a hindrance to the truth. Satisfied with their own doctrine and ideals, they often are intensely hostile to a better ministry. It must be considered, also, that these churches meet not only a religious purpose, but are the center and means of amusement and social life. In the South, where the Negro is shut out from even the commonest gatherings for pleasure or opportunities for recreation and social intercourse, the church with its various entertainments, debating societies, etc., becomes a common meeting ground, too often the arena of contentions, and the opportunity for evil influences. As another says: "There is practically no outdoor amusement for the Negro, save peeping over the fence to see a white ball game, or in the country and small town district having a country 'break down.' It is because of these

The Negro
Church a
Social Center

limitations that camp meetings attract such crowds, and are accompanied by evil conditions, and in some cases by the sale of liquor, in which minister and leaders participate.”

Let us note, also, that churches so constituted and controlled are likely to be satisfied with a very low standard of discipleship. There is among them neither the training nor the examination enforced by missionaries in Africa, where months and years of probation and instruction are required before the convert is admitted to membership. A spiritually low ministry results in a spiritually low membership, and both continue a standard which not only results in immorality, but encourages it.

The
Task

Here, then, we view the task. A false Gospel is as dangerous as infidelity. A misused Bible creates a religious happiness, without a desire for holiness of heart or life. It creates a faith without works. It makes possible the most confident assertions of salvation and the ardent singing of the most sacred hymns, and the belief in prayer by men and women who are dishonest, intemperate and openly adulterous.

“And yet the light that led astray
Was light from Heaven.”

Here, then, we view the remedy. It is threefold: A Christian ministry well trained; A Christian membership; A system of Christian schools.

1. There must be provided a Negro ministry of

the best type. This the Presbyterian Church is doing, and one or two other Churches. Preachers reared among their own people, sympathetic and appreciative of their peculiarities and needs are being trained. In the beginning of their work, until they can develop a self-sustaining congregation, they must be supported by the Church at large.

The
Remedy

2. Our great duty and opportunity lie in the religious education of the children, those who in a few years will constitute the reliant membership of our churches. Only as these are instructed in the Bible, and taught to read it aright, to truly pray, to hate sin, and understand Christ, only as they are able to detect the falsehood and evil of the belief of many around them, that the religious experience does not require newness of life or a fight against sin, is there a substantial hope for the Negro. Secular education has not done this. It cannot. In the South, more than most Northerners realize, the church or parochial school is one of the most powerful and successful agencies in creating morality among Negroes, and true ideas of a Christian character. A Government inspector of schools recently suggested the abolition of these church schools, and leaving all to the public schools. Aside from the fact, attested by their best people, that in scores of instances our Presbyterian schools give an instruction much superior to that of the public schools, it is the testimony of a considerable number

of Negro ministers, that it was the little parochial school that grounded them in religious knowledge, aroused a desire for an advanced education, and influenced them toward the ministry and self-sacrificing life.

Our
Work

3. It is also evident how important are our seminaries and boarding schools in producing an intelligent membership, a true band of Christians, and a proper and attractive religious influence upon each community. (See Mrs. McCrorey's statement in Chapter on Negro as a Citizen.) No finer or more effective instrument for lifting the Negro morally, and sanctifying his natural emotionalism, and consecrating his recognized powers to the service of man, can be found, than these seminaries and schools of our Church from which go, year by year, young men and women who shall be honest and reliable Christian parents, Christian workingmen and women, lawyers, physicians, storekeepers, teachers and ministers.

If it be true that "the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world," it is just as true that the child in the cradle, rightly taught, and prayerfully trained, shall bless the world.

1. What can be said of the Negro as religious?
2. What are the defects of his religion?
3. What is meant by "getting religion"?
4. To what excess does emotionalism lead?
5. Is this emotionalism consistent with immorality in Negro's view?

Religious Life. Churches and Preachers. 43

6. Characteristics of many Negro preachers?
7. Why do congregations tolerate unworthy ministers?
8. Claims made by ignorant preachers?
9. View of sinners' responsibility held by same?
10. Irresponsibility of many ministers and lack of oversight?
11. Why is the Negro preacher often a subject of jest?
12. What effect has the making of the Church a social centre on the religious life?
13. Why is it such a centre?
14. What remedies can you suggest?
15. Relation of education of children to this task?

“Adam neber had no ‘mammy’
For to take him on her knee
And to tell him what was right,
And to show him things he’d
Ought to see;
I know down in my heart
He’d a let dat apple be.
But Adam neber had no dear old ‘mammy.’”

“Adam neber had no childhood
Playin’ round de cabin do’—
He neber had no pickaninny life;
He started in a great, big
Grown up man, and
What is mo’
He neber had no right kind of a wife.”
 (“Why Adam Sinned”!)

CHAPTER IV.

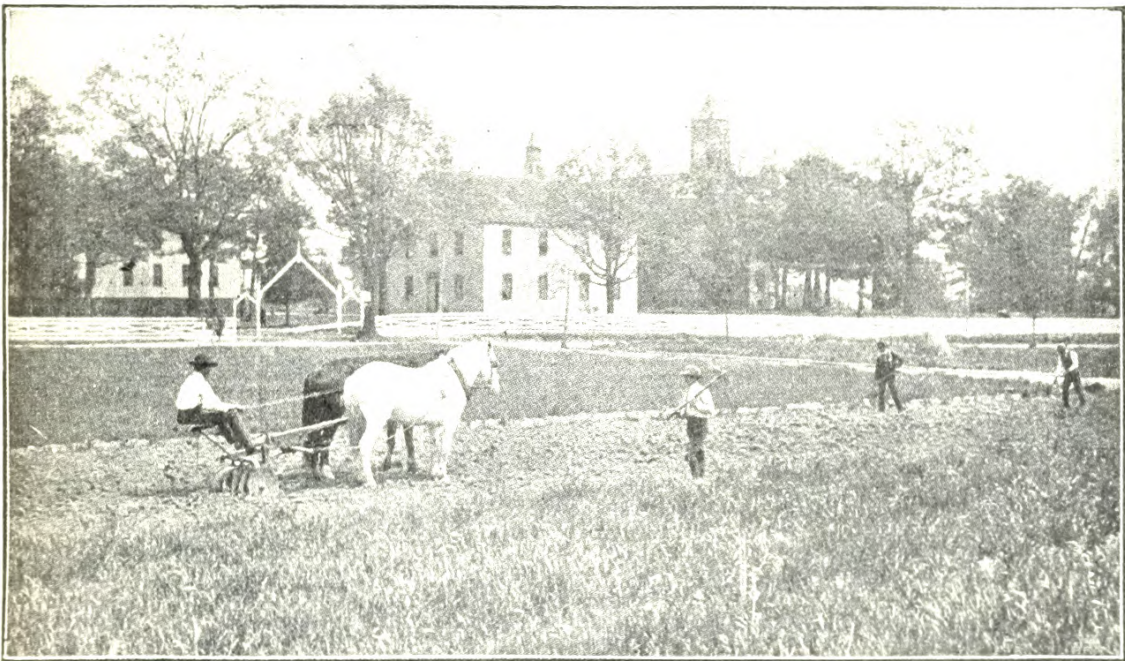
THE NEGRO HOME, SEGREGATION AND PURITY

The value of a good home to the Negro cannot be estimated. The remarkable career of the Jew may be said to have been made possible by the particular care with which divine wisdom gave laws for the family and household, sanitary and economical, and fixed upon the parents the responsibility of surrounding their children with favorable physical conditions, and a careful instruction in the history of the race. Of no phase of Negro life are we more generally critical and exclamatory than the appearance and limits of his home. Seeing him in his apparent poverty and slattern surroundings, we are apt to regard such wretchedness as normal and irremediable. Yet on the one hand, nothing is more untrue than this; and on the other, nothing is more certain than that the Negro can and does respond to the intelligent efforts made to assist his home life.

Let Booker T. Washington ("Up From Slavery") describe the typical cabin of slavery days, and, alas! the exact type of many thousands even today: "There was a door to the cabin—that is, something which was called a door—but the uncertain hinges

Early
Homes

by which it was hung, and the large crack in it, to say nothing of the fact that it was too small, and the room a very uncomfortable one. * * * There was no wooden floor in our cabin, the naked earth being used as a floor. In the center of the earthen floor there was a large opening covered with boards, which was used as a place in which to store potatoes." He also says that this cabin, of about 14 by 15 feet, was without glass, with openings in the sides which admitted light, and also cold. There is a twofold interest for us in this description, first, because it shows the conditions under which the Negro for more than two hundred years carried on his family or home life, and so permitting us to understand how unfair is any criticism which blames him for not emerging rapidly from such degrading conditions, which destroyed ambitions, and cauterized any better desire. And second, because in thousands of cases today, yes, tens of thousands, the Negro home is almost exactly like it was in slave days. Prof. DuBois says: "The form and disposition of the laborers' cabins throughout the Black Belt is today the same as in slavery days. Some live in the selfsame cabins, others rebuilt on the sites of the old. There were in the country outside the corporate town of Albany, (Ga.), about fifteen hundred families in 1898. Out of all those only one family occupied a house with seven rooms; only fourteen have five rooms or more.



TRUCK FARMING

The mass live in one and two-room houses." He further says: "All over the face of the land is the one-room cabin. It is nearly always old and bare, built of rough board and neither plastered nor ceiled. Light and ventilation are supplied by the single door and by the square hole in the wall with its wooden shutter. There is no glass, porch, or ornamentation without. Within is a fireplace, black and smoky and usually unsteady with age. Now and then one may find such a cabin kept scrupulously neat, but the majority are dirty and dilapidated, smelling of eating and sleeping, poorly ventilated, and anything but homes. Above all, the cabins are crowded. In Dougherty county, one may find families of eight and ten occupying one or two rooms. * * * The single great advantage of the Negro peasant is that he may spend most of his life outside his hovel in the open fields." Although we find that the whole number of houses owned by Negroes is 372,414, and more than two-thirds of them free from encumbrances, yet remembering that there are some ten million Negroes, it is apparent that the "home-owner" is still a small class, and the great mass are receiving none of the blessing or influence which comes from the ownership of a home. This home question is not merely a question of health or happiness. It has a normal side. Mr. H. S. Edwards, of Macon, Ga., said in 1906, "Though closely connected with the press

One Room
Cabin

for twenty-five years, I have never known the house-owning Negro to commit the nameless crime." Mrs. Helmswell says: "The home is the heart of Christian civilization. From it flows the life blood of a nation or race. The center of the home is the woman, and its existence for good or bad depends upon her as wife and mother. Therefore the right education and training of the Negro woman is of the greatest importance for the future of the race."

There are several agencies which can be used to purify the Negro home. One of these is the assurance of at least so much prosperity as does away with "the poverty that takes away both parents from home to work and leaves the children to run wild." Another is the training in schools which creates better desires, inculcates modesty and a love of cleanliness. It is difficult to hope for any real progress when the home is a tumble-down cabin of one room, or even somewhat better, in which room father and mother and from five to ten children sleep and eat. The Rev. Moses Hopkins, in his first parish in North Carolina, whither he went from Auburn Theological Seminary to preach to his people, called the writer's attention to the fact that several of his parishioners had added a second room to their growingly neat homes, in every case the result of a daughter being educated at one of our schools, and, returning with

The Negro Home, Segregation and Purity. 49

a new refinement and modesty, had persuaded the father to provide for the grown daughter this separate room.

It is noticeable also that when such schools have had time to influence the surrounding population there is a noticeable increase of comfortable, clean, tasteful and attractive homes. Too often the well known carelessness and shiftlessness of many whites, manifesting itself in their neglected cottages, keeps the Negro from seeking better things, for the example of the white man has always been powerful with the Negro. But good schools and educated leadership rouse better desires. In the vicinity of Haines Memorial Seminary, in Augusta, Ga., the increasing number of homes, neat and attractive outwardly and within, furnished with articles of comfort and taste, shows what that great school has done through the children, many of whom are now parents and homeowners. Now let us keep ourselves free from unfounded prejudice, and refrain from charging the Negro with a natural and irremediable uncleanness. Mrs. Hammond has well put it concerning city houses: "Waterless, ill-ventilated houses, crowded beyond the possibility of decency because of low wages and high rents, make impossible the physical basis of that which is necessary for even the poorest home. And with this kind of housing go other evils, all working together to produce in any people,

Influence of
Schools and
Homes

the world round, those characteristics which we believe to be racial and Negro." Those of us who are familiar with slum and tenement conditions in our large cities, like New York, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, know that Italian, Slav, Russian, Irish, and even the Anglo-Saxon, seem contented with dirt and darkness and discomfort, and often return, when helped, "to their wallowing." We cannot create the desire for better homes without raising a better nature, and creating greater wants for the best in life. And for this education, guided by religion, is a necessity. Through it come self-respect, and a proper desire for a finer existence. Sometimes we are amused by, or blame the Negro for his desire for showy garments, or manners, but these may be signs of a longing for a cleaner and nobler life. "Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery." When a white child asked a little Negro girl why she tried to dress and act like the white child, the answer of the imitator was, "If you's think you's better than I am, why shouldn't I copy you? Who should I copy?"

Home
Ownership
Desirable

The ownership of homes, and the rise of the better class is dependent on the ownership of land, and in some parts of the South this is popularly opposed, or it is made difficult by terms and conditions. Here again, we must distinguish between sections, and accept the fact, that these differ both in the character of the whites and their views.

Such sections as Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee contain many whites who encourage the Negroes to purchase land. But there are sections elsewhere where this is discouraged, where men have been driven from political life because they sold land to Negroes.

SEGREGATION.

The home, especially in the cities or larger towns, is complicated by the spirit which has tried a compulsory segregation. There is a separation, which, properly encouraged, produces little resentment. In Cincinnati a white man of wealth is carrying out a plan of building comfortable and attractive houses in a good section of the city, providing good locations for business as desired, and erecting buildings for community gatherings, lectures and amusements. In this he has interested the pastor of the colored Presbyterian church, and as everything is done to insure good sanitation, comfort and attractive surroundings, he has found many Negroes appreciative of his purpose and its result. The hostility to segregation is perfectly natural and proper. The belief that a certain class of Negroes are unattractive or injurious residents in a neighborhood needs no argument, and it is also true of other races. But the burden and hardship under which that class of the Negro race, who resent legislative segregation lie, is that they are compelled

Cruelty of
Enforced
Segregation

by their finances to dwell in conditions unnecessary and destructive of the better life and refinements they wish to cultivate. We have no right to blame sweepingly the Negro for uncleanness, or being satisfied with slatternly ways, and then compel him to select as neighbors those who practice such ways.

We have no right to overlook the fact, which is a growingly forcible one, that there are men and women of refinement and beautiful desires among this people. And yet segregation practically opposes the very desires we wish them to possess. It is a fact which every Social Survey brings out in our cities, that not only are Negroes compelled to live in these miserable houses, or locations, but that an exorbitant rent is demanded of them because of their color, in spite of the fact, stated in Washington, that Negroes are the most reliable rent payers.

Naturally it will be inquired, why the Negro should submit to such limitations or overcharge? One reason is that oftentimes from the nature of their business, they wish a convenient location, and another is, that only by the acceptance of such discrimination can they obtain a home. Thus as another says: "The respectable workingman and the prosperous, educated Negro are forced to live in surroundings from which men of any other race, of their economic status, would be allowed to escape." There must be created everywhere in the

American mind a full sense of justice, and an appreciation of the wickedness of wrong ideas. Let a Southern lady speak on the subject, (Mrs. L. H. Hammond): "What these Negroes of the better classes want is, first of all, a neighborhood of assured moral decency in which to rear their children. Their passionate desire for character in their children we do not understand. Next to that they want sanitary conditions and avoidance of the lower classes of their own people—just as we do ourselves. To get these things, some Negroes are willing to thrust themselves, if they can, among white people, and to endure their resentment and contempt." "If you white people could only understand," a Negro woman said to me not long ago, her face fired with feeling, "we don't want our homes where we're not wanted. But we want to be decent, too. And it's the same all over the country — anything will do for a 'nigger.' You think we're all alike, and you don't care what happens to us just so we're out of your sight. My husband and I were living in Denver; and we had money to pay for a comfortable house, but there wasn't a place for rent to Negroes that a self-respecting Negro would have. And how will my people ever learn to be decent if they must live in the white people's vice district?" Dan Crawford believes that the only way to help the Africans among the laborers is by "Thinking Black," and it

Not Association but Right Conditions

will be the day of broader views and a real Christianity when the leaders of America learn to think Negro. Otherwise we shall blunder on, nursing prejudices, and making false excuses for our injustices. Let us believe as Mrs. Hammond says, "that Negroes, like white people, like to live among their friends. The overwhelming majority of them believe, as we do, in the social separation of the races; but beyond that, they do not want their children to grow up among those who look down upon them. No people can rise higher than their homes, and we criticize unsparingly the Negro's weakness and faults, yet fasten upon him living conditions which, the world over, and among all races, breed just those things for which we blame him most."

THE MAINTENANCE OF THE PURITY OF THE RACE

The charge is often made, or the impression created by critics of the Negro, that he is anxious to maintain the closest physical relations with the white, or that he is indifferent to a mingling of the blood of the two races. That in earlier days he was devoid of any prejudice against this is very probable, nor can he be blamed for such an attitude, when the facts of slave days are recalled, and the unreserved testimony of many Southerners is received.



PUPILS COOKING AT SWIFT

The opposition to miscegenation, while proper, should not lead us to lay the blame upon the Negro. It is rare that the Negro man seeks the white woman. It is the white man who is foremost in miscegenation. It is the white who approaches and tempts the black, and the woman should not bear all the blame, especially when the traditional rights and privileges of the white man are remembered. And so we are led to note, first of all, that there is a marked and growing desire on the part of the better class of Negroes to maintain their racial purity. Intermarriage is not desired by them. As they are lifted out of the old atmosphere of slave days, and the consciousness of inferiority, created by law, gives place to nobler ideals, a race pride is developed. More and more in this better class is found a strong approval of the prevention of miscegenation, and the great desire to guard their womankind from the temptations of immoral whites.

Miscegenation Not Desired by Negroes

It will be noted also, that the Negro cannot be tempted by any presumed advantage in mingling his blood with that of the whites, for the mulatto does not reach the platform of the whites. Miscegenation gives no privilege to the blacks. Even the remarkable whiteness of the skin, when it is touched by a small proportion of Negro blood, prevents association with the other race. Read Roy S. Baker's, "The Tragedy of the Mulatto," and there will be no doubt that no black woman

**The Mulatto
Not
Superior**

expects by such intercourse with the whites to obtain children with superior rights. It is sensuality on the part of both white and black, and nothing else. Nor let it be assumed that there is any superiority in intellect or other power in the mulatto over the pure Negro. Such an impression has been created, because many Negroes of mingled blood were the children of slave owners, and other white men in position. Such children were of the household slaves, permitted many liberties, given greater advantages than those unrelated to the whites, and engaged in harsher toil. Many a mulatto boy grew up alongside of his half-brother, the white son of the master, as playmate, and sometimes as fellow scholar. He naturally became more alert, more developed, more capable, than the boy who was ignorant of such privileges. But it is a fact capable of demonstration that among the purest blooded and most entirely black Negroes can be found those most vigorous in mind and body.

It is very much to the credit of the better Negroes that so rapidly have they risen to this desire for purity of blood, for integrity of their race. For, despite the laws, and the penalties, there is still a determination on the part of the whites to violate the law, and tempt the Negro woman to be indifferent to her race. When the pastor of a Methodist Church in Montgomery, Ala., at a public meeting made the statement that there were in that

city four hundred Negro women supported by white men, it is easy to see how great is the task of the Negro who would keep his race blood pure. For this is also true, that the condition of these women in Montgomery is not that of mere vice. They are comfortably provided for, and children are reared. It is one of the strange and amazing experiences of the visitor at one of our Girls' Seminaries at commencement time, to see pupils, more or less dark, meeting their white fathers, who either because of affection, or a partially aroused sense of obligation, have placed their children where they could obtain a good education, and perhaps receive such religious influence as would prevent their treading the mother's path.

And here let us linger, and consider how important is the work, the influence, the atmosphere of such Christian seminaries as are supported by our Board. What a task, what an open door it is for us Christians to establish and maintain such institutions, and act through these noble and self-sacrificing teachers in teaching such children the best course of life, the hatefulness of sin, and creating in them, not only the power to resist the natural temptations of such a parentage, but the longing to help others to keep unspotted from the world.

In a small Southern city, where one of our large Girls' Seminaries is located, the lady principal was asked by a prominent young white man

to allow a Negress for whom he had provided a neat home, and whom he was maintaining, without much loss of public respect, to obtain an education in the school. Of course no student continuing such a course of life, and merely to be made more proficient and attractive could be received, but this is just an example of the wrong ideas of slavery still poisoning the race—the pitfalls of womanhood. Is it strange that young Negro girls are led astray?

Here also is the encouragement of the Y. W. C. A. efforts, the colored women reaching their sisters. As another says: "That many of the men of the race have made a definite advance, affording a magnet to attract others upward, is immensely to their credit, and that the educated class of young women is doing much to segregate their race on an independent basis by the preservation of their womanly honor, is worthy of all praise. If no other considerations were urged in favor of the scholastic training of the Negro, the fact that as they are educationally trained they become more numerous virtuous and more segregated as a race, would be sufficient to prompt every patriot to espouse the cause of his education and elevation. Here, as elsewhere, may it not be said, that because the Negro had advanced so far in the womanly uplift of the race, and in the establishment of homes, in the face of abounding disad-

vantage, that we look for a rapid increase of these in the years of the immediate future?"

Developing Dr. Riley's thought, let us realize that in giving the Negro a full education accompanied by the best religious influences, we are not merely offering him more advantages, but we are aiding him in the formation of his own finer, higher social life, by making it possible for him to ask from us no undesirable social favors, but to have his own circles of culture, refinement and moral power.

1. Impression of many Negro homes?
2. Describe early homes? Are they continued?
3. Influence of one-room cabin?
4. Influence of home ownership?
5. How to create desire for better homes?
6. Why is the Negro desire for display a good sign?
7. Do some regions oppose ownership of land?
8. Difference between enforced and voluntary segregation?
9. Difficulty in segregation for best class?
10. Do the best Negroes desire association in white districts?
11. Opinion of better Negroes in regard to intermarriage?
12. Theory of superiority of mulattoes?
13. Importance of our girls' seminaries in this reform?

“To render to the Negro his constitutional rights does not and should not mean intermarriage, and many other grotesque hobgoblins of miscegenation.”

CHARLES E. LOCKE, D. D.

“I think that the authors of that notable instrument (the Declaration of Independence) intended to include all men. They did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects. They defined, with tolerable distinctness, in what respect that did consider all men created equal—equal, with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

CHAPTER V.

THE NEGRO'S "BILL OF RIGHTS"

There are some things, some conditions or opportunities which every fair minded person regards as part of the "Rights of Man." Greed, selfishness, ignorance may blind some of us to the great statement in our Declaration of Independence, but we know "every person is entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." To us as true men and women, and especially Christians, the Negro has a right to appeal for such freedom. Let us look at some of these conditions, and especially at those which are limited in his particular case. And at the outset let us sweep away the excuse or plea which is put forward to account for much of this oppression. It is the affirmation that the Negro is ambitious for social equality. Do not educate him, some say, for this makes him eager for social equality. Do not show him consideration even, some say, for this makes him arrogant and offensive. Do not help him to the possession of land or house or money, for then he grows independent and seeks social equality. But it was not a Northerner, but Governor Northen of Georgia, who said: "Social equality is a delusion set up by the demagogue for his own ends." It is an utterly un-

founded statement of the Negro's real desire. It is an argument like that used to Henry Ward Beecher when advocating abolition. A man in the crowd called out "Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" There never has been on the part of the better class of Negroes the slightest desire to obtrude upon social relations where they were not welcome, and the rudeness of the ignorant and unrefined Negro is no more, no less, than that of the Russian Jew, or uncouth Irish.

1. The Negro should have proper accommodations in travel. Doubtless so long as any part of our country does not give its masses an education which elevates, and a training which creates cleanliness and decency of appearance, there will be many disagreeable people. The Jim-Crow car on the railroads was designed to prevent too close contact of the white and black races. On the surface it has something in its favor, but it never can be justified unless it is carried out in an entirely fair and impartial manner. Justice demands an equal provision for both races. We cannot say to the whites, "You shall have clean, comfortable cars, satisfactory to the best of your race," and then say to the blacks, "You shall have cars satisfactory, not to your decent, cleanly, refined classes, but to your dirtiest and most indifferent." A common carrier has no right to subject me to unpleasant conditions because the lower class asks no

more. I am aware that many of the accommodations on Southern railroads have been made for the better whites exceedingly disagreeable by the unclean, illiterate and intemperate white, but some consideration should be shown the best class of blacks. And that this may not be regarded as a Northern, and therefore partisan view, I shall quote at length from Mrs. L. H. Hammond's, "In Black and White:" "This does not at all excuse the traveling conditions which we forced upon Negroes of education and refinement (I use the word advisedly), throughout the South. They pay for a straight railway ticket exactly what we pay, and we force them to habitually accept in return accommodations we would despise one of our own people for putting up with. And we say the Negroes are dirty! Miraculously, some of them are not, notwithstanding all the provision we make for confining them in that condition. Last year a young Negro girl came to the school of which my husband is the president—a school, by the way, founded, maintained and officered by Southern whites and after she had been there some time she confided to one of her white teachers the fact that when she came to the city she had ridden in 'the white folks' car.' 'Were you with white folks?' she was asked. No, she was not. She had paid her full fare as usual, and had taken her place in the 'Jim Crow' car, filthy with tobacco

juice and incruusted dirt, foul with smoke both new and old, and containing a number of Negroes, men of the baser sort; the kind of car, in short in which Negro women and girls, and clean, educated well-to-do Negro men are so frequently expected to travel. There were no women that day, and only these rough men, and they began to molest the girl almost at once. Shrinking back in her seat in terror, she felt a sudden hope as the white brakeman came through the car, but he passed through unheeding. She stood it a few minutes longer, and then dashed frantically in the next car, the white day coach, dropped in the last seat, and burst into tears. Then the conductor found her. On hearing her story he told her to stay where she was, and that if any of the white people in the car objected, he would explain her presence, and they would be willing for her to stay. Not all conductors are so humane.

“Last Christmas a colored kindergartener employed by some Southern white women in settlement work among her own people, went home for the holidays. The young woman is a college graduate, refined in speech and manner, modest and sensible in her relations with people of both races. She took the Jim Crow car of course, expecting to sit up all night, but with no idea of the experiences before her. The car was full of half drunken Negro men off to enjoy one of the very

few pleasures open to Negroes in the South—a regular old Christmas spree. There were one or two other women in the car, and they huddled together and endured the night in frightened silence. The trainmen, passing through, took no notice of the insults, or oaths, or vile talk. When she told the white woman who had employed her about it ten days later, she trembled as she spoke. 'I had never seen Negroes like that in my life,' she said. 'I knew there were such men, but my mother had spent her life keeping me away from them. Why can't the white people see it?' she burst out passionately, 'Will they think forever that we are all like that? Why can't they let us be decent when we want to be?'

Nor are these isolated, or in a measure exceptional cases. Not long ago in a North Carolina city, I met three well educated, refined Presbyterian ministers, who, in a dark room, one would never realize were Negroes, and one of the sore trials of their lives was this unkindness in travel. The wife of one, a few days before, had traveled a good part of a day in a car full of smoke, filthy, and as unclean as most of the Negroes who came and went. As Mrs. Hammond says: "We do not suspect the reserves of pride in Negroes of this educated class."

We must remember that no other cars are provided for the Negro at any price and no sleepers

or parlor cars in which a colored gentleman or gentlewoman (I use the terms unreservedly) could find relief. And the strangeness and inconsistency of it all is that the Negro is forbidden such accommodations, not because he is unrefined, but because it makes for social equality. And yet all day long, the Negro "Mammy" or nurse will sit beside her mistress, and charges, young or old, and the color and skin are inoffensive! Such may enjoy all these privileges which would be refused Toussaint L'Overture! And if one looks around the streets of every Southern, or Northern, city and notes the mulattoes and octoroons, and hears the confessions of many white gentlemen, there does not appear any marked antipathy to many individuals of this despised race, or the closest relations!

2. The Negro has a right to recognition of his classes. It is one of his greatest burdens that we unjustly and unintelligently mass all Negroes together. Let an Irishman, or an Italian, or an Englishman commit a crime and though we may refer to his nationality, it is never without a clear understanding that his nationality is not involved. But let a Negro do a wrong, and his color not only condemns him, but also his race. It is a glorious and encouraging fact—which the Negro has the right to expect we shall consider—that in fifty years of freedom his race is exhibiting separation into classes. In slavery there were the few

Difference
Among
Negroes

house servants who classed themselves as very distinct from the rough field hands. But now education, innate qualities, force of character and opportunities make a cleavage. So Dr. Riley, of Alabama, in "The White Man's Burden" says: "The Negro race of the South may be said to be divided into three classes—the intelligent leaders, the large middle or laboring class, and the criminal class. The highest class is not as large as that of the middle class, and yet it is larger than that of the lowest or criminal class. The highest class is constantly increasing in numbers, while there is a perceptible decrease in the lowest class."

This higher class more and more acts as leaders, and the more intelligent Southerner has come to regard the creation of such a class as of the greatest importance. Until quite recently any recognition of the desirability of the fullest and largest educational opportunities for these capable minds was rather decried. It was feared it would render them indifferent to work, and around the mind of the objector hovered the spectre of "social equality." But experience has shown the necessity and worth of the formation of such a leadership. Dr. Riley says: "The intrinsic value of this class of men to the country at large, even though they are Negroes, has never been fully appreciated by the American people. The exploits of these people in a realm of their own creation have done more to

Men of
Talent

relieve the difficulties attendant on the race question than is commonly supposed. These leaders have never been arrogant, never presumptuous, never turbulent or self-assertive against the white race, but always patient, always respectful, and their influence on their own race has been potent for good beyond measure. It is a remarkable fact that a Negro leader amounts to more and accounts for more among his own people than does that of a leader among any other people. Nothing could have been more timely for the Negro race, nothing for the good of the country at large, than that there arose such a class leader, at such a juncture among the Negro masses of the South. Without a leadership like this, it is impossible to say what the results would have been. They have been severely tested, and much of the work has been of a delicate nature. Themselves reaching a high plane, they serve as a perpetual animation to those who are striving to follow, and every year there have been substantial reinforcements added to this vanguard of Negro progress."

Such praise from this distinguished Southern professor, should stir many of us to a revised judgment. Thus, for example, we see how unwise it is to criticize harshly those who aspire to a full education. The man or woman who can receive and utilize a higher education, should not be censured, whether white or black. And here is seen,

possibly, a silver lining to that dark cloud of the years immediately following emancipation, concerning which the Government in its Reconstruction efforts is still so vigorously criticized. A good may have risen from that very antagonism and distrust which arose between the Negro and his former master, pushing him out into his own activities, and developing a self-reliance and his own leadership. And here also is the value of those schools and seminaries such as are conducted by our Freedmen's Board, which automatically sift out the finer and more capable, and give them a substantial, stimulating, and largely useful education to serve as leaders in community, town, church and social life.

Of the second or middle class, Dr. Riley says: "It is the yeomanry of the Negro race. Though less forward than their brethren on the upper level, they are not a whit less worthy. They are the laboring class, the men and women of hard and horny hands, and of patient perseverance. In point of merit, they range from the point of approximation to the highest of their race, to that of contact with the lowest. Their ambition is to elevate their children, for the education of whom they will toil and spend to the last limit. From this class comes the seed-corn of the race. From out of this mass come the boys and girls of brightness who in some distant school achieve a scholarship

Yeomanry

or develop business power, and this in turn serves as a stimulus to a multitude of others.”

Of the third class, the criminal and shiftless, what shall one say other than he would say of the similar class among the whites? What Dr. Riley says of such Negroes is true of many a white slum in the North. “Their homes are often miserable abodes, the haunts of drinkers, of gamblers, of cocaine fiends. Notwithstanding the drastic laws enacted to regulate the sale of these deadly drugs, there are not wanting men of the white race who sell them from their own shelves to the ignorant blacks.” But herein is the right of the better Negro for a recognition of his own difference from these. We have no right to mass all together. As that recognized Southerner, Joel Chandler Harris, (author of “Uncle Remus”) said: “A stranger in the South sees the helpless array of loafers, both white and colored, at the railway stations, and he comes to the conclusion that the whole population is thriftless. He concludes that all the Negroes are of the same irresponsible order. But it is not so, nor even measurably so. We cannot fairly judge a race or a country, or a religious institution, nay, not even the republic in which we take pride, unless we measure it by the men who are its best representatives.” Also says another Southerner: “But one of the tragic elements of our situation lies in the

fact, that of this most honorable and hopeful aspect of Negro life (the neat homes, and industrious class) the white community, North and South, knows practically nothing. Of the destructive factors in Negro life, the white community hears to the utmost, hears through the press and police court; of the constructive factors of Negro progress the Negro school, the saner Negro church, the Negro homes—the white community is in ignorance." And therefore the Negro has a right to ask us to study this lowest class of his race just as we do it anywhere, in New York, in England, in India. and if we pass by such characters as beyond the range of our duty or aid, then we shall burn our Bible, and turn our backs on Calvary. For Jesus came as the great Physician, for the *sick*, not the *strong*.

The
Shiftless

It is a very narrow and a very discouraging view of life to make duty depend on easy things or attractive objects. After an address by Secretary Cowan of the Freedmen's Board, a lady approached him and vivaciously remarked: "Doctor, I'm from Virginia, and I know all about the darkies, and most of them are shiftless, dishonest, lazy, dirty and irresponsible." And Dr. Cowan quietly answered: "Madam, if all you say is true, it is all the more necessary for us to give the Negro the Gospel and an education that will regenerate them, and make them new creatures in Christ

Jesus, and you, as a Christian, are all the more called to help on the work in which we are engaged. A good-for-nothing Negro is what our Lord urges us to seek here and save.”

3. The Negro has a right to respectful treatment, to proper courteousness. This is only saying that the decent attitude of man to man is rightly expected by him. It is unfortunate that prejudice has carried many so far that in the fear of awakening pride in the Negro, he is denied the simple courtesies. It is a well known fact, that it is contrary to Southern opinion ever to greet a Negro as “Mister.” It is like the refusal of the great majority of whites to allow a Negro to come to the front door. Dr. Riley says: “In a Southern town a well-to-do Negro casually passed two white men on the street. The Negro is a thrifty business man, owning several houses for rent and a good plantation, besides a bank account of which any ordinary citizen might feel proud. As he was passing, one of the whites turned to the other and said, ‘It is all I can do to keep from calling that nigger Mister.’ The incident, though trifling, is not without abundance of suggestion.” Such men have yet to learn the oft verified fact that kind treatment encourages the lowly, that generous treatment calls out the best traits and stimulates the nobler resolutions. If “England expects every

man to do his duty," every man is more likely to do it.

There is a mistaken view among many which is responsible for much evil. It is the assumption of superiority. Class feeling and bigotry are being surely dealt with today on battlefield and in the trenches. We must learn there is no essentially superior race. For a time there may be a race or people superior to another, but it is all a matter of circumstances, and vanity or pride is out of place. So it is regrettable to perceive a false note in an otherwise admirable editorial in the *Montgomery (Ala.) "Advertiser"* in 1903, which says, "The White race has a duty which is imperative. It is a duty which is demanded by justice, by humanity, and by self-interest. Ours is, and will ever be the governing race. It will elect the lawmakers, make the laws, and enforce them." That is a strong statement, but it is not to be accepted by those who hope, with President Lincoln, that "government of the people, by the people, and for the people, may not perish from the earth," and only the white rule.

No Essential
Superiority

We are glad to believe that Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, was incorrect when in 1861, he said, "With us, all the white race, however high or low, rich or poor, are equal in the eye of the law. Not so with the Negro, subordination is his place." And so when he said of the Confed-

eracy: "Its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the Negro is not equal to the white man, that slavery, subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition."

It is a fine and admirable thing that hundreds and thousands of intelligent, cultivated, worthy Negroes have ignored the denial of this proper equality, and patiently lived without murmur or bitterness, knowing, we trust, in their hearts, that "a man's a man for a' that."

4. The Negro's right to healthful pleasures and a better social life is as yet incomplete. They do not desire or seek such social relation with the whites; wherever there are enough refined and educated Negro families, this want is met. It is only where, as is often the case, such families are isolated, and the children of intelligent and properly ambitious parents are confronted with the problem of rearing their children among the ignorant and uncouth of their race, as our missionaries in a solitary station among a heathenish people, feel the peril of contact for their children. It is here that the schools and seminaries are productive of large and encouraging results. Every youth educated and trained, every girl with better aspirations becomes a nucleus of a better social life, teaches better living, and more wholesome thought. Those who prosper financially will help in a measure, but it is by a true education, and the quicken-

Recreation

ing of pure ambitions and wants that this great need shall be met.

So we may hope that the Negro's right to healthful pleasures and recreations shall be worked out. As yet it is true as Mrs. Hammond says, "one of the very few pleasures open to Negroes in the South, is a regular old Christmas spree." The Northerner with his ball games and movies, and cheap (and often vicious) theatres, and circuses, and shows cannot realize what a desert the South is for the Negro from the standpoint of recreation. In some sections the cheapness of second-hand automobiles is giving the Negroes a larger happiness, but in others such a purchase brings with it the peril of being shot by an envious white, just as many a Negro cabin has unglazed windows, closely shuttered at night, lest some drunken white should try his skill at firing a pistol or gun at it.

5. Another right, though as yet often withheld, let us hope the growing financial strength of the Negroes will aid—viz: that of hotels or restaurants. One of the most distressing problems of educated Negroes in traveling is to obtain decent lodging or food. No white hotel or inn, or restaurant will entertain or supply them. The wife of one of our Virginia Presbyterian ministers, the head of one of our excellent schools, and herself recognized as beautiful in spirit and refined in person, when returning from a Synodical meeting in North Caro-

Accommodation

lina found it necessary to remain nearly all night at a small town for a connecting train, and was compelled to wait on the station platform all through the night and alone, as the agent would not let her stay inside, and no white hotel would give her a room or a chair. The Secretary of Education of the Southern Methodist Church, Rev. Dr. Hammond, on a tour of the churches through the South, "was accompanied by a colored man, a teacher at one of their schools, an honor graduate of a Northern University, and a man high in the respect and friendship of Southern whites in many states." Rarely could this colored teacher get a place to sleep, and he would often have had to go hungry if Dr. Hammond had not been with him, "to dash into some white restaurant and buy him a cup of coffee and something to eat. And I have never once heard him complain or seen his Christian composure ruffled. He is doing us white people a great service, freeing us from some of our worst prejudices; and we require him to do it at this cost."

1. The objection that the Negro desires social equality.
2. Opinion of Governor of Georgia.
3. The desire of Negroes for travel accommodations.
4. Examples of injustice.
5. Is objection to "Jim Crow" ever justified?
6. What of classes among Negroes?
7. Why should there be—and what?
8. Proportion of classes.
9. Argument against improvement from unworthy or shiftless.
10. General treatment of best Negroes in South.
11. Argument from essential superiority of race.
12. Obstacles in recreations and restaurants.
13. Christian sympathy in these relations.

"I say plainly that every American who takes part in the action of a mob, or gives any sort of countenance is no true son of this great democracy, but its betrayer, and does more to discredit her by that single disloyalty to her standards of law and right than the words of her statesmen or sacrifices of her heroic soldiers in the trenches can do to make a suffering people believe in her, their savior."

PRESIDENT WILSON.

"I am convinced that there is no more evil thing in this present world than Race Prejudice; none at all. I write deliberately—it is the worst single thing in life now. It justifies and holds together more baseness, cruelty and abomination than any other sort of error in the world."

H. G. WELLS.

CHAPTER VI.

NEGRO MIGRATION.

The migration of Southern Negroes to the North has recently greatly increased in numbers, and aroused much comment. For a number of years there has been a movement of limited numbers of Negroes from the South seeking new conditions elsewhere. The great European War has for several reasons given a marked impetus to this migration, to such an extent, that, while statistics are difficult to obtain, and exaggeration is easy, one reliable observer places the number at about 250,000. This migration is a very practical question, and its causes and effects call for careful study, and the prompt adoption of proper remedies.

Let us look at its causes, and we note :

1. The natural drift of restless or ambitious natures to larger communities. We are all aware of the tendency among all populations, to move from farms and isolated communities to towns and neighborhoods which promise large wages, and more pleasure and excitement. The same desires which lead the dwellers in the city's slums to resist their removal to the rural regions, though it should seem a great benefit, likewise tempt the

Ambitious

Negro with his hopes to seek the North. In general, it is the same cause as that which stirs the Irish, the Italian, the Russian or Slav to seek our shores. The Negro idealizes the North, as these foreigners imagine the United States, regarding it as a land of promise, an El Dorado. But it is the North which is sought by the Negro, and not the larger cities of the South, except in a lesser degree.

2. Wages or Gain. In the South the wages of the Negro have been generally very low, and often uncertain in amount, regularity or payment. If it be pleaded that the labor was poor and inefficient, it may also be said that low wages and uncertainty make poor labor. Ignorant or discouraged laborers rarely desire to improve. A number of the most prominent Southern leaders and legislators have acknowledged a neglect and unjust treatment of the Negro in large sections of the South. The system of contracts and credit often mortgages the future, and creates a continued debt, while ignorance of better farming, poor crops, and lack of guidance lead to an oppressive poverty. There has been a difference in wage or pay, solely on the ground of color and race. Rarely have the most skilled Negro mechanics been paid as if white. The amount and certainty of wages in the North is naturally, for the vigorous and ambitious, a magnet. This feeling is engendered, sometimes by circumstances very trying to the whites, who in a

Low
Wages

kind of emergency forget the future and use a false remedy. Thus Mrs. Hammond says of farmers deserted at a critical time by Negro laborers: "It is for prevention against this danger that a number of men have resorted to the expedient of keeping the laborers forever in their debt, and, by agreement with other farmers, preventing their getting employment elsewhere until that impossible time when their debt shall have been canceled." Doubtless some of us have felt our impotency under such desertions or indifference, but it is never wise to try such an approach to peonage. It creates apprehensions or unrest. These financial conditions have had no relief by Labor or Trade Unions. However just some criticisms of these organizations may be, it must be acknowledged that these Unions have in many cases been necessary and helpful to a recognition of the rights of the laborer or employee, and the enforcement of a just wage. But such aids to an improvement in labor and wages have not existed among the Negroes, and the white public sentiment has hitherto been overwhelmingly opposed to them. The earnings of the Negro have, in a great measure, been controlled by the employer, and, with our knowledge of human nature, we may assume that wages will remain as low as they can be kept.

Lack of
Unions

As Negroes grow in intelligence, and learn of high wages in the North, the active and ambitious,

and with them the merely restless, are allured to the centers of work and prosperity. And here let no critic contend that, since intelligence and diffused knowledge have created such ambitions, and led so many from their native communities, this intelligence or development is injurious. For it is a law of growth and progress, the advance of the individual or a race, that desires for better things, for larger resources, ambitions are necessary. The recognition of wants and new desires may break up old and easy conditions; it may be painful to some, but there is no other path than that of a healthy discontent. The boy or man without ambition or want has a mind stagnant, incapable of growth or progress.

3. There is also another reason. The lack of protection or inequality before the law. Sections vary in this respect, and some are free from this criticism, but there are vast areas where the Negro is apprehensive that he cannot obtain protection or justice. In many cases the upright and better class of whites are so in the minority that they cannot restrain the evil whites. It is questionable if there is a highly educated and refined Negro man or woman in the South who feels safe from the assault or the terror of the mob. It has been frequently noticed that the just, intelligent and Christian whites are apparently helpless to successfully oppose injustice toward the blacks. They

may protest in the newspapers or among themselves, but the majority sweeps aside, or intimidates these protestant whites.

This uncertainty of justice or protection by the law, is an unceasing cause of unrest to even the more intelligent and law abiding Negro. "The great majority of us are safe all our lives," said an educated Negro when questioned lately, "and we all know that. The trouble is, none of us is sure that we individually belong to that majority when something happens like that you referred to, where an honest, hardworking man could not be protected by whites, who respected him, from a small, lawless gang; it sends a shock through my people from one end of the State to the other. They are afraid. Honesty doesn't protect. They know such things don't happen often; but they know it is quite possible they may be the next. That is what it seems to me you friendly white people fail to appreciate—the background of fear in colored life. It is hard to be a man when you're always uneasy, not just for yourself, but for everybody you love. And unless you live on a higher level than most people ever get up to, it's hard to be a man when you feel being a man doesn't protect you."

Justice
Uncertain

These conditions cannot be understood unless it is noticed that some prominent white men even defend, and practically encourage the crime of

lynching. Although Justice Brewer said in 1903, "Every man who takes part in the burning or lynching of Negroes is a murderer, and should be so considered in the eyes of the law," yet John Temple Graves, editor of the "Atlanta Evening News," said at Chautauqua in August of 1903, "Lynching is a crime. It is anarchy. It is riot. It is a stab at the law. It is deplorable, appalling. But it is here. It is here to stay. Place here as the premise and postulate of your reasoning that lynching will never hereafter be discontinued in this republic until the crime which provokes it is destroyed." Then he spoke not only apologetically, but approvingly, of "the mob as the highest, strongest, and most potential bulwark between the women of the South and such a carnival of crime as would infuriate the world and practically annihilate the Negro race." It is difficult to properly characterize such irrational, illogical and passionate utterances by a man in such a position. There would be little hope for the progress and true development of any section accepting such incendiary leaders. But we gladly turn to the sane and wise utterances of a neighbor of Mr. Graves, given in an editorial in the "Atlanta Constitution" by Mr. Clark Howells. He says: "The time when the lynching of a certain breed of brutes could be winked at, because of the satisfaction that punishment came to him quickly and to the uttermost,

Views of
Lynching

has given way to a time when the greater peril to society is the mob itself that does the work of vengeance. Against the growth of that evil the best sense of the nation needs to combine and enforce an adequate protection."

This is a subject upon which, as Mr. Howells says, there must be centered more earnest thought. We are apt to think of only the victim and his relatives, and of the violation of law. We do not take into consideration how far-reaching and disturbing and torturing because of race inclusion is each lynching, each mob violation of the law. Every Negro man or woman or youth, no matter how upright, in the South, and in a measure in the North, is gripped at the heart by the fact that the victim is a Negro. It is because he is a Negro he is accused and rushed to death. A Southern woman, who has given long study to this question, puts this phase in a clear light, when, speaking of this crime of lynching, this unresisted mob violence, she says: "It is horrible, we say, wicked, shameful, inhuman, but at least, thank Heaven, the crime is infrequent; the millions of Negroes never in danger prove that. As a race they are safe, and they know it. But they do not know it; nor would we in their place. We have failed to use our imagination at this point. Lynchings do not come in the same place twice. If they did, they could be avoided. It is true the volcanic eruption seldom

takes place; the awful thing to the Negro is that it *may* take place at any time, anywhere, even upon trivial or, conceivably, upon unconscious provocation. That is lynching from the Negro's point of view, which would probably be our own in his place. The possibility of illegal violence, the fear of it is an ever-present thing in their lives. It hangs, a thick fog of distrust, between their race and ours. Individual whites they trust, but I think few of them really trust us as people."

And what makes the whole argument in favor of lynching seem puerile is that the great majority of lynchings have not been for "the particular offense." In fact where it has been charged and victims lynched, it has been often discovered that they were entirely innocent. Rev. C. E. Locke, D.D., by investigation found that in a certain year there were thirty lynchings for murder (not assault), nine on account of race prejudice, two for incendiaries, one for slapping a child, two for miscegenation, one for passing counterfeit money, three for attacking a white man, two for no cause.

Against Editor Graves, we will place Dr. Riley of Alabama. "The mob is without a single redeeming quality. It has everything in it to condemn, nothing to commend. It may have its defenders, it has no defense. The end which it serves is hurtful and only hurtful." And this from the Louisville "Courier Journal," of 1909: "The color



TYPICAL PAROCHIAL SCHOOL

line is drawn sharply by lynching in Kentucky. Attempted criminal assault is punishable by death without trial, if the accused be black. Shooting and wounding is punishable without trial, if the accused be black. Criminal assault is to be winked at if the accused is white and prominent." Such being recognized conditions, it is not strange the Negro may be restless, and to him the North may seem attractive.

4. Another reason for this migration is the denial of Civil and Political Rights. Upon this no enlargement is necessary. Few Southerners will deny that the Negro is purposely prevented from voting. When the literate Negro observes every political privilege given the most illiterate white, restlessness may be expected.

5. The lack of schools. The Negro desires schools for himself and children. Yet, as will be seen in our chapter on the Education of the Negro, there is a great lack of schools and proper teachers. Such a fact adds its influence to create unrest in the Negro mind.

6. Lack of many comforts and privileges. Except in the larger cities, there are no hotels or restaurants for Negro men and women, and no places of decent amusement. No Negro is permitted to enter a hotel, except on an errand. The Jim-Crow cars are often very unattractive to the am-

bitious or refined. Reasons for these conditions are often given, nevertheless the Negro is unsatisfied, and is naturally influenced by the report of conditions in the North.

Assertion of
Inferiority

7. The unceasing assertion of his inferiority and difference. Except in rare instances, the white regards the approach of a Negro, whatever his character, to the front door as reprehensible and forbidden. The Negro must enter only at the rear. He is rarely addressed as "Mr.," however intelligent or cultured, nor the most refined and educated woman as "Mrs." Titles may be employed, but otherwise it is by the whole name, or last, that he is addressed or referred to. This method of accentuating the Negro's social standing, or difference, or inferiority, is so universal that the exception proves the rule. For this isolation of the Negro various reasons are given, nevertheless the Negro is allured by regions where not only higher wages are paid, and greater comfort is possible, but where there is not placed by the best class an unflinching emphasis upon his color and unfortunate past.

Such influence and conditions operate on the Negro. To all this we may well add that it is very desirable the great mass of the colored people should remain in the South, where by climate, tradition and habit they find a true home. It will be readily seen that they merit and should receive

just treatment, and to this end a better public opinion should be created.

But from the standpoint of work for and among the Negro, three things seem desirable.

1. That the Board's work in organizing and assisting Negro churches in the North is increasing in importance and demand, and must call for larger contributions. The Presbyterian Church must follow and look after and church this migrating element of its own members, and help them to create true Christian conditions.

2. The Board's schools and seminaries in the South must furnish many of the helpers and assistants for social and community work in the North among these people.

In the growing special work in Cincinnati, the pastor and eight helpers were educated in the Board's schools in the South, are the result of training there, and in the future there will be an increasing demand for such capable and devout men and women.

3. Even though such numbers pass Northward there are large regions uncared for by any church or school. It is incumbent upon the Presbyterian Church, through its Board, to so evangelize and elevate and train these Negroes, who, later, may pass Northward, that they shall not merely increase the wayward or lawless classes always present in

every community, but be helpful citizens and growing Christians.

Wisdom in
Giving
Required

There is one word of earnest counsel the Freedmen's Board would offer generous and kindhearted philanthropists. Give and give generously toward this work, but give only where you know your gift will be wisely and honestly used. You are often solicited, but the great mass of solicitors, however plausible, are irresponsible, and their work has no supervision, and their finances are never examined. Give only when there is a well known, guarded agency, otherwise you waste God's money, and encourage unworthy charities, and untrustworthy mendicants. Do not make permanent Chalmers' remark concerning Presbyterians being "God's silly people," where he noted how they gave generously—but of the causes of whose usefulness, they had no knowledge.

1. Has migration increased recently?
2. What are some of the causes?
3. As to propriety of ambitions?
4. Low wages—absence of Labor Unions.
5. What is meant by uncertainty of justice?
6. Different views of lynching by white leaders?
7. Reasons for lynchings in one year.
8. The color line injustice.
9. Influence of migration on the importance of the work of Freedmen's Board.
10. How mission schools help Negro communities in the North?
11. Why philanthropists should give intelligently to agencies guarded and supervised, and not to "every one that asketh."

The Negro, an American Asset.

“The ‘troublesome’ Negro at the South is not the Negro of real intelligence, of sound training.”

E. J. MURPHY.

Many men have said to me, “Think of the large sums that the South has spent in the Education of the Negro. The Negro does not begin to pay for his education in taxes.” I answered: “Neither do the swarming Slavs, Italians and Poles in our Northern cities. They pay little taxes, and yet enormous sums are expended in their improvement. It is better to educate men in school than to let them so educate themselves as to be a menace to society.”

RAY STANDARD BAKER.

“I know of a young Negro who is a good Latin scholar and he helps his father to make boots and shoes. This may be pretty bad, but if any one can show me that he makes a worse shoe with his Latin than he would without it, I shall turn a readier ear to complaints against the higher education of the Negro that at present strike me as far-fetched.”

JOEL CHANDER HARRIS (Uncle Remus).

“The higher a woman’s education, the better housewife she will be.”

MRS. J. G. FRAZER, in *First Aid to the Servantless*.

CHAPTER VII.

EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO. WHY SHOULD THE NORTH AID?

Conditions in 1865.

At the close of the Civil War there were practically no public schools for the whites, and of course, none for the blacks. Physical conditions seemed to make it most necessary for the whites to bend all their efforts to make a livelihood, and as there had never been any interest in the education of the slave, little desire was felt to educate the Freedmen. Northern philanthropists realizing these conditions began missionary and educational operations, and churches organized Boards or Committees to commission ministers and organize schools. For a time there was a vigorous opposition to these Northern teachers and missionaries, and they were subjected to a denial of all social intercourse with the white people, and the public contempt. It has been customary to excuse this antagonism on the ground that these white Northern teachers encouraged the Negro in wrong ideas of independence, and a disrespectful attitude toward the whites. The Field Agent for the Slater Fund, Mr. W. T. B. Williams says, speaking of the

The Yankee
Schoolma'am

noticeable development on the part of the Negro: "Who or what has wrought this change in half a century? Material aid and sympathy have come from the white South, but it is mainly the result of the abounding intelligence and better directed energies of the Negro, aided by those who believe in him. But who has guided and directed his uncertain, tottering steps up from darkest slavery into the beckoning future? The answer is ready upon the tongue of nearly every Negro in this nation—'the Yankee schoolma'am.' By the Yankee schoolma'am I mean all that shining host of men, and women, who came down from the North to help in the education and uplift of the Negro. She had vision and faith, and she came first, when the colored people had great need of a friend and guide who had confidence in them. She came when those whose opportunity and duty it was to lead the ignorant and helpless, were sadly estranged; when it was difficult for them to conceive of Negro development. She brought to the black men and women of the South an inherited love of freedom, a consciousness of what education would do for them, and faith in their possibilities. Like the Negro she was profoundly religious, and she struck an answering chord. The same patriotism that sent her brother into the war to save the Union and to free the slave, brought her to the front in the struggle for the Negro's real emanci-

pation. Her fight was just as fine as his, and some times harder than his. It is quite common to emphasize the so-called mistakes and blunders which the Yankee schoolma'am made. But for us the good she did outweighs all the harm she may have unintentionally wrought." And then he quotes the remark of a progressive Southern lady: "These Northern folk, who saw a need and longed to meet it, made blunders of course, and a good many Negroes acquired some knowledge at the expense of more wisdom. We have all seen white people do the same thing. And certainly the South never tried to help the situation. So far as explanation or assistance went, we maintained a silence which was more than felt, while those from another world came and wrestled with our problems in all good faith, and according to their darkness and light."

Bishop A. Y. Haygood of the M. E. Church, South, speaking in 1885, of the work of President Ware of Atlanta University, said: "The conditions under which this work is carried on are different now; very small encouragement the workers in the field got from us of the white race in the Southern states. Although, next to the Negro race, we are of all men on earth most concerned in the success of this work. The social environments are not inspiring now; but let me assure you, 1885 is very far from 1865."

Former
Ostracism

Prof. Kelly Miller says of these Northern mis-

sionaries and teachers: "A worthier band never furnished theme or song for sage or bard. Their courage, their self-sacrificing devotion, sincerity of purpose, and purity of motive, and their unshaken faith in God, were their pass-keys to the hearts of those for whom they came to labor."

Mrs. Hammond in her book, "In Black and White," says of these teachers: "They brought with them the principle of life,—love. They kindled light in darkened hearts; they sent out thousands of Negroes fired with ideals of service to their race. And they have saved the situation, as far as it has been saved for our Negro public schools." After Mr. Williams has described the condition of the freed Negro, and the difficulties to be surmounted, and the great purpose of Christian teachers among the Freedmen, he says: "All this the Yankee teachers came to give. The measure of their success is the Negro race in America today, by far the most advanced ten millions of Negroes in the world." One fact should be considered which explains not only the past and present indifference of many Southern whites to the support of public schools for the Negro, but also the grounds for the complaint made by their own educators concerning the condition in many districts of the white schools. Education was presumed to be useful only to a privileged and limited class. It is not strange, then, that many Southerners regarded

public schools for the Negro not only with indifference, but with antagonism, and still are so unwilling to give them a proper support. Even today the school superintendents of a number of States are compelled to make such statements as these: "There has never been any serious attempt in this State to offer adequate educational facilities for the colored race. The average length of the term is four months—practically all the teachers are incompetent, possessing little or no education." Another Supervisor says: "I never visit one of these Negro public schools without feeling that we are wasting a large part of this money, and wasting a great opportunity. Most of the teachers are absolutely untrained, and have been given certificates, not because they have passed the county examination but because it is necessary to have some kind of a Negro teacher.

"Among the Negro rural schools which I have visited, I have found only one in which the highest class knew the multiplication table."

Causes of such conditions, —

1. The Negro population is largely rural, 80 per cent. live on farms. Although the number of towns and cities in the South is increasing, still, because of the multiplication of farms, the nature of the population remains largely as it was before the Civil War. There were only three cities of over

Rural
Character of
Population

25,000 inhabitants in 1860, viz.: New Orleans, 168,000; Richmond, 37,000; and Charleston, 40,000. The natural growth of towns, and the increase of cotton mills has doubtless altered the statement of George S. Dickerman that "while Massachusetts has 110 communities of over 4,000 inhabitants, the ten States south of Virginia have only 146 of this rank. Only a small part live in communities of even 1,000 inhabitants. Now it is a serious question in the North how to provide good schools for the country. But in the South this is the main question. The multitudes are widely scattered. Think of it, 17,000,000 people in these stretches of territory, none of whom live in a village of 1,000 inhabitants!"

2. These Negro public schools are poorly supported by the State. A competent authority (W. T. B. Williams), says: "In scarcely one of the Southern States does a colored child receive half the educational support which goes to the white child, e. g. North Carolina, white, \$3.81 per year, colored, \$1.58; South Carolina, white, \$10.34, colored, \$1.70. Negro education has never been actually tried in the South." Even in the larger towns and cities where it might be supposed such schools would be provided, we find reports similar to that of Augusta, Ga., where the Superintendent of Schools says: "Altogether we can accommodate not more than 2,100 pupils in our Negro

schools, out of the 6,500 in the school population." On January 9, 1910, the Birmingham "Age-Herald" said: "It is the plain duty as well as the plain interest of this city to treat the Negro children fairly. At the present time there are not decent accommodations in the public schools for the Negro children of this city. There are not seats to accommodate one-half the number. Only the oldest inhabitants can remember when a schoolhouse for Negroes was built in this city."

These conditions prevail universally, with the exception of a few cities. And this lack of public school accommodations throws upon the Freedmen's Board an increased and expensive responsibility for meeting so large a demand to provide an elementary education in the rural regions, which it does through its church schools. It has hoped in the towns to be relieved of the necessity of enlarging its parochial school, but when the members of our churches, and their neighbors, report such a denial of an opportunity to obtain an education, and seek our schools, though taxed for the public school, our pastor and his wife cannot alone meet the teaching duties, and more teachers must be added, at our expense.

3. The character of the public school teachers in these schools. On the one hand it would be almost impossible to obtain sufficient trained white teachers for Negroes, even if public opinion, and in

**Untrained
Teachers**

some cases legislation, did not forbid them, as they now do. The pay is so meagre that it would be a self-sacrificing, or missionary task. This smallness of pay prevents the active, intelligent, educated Negro from entering upon the teacher's vocation. In North Carolina, one of the most progressive States, in 1885, the average salary of a colored teacher was \$23.30. Twenty years later it was only \$22.20. In thirty counties of that State these Negro country teachers were paid in 1906, less than \$20 per month each. In South Carolina the average salary paid colored women teachers in 19 counties is less than \$80 per school year, and in five counties the terms of these colored schools are given as seven, eight and ten weeks respectively. Such pay cannot assure a supply of competent teachers.

Nor is there any real effort made to provide proper training for such teachers. In the entire South there are but 123 high schools, and 57 of these are located in two States—Missouri and Texas. It has been well said: "The very presence of the elementary schools makes high schools a necessity, not only for the sake of preparing efficient teachers for elementary schools, but also to give a fitting outlet for the budding intelligence awakened in the lower schools." A Southern authority on high schools says: "There are practically no public high schools for colored people. Generally there is but one public institution in a State

giving normal training to prospective teachers. This school is generally a part of the agricultural and mechanical college, where the emphasis is usually upon industrial or technical training, with but little or no attention to special training for actual work in the classroom." This last statement should be pondered, for while a just emphasis should be placed on industrial training (for white and black) the higher training should not be frowned on or given a lessened importance. Upon the character and training of the teachers of the Negro youth, almost as much depends for their true development as upon the minister. Mr. Williams rightfully quotes the maxim: "Whatever you wish to appear in the life of the Nation, you must put into its schools."

4. Character of the school buildings:

Outside of the better towns, the school house is often deplorably mean. A white Southerner says: "South Carolina has 1,777 school buildings for Negroes, the average cost of buildings and grounds being \$246.88. When one remembers that this includes all the buildings in the cities, one immediately sees that the average rural building is a mere hut." The annual report for education in one of the States of the South, speaking of these buildings says: "The Negro schoolhouses are miserable beyond description. They are usually without com-

Poor School
Houses

portable equipment, proper lighting, or sanitation. In most cases they are a serious reflection on civilization." Summing up, Mr. Weatherford says: "It is impossible to pass over in silence the fact that the Negro child in the South does not now have, and never has had a fair chance for training."

It is to remedy such conditions that Christians of the North have felt it a responsibility to establish churches and schools among the Negroes, especially of the South. They entered upon this task at first, because it is the law of Christ, the constraint of love for the ignorant, degraded, and helpless. They continue it because every part of our Nation shares in the true development of the others. The *Louisville Courier Journal* rightly says: "The whites cannot prosper if the blacks languish." And now, more than ever, the North realizes the value of the upright and intelligent Negro as migration and industry introduce new problems, and as the world contracts, we are forced to ask more wisely, "Who is my neighbor?"

And here we may in all kindness ask our Southern brethren to consider more charitably the motives of Northern friends of the Negro in their entrance upon this work of assisting the Negro to escape the consequences of slavery. It is not in a spirit of criticism, but as confessedly the Negro has not been properly assisted. Whatever be the reason we feel we must seek this evangelization and eleva-



SELECTING CORN

tion. While on the one hand, I regard Mr. Weatherford as mistaken in his statement, "that the Negro question cannot be handled by the Northern man, because he is hundreds of miles from the scene of action, and does not know the facts," note on the other hand that he says: "I deliberately challenge the statement that the Southern white man does know and can therefore solve the Southern race question." In these days of rapid travel in which Northerners indulge, and prolonged visitation to each part of our country; in a time of literature which busies itself with the careful examination of every subject, and the gathering of a consensus of opinions, and also when fair-minded Southerners migrate to the North, and Northerners obtain an intimate acquaintance with the South, it may be possible that the Christian contributions of the North to the progress of the South are based upon a large and well founded understanding of the subject.

EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO—ITS KINDS

The Church offers three kinds of education to the Negro, that of the heart, the head, the hand. It lays stress, first, upon religion in education. It believes we must love God with the soul and the mind and that a true knowledge of God and His word and redemption is the one thing needful. A life without God is without a true hope. Though State

Schools often avoid all teaching of religion, the Church in its missionary work must make this of first importance. It follows the principle illustrated by Dr. Wines in his assertion of work in prison reform: "Reformation is never accomplished until the heart has been reached and regenerated by the grace of Almighty God."

This religious education it attempts through churches and trustworthy ministers, and parochial and higher schools. It believes in early impressions and the training in childhood in the main and important truths. It tries to give an acquaintance with, and instruction in the Bible and Catechism, believing not only that these are able to make one wise unto salvation, but that early impressions are likely to be lasting, and of marked and definite assistance as character matures.

Although it has by secular authorities been urged to give up its parochial schools among the Negroes, it has declined, not because the principle is scriptural, but because experience endorses the practice, and because of it the public gives our schools high praise. These schools are taught either by the pastor, or his wife, or both. At times they are so much sought by the surrounding families, even of other religious affiliations, that an assistant becomes necessary. Generally the church building is used, until, by effort and sacrifice, a separate building can be obtained. These church schools

sometimes develop into Academies, which are not boarding schools, though the pastor may find it desirable to receive some distant pupils as boarders. With a larger, a better curriculum of elementary studies, the education of the head proceeds as far as judgment authorizes.

There is a great need for this elementary education among the Negroes. Yet it is only slowly that this need is being recognized by many Southerners. The mere fact that the following statements were made in 1907, by a Southern lawyer, indicates by their manner that he was conscious of an adverse opinion: "The statement is daily heard that education ruins the Negro as a laborer, and that we should not be burdened with educating him. I deny that education impairs the usefulness of the Negro. I deny the assertion that the South should not educate him. I deny that any man is rendered worse by having his intelligence quickened, his mental horizon widened. I deny from observation and actual experience that a rudimentary education makes a negro a more inefficient farmer. I own a place in Washington County entirely tenanted by Negroes. I do not believe a more desirable set of tenants can be found upon any property in the South, and more than eighty per cent. of them can read and write. You can not send these men out to fight the battle of life helplessly ignorant. In slavery he was the slave of one, and around him was

Education
No Injury

thrown the protecting care of the master. In freedom you cannot through the helplessness of ignorance make him the slave of every white man with no master's protection to shield him.

"The Negro must be educated to the extent necessary to enable him to know whether he is being rightfully or wrongfully treated. Any other idea is monstrous and intolerable, because of its harshness and cruelty." And so this Southern lawyer also said: "Brethren of the Bar, there is a reason which demands that the Negro should be educated sufficiently to know whether he is being honestly or dishonestly dealt with. * * * I assert that the education of the Negro to the extent indicated is necessary for the preservation of the character and moral integrity of the white men of the South. Daily, in recognition of the weakness of human nature, the prayer goes up from millions to a higher power, 'deliver us from temptation—temptation which I cannot face and overcome, I pray Thee to deliver me from.' There is no greater temptation known to man than the hourly, daily, yearly dealing with an ignorant, trusting people. There has been no race known to history that could long withstand this deadly, insidious attack. It has sapped and undermined, it is sapping and undermining, and it will sap, undermine and destroy, the character and integrity of our people, your integrity, my integrity, the integrity of your children, and the integrity

Needed for
Protection

of my children. I plead with you for the preservation of the manhood of the South, its high ideals, its lofty character. The money improperly taken because of his helplessness from the Negro, it is true, leaves him little poorer, but it infinitely degrades him who takes it."

It is not always perceived, even by intelligent people, how much greater efficiency a good education creates even in a laborer. In a silk mill in North Carolina, the Negro superintendent, a man of intelligence and experience, remarking upon the value of the schools for the Freedmen, pointed out two girls of about the same age, working in the same room, and said of one, "Her parents sent her to work without an education so as to get her wages," and of the other, "She has had several years of schooling, and though she has been at work only a few months, while the other has been here three years, she surpasses the ignorant one in skill and reliability, and she will advance, while the other will never be worth more." A proper education makes a ditch digger or a dish washer more efficient, as well as protects against dishonest employers.

Therefore, the schools under our Board provide an education which shall really train, really develop, and co-ordinate with every task. Hostile criticism should not be too readily launched at even the curriculum which provides something beyond the rudiments, the proverbial "three R's." No man or wom-

an is truly made less efficient because the vision of higher things and greater knowledge opens up before them. If it surely made them less courteous or refined, less willing to labor physically, less courageous for the meaner tasks, we might well fear; but from these schools the fathers and mothers and teachers are in great measure to come, and children, the reliable membership of the true churches, the merchants, doctors, lawyers, ministers and teachers are to, in great measure, come and an education sufficiently good and broad ought to be offered to arouse the best minds and permit the unknown Miltons from remaining "mute and inglorious" to the end.

Leaders
Required

This race must have its own leaders, and it is only by an elementary education sufficiently broad and stimulating that these special minds, these more highly endowed natures can be awakened.

There is special value in the boarding schools which the Freedmen's Board has in several States. Parents often find, and pastors also, that not only boys and girls desire a better education than the home school can offer, but that, at a certain period of youth, the associations and companionships of their village and community offer demoralizing temptations. The boy is surrounded with evil friends, the girl is exposed to the most vicious relationships of the whites. To place boy or girl for the formative period in a good school under the

example, guidance and noble influence of the finest Christian men and women, who labor not for ambition, but for Christ, is to create ideals of purity, of usefulness, of right living, that can be created or given in scarcely any other way. Whatever may be the case with the white youths, it is certain that religion and education must be constantly intertwined and associated to produce the best characters, and keep the Negro pure and unspotted from the world.

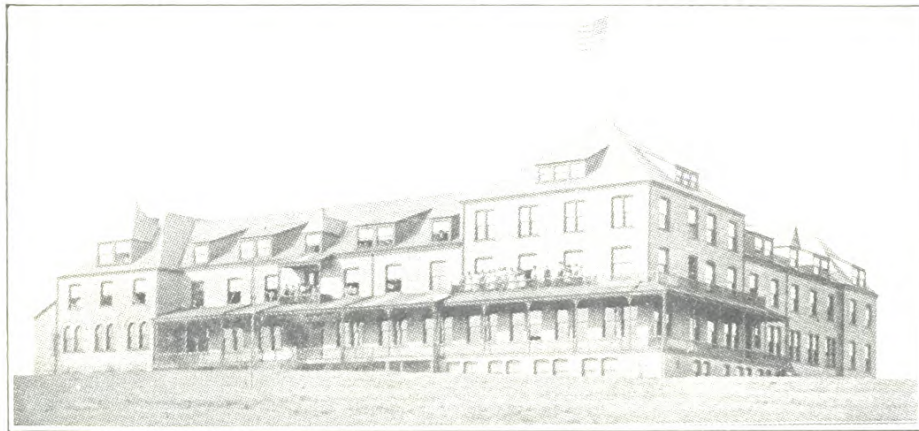
Of the results of these schools, let three incidents, from many others, be selected. In a Southern town one of our schools manned by a Negro minister burned down. Immediately the white Mayor called a meeting, the whites collected a sum to repay the Principal for the loss of his furniture, the newspapers gave a strong testimonial to the value and usefulness of the school, although, up to that night, the Principal had never received an encouraging word, and the Chamber of Commerce petitioned the Freedmen's Board to rebuild and continue the school because of its large and increasing usefulness, and blessing to the community through its training of the blacks.

**Some
Results**

A graduate of Scotia Seminary, at Concord, North Carolina, went to Africa as a missionary to her race. Upon her death, after a number of years of remarkable usefulness, the white head of the mission, Rev. W. M. Morrison, D.D., bore testimony to her beautiful life and great efficiency in

these words: "It can be said, I believe, without fear of contradiction that Mrs. Annie T. Rochester was the most all-round efficient missionary we have ever had for the work which fell to her hand. She had in a remarkable degree the four cardinal virtues which go to make a successful missionary, viz: efficiency, consecration, sweetness of temperament and industry. Great praise is due to her parents and Scotia Seminary and to any others who contributed in any way to the building up of such a fine character. She came to the work here well equipped in every way. She was not only a model housekeeper, cook and home maker, but she was equally as efficient in the school room, where a good training had prepared her for first-class work. She was not only a splendid nurse for the sick, to whom she was always ready to minister, but she was equally at home in the management of the girls under her love and care, all of whom soon learned to love and esteem her. She could make a garden or do a fine piece of needle-work with apparently as much ease as she could conduct a Sunday School class or minister spiritually to the women in the villages. * * * There were many ties binding her to the homeland, but these were left behind in her devotion to the Master's work here. There never seemed to be any doubt or hesitation as to what she was to do or where her duty lay, she did each day's task with a singleness of heart and purpose which is

**A Reasonable
Missionary**



MARY HOLMES

only too rare. * * * The sweetness and evenness of her temper were most remarkable, and those of us who live in Africa know from many sad failures what this means. While there was universal gentleness of disposition, sometimes almost bordering on bashfulness, yet there was a force and decision of character which made her ever a tower of strength for righteousness. * * * And she was industrious. The amount of work she accomplished was ever the wonder of those intimately associated with her. She was systematic, orderly, exact, and yet never appeared in a hurry. * * * She has gone from us in bodily presence, but her work and influence will live for eternity in the lives of many hundreds here who have been transformed by the power of her life and presence.”

Another true incident, that not only proves education does not spoil the Negroes and unfit them for their proper sphere in life, but exhibits the fine nature of our schools, is the story of a graduate of Mary Holmes Seminary, West Point, Miss. When she came to the school “she had never seen a glass window, or a door that swung on hinges, or a board floor or a stairway. Three years later, this girl, Ruby Taylor, graduated with honors and everyone wondered in what direction her ambition would lead her for her future career. Several weeks before Commencement she came to the Principal’s room one evening at twilight asking if she might

**A Noble
Character**

have a quiet hour to talk about her future. The Principal hoped she would express a desire to teach in some of our large mission schools, but when she found that Ruby's desire was to establish a little school of her own far out in the black belt, where no teacher had ever been, a sharp protest sprang to her lips at the thought of the dangers that would surround her. She reminded her that there were districts where a white man would not dare to spend a night, on account of danger to his person, and Ruby smilingly replied, "That is just where I want to go, and my safety will lie in the fact that I am just a 'nigger' with the rest of them." Her eagerness overcame the Principal's fears, and a few months later she was seated in an old log cabin which she had in some way managed to make neat and attractive. It was soon crowded with children every day, and by faithful teaching she endeavored to share with them the advantages which had come to her. Every night she held industrial classes, and taught the older girls and women how to sew and cook and keep their cabins clean. On Sabbath, men, women and children gathered about her cabin to hear the wonderful Bible stories, and listen for the first time to the blessed Gospel story. In two years that entire community had been revolutionized by her influence and power. At the end of that time she sent for her Principal to come and visit her, and then told her

of her plans. She felt that the time had come **when** she could leave this school in the hands of the new graduates of the Seminary, and push out into some more needy district, and begin all over again. So she went to another of these dark corners, and there every year she has been shining like a beacon light, and the young woman, whose talents were recognized by her teachers, and who might have made a name for herself in the literary world asks nothing better than that she may, with God's help, be a light to lighten the darkness of her people." (The Prize Composition—by Mrs. Belle B. Clokey.)

Such characters, and they could be repeated by many scores, disprove the dangers of a stimulating and thorough education, and testify to the need and value of schools which can and do make the ignorant and uncouth Negroes such helpers of their race, training and transforming them into true servants of Christ, and upright, industrious and refined citizens.

The third line of education, that of the hand, or industrial, should be and is provided in these schools. Every one of them magnifies the worth and honorableness of labor and, as far as possible, trades are taught, and manual skill developed. The training of the hand, the teaching of useful forms of physical labor is co-ordinated with the training of the mind which is thus quickened and made more

Skill and Character

practical and observant. All this must be closely allied with the development of a religious character. The tendency to overvalue the material life and financial results must be guarded. We have been forced to see what "Kultur," or material efficiency, skill without godliness can produce in selfish and unprincipled action. It is the Christian trained carpenter or bricklayer or cook who is the true laborer. Among white mechanics, and workmen, we have not yet found the best or most reliable, except where a real morality is recognized and Christian principles revered.

Aim of Seminaries

That the Freedmen's Board has, from the first, sought to give these Negroes the best education which will meet all their needs and conditions, and that, even from the standpoint merely of the present, it has been wise in its views, is seen in the charter of Scotia Seminary, Concord, N. C., issued in 1870, which specifies its object to be "to educate colored girls in religion and in the arts and sciences usually taught in seminaries of a high order and *in those domestic duties which belong to the highest type of wife, mother and teacher.*" Golden word! An aim and ideal for a true school, high or low.

In 1880, Brainerd Institute, Chester, S. C., declared its industrial department was formed to enable students "to help themselves in obtaining an education, to develop the strength and hardihood which come from self-help, to maintain and promote

habits of industry. "At Johnson C. Smith University a large building is devoted to this industrial training, and only needs more funds to widen its usefulness. At different schools, farms, gardens and shops are employed to teach these youths intelligent labor and skill, and train them to self-support. It is noticeable that from our highest institution, Johnson C. Smith University, many profiting by this industrial training, and the mental training reacting upon the use of the hand and eye in labor, have gone out to usefulness and comfort.

1. Opposition to philanthropists and missionaries?
2. Who created the improvement?
3. View of the School Teacher?
4. Help from Southern people?
5. Educational condition of many States at time of Civil War?
6. Effect of rural population on schools.
7. Why must the Church provide schools?
8. What about supply of teachers?
9. Normal and high schools.
10. Describe many Negro schoolhouses.
11. The spirit of the Northern Church in such work.
12. Kinds of education offered.
13. Value of Parochial school.
14. Education of Negro an injury or a protection? Why?
15. Relation of education to industrial efficiency.
16. Should Negro be developed?
17. Do Seminaries of our Church foster devotion to others? **Ex-**
amples.

He's true to God who's true to man
 wherever wrong is done,
To the humblest and the weakest 'neath
 the all-beholding sun.
That wrong is also done to us, and they
 are slaves most base
Whose love of right is for themselves, and not
 for all their race.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Laborin' man and laborin' woman
Have one glory and one shame.
Everythin' that's done inhuman
Injures all on 'em the same.

LOWELL.

CHAPTER VIII

BEGINNING OF THE WORK

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

Freedmen's
Bureau

The Presbyterian Church, however, has nothing it received from this source except one small piece of property, and even this is not held directly by the Board, but by Trustees for the use of the Board. The "Freedmen's Bureau" and our "Freedmen's Board" are very different institutions, although many not thoroughly informed frequently send us communications addressed to "The Freedmen's Bureau."

BEGINNING OF PRESBYTERIAN WORK

The Presbyterian Church, North, began missionary work among the Negroes of the South fully a year before the close of the Civil War. Two Committees were at work under the direction of the General Assembly (O. S.) as early as 1864—one with headquarters at Indianapolis and the other at Philadelphia. The work of these two Committees from necessity was confined by military lines, and was chiefly in connection with military and "contraband" camps and hospitals. In May, 1865, the General Assembly, meeting in Pittsburgh, united these Committees under one general Committee, entitled "The General Assembly's Committee on Freedmen." It met by order of the Assembly in the lecture room of the First Church, Pittsburgh, and was organized June 22nd, 1865.

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

INCORPORATION OF THE COMMITTEE

For twelve years the Committee continued to work as originally constituted, but the question of the ownership of the property necessary for the work, and the handling of bequests, made the incorporation of the work desirable. In 1882, the General Assembly at Springfield, Ill., obtained a charter September 16th, 1882, and became a corporate body under the name of "The Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America." It is desirable that persons desirous of making bequests to the work shall note the legal title of the Board, and employ it in their last will and testament as the recipient of their gifts.

LOCATION OF THE BOARD

When it was determined by the General Assembly (O. S.) meeting in Pittsburgh, in 1895, to appoint a Committee to establish schools, churches, and the preaching of the Gospel among the Freedmen, it was found that only ministers and elders from Pittsburgh and its vicinity would agree to undertake the work. At the beginning, and for no inconsiderable time afterwards, the churches of Pittsburgh, Allegheny and the surrounding country were the only ones freely opened in behalf of the Freedmen. It was with the greatest difficulty that the first Secretary, Rev. S. C. Logan, D.D., succeeded in obtaining permission to present this cause to the churches of the larger cities and towns, and in the country at large. This location has proved a wise one, and the churches in Pittsburgh and vicinity have been its most hearty and generous supporters, and their ministers and elders and devoted women have been its wise counselors, and steadfast friends.

TRANSFERS AND CHANGES PROPOSED
AND CONSIDERED

It is not strange that persons unacquainted with the special nature and requirements of the work, and uninformed concerning its details and responsibilities, should suggest a consolidation with some

of the other Boards in the interest of economy. In 1874, the General Assembly ordered the Committee on Freedmen to make all necessary arrangements for final merging with the Board of Home Missions, and as soon as possible to transfer the churches under its care to the Board of Home Missions. In January, 1878, the Committee transferred 80 churches, 27 ministers and their churches and their catechists. They retained as not ready to transfer "22 ministers, 25 catechists, 56 churches, and the entire work of evangelistic education." The Assembly's Standing Committee in May, 1878, asked that the school work be retained by the Committee on Freedmen; and after considerable discussion a resolution was offered that the work "as at present carried on by the Committee of Freedmen be continued."

Special
Nature
of Work

The Assembly adopted this and directed "That the churches hitherto transferred from the care of the Freedmen's Committee to the Board of Home Missions be transferred to the Committee of Missions for Freedmen." In 1879, the report on Home Missions says: Early last year (January, 1878), the Freedmen's Committee turned over to the Board of Home Missions all their missionaries engaged exclusively in preaching, and the churches under their care; but action taken in May, 1875, by the Assembly rendered it impossible for the Board to discharge the trust which had been ac-

cepted at the beginning of the year, whereupon the whole work pertaining to the Freedmen was recommitted to the Committee.

Transfer
Considered

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

The interest of devout and intelligent women in the work among the Freedmen has been so marked and progressive, that in 1885, the following resolution was adopted by the General Assembly:

"That in view of the success which has already attended the organization of a Woman's Department for Freedmen, under the Woman's Executive

Committee of Home Missions, and of the pressing demand for labor within the sphere marked out for this department, it be affectionately urged upon all the Women's Home Missionary Societies of our Church to give this work a place in their sympathies, their prayers and their benefactions."

These were the beginnings of the Woman's Department of the Freedmen's Board, which is the same as the Freedmen's Department of the Woman's Board. While the action of the Assembly only recommended that the Women's Societies be permitted to contribute according to their pleasure to the Freedmen's work, these societies have very generously encouraged our efforts to promote the interests of the Freedmen's cause. The help that the Freedmen's Board has received in this way has steadily grown from year to year during the last thirty years. The money received through the Freedmen's Department of the Women's Societies goes, in the main, to our support of teachers and the maintenance of our school work; but all money sent to the Board through this source, or from any other source, goes to the object for which it was intended, whether it be for teachers, preachers, school buildings, churches, farms, furniture, industrial implements or anything else previously approved by the Board.

The headquarters of the Woman's Department

Woman's
Department

of the Freedmen's Board are the same as those of the Board of Missions for Freedmen, 509 Bessemer Building, Pittsburgh, Pa., and everything in connection with the entire work is under the management and control of the Board.

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

1. The Peculiar Work—growing out of the Negroes' great needs. "The peculiarity is not of race or color or section ; but it is of destitution and of consequent dependence (experience has shown the necessity of providing for the Freedmen everything, for the Church finds them in absolute want. Before the Gospel is presented, the Freedmen must be educated to comprehend it). School houses and school teachers must be provided. Ground

must be bought and churches must be built. Seminaries, academies and colleges must be provided and sustained. And when provided all these helps must be cared for. The oversight covers all details. The condition of those whom the Church would help and elevate, requires constant watchfulness. There is also necessity of establishing and caring for industrial schools in which capable persons may teach the various trades. Teachers and preachers must be trained to instruct and care for their needy fellows. What the Board of Foreign Missions is expected to do for people in heathen lands, the agency of the Church entrusted with work among the Freedmen is expected to do for the needy millions in the South. Education, Evangelization, Church Erection and the training of people in trades, that they may learn self-support—all these are the responsibilities of the Church, and the duties devolved on those who may be entrusted with care of the Freedmen. 2. The success of the work. 3. The distinct work will receive more money. 4. Legal difficulties—titles would be imperiled. 5. The Home Board charter does not give the power to do this work; its power would have to be enlarged.”

Consolidation
Impracticable

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

THE VARIETIES AND MANY-SIDED NATURE OF THE WORK

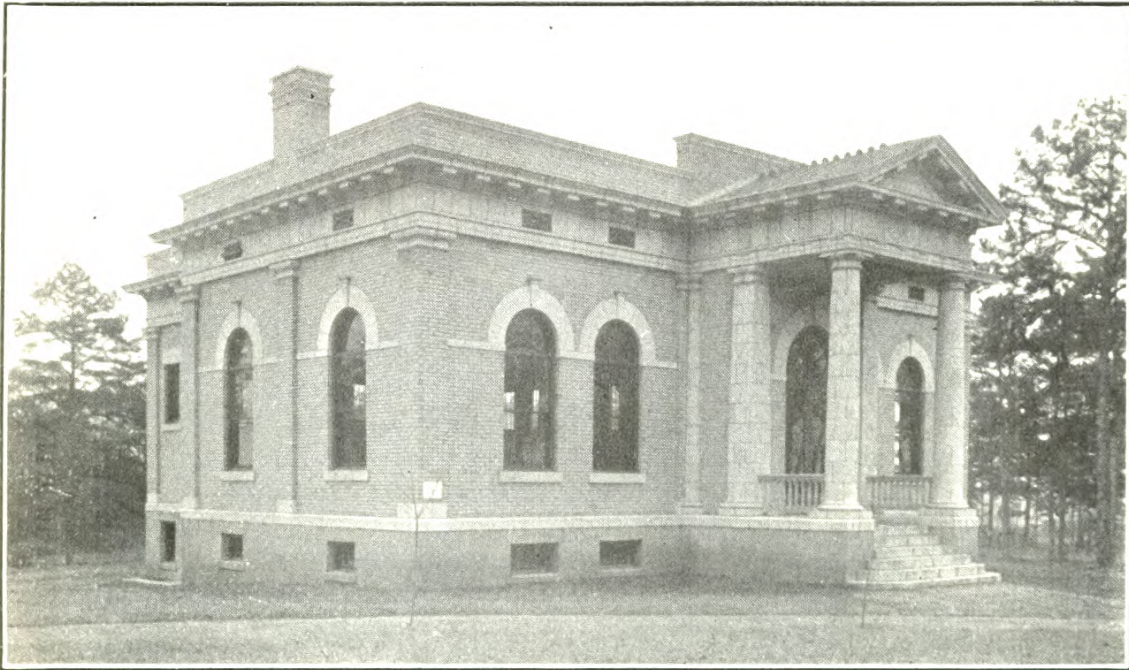
At the outset the purpose was the preaching of the gospel, and the religious nurture of this people. But it was at once apparent that a race without any degree of education, unable to read the Bible, and exposed to the temptations of sudden liberty must be taught the rudiments of an education.

THE THREE SPECIAL AGENCIES

The Presbyterian Church has therefore, through its Board of Missions for Freedmen, placed the emphasis of special interest upon the three agencies mentioned—ministers for the churches, parochial schools, and boarding schools—and has developed each of these three departments as fully as funds received from the church has made possible.

As the Board of Missions for Freedmen has always laid special emphasis upon the preaching of the gospel, the training of an educated ministry must consequently be of great importance.

These ministers, educated at Johnson C. Smith, Lincoln and other Theological Seminaries, act as the spiritual, social and mental guides of the communities where their churches are located. In general they are recognized by the white communities as trustworthy leaders of their race, commendable



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in every respect. Working among a population largely illiterate and lacking in the true spiritual training, the numerical progress is not always as large as we could wish, but it gives promise of a real advance and true religious education.

A Southern white minister, who visited one of our colored Presbyteries at its spring meeting, immediately afterwards wrote to the Board his impressions: "I have attended such of the sessions as time has permitted, and it is enough to make us thankful that God is using our Presbyterian family to gather such men into the fold. This week's meeting has shown me more clearly our mighty deeds, our great duties, our unmeasured opportunities in this great dark family, our fellow-citizens and fellow-beings. May He richly bless you in the share you have accepted of co-working with Him."

Efficient
Ministers

Let it be remembered that our Church system calls not only for a wise and devoted ministry, but for godly and intelligent elders, and capable Sabbath school teachers. It will thus be apparent that the efficiency and development of this church life among the Negroes will depend very much on the character of the education provided for many of these communities. The minister is largely the spiritual teacher, but his work will be deeper and more satisfactory if he is assisted by an intelligent membership.

**Parochial
Schools**

So the parochial schools have become a marked agency for usefulness in our Church work. They reach the little ones with an instruction often given elsewhere by parents or Sabbath schools, and train the youthful minds in the knowledge of the Bible, the Catechism and the general system of morals. Carried on, either by the pastor or his wife, or both, they not only have the advantage of the best training of these, but they are brought in contact with the minister, become attached to his personality, and are influenced in the formative period of life with a love of higher things. So high is the general result of these little schools that a South Carolinian recently said of one of them: "In the section of this State in which a school of this grade has been carried on for fourteen years, there has not been a single conviction of a Negro in the criminal courts or one case of murder since the beginning of the school. The removal of the school would be a death blow to the intellectual, spiritual and moral growth of the people of that locality."

These parochial schools in many instances are regarded by parents as greatly superior to the public schools, and despite the fact that the school is openly associated with the Presbyterian system of doctrine, they are more than willing to take advantage of its usefulness, and this, too, though in many instances a fee is required. Sometimes these

schools grow so large that an assistant is required, and such is likely to be the case for some years, as the quality and numbers of public schools must remain inadequate in many regions. Small and insignificant as these parochial schools may seem, their importance must be recognized by all who understand the minds and character and training of little children and half-grown youths. They can never seem very imposing to the passerby, but from those days of earlier training, those rude seats and simple conditions, the child carries the influence and principles which often control and guide the whole after-life. These parochial schools also serve as feeders for the more advanced schools. In the nature of things large numbers of the Negroes, especially in the smaller communities, cannot obtain more than the rudiments of an education. "The three R's" must suffice for a great many, and with these they become useful citizens and good parents. But a desire for a better education is aroused in many by the parochial school, and parents become desirous their boys and girls shall be fitted for a large and more intelligent life.

For this purpose the Boarding and Co-educational Schools of a more important type have been established. From the educational, social, and moral standpoint, no more satisfactory instrument could be devised, no system with richer, more

**Boarding
Schools**

cheering or more admirable results. From Virginia to Texas, at wide intervals, the Board has established these boarding schools, always consulting the wishes of other missionary agencies, seeking regions unprovided for, and making each school a center of education and religion for a wide circle.

Like lighthouses along a varying coast, like the island of refuge established in the crowded streets of Paris or London, these schools stand in a marked isolation, blessing with their influence a large extent of territory and population. Of course the greater part of the expense is met by the Board, and scholarships are provided for worthy pupils, but such an education is not a free gift entirely, and calls for self-denial and sacrifice on the part of families, and hard work by the scholar.

Allusion has already been made to the desirability of separating the growing young from the degrading influences which surround so many boys and girls in every community. In such schools, under devoted, intelligent, sympathetic and sagacious teachers, these youths remain for months, subject to new ideas of physical and mental life, acquiring habits of cleanliness and industry, and above all, gaining the idea and spirit of a noble **Value of** usefulness. It is a fact, that some of the boys and girls who come to these boarding schools, are so

unaccustomed to the use of an ordinary staircase that it is at first only with awkwardness and dread, like an infant, they mount to or descend from the upper stories; and this is a fit type of their ignorance of the ideas and methods of the higher life, so familiar to many a white child. To live for weeks in such sympathetic contact and supervision with intelligent Christian teachers and imbibe habits and principles of purity and efficient work, to learn what a true religion means, what prayer is, what the Christian life calls for, what is a good success, and to catch from these noble men and women the missionary spirit and the law of love, are of incalculable advantage to these rude natures coming often from poor homes and degrading associations. The very fact that these refined teachers are thus dealing with and trying to elevate lowly and sometimes irresponsive natures, still retaining the imperfect moral ideas, makes these teachers heroic in spirit, forbearing, patient and divinely sympathetic, spending and being spent in faith and hope.

The eagerness with which youths and parents seek to gain enrollment in these higher schools is very interesting. One of these schools is forced to reject each year a number of applicants equal to its large roll of pupils. All of them largely meet the same experience, so high is their reputation, and so great the value placed upon their results. There

is an element of romance in the real story of the little Negro boy who sought one of these teachers with the prayer that he might be made a white boy for a little while. "Because," said he, "a white boy can get an education and I cannot. But, if I could get it, I should be willing to be black again and help other boys the same way." That boy's plea led to his education, and today he is a minister of one of our churches, married to a graduate of one of our schools, and husband and wife carry on a small boarding school where the promise is more than fulfilled.

As to the quality of work done in these schools, the voluntary testimony of a Northern minister who visited three of the co-educational schools, while sojourning one winter in the South, is interesting: "I want you to know that I was very greatly impressed with the splendid work being done there."

Another visitor wrote the Secretary concerning one of the Board's large schools for girls only: "It is a wonderful place, and the classroom work there is of the best I have ever seen. I spent Sunday there and enjoyed every minute. It requires a few days to take in the scope of such a great institution. That is a fine, suitable chapel they have, and to look into the faces of such an audience and think what it means to have girls being

so trained, is very inspiring, and makes one full of hope for the future of the colored race. So systematic, so orderly is their life, that it is perfectly fascinating to be with them."

We who are accustomed to the prevalent ideas and a long-enjoyed training in manners and aspirations, cannot easily appreciate how necessary are these schools, or how wonderful are their results. Out from them go boys and girls trained in industry and work, developed in mind, taught courtesy and self-respect, and all based on the Christian creed and the word of God. Again and again in various localities you meet attractive women, making true wives and mothers, often married to young men similarly trained, and forming the best elements of the community. The wives of our ministers, and of those of other Churches, were in many instances trained and renewed in such schools, and it is a rare case that one who graduates from these better schools is not of continued usefulness. From such teachers these youths learn the spirit of service which, on returning to the home community, often makes them real missionaries, self-sacrificing for the sake of their people who are without hope and without God.

Let the reader take the list of these higher grade and boarding schools, given herewith, and marking their geographical location, note how large is

their field in these dense populations, upon how great a region their light falls, generally the only light, and how far-reaching must be their power to create better ideas, establish true homes and create decency and morality.

FOR MALES ONLY

Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.
Harbison Agricultural College, Irmo, S. C.

FOR FEMALES ONLY

Scotia Seminary, Concord, N. C.
Mary Allen Seminary, Crockett, Texas.
Ingleside Seminary, Burkeville, Va.
Mary Holmes Seminary, West Point, Miss.
Barber Memorial Seminary, Anniston, Ala.

CO-EDUCATIONAL

Allendale Academy, Allendale, S. C.
Albion Academy, Franklinton, N. C.
Arkadelphia Academy, Arkadelphia, Ark.
Brainerd Institute, Chester, S. C.
Dayton Academy, Carthage, N. C.
Cotton Plant Academy, Cotton Plant, Ark.
Haines Industrial, Augusta, Ga.
Mary Potter Memorial, Oxford, N. C.
Swift Memorial College, Rogersville, Tenn.
Alice Elliott Industrial, Valliant, Okla.
Richard Allen Institute, Pine Bluff, Ark.

These are the larger sort, with a greater number of buildings and more facilities. We must add a list of other schools, many of which are growing in importance, increasing in scholars and calling for enlargement and additional teachers. A work so



SCOTIA COLLEGE

useful and generally so well carried on rises in the popular estimation, and as the people develop their appreciation of the school, desire for its benefits increases. Some of these schools, begun as day-schools only, develop into boarding schools, because pupils from a distance plead for the opportunity to attend, with a willingness to accept any kind of accommodations.

So, to mention only a few, the Gillespie School at Cordele, Ga., Boggs Academy at Keysville, Ga., Kendall at Sumter, S. C., Hodge at Washington, Ga., Fee at Camp Nelson, Ky., and Union Point, Ga., have provided accommodations for boarders whose homes are too distant for the daily walk. One cannot but sympathize with these hard working teachers whose sympathies go out to these applicants, and who assume such additional cares in the desire to satisfy such appeals.

It is one of the perplexities of the Board, and calls for a proper caution, that such enlargements are sought, and so well justified, yet which are not provided for simply by a larger building. A larger number of boarders results in a greater expense to the Board for running expenses, for all supplies; and while expansion is desirable, and its need encouraging, the Church and the friends of these eager and worthy youths should note and supply the needs of such advantages.

These other schools are of varying size. Some of them, like Danville, Birmingham, Savannah, St. Augustine, etc., are overcrowded, and recognized, by the white and black residents as of exceedingly great usefulness and value. The smallest is a light in a dark place.

**Second
Generation**

It is of interest to note that, so rapidly does time fly, the children of the graduates of these higher schools are now attending these institutions, the respect and gratitude of parents for their own education filling them with the desire to afford their children an equal blessing. Scotia, Haines, Mary Allen and others are thus multiplying their usefulness and increasing the debt of the community and this race to their founders and teachers.

1. First schools for Negroes after Civil War.
2. What was "Freedmen's Bureau"?
3. When and how did Presbyterian Church begin the Freedmen work?
4. When was Board incorporated, and why?
5. Why located in Pittsburgh?
6. Transfers opposed.
7. Is a special Board desirable?
8. Views of General Assemblies,
9. Importance of parochial schools.
10. Why are boarding schools desirable for Negroes?
11. Are these schools variously located?
12. What can be said of results?
13. Why not always enlarge such schools?

QUOTATIONS

“God never dooms any race to perpetual inferiority.”

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

“I see a beautiful city and a brilliant people rising from this abyss, and in their struggles to be truly free, I see the evil of this time, and of the previous time, of which this is the natural birth, gradually making expiation for itself and wearing out.”

“The Creator never made a race of people which the Gospel and civilization cannot reach.”

So like de 'postles in de jail
 We waited for de Lord.
An' now He open ebery door
 An' trow away de key.
We tink we lub Him so before,
 We lub Him better free.
De grain will grow, de cotton blow,
 He'll gib de rice an' corn.
O neber you fear, if nebber you hear
 De driver blow his horn.

WHITTIER.

The United States Commissioner of Education, Dr. John J. Tigert, a native of Tennessee, who has always lived in the South says: "The neglect of negro education has resulted in an immeasurable loss to the country. It has affected not only the material prosperity, especially of the South, where the negro population is greatest, but has likewise affected the standard of living and the character of citizenship, and has injured the morale of our people. If we had long ago made provision for the technical education of our negro population, the increase in the value of products, both agricultural and manufacturing, would have been incalculably great. The intangible and immaterial benefits which would have accrued can scarcely be estimated, nor can we form any estimate of what would have been the effect upon the negro himself by way of encouragement, arousing his ambition and increasing his value as a citizen."

CHAPTER IX

THE NEGRO AS A CITIZEN

It was said of Mr. Gladstone, when he was Prime Minister, that he made the reading of the National Financial Budget, usually so dry and uninteresting, as attractive as a great lecture. If we have any imagination, it will be possible for us to find in the statistics of the Negro in this country a story which thrills, and a record which gives a great hope. The statistics which are herewith given include the Northern Negro, and if their wealth and possessions at the time of Emancipation be deducted, and if it be remembered that the great mass of the remainder were without money, training, or tools, like a new born babe, it will be seen that the statement that "no other race so conditioned has made so marked a progress in a similar length of time," is justified. Consider this remarkable progress in fifty years—from 1866 to 1916.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS.	1866	1916
Homes Owned.....	12,000	600,000
Farms Operated	20,000	981,000
Business Conducted.....	2,100	45,000
Wealth Accumulated.....	\$20,000,000	\$1,000,000,000
EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS		
Colleges and Normal Schools....	15	500
Students in Public Schools.....	100,000	1,736,000
Teachers in all Schools.....	600	36,900
Property for Higher Education..\$	60,000	\$21,500,000
Expenditures for Education....	700,000	14,600,000
Raised by Negroes.....	80,000	1,600,000

RELIGIOUS PROGRESS

Number of Churches.....	700	42,000
Number of Communicants.....	600,000	4,570,000
Number of Sunday Schools.....	1,000	43,000
Sunday School Pupils.....	50,000	2,400,000
Value of Church Property.....	\$1,500,000	\$76,000,000

To this should be added the fact that Negro churches are contributing each year over \$200,000 for Home Mission work, and over \$100,000 to Foreign Mission work.

The advance in Negro Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. work is very significant, since outside of the financial aid given by whites, the management and success of these associations depend upon the intelligence and energy of the Negro directors. Stimulated in 1911 by the offer of Mr. Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, to give \$25,000 to any city in the United States that would provide the remaining \$75,000 toward a \$100,000 building for Y. M. C. Association work, six buildings, each costing \$100,000 and more, have been erected. Of the entire amount \$550,000 have been contributed by colored people. Then toward the Washington, D. C., building, \$27,000 was raised among the colored people. Toward the Chicago building, costing \$195,000, they contributed \$67,000, being \$17,000 more than was asked. The Indianapolis building cost \$100,000, colored contributions \$18,000; Philadelphia cost \$100,000, colored contribution \$25,000; Kansas City cost \$100,000, colored contribu-

tion \$31,000; Atlanta cost \$100,000, colored contribution \$53,000, (being \$3,000 more than was asked); Brooklyn cost \$100,000, colored contribution \$33,000; New York cost \$150,000, colored contribution \$40,000; St. Louis cost \$100,000, colored contributions \$69,000. There are associations in 110 Negro Educational institutions. There are 17 city associations of the Y. W. C. A., and 100 in Educational institutions; some of these have buildings. There has been a steady increase in the number of colored young women who attend the summer course at the National Training School, and sixteen women have been taking training for city work.

The Y. W. C. A. for the colored girls of the South is a very new thing. The Association in Richmond, Va., is the largest and best established in the Southern region. In connection with it is a training school for Y. W. C. A. workers. Columbia, S. C., Atlanta and Augusta in Georgia, Charlotte and Winston-Salem in North Carolina are the latest organizations. Charlotte, N. C., was organized in the early part of 1917, and it is thus described by its President, Mrs. McCrorey: "All of the colored associations are called branch associations. The central association is the white association with which the branch association (the colored) work through an affiliating committee composed of three women from the central and three

Y. W. C. A.

from the branch, so making the relation between the two real and active. The branch at Charlotte is the first organized under this arrangement. The central association pays the salary of our secretary, and through the affiliating committee keeps closely in touch with the work. The budget money for the first year was raised by our colored women. We rent a large room for club activities, another for audience room, another for domestic science classes, another for the Secretary's office. All these are in one building. There are classes in domestic science, sewing, knitting, dramatics, and a large class in first aid. A large number of girls seeking work have been placed in good families, and homes have been secured for many whose previous accommodation exposed them to danger. The traveler's aid committee does some effective work. The possibilities here are great, for Charlotte is a cantonment city in which there are thousands of white and colored soldiers. For the same reason the girls' club activities have a wonderful field for service, and much good work is being done. A few groups especially occur to me: one is a group of twenty or more girls of 14, 15 and 16 who work in one of our laundries. At noon they used to sit on the sidewalk to eat their lunch. Our secretary made a call on the manager to get permission to talk to the girls at their lunch hour. As a result they form one of our clubs. Another

group of girls is made up mainly of girls who serve as domestics. They meet every Thursday afternoon, and they have furnished the program for two Vesper services this past summer. The Choral Club is made up of about 30 young women who represent all the churches in the city. They do much to refine the taste of the public. There are other club activities under the leadership of able Christian women, all having for their object the deepening of the Christian life of the girls and women. The Y. W. C. A. through its war workers in a great many places in the South is giving the colored girls opportunity for all-round development. These war workers are in all centers near military camps, and work with girls from 12 years of age through the early twenties. These girls are organized into clubs for various activities, and perhaps nothing is doing more good for these girls than the outdoor games, hikes, and picnics which teach them to play, and give physical development. In cities where there are Y. W. C. A. buildings, hours are provided for working girls who do not live in the city. It is a most noticeable fact that the workers in all of those Y. W. posts are young women who have been under the influence either directly or indirectly of our Mission schools, and they are adding to the little leaven in the great heap to lift up the tremendously big mass."

Usefulness of
Graduates

Note this last paragraph, for the writer, Mrs.

McCrorey, wife of the President of Johnson C. Smith University, was for years a teacher in our Haines Memorial Seminary, at Augusta, Ga., where, in association with Miss Lucy Laney, she acquired a wide experience, and took part in the development of that remarkable school, which, along with its great educational work, organized the first Negro hospital, and trained the first colored nurses in that city. The far-reaching influence of the Board's Mission schools can never be fully estimated.

NEGROES ENGAGED IN BUSINESS

There are 38,382 thus engaged, and this does not include those operating barber shops, blacksmith and shoe shops, and several other classes of business. Probably 5,000 or more should be added for such persons. These business enterprises range from jewelers (206), wholesale merchants (241), drugs and medicines (695), through almost every form of respectable business — the larger numbers being builders and contractors (3,107), grocers (5,550), and restaurant keepers (6,369).

The Negro workers in factories are to a large extent doing the rougher work, but the general tendency is upward. In 1900 the number was 131,000, in 1910 it was 358,000. In textile industry, the number in 1900 was 2,949, in 1910 it was

11,000. In the main class of occupations there were in

	1900	1910
Agricultural Pursuits.....	2,143,000	2,893,000
Professional Service.....	41,000	69,929
Domestic Service.....	1,324,160	1,099,715
Trade and Transportation.....	209,154	425,000
Manufacturing and Mechanical.....	704,174	275,000

It will be noticed that in Domestic service there has been a decrease of 17 per cent.

BANKS

There are now forty-eight Negro banks, capitalized at about \$1,600,000.00 and doing an annual business of about \$20,000,000.00. In 1863, there were only two newspapers in the United States published by colored persons. There are now 450 periodicals published by and for Negroes. As classified, they are: Religious periodicals, seventy-eight; school periodicals, sixty-eight; magazines of general literature, seven; fraternal, thirty; newspapers, 277.

FARMERS AND FARM OWNERS

In 1910 there were 893,000 Negro farmers, and in the same year 218,000 Negro farm owners. In every State in the period from 1900 to 1910, there was an increase in the number of farm owners.

PHYSICIANS AND HOSPITALS

In 1910 there were reported 3,777 Negro physicians, 2,433 trained nurses, and also 478 dentists. Dr. Daniel H. Williams, of Chicago, is said to have been the first surgeon to successfully perform an operation on the human heart.

There are now some ninety-three hospitals and training schools operated for Negroes. With a few exceptions, they are conducted by Negroes.

A few years ago the Philadelphia "Press" said editorially: "Where the Negro communities in our Northern cities and Southern States relied wholly twenty years ago on white physicians, they now have their own. In the South the Negro physician is receiving a recognition achieved by no other member of his race. In many cities he is received in consultation by white practitioners, and in more than one Southern county the young Negro doctor fresh from a Northern college, is the best equipped and best educated physician in the country-side."

LAWYERS

In 1910 there were 779 lawyers in the United States, two of whom were women.

NEGRO IN ART AND LITERATURE

Among the painters only a few will be named. E. M. Barmister, of Providence, R. I., was the

founder of the Providence Art Club, and in 1876 his pictures were awarded a medal at the Centennial Exposition.

Henry O. Tanner, born at Pittsburgh, and son of Bishop Tanner of the A. M. E. Church, resides in Paris. The French Government has purchased a number of his paintings for its collection of the modern arts in the Luxembourg Gallery, among them "The Raising of Lazarus." Among younger artists is W. E. Scott, who took the Magnus Brand Prize at Chicago for two successive years.

Among sculptors is Edmonia Lewis, whose most noted works are "The Marriage of Hiawatha," "The Freed Woman," and "The Death of Cleopatra." The last mentioned was exhibited at the Centennial Exposition.

Meta Vaux Warwich exhibited in the Paris Salon in 1903 a group entitled "The Wretches." One of her groups which was made for the Jamestown Ter-Centennial represents the advancement of the Negro since his introduction into this country as a slave in 1619.

COMPOSERS AND SINGERS

Among the specially distinguished are S. Colridge-Taylor, whose compositions are said to be marked by variety and vigorous originality, and

by tenderness of feeling. He is best known by his Hiawatha trilogy. Others are James R. Europe, the leader of the National Negro Orchestra, and author of "The Strength of the Nation"; J. Rosamond Johnson, who has written light operas for Klaw and Erlanger, such as "Under the Bamboo Tree"; while DeKoven Thompson is noted as the composer of "Dear Lord, Remember Me," and "If I Forget," etc.

Madame Marie Seteka is a singer of whom the Paris "Figaro" said, "Her Echo Song cannot be surpassed. It was beyond any criticism." Madame Sirseretta Jones is known as "Black Patti," having sung in the principal cities of Europe. The long list is remarkable. Probably many a reader has heard Harry T. Burleigh, the remarkable baritone, who for the past twenty years has been a soloist in St. George's P. E. Church, one of the leading churches of New York City. He is also a composer of note.

Among violinists, mention may be made of those of whom the American Artists' Review said recently: "The Negro race has produced two violinists who have attracted national attention as artists, Clarence Cameron White and Joseph H. Douglass. They occupy first rank among American musicians, and the race is justly proud of them."

AS ORATORS AND EXECUTIVES

In the well trained and intelligent Negro, there is a marked talent in eloquent speech. There is also much of promise in almost every line of literary work. Dr. Grimble, of Washington, the late President Sanders, of Biddle, Booker Washington, Bishop Tanner, Dr. H. H. Garnett, of N. Y., and others, indicate what opportunity and training can produce. There may be some who recognizing the marked talent of poets like Paul Lawrence Dunbar and James C. Carrothers, may regard it as natural that the poetic and songful qualities predominate in the race. But it is interesting to note on the one hand the mechanical talent displayed by some, e. g., Benjamin Bauneker, who became interested in astronomy, and made the first clock constructed in America. Bauneker published almanacs at the close of the 18th century, making his own calculations of the rising and setting of the sun and moon, and the course of the planetary system, which were so exact that they were praised by eminent Englishmen, and one of his almanacs was exhibited in the British House of Commons as an example of the capabilities of the Negro. It is interesting to note, also, that John E. Matzeler, who died in Massachusetts, in 1889, was the inventor of the first machine that performed automatically all the operation involved in attaching soles to shoes.

It would not be strange or disheartening if the Negro was found to be limited in some directions, while gifted in others, for some of the foremost races are not many-sided. Variety is a blessing. But we must guard against premature or incomplete judgment upon the capabilities of any race.

Dr. Crawford, the distinguished and experienced missionary in Africa, says in "Thinking Black": "We missionaries are accused of making big bouncing assertions about our Africans' mental ability, but we are tired of hearing the statements that the African is mentally incapable of seeing anything in the light of an abstract principle." Then he contrasts Dean Farrar's assertion that the African has "an utter deficiency in abstract." Over against this he puts the statement of Appleyard and Clement Scott, "The Bantu language has the fullest expression of the abstract," and "Bantu is highly systematic and truly philosophical."

Truly there is every encouragement to give the Negro the open door of opportunity, the advantages of any race, to make himself as large and complete an asset for the world as God meant him to be.

1. What conclusions can be drawn from statistics of Negro possessions, etc.—1886 to 1896?
2. What encouragement do the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. offer?
3. What does the latter do, and who are very useful among its workers?
4. In what branches besides farm life do Negroes progress?
5. What can be said of their physicians?
6. Have they shown the possession of talents in art, music, etc?
7. What can be said of a possible lack of some special gifts?

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

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

The love of God and neighbor
And equal-handed labor;
The richer life, where beauty
Walks hand in hand with duty.

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

WHITTIER

CHAPTER X

THE NEGRO IN THE EUROPEAN WAR

It is estimated that over 400,000 Negroes have entered the army of the United States, and the universal opinion of officers, and those permitted to observe them in all conditions of camp life and warfare, is commendatory and laudatory. The loyalty and patriotism of the great mass is remarkable. Without murmur, and, except in a few cases, without hesitation they have accepted the call to enlist, or the summons of the draft. It has been pointed out by Prof. DuBois that there is no caviling, or resistance because the white people and the government have treated them with injustice, or without consideration. No class of persons could more readily have shown a list of acknowledged grievances, or with greater cause shrunk from defending a country which has made their race the only neglected and oppressed race within its bounds. Yet, in spite of such memories, the Negroes have shown a remarkable willingness to serve and battle and die for this country. Some are, of course, not clearly appreciative, at the beginning for what they are to fight, but once informed, once shown the greatness of the army's aim, they accept enthusiastically the great principles. They are not pacifists or slackers, who resist

Magnanimous

all reasoning and are indifferent to all light. This is true even of those who are drafted.

Thus Dr. Davidson of the Y. M. C. A. at Camp Dix says: "A lot of the boys (Negroes) go into the army with a disgruntled feeling that they are being forced to do something. They are not in camp two days before that is overcome. They want to know what they are fighting for. Some of them can't see that they have enjoyed any democracy, especially those from the South, but they get it in camp. We point out to them the dangers assailing the nation, and how they would have nothing left worth living for if the Germans won, which is all that is ever necessary." No finer spirit has been shown by any soldiers than by the many Negroes who have enlisted. And it is not only the magnificent and enthusiastic singing by a regiment of 3,000 Negro soldiers in Fifth Avenue, New York City, of "Over There," when they received their flag from the Governor, but it is the persistence of the fine qualities, the loyalty, patience, bravery, reliability under every trial and most fearful peril. So said the Colonel of a Negro regiment, "Yes, they were green at the start, but they are as game as any man in this army. They weren't afraid of the cold and wet and terrific labor where they worked last winter, down near the coast of France, on as mean a job as anybody ever tackled. They were up to their waists in cold water part of the time—yes,

Unflinching

most of the time they were—but not one of them flinched. And believe me there's no flinching among them now that we are up against the Huns. It isn't hard to send them into danger, the hard part is to keep them from going into it of their own accord. They say the dark races can't stand high explosives, that their nerves go to pieces under the strain of the terrific concussion. If that be so, the representatives of the dark races that came from America are the exceptions to the rule." Concerning this quality of the American Negro Harrison Rhodes gives the testimony of a commanding officer of one of the first Negro regiments to see active service in France. As a white man his opinion along this line is authoritative. In answer to the question, Will the American Negro stand up under the terrific shell fire of this war as he has always stood under rifle and thus prove his superiority, spiritually and intellectually to all the black men of Africa and Asia, who have failed under these conditions and whose use must be limited to attack or for shock troops? he says "Both my two battalions, which have gone in, have been under shell fire, serious and prolonged, and the boys just laughed and cuddled into their shelters and read old newspapers. It was getting very warm around the rolling kitchen. The cooks went about their business in absolute unconcern, until the alarmed French soldiers ran to them, and told them to beat

**Calmness
Under Fire**

it. One of the cooks, said: 'Oh, that's all right, boss! They ain't hurting us none.' They are positively the most stoical and mysterious men I've ever known. Nothing surprises them. And now we have expert opinion. The French officers say they are entirely different from their own African troops, and the Indian troops of the British, who are so excitable under shell fire." It may be said by some, that this is the result of a long teaching of obedience, but no such lesson creates this courage or imperviousness to alarm. It is the result of the inborn patience, calmness and steadfastness which have been so characteristic of the Negro here. He has learned how to suffer and be strong, but he has also been able to admire the finest qualities of the white, and absorbed the more admirable characteristics of the best American.

We are led to ask what this war will do for the Negro. First it will educate and broaden many. While we speak encouragingly of the diminished illiteracy of the Negro, especially in the South, we must not forget that this population is increasing every year. There are not sufficient schools or teachers to reach many thousands of these people. There are great multitudes practically unreached by reading, writing and arithmetic. A considerable number of these recruits can neither read nor write. Many of these will re-

ceive some instructions, and so return better qualified for life.

Second, it will give many a broader outlook of life, a more extensive knowledge of the world, than they ever could obtain on a Mississippi farm, or in a South Carolina hamlet. Bacon said "Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience." For these Negroes it will be both. Think of the altered outlook on life, indicated by this part of a letter written by an eighteen-year-old private to his old mother in New York: "Mammy, these French people don't bother with no color-line business. They treat us so good, that the only time I ever know I'm colored is when I look in the glass." With what new ideas, changed ambitions, different desires, such men, who have crossed the ocean, and seen new lands, peoples, customs, must return! Well might it be possible to say of them, as Dr. Davidson says of those at Camp Dix, "Another thing that is rare among the white soldiers is the fact that grace is said by the Negroes before every mess." (In justice to the white soldiers of another camp, it should be said that this invocation was customary there.)

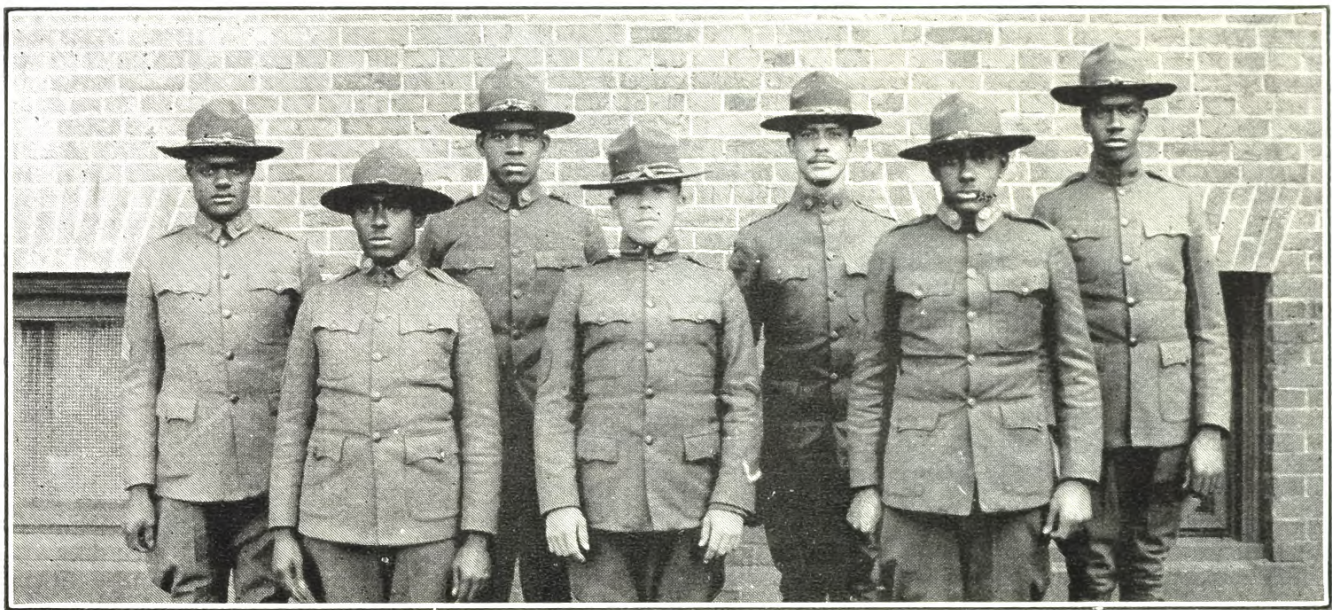
Color
Line

Third, there will be an influence on both black and white. Dr. Davidson says: "This war is going to do more for the Negro than any other one thing in the world's history. Not only is there

New Views

the wonderful broadening of the Negro himself through the education he receives from direct instructions offered, the opportunity for observation furnished by vital travel, and the influence of well regulated army life, but, bigger and more important, the bringing him into intimate relation with his white brothers, thereby enabling each to see the good qualities of the other as never before. Unjust prejudices on both sides will come pretty near to being wiped out when the boys come marching home. The average white man bases his opinion of the whole colored race on what he learns first hand from those in menial occupations. Especially is this true in the South, where the vast majority of Negroes have occupied no other stations. Now the white man and the colored man are fighting side by side in the same cause, fighting for liberty, justice and everything that is good and right. A fellow-feeling cements them in the crisis. It forces upon each a realization of the other's virtues as they battle shoulder to shoulder."

Irvin S. Cobb, writing after a varied and close inspection of the Negro troops in France, says: "They were soldiers who wore their uniforms with a smartened pride; they were jaunty and alert in their movements. I am of the opinion personally—and I make the assertion with all the better grace, I think, seeing that I am a Southerner with all the Southerner's inherited and acquired preju-



SOLDIER BOYS, JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY

dices on the question—that as a result of what our black soldiers are going to do in the war, a word that has been uttered billions of times in our country, sometimes in derision, sometimes in hate, sometimes in all kindness, but which I am sure never fell on black ears but it left a sting for the heart—is going to have a new meaning for all of us, South and North too, and that hereafter n-i-g-g-e-r will merely be another way of spelling the word ‘American.’”

In the journal of the American Bar Association, Ex-Justice Charles E. Hughes writes: “It is a hard saying, but it may well be that America needed the war to get rid to some extent of the impurities of class distinction, of racial bigotry, a separateness of urban provincialism and sectional selfishness, and to give us the new America with a better appreciation of our mutual dependence, of the necessity of co-operating and of the worth of character, regardless of race or color or sex or fortune.”

Fourth, there will be widespread effects both North and South. Thousands of these army-trained Negroes will return to their families and friends, with stories more interesting than their great predecessor Othello, with views and ideas which they will impart to, and which cannot fail to have a great influence upon, the home-staying class, and the youthful listeners.

Danger of Experiences

Many will not return to the South, since they have had a taste of large life, and more interesting conditions. For good or evil, they will dwell in the North, with what results or influences no one can tell. Only let us remember that travel, experience, greater knowledge, new hopes, do not of themselves establish or regenerate character. South or North, these changed Negroes need a strong religious influence, and a true Gospel. Even if they develop into good workmen, or strong and intellectual leaders, there is one thing needful, and of itself army life does not give this. So they need true religious leaders, and especially in the South, they will need more than ever the Christian schools and academies, where the eager youth of both sexes shall be taught the true citizenship, the true family life, the Bible-governed home, from which, as in Scotland, our country's grandeur and prosperity and peacefulness spring.

1. What can be said of the loyalty of the Negro in the present war?
2. What effect has the denial of rights and justice had upon the Negro's patriotism?
3. Opinion of white soldiers concerning bravery and reliability of colored troops.
4. Contrast with other dark races.
5. What has given the Negro this calmness?
6. What is likely to be the effect of the war on the Negro?
7. What danger to the Negro character and life may arise from this experience?
8. What does this call for?

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH
CAROLINA, ARMY OF THE JAMES:

January 8, 1865.

To the Colored Troops of the Army of the James:

In this army you have been treated not as laborers, but as soldiers. You have shown yourselves worthy of the uniform you wear. Your bravery has won the admiration even of those who would be your masters. Your patriotism, fidelity and courage have illustrated the best qualities of manhood. With the bayonet you have unlocked the iron-barred gates of prejudice, opening new fields of freedom, liberty and equality of right to yourself and your race forever. Comrades of the Army of the James, I bid you farewell! Farewell!

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,
Major General Commanding.

CHAPTER XI

THE NEGRO: ARE WE DEBTORS TO HIM?

This question is rarely asked, and its answer is not intelligently sought. His unpopularity among the thoughtless and selfish; the prejudice against him because of his servitude and assumed inferiority; the antagonism aroused by some criminal or misguided individuals of his race, lead us often to think of him as the White Man's Burden in America, and not his creditor. Strange inconsistency! The very wrongs we have done him, the consequence of the defiling and debasing conditions in which we have held, and from which we have reluctantly freed him under the Divine compulsion, are employed by many to hide our responsibility, and exonerate us from the payment of the debt every honorable nature confesses.

There is a consideration often employed to lessen this responsibility and excuse neglect, viz: the reference to the period of Reconstruction following the Civil War, and the foolish legislation in which a small number of Negroes, comparatively, took part under the leadership of dishonest whites. This is not the place to fully discuss the wisdom or unwisdom of Congressional action, but it is well for a removal of some of the oft repeated

Recon-
struction
Trouble no
Excuse

charges made against the Negro,—charges employed by some novelists and pageant makers to embitter public sentiment regarding the Negro, that some historical facts should be made known.

First, it should be remembered that in the Legislatures of the Southern States from 1868 to 1876, with the exception of that of South Carolina, the white members of these Legislatures always outnumbered the blacks. If this minority of blacks was led into wrong legislation by the majority of whites, it is scarcely just to hold them, in their ignorance, alone responsible for such wrongs.

Second, it should be remembered that it was a period not only of great confusion, but of possible injury to the Negro. The late Senator Hoar (certainly not a bitter partisan) said: "President Johnson permitted the whites of the South in several States to take into their hands again the power of government. They proceeded to pass laws which if carried out would have had the effect of reducing the Negro once more to a condition of practical slavery. Men were to be sold for the crime of being out of work. Their old masters were to have the preference in the purchase. So the whole Republican party of the North came to be united in the belief that there could be no security of the liberty of the Freedmen without the ballot." (Autobiography, vol II.) Thus it will be seen, there is no real ground for excusing a neglect of or

hostility toward a right treatment of the Negro now, because forty years ago there were dishonest legislators, or a few wicked whites and blacks.

There is nothing in these conditions to veil the fact that we do owe the Negro something. First, there were 250 years of unpaid labor, of unrequited toil on the part of the Negro. It is impossible to estimate the principal and interest of these unpaid wages. Nor is it necessary, for they cannot be perfectly paid, as the best advantages, comforts, and joys which they might have afforded never can be given. But this is clear, that the descendants of a race so misused and impoverished,—the hire of laborers for generations withheld, and misapplied, have upon us a larger and insistent claim for generous and broadminded treatment.

Second, We owe them a deep and sincere sympathy and intelligent recognition of their difficulties, for which we inherit a responsibility. We owe them a kindly and generous appreciation of their obstacles, the handicap of their prolonged oppression, the tendencies and qualities, which we are too ready to blame them for constitutionally, while they are the consequences of the slavery out of which they were not helped or permitted to rise. Sympathy, not criticism; the Golden Rule, not the arrogance of privilege, is our debt to them.

Third, we owe them much for the financial results they produced, yet in which they could not

share. It is true as Frederick L. Olmstead noted in his journey in the Black Country (the slave States), that five or six slaves were not more effective or productive than two white men in the North. Yet the slaves did develop the South, producing large quantities of cotton and tobacco, and so creating a wealth in which the whole country shared. For thus the South with its **many** plantations, largely a rural region, having few manufactories or sources of supply for implements, meats and clothing, became a large, un-failing customer of the North. Did not the Negro create much of this increasing prosperity, though for him there were no advancing wages, no savings bank deposits, no home brightened or beautified?

Fourth, there is debt difficult to measure, and to be repaid only by a lasting remembrance, and affectionate recollection. Let a Southerner who recalls the dangers of his own people, Dr. Riley, tell the story of the remarkable gentleness and trustworthiness of the Negro: "He was the guardian of the helpless women and children of the South while the husband and sons were at the distant front doing battle to preserve the shackles of servitude on his limbs; against him was not a whisper of unfaithfulness or of disloyalty during all this trying and bloody period; when the land was invaded by armies which sought his freedom, he remained faithful still, and often at great personal

Negro in
Civil War

risk of life secreted from the invader the horses and mules, and buried the treasures of the family that they might not fall into the hands of the enemies of the whites, but the friends of the slave himself; in many thousands of instances he declined to accept freedom when it was offered by the invading army, preferring to remain loyal and steadfast to the charge committed to him by the absent master. All this and more the Negro slave did. There was not a day during the trying period of the Civil War when he might not have disbanded the Southern armies.”

What other people known in history ever behaved with similar conduct? History is without a parallel of conduct like this. If the Northern reader feels that this casts upon the South an especial obligation, it cannot be denied. And if that same reader feels a temptation to ask if this conduct of the slaves was not resistance to their friends, let us ask ourselves, whether after all, the Northerner does not feel an enrichment by such a display of faithfulness under oppression, trustworthiness toward those who had denied them every hope, the display of a kind and forgiving spirit under conditions few of us ever meet? We at least can admire and feel much is due to such natures, to characters capable of such devotion. And as we are one country and one people, Dr. Riley’s estimate of the conduct of the Negroes at

the close of the War is impressive: "When the armies of the South capitulated and freedom came with suddenness to the Southern slave, did he assert his right to any portion of the property of which he was the chief creator? Did he set up a claim which would have been the occasion of fresh disorder to the Southern soldier on his return to his home in his tattered jacket of grey? So far from that being true, not a syllable of demand, not a murmur was heard from the lips of the millions of the recently enslaved. On the other hand, many thousands readily joined in the endeavor to save the growing crops in the eventful spring of 1865, and as much to the Negro as to any other is the country indebted that there was not dire want entailed in consequence of the war, which would have been in addition to the disastrous effects of the conflict."

Patience

Fifth, we owe much to the Negro for the filtration into our national life and character of a strong spirit of patience and enduring. It is not without an enriching quality, that we see around and among us this spirit of gentleness, of unimpassioned endurance. Races that mingle with us and are marked by passion, hate, violence, murderous tendencies are antagonistic to our liberty and our laws, and our ideals. We believe in the declaration, "The meek shall inherit the earth," and our civilization has its hardest trials and its greatest

damages when fiery and impatient immigrants make among us their home.

We talk of the criminal Negro, but keep him from contact with the base and lawless white, give him room for a light development, and he soon becomes a worthy citizen. It is said that among all the graduates of the higher institutions in the South for the Negro, not one has been found a violator of the law.

Sixth, we owe somewhat to the Negro for his cheering and brightening influence in life. God gave him a kindly spirit of laughter and song which kept him from sullen despair, and helped him to suffer and be strong. And still that humor and wit, that cheerfulness which is akin to courage, flows out upon us. Samuel Johnson said of the death of Garrick, "It eclipsed the gayety of nations, and impoverished the stock of harmless pleasure." More and more we are realizing, or should realize, that among the contributions of the Negro to our civilization and thought, is the wonderful gift of humor, the increased gayety and happiness which are wrought by his cheerful wit, and the light and shade of his joyous character, Like the remarkable and yet truthful character in the great story of Uncle Tom, he is ever saying: "Children, think on the mercies, think on the mercies!" And so, like Paul, he helps men to rejoice always.

Humor

1. Why is our indebtedness to the Negro not realized?
2. What was the Reconstruction period?
3. What is the fact in regard to Negro majorities in Legislatures?
4. Why was protection thought desirable for the Negro?
5. Assuming that the Southern Whites were oppressed by Reconstruction, what bearing has this upon the present Negro?
6. What are some elements of our indebtedness to the Negro?
7. What qualities did he show in the Civil War?
8. Proportion of rightly educated Negro in criminal class?

(Not long after the close of the Civil War, Gen. O. O. Howard addressed one of the Freedmen's schools, and at the close expressed a desire to carry some message to the Northern people. "What shall I tell them from you?" and a little black boy rose quickly and said, "Tell 'em, Massa, we is rising.")

Out from the life where beasts of the field,
Homeless and thoughtless, no labor could yield
The treasures of freedom, and dull eyed we passed
From walking to slumber, to grave at the last,
Into the battle for God and the right,
Into the service where Christ is our light,
"We is rising."

Gen. 50:20. "As for you, ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good, to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive."

JOSEPH'S VIEW OF HIS SLAVERY.

CHAPTER XII

WAYS AND MEANS

As Christians and patriots, this study of the condition, value and future of the Negro ought to create a great questioning, a sincere curiosity as to what should be done, and what is our responsibility. We are met by this statement of an observant Southerner, Mr. E. G. Murphy, in "The Present South": "It is an utter impossibility to secure the Negro's educational development speedily by the South." We are met, also, by the acknowledged fact that there is an intense opposition to any adequate provision for the education of the Negro. This opposition manifests itself in two ways; first, by the public assertion that education destroys the dependent spirit of the Negro, which many whites regard as desirable; second, by such a process of intimidation, (mental and financial, as persuades many earnest, intelligent and Christian friends of the Negro to refrain from an open advocacy of such education and assistance. The first is clear from the remarks of Senator Tillman; "Every man can see that with the Negroes constantly going to school, the increasing number of people who can read and write among the colored race will in time encroach upon our white men;" from the declara-

Education
Opposed

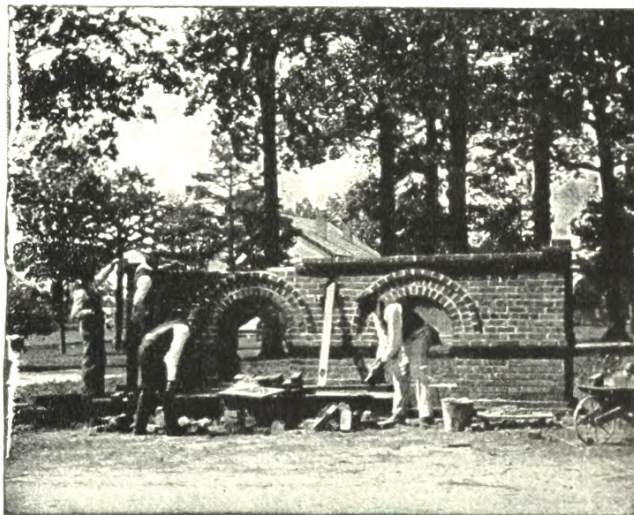
tion of Gov. Vardaman, of Mississippi: "What the North is sending South is not money, but dynamite; this education is ruining our Negroes. They're demanding equality;" from the assertion of Hoke Smith, of Georgia: "I believe the wise course is to plant ourselves squarely upon the proposition in Georgia, that the Negro is in no respect the equal of the white man, and that he cannot in the future in this State occupy a position of equality." Also, "Those Negroes who are contented to occupy the position of inferiority, the natural status of their race, will be treated with greater kindness."

It is very evident that, unless these views were quite popular, these political leaders would not give expression to them so unreservedly and forcibly. The second appears from the acknowledgments made by men of prominence and high character in various parts of the South.

Quoted by Ray Stannard Baker is the following: "I once talked with the editor of a newspaper in the South who said to me, 'such and such is my belief!' But I said to him, 'You take just the opposite position in your paper.' 'Yes, but I can't talk out; it would ruin my business.'" And this: Chancellor Hill of the University of Georgia said: "Have we freedom of opinion in the South? Must every man who thinks above a whisper do so at the peril of his reputation and influence or at the



PRINTING



BRICKLAYING

deadlier risk of having an injury inflicted upon the institution he represents?"

President Meserve, of Raleigh, N. C., in conversation with a lawyer of prominence, learned that his views of the Negro question, and his proper treatment, were similar to his own. Naturally Dr. Meserve asked him why he did not give public expression to such views, or seek to disseminate them for the great need; but the answer was: "I dare not. Public sentiment is too strong. I should be ostracized." Nor is this an imaginary peril—a figment of timidity. A number of Southern gentlemen have found it a well grounded fear, and have paid the cost socially, politically and financially. George W. Cable, because of his gentle advocacy of justice and kindness for the Negro was compelled to seek a residence in the North. Prof. Andrew Slade was compelled to resign from Emory College in Georgia, because he published in the Atlantic Monthly an article taking a point of view not supported by the majority in Southern sentiment.

Unpopularity
of Friends

A well known lawyer of Montgomery, Ala., Alexander Troy, recently wrote: "Should any one ask 'Has not Booker Washington's school been of benefit to the Negroes?' the so-called philanthropists of the North would say 'Yes,' but a hundred thousand white people of Alabama would say 'No.' Ask any gentleman from the country what

he thinks of the matter, and a very large majority of them will tell you that they never saw a Negro benefitted by education, but hundreds ruined. He ceases to be a hewer of wood and drawer of water."

Northern
Aid
Necessary

Now this should convince every thoughtful mind that for his hearty and thorough mental and religious training, for his complete education as a man, a citizen, as parent and Christian, the Negro is largely dependent upon the sympathy and assistance and benevolence of the North. That such assistance is being given is a great encouragement. But our study will have missed an important truth, a fact of incalculable meaning, if the supreme need of an all around education, a training of the soul as well as the mind and hand, is a necessity. Therefore, while we rejoice in the large gifts and endowments which make up such funds as the Rockefeller, Jeane, Slater and Peabody, the interest of which is expended by such wise and sympathetic administrators as Dr. Dillard, and others, not one of these funds is designed to directly assist in religious education, or in the training of Christian teachers, or avowedly in the maintenance of schools where the Bible is taught. They seek the development of primary schools, and the betterment of school facilities, and industrial training, but they make no pretense of the establishment or support of churches or Bible schools, or of Seminaries

where the best development of the mind shall keep step with a development of conscience, morality, and a knowledge of God's Word. Such assistance or education is left almost entirely to religious agencies. If these do not do this work, it will not be done. We have seen from our study that the untrained Negro ministry cannot be relied upon, that the usual Negro church is not religiously helpful, and we know that a half-truth is often more dangerous than a falsehood, we know the Negro communities have not the teachers or the finances to provide for themselves. The responsibility rests upon Christians. This is recognized by other churches than the Presbyterian, and with a growing earnestness. But while none surpasses the Presbyterian in the extent or efficiency or results of this work, no Church is doing all it should, none is giving the Negro this full aid, which neither the State nor private secular benevolence can or will give him. And the Christian Churches have a right to "magnify their office." Many persons speak very emphatically of the untrained, idle Negro, and the desirability of making him upright, chaste, industrious, and yet experience teaches us that nothing will make Negro men and women chaste, trustworthy, temperate and industrious, except a training which reaches the conscience, creates a true self-respect, and is based upon a real recognition of God and His law. White persons

Highest Aid
Possible Only
by Church

are no more reliable, or noticeable as the possessors of these virtues, without a Christian training, than are the Negroes.

As one of these agencies the Presbyterian Church, through its Freedmen's Board, has a work of more importance than the States or unbelieving individuals can perform. This it is attempting to accomplish by the training and commissioning of ministers, and the formation of churches. Never, unless absolutely necessary, does the Board pay the full salary or expenses. It puts before each congregation the aim and ideal of their own full support, and from time to time, churches do reach such "full support." Knowing the value of religious education in childhood, it encourages parochial or church schools, where the Bible and Catechism are intertwined with the "Three R's." Then, as has been noted in the chapter on education, academies, seminaries and higher schools are established and maintained in destitute regions. Of these the principal ones are Ingleside, Burkeville, Va., Scotia, Concord, N. C., Barber Memorial, Anniston, Ala., Crockett, Texas—these being boarding schools for girls, and some of them with applicants equaling in number those who can be received. Then there are fifteen co-educational boarding schools; Mary Potter at Oxford, N. C., Albion at Franklinton, N. C., Dayton at Carthage, N. C.; in South Carolina, Brainerd at Chester, Im-

**Ideals of
Presbyterian
Church**

manuel at Aiken; in Georgia, Haines at Augusta and Selden Institute at Brunswick; in Tennessee, Swift Memorial at Rogersville; in Arkansas, Cotton Plant at Cotton Plant, Richard Allen at Pine Bluff, Monticello at Monticello, Arkadelphia at Arkadelphia; in Oklahoma, Alice Lee Elliott Memorial at Valliant; in Kentucky, Fee Memorial at Camp Nelson. At Irmo, S. C., Harbison Agricultural College is located with some five hundred acres of land, and a high class community of Negro landowners is being developed.

Besides these, there are a number of Academies and High Schools, such as Danville, Va., Sumter, S. C., Palatka, Fla., Newman, Ga., Mayesville, S. C. Thus with its smaller schools the Board has, outside of its church work, one hundred and forty schools, each doing its own work in larger or smaller communities, with the highest aim for character and usefulness, the trained heart using the trained mind and trained hand, to fulfill the whole duty of man. Nor does it stop here, for at the apex of its educational work is Johnson C. Smith University at Charlotte, N. C., where it has gained the goodwill and regard of all worthy whites, offering to the capable and aspiring Negro the higher education along all those lines which may fit him for a true leadership and a wider usefulness, in secular or religious life.

The board is seeking also, by selling small tracts

of land to Negroes, to establish farming communities and encourage, on easy terms, the possession by Negroes of their own homes and means of support.

No overlapping or Competition

Let it not be conceived that, since the Board has attempted to provide for these communities, there is any probability of overlapping the work of other churches or agencies. In eleven Southern States there are large sections entirely unreached and unsupplied, and it has been the avowed policy of the Board to never enter upon or diminish the field or opportunities of any other Christian agency. It has expressed a willingness to refrain from its work in even an entire State, if it can be assured that some other Church will adequately meet the needs. Let there be no confusion of thought in this respect, or any misconception. So large is the field and so much remains undone that instead of a thought of rivalry or overlapping institutions, the Christian, acquainted with the great multitudes unsought or unreached, the regions unsupplied with a true school or church, will cry concerning all that has been done, all that has been established: "What are these among so many?"

Let us point the moral of all this. Does any one ask: "What can I do? How shall I help?" First, there is the more generous support through the Church collections or contributions. All of these are used to assist ministers, encourage churches,

and provide the large and smaller schools. It should be clear that such contributions should be as large as possible, reliable and hearty, so that the Board may enlarge, if possible, or rightly develop its work. Pastors, sessions and individuals should emphasize the importance of a large and generous support to a work which to the careless and prejudiced is far from popular.

Second, there is the assumption by individuals of the salary of a minister or a teacher. The amount is not large, and such support is exceedingly encouraging.

How to Help

Third, the payment of scholarships in the boarding schools. While the pupil must do considerable toward his or her support in addition, the provision of a scholarship assists the Board in meeting the expenses of the school as to food. By work in various ways, the scholar is made to not only assist in defraying the educational expense, but taught to appreciate what is being given, to realize the responsibility, and after graduation to be "a debtor" to others.

Fourth, Legacies. Considerable sums have been received by the Board from this naturally uncertain source. It is delightful to think of such gifts exercising a power, and producing eternal results, long after the giver has gone to the tasks of Heaven. It is hoped pastors and friends will suggest to those whom God has made stewards of

His bounty, to a small as well as a large degree, the richness and usefulness of a legacy to the Board. Men and women have made very large bequests to work among the Negro by institutions and agencies which made no pretense to religious aims, or Christian character. Shall not, will not Christians be wise, as children of the light, and attempt by such a devout use of "the mammon of unrighteousness" to secure friends among the long oppressed Negroes who shall welcome them in Heaven?

Let us as patriots and Christians consider that this is not "a work of one day or two." As in every other great moral and uplifting task, there is great need of patience, courage, faith and confidence in the promises of God. Many of us are too apt to feel shortlived enthusiasms, and to be discouraged, if success is not immediate, or progress slow. But we are dealing with a growing and important race. Probably within 50 years there will be 25 millions of Negroes in this land. Shall they be elements of benefit and good citizenship or political and social burdens?

More than a century ago, a Judge, in Eastern Pennsylvania discovered anthracite coal as a fuel, and, against the jeering unbelief of his neighbors, proved that rightly used it was valuable beyond estimate. Then those who had seen in the black stones on their farms, only an increased barrenness

and burden, awoke to the fact that prosperity and riches were thrust upon them. There were acres of black diamonds, for like the glistening diamonds, science tells us an anthracite is the purest form of carbon. Here, and in other lands, we have looked upon the Negro as a hardship, a detriment, an obstacle, but we are discovering that there are black diamonds, the Negro resources, character, force and genius may be a great asset, a powerful element assisting in our civilization, an added riches and joy to the world. Use them according to God's laws revealed in nature and the Bible, and they shall add to the light and warmth and power of mankind.

Black
Diamonds

1. What does our study show of probable speedy educational development by South?
2. What view do some take of Negro education?
3. Difficulties of those who favor the progress of the Negro.
4. **From whom must aid come?**
5. What kind of education is furnished by the large secular funds?
6. Why can they be expected to attempt no moral training?
7. Aims and methods of Presbyterian Church in elevation of Negro.
8. How are the funds of the Freedmen's Board obtained?
9. How can individuals assist?

A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE

The War is over. What effect that conflict and its conditions shall have upon the Negro in America we cannot predict. We do know, however, that the loyalty and devotion of the Negro to America has stood a great test, and his patriotism, despite his past trials has been admirable. Four hundred thousand Negroes entering the service of the United States, have brought this race to the attention of our country. They cannot return from such an experience without enlarged ideas and greater ambitions. Labor and industry of every kind have been disturbed, and migration has affected the South.

The American Federation of Labor has determined to let into its unions the whole great mass of Negro workers. Whether the unionism of Negro labor shall be at once accepted in the South or not, the effect of this action must be ultimately encouraging and developing to the Negro. Its tendency will be toward an equal wage for equal work regardless of race, and result in greater hopefulness and more contented conditions.

The War has had an effect upon the Negro girl and woman. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. and Red Cross work have interested many of these girls. They have had a new outlook. They have caught a larger vision. Life means more to them, and desires increase. It is for these that

our Seminaries and larger schools are so necessary, to guide, inspire, refine and prepare. To have greater cravings, and longings is no blessing, unless purified and controlled by a true wisdom.

With such an outlook, the Christian Church feels called to lay a greater stress on Christian education, on a training which shall prepare the Negro to be not only a successful laborer, but a reliable citizen, a worthy husband and father, one who seeks first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. Such a preparation it believes can be made by only Christian agencies; and with this race growing in numbers and ambitions and skill, it knows that secular agencies, even if they were provided, as they are not, could never make the Negro a perfect man, or a nation's hope.

As God has blessed these Christian means, and through them produced cheering results, we take no anxious thought for the morrow. The wrongs of two and a half centuries cannot be healed in a few years. Ujjust race prejudice cannot be eradicated easily. But where Christ leads, where conscience commands, where justice points, where distress or need appeal, God's people will surely follow.

Long years may pass, but Christians measure time
 By God's great dial, a thousand years a day.
 Ages are but the fire-flies' gleam to those
 Who work with God, and trust and work and pray.