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THE NEGRO IN EDUCATION ¹

In the early history of America there were three types of settlements—the French, Spanish, and English. In the French Provinces the teachings of the "Code Noir" made it incumbent upon the masters to teach the slaves, at least to read, in order, of course, that they might read the Bible; and in the Spanish districts the Latin custom of miscegenation prevented the rise of objections to the teaching of slaves, in case there should be any who cared to instruct the Negroes. In the English Provinces, on the other hand, since teaching the slaves would probably result in their becoming Christians, the colonists naturally were strenuous in their efforts to prevent any enlightenment of the blacks, due to the existence of an unwritten law to the effect that no Christian

might be held a slave. Many planters forbade the teaching of their slaves, until finally the Bishop of London settled the difficulty by issuing a formal declaration in which he stated that conversion did not work manumission.²

The rudimentary education of Negroes was one of the first claims on pioneer Christian teachers. Although the *Negro Year Book* for 1914-15 makes note of a public school for Indians and Negroes established in 1620, according to Brawley and Du Bois, the first schools to be established were private institutions.³ In New York City in 1704 a school was opened for Negroes and Indians by Elias Neau and in 1750 Anthony Benezet established an evening school for the blacks in Philadelphia. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel established in Charleston in 1744 a mission school, in which two Negroes were employed to instruct their fellowmen. The free Negroes in Charleston established a school in 1774 and those in Boston started a school in 1798. In 1764 the editor of a paper in Williamsburg, Virginia, opened a school for Negroes and in 1800 a schoolhouse and 350 acres of ground were left by the will of Robert Pleasants to be used for the benefit of Negro children.⁴ About this same time in Newark, New Jersey, the Kosciusko School was established by means of a sum amounting to \$13,000 left by Kosciusko for the education

² Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, p. 24.

³ Brawley, *History of the Negro*, p. 104; Du Bois, Atlanta U. Pub. No. 16, p. 16.

⁴ Brawley, *History of the Negro*, p. 104.

of the Negroes.⁵ In the Middle West private schools had been organized by manumitted Negroes.

St. Frances Academy, established in Baltimore in 1829, by The Colored Woman's Society, was the first school for colored girls. An institute for Negro children was established in 1837 in Cheyney, Pennsylvania, with the \$10,000 left by Richard Humphries. By 1838 there were thirteen private schools in Philadelphia for the education of the Negro and in 1849 Avery College was established in Allegheny. Many of the schools were organized by church societies. The African Methodist Episcopal Church purchased in 1844 120 acres of land in Ohio upon which was opened the Union Seminary in 1847. This church later in co-operation with the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, established Wilberforce University in Ohio in 1856. Oberlin College in Ohio was opened in 1833 and Ashmun Institute, which later became Lincoln University, was established in 1854 in Pennsylvania. Nevertheless, there was in certain parts much opposition on the part of the citizens, evidenced by the mobbing of a young Quaker woman, Prudence Crandall, in Canterbury, Connecticut, in 1832, for having opened a school for Negro children; and in 1835 by the removal from the town of Noyes Academy in Canaan, New Hampshire, a school which had opened its doors to Negroes.

The efforts toward education for the Negro were disconnected and unorganized, while the laws opposing such education were

⁵ Washington, *My Larger Education*, p. 241.

fast increasing, so that the results seem very astonishing, despite the fact that so little was really accomplished. As early as 1740 South Carolina enacted a law forbidding the education of Negroes or the employment of slaves as scribes. Ohio in 1848 forbade Negroes and mulattoes to attend schools. Indiana enacted no law against Negro education but in 1850 omitted the Negroes from the school tax, which in turn resulted in their expulsion from education in that State. In 1852 Delaware enacted a law declaring the schools free for all white children over five years of age. In spite of all the regulations and severe laws opposing the education of the Negro many "clandestine schools" were held in Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans before 1860.⁶ The private schools increased in number rapidly during the early nineteenth century among the free Negroes in the District of Columbia and the border States. They were less numerous in the South except in certain particular districts. In Washington, D.C., and New Orleans it is reported that at the opening of the Civil War there were about twenty schools for Negroes established.⁷ It is also estimated that in the slave States in 1860 there were 4,000 free Negro children in school.⁸ These figures, however, are relatively small in comparison with the numbers and economic standards of the free Negroes. In 1836 in New Orleans alone the freedmen numbered 855, owned 620 slaves, and held property

⁶ Sadler, *Gr. Britain Edu. Reports*, p. 537.

⁷ Du Bois, *Atlanta U. Pub.* No. 16, p. 16.

⁸ Weatherford, *Negro Life in the South*, p. 94.

whose assessed value equaled \$2,462,470.⁹ By 1860 the total number of free Negroes was 487,970, or about one ninth of the entire black population;¹⁰ but the majority of these freedmen were in the rural districts, whereas the educational opportunities were in the cities, so that in 1863, with only 5 per cent of the Negro population literate the problem was indeed difficult, as far as the education of the black race was concerned.

The next period in the education of the Negro was a decade of the establishment of schools by the carpet-bag governments, mission societies, and the Freedmen's Bureau. Some of the schools established by the Negro carpet-baggers became very efficient. For example, in Florida, Jonathan C. Gibbs, a Negro graduate of Dartmouth, succeeded in founding in that State a splendid system of schools, which remained even after the fall of the carpet-bag governments.¹¹ The American Missionary Association was the first benevolent organization to take up the work of education. The plan of this association was to establish one school of higher learning in each of the larger States in the South; normal and graded schools in the principal cities; and common and parochial schools in the smaller country places. As a result of this program, the principal institutions established were Hampton Institute, Atlanta University, Fisk University, Straight University, Talladega College, Tougaloo University, and

⁹ Brawley, *History of the Negro*, p. 103.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹¹ Du Bois, *Atlanta U. Pub.* No. 16, p. 21.

Tillston College.¹² The American Baptist Home Mission Society started work in 1862, which resulted in eight schools: Atlanta Baptist College and Virginia Union University for men; Spelman Seminary and Hartshorn Memorial College for women; and the coeducational institutions, Bishop College, Benedict College, Shaw University, and Jackson College.¹³ In 1866, just before the beginning of the work of the Freedmen's Bureau in education, the schools so far established had in attendance nearly 100,000.¹⁴ The Freedmen's Bureau had been established in 1865 by an act of Congress and by 1867 it reported 1,056 Negro teachers and in 1870 the number was increased to 1,342. During the five years of its work, this bureau established 4,239 schools in the South, with a total number of teachers of 9,307 and of students, 247,333.¹⁵ Howard University, established in 1867, was one of these institutions. The Freedman's Aid Society was organized by the northern Methodists in 1866 and to-day this society supports fifty institutions, ten of which are collegiate.¹⁶

At the end of this period many religious agencies were establishing schools. The Episcopalians established the St. Paul Normal and Industrial School at Lawrence, Virginia, and St. Augustine's in Raleigh, North Carolina. The Roman Catholics

¹² Brawley, *History of the Negro*, p. 135.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 137.

¹⁴ Weatherford, *Negro Life in the South*, p. 94.

¹⁵ Work, *Negro Yearbook*, 1915, p. 201.

¹⁶ Brawley, *History of the Negro*, p. 139.

opened St. Joseph's Industrial School at Clayton, Delaware; St. Augustine's Academy and St. Frances' Academy. Besides these they have in the United States 87 schools for Negro children cared for by 24 sisterhoods.¹⁷ The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church has established twelve institutions, four colleges, one theological school, and seven secondary schools.¹⁸ The Presbyterian Board of Missions has established Biddle University in North Carolina, five seminaries for girls, and 70 academies and parochial schools.¹⁹ The work of this period was not only constructive as far as Negro education was concerned, but it also affected the life of the white population as well by instituting public school systems in "regions where public schools had been unknown,"²⁰ bringing about a new attitude in the South toward public schools in general, since the whites up to this time had, in the words of Colonel Richard P. Hallowell, "regarded the public school system in the North with contempt."²¹

Toward the end of this period a new type of education was introduced by the founding of Hampton Institute in 1875. This marked the beginning of the period of industrialism, the purpose of such education being to give the Negro children "combined

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

²⁰ Du Bois, *Atlanta U. Pub.* No. 16, p. 22.

²¹ Du Bois, *Atlanta U. Pub.* No. 16, p. 22.

mental, moral and industrial training."²² Following the founding of Hampton, Tuskegee Institute was established; also being an industrial school. With these two institutions as centers, the ideals of the industrial propagandist radiated in all directions, finally permeating the whole educational system, not only that of the Negro, but the educational system of the schools for white children as well.

Although separation of the black and white children in the public schools is forbidden in fourteen of the States, the law requires the separation of the children in the following States: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. In Arizona, Indiana, Kansas, and Wyoming, the boards of education are given the power to decide the question. Eleven of the States of the Union make no provision in their laws one way or the other²³ Separation is demanded in the private schools in Kentucky, Florida, Tennessee, and Oklahoma. The law in Kentucky was created at a time when it affected only one institution—that of Berea College, which was established in 1856 for the education of anti-slavery whites and was opened to Negro students after the Civil War. In 1904, the date of the passage of the law, this college had 927 students, 174 of whom

²² Washington, *The Negro Problem*, p. 19.

²³ Stephenson, *Race Distinction in American Law*, p. 189.

were Negroes.²⁴ All of the Northern States have compulsory education, but only two of the Southern States, Kentucky and Missouri, have enacted such laws. This does not mean, of course, that these laws are enforced, nor is this a key to the amount of education obtained in proportion to the population, but it does indicate the difference in opportunities for education between the Northern and Southern States.

In regard to the elementary education of the Negro children the whole situation is rather discouraging, but great progress has been made and one may hope for still greater progress in the future. The increase in facilities for education between 1866 and 1870 was quite marked, with a corresponding increase in the number of pupils, as shown by the following table:

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

Increase in Education From 1866 To 1870²⁵

Date	Schools	No. Teachers	Pupils
1866	975	1,405	90,778
1867	1,839	2,087	111,442
1868	1,831	2,295	104,327
1869	2,118	2,455	114,522
1870	2,677	3,300	149,581

The total expenditure for education during this period was \$5,879,924. There was in 1870, however, only about one tenth of the Negro children of school age in school. Later, from 1889 to 1909, the number of children enrolled greatly increased:

²⁵ Du Bois, *Atlanta U. Pub.* No. 16, p. 20.

Percentage of Persons 5 To 18 Years Enrolled²⁶

Date	White	Colored
1889-1890	66.28	51.65
1899-1900	72.32	57.67
1908-1909	74.76	58.34

In the first year more than half the children were in school, a decade later the increase was practically the same in the case of the Negro children as it was in the case of the white children, but nine years later the percentage had risen over 2 per cent in the case of the white children and had decreased in the case of the blacks. The census report of 1910 shows the percentage of Negro children enrolled in school to be but 47.3 per cent, a decrease of 9 per cent. The average attendance of the Negro children amounted to about one-third of the number enrolled.²⁷ For these children there were 28,000 teachers, or in other words, one teacher to every group of 57 children; whereas

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²⁷ Hart, *The Southern South*, p. 310.

the teachers for the white children averaged one to 45. The report of the Commissioner of Education in 1909 gives a total number of school children in the slave States of 3,054,888, instructed by 9,000 school teachers—3,114 males and 5,886 female.²⁸ According to this report, there would only be one teacher to every group of 184.35 children. This seems an impossible number, so that one feels that surely something must be wrong with the report. The training of these school teachers is not of the highest, nor do they have a great deal of training. The State School Commissioner of Georgia gives the following report of conditions there:²⁹

326	teachers with normal certificates,
129	teachers with first grade certificates,
476	teachers with second grade certificates,
2,037	teachers held third grade certificates.

The expenditures for all the children equaled \$46,000,000, but the Negro children who were one third of the total number received but one seventh of this sum. For 231,801 Negro children South Carolina spent \$366,734.28, or \$1.58 per capita,

²⁸ Weatherford, *Negro Life in the South*, p. 96.

²⁹ Weatherford, *Negro Life in the South*, p. 108.

whereas Massachusetts spends \$27 per capita each year, and the District of Columbia spends \$35.21. The South Carolina school tax is heavier than the tax in Massachusetts, but this State spends only \$3.82 per capita for white children.³⁰ Louisiana spends 93 per cent of the school funds for the white children, and 7 per cent for the colored, making a per capita expenditure of \$16.60 for the white children and for the Negro an expenditure of \$1.59. The District of Columbia spends more for the colored children than for the white, per capita expenditure: white, \$20.82; Negro, \$21.87.³¹

The rural schools, as may be expected, are in a worse condition than those of the city, in regard to equipment, teachers, and especially in subject matter relating to the adjustments to a rural community. Nevertheless, it seems that there is much more progress being made in these schools than in those in the city. Baily in his *Race Orthodoxy in the South* describes a visit to what he terms a typical rural school.³² "There were no desks and only a small fragment of a blackboard in one corner. The teacher showed signs of having very little education himself and used no methods whatsoever in teaching. There was only one whole book for the entire reading class. The pupils came at all hours of the day and left whenever convenient for them. When the teacher was asked how many pupils were enrolled in the school, he answered

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

³¹ Work, *Negro Yearbook*, 1915, p. 223.

³² Baily, *Race Orthodoxy*, pp. 273-280.

that there were sixty." Mr. Bailey remarks that, after glancing over the room, he fancied there were sixty "acomin' and agoin'."

The Negroes in the rural communities have practically no literature with the possible exception of a few patent inside newspapers carried on by the heads of one or the other Negro orders.³³ The amount of elevating reading matter may be judged by the type of advertisements which run along the line of "hair-dressing that makes kinky hair soft, pliant and glossy," and also of experiments of surgeons with the X-ray in making black skin white. Among the books furnished in the schools, nothing contained in them relates in any way to rural life.

In 1908 in North Carolina the average length of term for the rural Negro school was 82.1 days,—the average length for all Negro schools, including high schools, being 93 days. In this State there are 195 log schoolhouses and 2,216 of the Negro schoolhouses are furnished with home-made desks and benches. The rural Negro teacher receives an average salary of \$22.48 per month and the city Negro teacher receives but \$30.20.³⁴ The conditions in the agricultural communities in the North seem to be better than those in the South. 20,700,000 ruralites in the South average 7,000,000 children of school age, 4,400,000 of whom are enrolled in school with an average attendance of 2,700,000. In the North, on the other hand, 20,700,000 ruralites average 6,000,000 children, 4,500,000 of whom are enrolled,

³³ Hart, *Southern South*, p. 324.

³⁴ Weatherford, *Negro Life in the South*, p. 98.

with an average attendance of 3,200,000. For the South there are 92,000 school teachers, whereas there are 158,000 in the North. School property in the South is valued at \$42,000,000 and in the North at \$217,000,000. The school revenue is \$26,000,000 and \$92,000,000 respectively. Per capita expenditure in the South is under \$10 and in the North it is almost \$30. The South spends only 16 cents on each \$100 valuation, and the North 20 cents.³⁵

Many signs of progress are visible in the South, due mainly to the influence of industrial institute graduates who attempt to reorganize the rural districts with more or less success. One graduate of Tuskegee seems to have met with unusual success in Hinds County, Mississippi.³⁶ The Negroes in this community outnumber the white population seven to one, but out of 40,000 of the inhabitants 13,000 can neither read nor write. In five years this graduate has built up an industrial school with a farm of 1,500 acres, three large and eleven small buildings, one large plantation house and thirty farm houses. The school property is valued at \$75,000, and he has started an endowment fund in order to make the work permanent. In Macon County, Alabama, improvements have been rapid. In five years' time through the influence of a changed school system the value of the land has risen from \$2 an acre to \$15 and \$20. It is reported that crime has been reduced to a negligible quantity. At the last sitting of the

³⁵ Hart, *Southern South*, p. 294.

³⁶ Washington, *My Larger Education*, p. 191.

grand jury there were only 17 cases of all kinds.³⁷ The "Rising Star" School in West Virginia through a change in teacher and curriculum has affected the community in as equally astonishing manner. Not only are the homes of the farmers improved, but the number of land-owning citizens has also increased. Even the religion preached has been greatly changed with the introduction of industrial training.³⁸ There is one school fund which is for the purpose of improving rural conditions, that is the Jeanes Fund amounting to \$1,000,000, the interest on which is to be used for the rural schools in supplying competent teachers as supervisors to introduce industrial training. The influence of this fund together with the influence of Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes seems to be the hope of the future for the rural districts.

In the matter of secondary education, high schools for the Negroes are practically lacking. In Atlanta with a Negro population of 51,902 Negroes; in Savannah with 33,246; and in Augusta with 18,344, there are no Negro high schools whatsoever.³⁹ The following table shows the distribution of the 156 high schools for Negroes⁴⁰ (1913):

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

³⁹ Du Bois, *Atlanta U. Pub.* No. 16, p. 127.

⁴⁰ Work, *The Negro Yearbook*, 1915, p. 216.

Alabama	6	Maryland	1
Arkansas	4	Mississippi	10
Delaware	1	Missouri	14
District of Columbia	2	North Carolina	3
Florida	6	Ohio	1
Georgia	14	Oklahoma	5
Illinois	5	Pennsylvania	1
Indiana	6	South Carolina	13
Kansas	1	Tennessee	9
Kentucky	8	Texas	37
Louisiana	1	Virginia	4
West Virginia	5		

The increase in the number of high schools in the Southern States from year to year is shown by the following:⁴¹

⁴¹ Du Bois, *Atlanta U. Pub.* No. 16, p. 129.

Year	High Schools	Year	High Schools
1899-1900	92	1905-1906	129
1900-1901	100	1906-1907	121
1901-1902	99	1907-1908	106
1902-1903	123	1908-1909	112
1903-1904	131	1909-1910	141
1904-1905	146		

Apparently there is no effort in the South to supply high schools for the Negro. The General Assembly of Georgia passed a bill to establish high schools in all of the congressional districts of the State. Eleven were established and supported by a fertilizer tax, most of which was paid by the Negroes who numbered 45.1 per cent of the population of the State, and 80 per cent of whom lived in the rural districts. None of these schools, however, were for members of the Negro race.⁴²

The founding of the two most important industrial schools has been mentioned before. Hampton Institute which was founded by the American Missionary Society in 1868 now consists of 113 buildings, including the instructors' cottages.⁴³ 76 of these buildings were erected by student labor. There are 120 acres to the Home Farm and 600 acres to Shellbanks, six miles from the

⁴² DuBois, *Atlanta U. Pub. No.* 16, p. 128.

⁴³ Brawley, *The Negro Yearbook*, 1915, p. 147

Institute. The enrollment in 1910 was 875, or 1,399 including the Normal Practice School. Tuskegee Institute which began with one hoe and a blind mule now possesses 2,000 acres of land, 800 of which are cultivated each year by the young men of the school. During 1903, 33 trades were taught to over 1,400 men and women. By means of this work, the students pay more than one half of their expenses. Of the sixty buildings, all but four were almost wholly erected by students, even to the making of the bricks.⁴⁴ Although the average Negro was greatly antagonistic regarding this training at the beginning of the work at these institutes and many protests were heard from all sides, Mr. Washington stated in *The Negro Problem* that it has been several years since they have received a protest from parents against teaching industrial training.⁴⁵ The graduates of Tuskegee have established more than fifteen similar schools in the South.⁴⁶ Among those established are Voorhees Industrial School, Robert Hungerford School, Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute, Topeka Normal and Industrial Institute, Port Royal Agricultural School, and Mt. Meigs Institute.

No one of the Negro institutions for higher learning has as yet become a fully equipped university. No one of the institutions maintains a graduate school. Howard University is the only one

⁴⁴ Washington, *The Negro Problem*, p. 20.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁴⁶ Brawley, *History of the Negro*, p. 153.

that has even started graduate work.⁴⁷ The real influence of the college has been to prepare men to be leaders in education, as may be witnessed by the fact that out of the 5,000 Negro college graduates in the United States 54 per cent are teaching, while 20 per cent are preaching.⁴⁸ The following table shows the number of college graduates by decades:⁴⁹

Year	No. of Grads.	Year	No. of Grads.
1820-29	3	1870-79	313
1830-39	—	1880-89	738
1840-49	7	1892-99	1,126
1850-59	12	1900-09	1,610
1860-69	44		
		Total	3,856

The distribution of the college Negro is indicated in the following:⁵⁰

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁴⁸ Brawley, *History of the Negro*, p. 145.

⁴⁹ Du Bois, *Atlanta U. Pub.* No. 15, p. 45.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

Districts	No. of Graduates
New England States	16
So-Northern Atlantic States	42
No-Southern Atlantic States	92
So-Southern Atlantic States	276
E-Northern Central States	61
W-Northern Central States	47
E-Southern Central States	141
W-Southern Central States	99
Rocky Mountain States	2
Basin and Plateau States	3
Pacific States	3
Outside U. S.	2
Unknown	18
Total	802

103 of these graduates were born in the North, 65 or 63 per cent of whom remained in the North and 35 or 34 per cent migrated to the South; 682 of these were born in the South, 102 or 15 per cent of whom went to the North, and 563 or 82.5

per cent remained in the South. This shows that the tendency of the college graduate is to remain in the South where he is most needed.

Of the graduates of 107 colleges which are not Negro institutions 79.2 per cent or 549 have been men, and 20.8 per cent or 144 have been women. Of 2,964 graduates of 34 Negro colleges, 82.7 per cent have been men and 17.3 have been women.⁵¹ This difference may be due to a greater economic standard of the Negro in the North, since the colleges admitting Negroes which are not Negro institutions would be in the North, and to the fact that more Negroes would be located near educational institutions in the North than they would be in the South.

From another report the average age for the women graduates was 21-1/3 years, and the average for the men was 22-3/16 years. There seems to be a tendency of the age to increase, as shown by the following:⁵²

1880-1890	the average age was 21 years for men and women.
1890-1900	the average age was 22 years for men and women.
1900-1910	the average age was 22-4/10 years for men and women.

Of the 24 graduates reported 16 were under 35, and one was

⁵¹ Du Bois, *Atlanta U. Pub.* No. 15, p. 46.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

over 50.

Of 799 graduates 67.3 per cent of the males were married, and 31.1 per cent of the females were married. Among these graduates there are only two cases of divorce, one man and one woman. The ages at which they married were for the men between 25 and 34 and for the women between 20 and 29. The families averaged four children. The death rate among the children has not equalled one child per family.⁵³

Statistics taken in 1913 of 258 schools show the college students to be only 4.1 per cent of the entire number of Negroes in schools. If the college graduate were in proportion to the population their number would be about five times as great as it is at present.⁵⁴

The Negroes have contributed in all lines to a large extent toward their own education. Since 1865 religious and philanthropic associations have contributed \$57,000,000 and the Negroes by direct contributions have supplied \$24,000,000.⁵⁵ In 1869 in one year the Negroes raised \$200,000 for the construction of school houses. A report from a State Superintendent of Schools of Florida stated that in the Black Belt Counties the Negro schools cost \$19,457 and the direct and indirect contributions on the part of the Negroes amounted to \$23,984. There were \$4,527 remaining which was used for the

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁵⁴ Work, *The Negro Yearbook*, 1915, p. 229.

⁵⁵ Work, *The Negro Yearbook*, p. 235

benefit of the white schools.⁵⁶ It is thought on the part of some that the Negro, although he may not pay in direct taxes a sum sufficient to provide for his schools, may in reality be paying his full share indirectly. I believe, however, that it is quite safe to say that he probably pays as much for his education as any other poor class of the population, especially so in comparison with some of the immigrant classes. There have also been quite a number of Negro philanthropists, the most prominent of whom have been Bishop Payne who gave several thousand dollars to Wilberforce, Wheeling Grant who gave \$5,000 to Wilberforce, Mary E. Shaw who left \$38,000 to Tuskegee, Nancy Addison who left \$15,000 for education in Baltimore, Louis Bode who left \$30,000 and George Washington of Jerseyville, Illinois, who left \$15,000 for education. Thomy Lafon, of New Orleans, left \$413,000 to be used for educational purposes with no distinction regarding race or color. Colonel John McKee, of Philadelphia, left about \$1,000,000 in real estate to be used for education.⁵⁷ The Negro Baptist Churches alone raised in 1907 \$149,332.75.⁵⁸ In nine years the Negro students paid in cash to 74 Negro institutions \$3,358,667 and in work \$1,828,602, making a total of \$5,187,269. This amounted to 44.6 per cent of the entire running expenses of the institutions.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Washington, *Working with the Hands*, p. 72.

⁵⁷ Brawley, *History of the Negro*, p. 174.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁵⁹ Du Bois, *Atlanta U. Pub.* No. 14, p. 18.

The attitude of the Negro immediately after the war was that of opposition to all kinds of labor. He had not as then learned the distinction between working as a slave and working as a freedman. What he wanted most was an education, a literary education, such as the white man had. He did not want his education for any definite purpose, except as an end in itself. The chief reason probably may have been that of a desire to put himself on a par with the white man, and to prove his intellectual equality. The attitude to-day is radically different, being represented by men like Washington and DuBois. Washington preached the gospel of industrial education, believing strongly that that method would lead to an increase of the economic wealth of the race, whereby they could acquire the so-called higher education. DuBois, however, although he believed in the efficiency of industrial training, also felt that the race should not neglect to educate leaders even at the present time, so that his attitude differs from that of Washington in a slight degree. Two short quotations from Washington's writings may illustrate to a certain extent the attitude of the leaders of Negro education: "What Negro education needed most," said he, "was not so much more schools or different kinds of schools, as an educational policy and a school system,"⁶⁰ and "I want to see education as common as grass, and as free for all as sunshine and rain."⁶¹

⁶⁰ Washington, *My Larger Education*, p. 310.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

Prejudice is an important factor in the attitude of the white race toward Negro education. This prejudice seems to be in all sections of the country, but it is the southerner who is heard from the most, possibly because he is more in contact with the real problem and then because it seems to be a policy of southern politicians to attempt to outdo each other in their speeches along the line of race prejudice. According to Weatherford prejudice has arisen out of the fear that education will lead to the dominance of the Negro in politics and to promiscuous mingling in social life. "The southern white man will never be enthusiastic for Negro education, until he is convinced that such education will not lead to either of these."⁶² This feeling of a group is expressed in the following statement in a report to the Baltimore Council by a committee in 1913: "No fault is found with the Negroes' ambitions," said the report, "but the Committee feels that Baltimoreans will be criminally negligent as to their future happiness, if they suffer the Negroes' ambitions to go unchecked."⁶³ Mr. Thomas Dixon, Junior, deplors the fact that Washington was training the Negroes to be "masters of men," stating that "if there is one thing the southern white man cannot endure it is an educated Negro."⁶⁴

School officials and educators on the other hand show an entirely different attitude. Mr. Glenn, recently Superintendent

⁶² Weatherford, *Negro Life in the South*, p. 87.

⁶³ Bailey, *Race Orthodoxy in the South*, p. 265.

⁶⁴ Hart, *The Southern South*, p. 319.

of Education of Georgia, made the declaration that "The Negro is ... teachable and susceptible to the same kind of mental improvement characteristic to any other race."⁶⁵ Thomas Nelson Page states that "the Negro may individually attain a fair and in uncommon instances a considerable degree of mental development."⁶⁶ Another states that "We must educate him because ignorant men are dangerous, especially to a democracy pledged to educate all men."⁶⁷ Some believe that we must also educate him for self-protection from vice and disease. The Southern Educational Association in 1907 passed the following resolution: "We endorse the accepted policy of the States of the South in providing educational facilities for the youth of the Negro race, believing that whatever the ultimate solution of this grievous problem may be, education must be an important factor in that solution."⁶⁸

Illiteracy which in 1863 equaled about 95 per cent of the Negro population has been decreasing rapidly since the Civil War. The illiteracy of the Negro during the last three decades has been as follows: in 1890, 57.1 per cent; in 1900, 44.5 per cent; and in 1910, 30.4 per cent. In the North in 1910 the illiteracy was 18.2 per cent in the South 48.0 per cent, and in the West

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

⁶⁷ Bailey, *Race Orthodoxy in the South*, p. 269.

⁶⁸ Hart, *The Southern South*, p. 327.

13.1 per cent.⁶⁹ The urban Negro in 1910 showed 17.6 per cent illiteracy and the rural 36.5 per cent. Louisiana showed 48 per cent, whereas Minnesota and Oregon showed only 3.4 per cent.⁷⁰ In 1900 when the Negro illiteracy was 44.5 per cent, the children between ten and twenty-five years of age showed only 30 per cent and those between 10 and 14 years in Mississippi showed only 22 per cent.⁷¹ The illiteracy for all Negro children was 25 per cent, whereas the illiteracy for all white children was only 10.5 per cent.⁷² The illiteracy of our Negroes does not seem so great when a comparison is made with some foreign countries:⁷³

⁶⁹ Work, *Negro Yearbook*, 1915, p. 226.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁷¹ Hart, *The Southern South*, p. 294.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 292.

⁷³ Washington in the *Forum*, p. 270.

Race	Illiteracy	Race	Illiteracy
Negroes	30.4	Spain	58.7
Bulgaria	65.5	Chile	49.9
Greece	57.2	Cuba	56.8
Hungary	40.9	Mexico	75.3
Italy	48.2	Porto Rico	79.6
Poland	59.3	India	92.5
Portugal	73.4	Philippines	55.5
Russia	70.0	Cape of Good Hope	65.8
Servia	78.9	Egypt	92.7

The percentage of Negro illiteracy in America is less than any one of these foreign races.

The criminality of the Negro seemingly has decreased as the illiteracy has decreased. Out of every 100 criminals only 39 could read and 61 could not, whereas in the general population 43 could read and 57 could not.⁷⁴ In the Mississippi penitentiary where they had 450 convicts of Negro blood one half of them could neither read nor write, and less than 10 per cent had anything like a fair education.⁷⁵ Atlanta University has graduated 800 Negro

⁷⁴ *Review of Reviews*, p. 318.

⁷⁵ *Review of Reviews*, p. 319.

men and women, not one of whom has ever been convicted of crime. Fisk University has only one graduate who has ever been convicted. Greensboro Agricultural and Technical College has had 2,000 students since its establishment, and only five have ever been convicted of crime. Two of these had been expelled students, and none were among the three hundred graduates of the college. Negro students who have gone to high school show a remarkably low percentage of crime. Of the 200 graduates from the Winston-Salem High School (North Carolina) only one has a criminal record. Waters Normal Institute at Winton, North Carolina, has graduated more than 130 students and not one of these has ever been arrested or convicted of any crime.⁷⁶ The records of the southern prisons show that at least 90 per cent of those in prison are without trades of any sort.⁷⁷ According to Booker T. Washington, "Manual training is as good a prevention of criminality as vaccination is of smallpox."⁷⁸ In 1903, in Gloucester County, Virginia, twenty-five years after education had been introduced, there were 30 arrests for misdemeanors, 16 white and 14 black; and in the next year there were 15 arrests for misdemeanors, 14 white and one black.⁷⁹ The general opinion of the southerner may be judged by the answers to a questionnaire sent out to prominent southern men in each of

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁷⁷ Weatherford, *Negro Life in the South*, p. 110.

⁷⁸ Washington and Du Bois, *The Negro in the South*, p. 64.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

the Southern States. To the question "Does crime grow less as education increases?" there were 102, answered "yes" and 19 answered "no."⁸⁰

One of the charges against the Negro has been his shiftlessness, both as far as his personal industriousness is concerned, and as far as the care of his home and things about him. Now, however, education has increased his standards and his wants, so that since he desires to have land, homes, churches, books, papers, and education for his children, he will labor regularly and efficiently to supply these. The graduates of Tuskegee Institute are kept in touch with by one of the school officials, who reported that not 10 per cent could be found in idleness and that only one was in a penitentiary.⁸¹

Loretta Funke

⁸⁰ Washington, *Working with the Hands*, p. 239.

⁸¹ Washington and Du Bois, *The Negro in the South*, p. 61.

THE NEGRO MIGRATION TO CANADA AFTER THE PASSING OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT

When President Fillmore signed the Fugitive Slave Bill⁸² on September 18, 1850, he started a Negro migration that continued up to the opening of the Civil War, resulting in thousands of people of color crossing over into Canada and causing many thousands more to move from one State into another seeking safety from their pursuers. While the free Negro population of the North increased by nearly 30,000 in the decade after 1850, the gain was chiefly in three States, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois. Connecticut had fewer free people of color in 1860 than in 1850 and there were half a dozen other States that barely held their own during the period. The three States showing gains were those bordering on Canada where the runaway slave or the free man of color in danger could flee when threatened. It is estimated that from fifteen to twenty thousand Negroes entered Canada between 1850 and 1860, increasing the Negro population of the British provinces from about 40,000 to nearly 60,000. The greater part of the refugee population settled in the southwestern

⁸² "One of the most assailable laws ever passed by the Congress of the United States ... Under this act ... the Negro had no chance; the meshes of the law were artfully contrived to aid the master and entrap the slave." Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 185.

part of the present province of Ontario, chiefly in what now comprises the counties of Essex and Kent, bordering on the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair. This large migration of an alien race into a country more sparsely settled than any of the Northern States might have been expected to cause trouble, but records show that the Canadians received the refugees with kindness and gave them what help they could.⁸³ At the close of the Civil War many of the Negroes in exile returned, thus relieving the situation in Canada.

The Fugitive Slave Bill had been signed but a month when Garrison pointed out in *The Liberator* that a northward trek of free people of color was already under way. "Alarmed at the operation of the new Fugitive Slave Law, the fugitives from slavery are pressing northward. Many have been obliged to flee precipitately leaving behind them all the little they have acquired since they escaped from slavery."⁸⁴ The American Anti-Slavery Society's report also notes the consternation into which the Negro population was thrown by the new legislation⁸⁵ and from many other contemporary sources there may be obtained information showing the distressing results that followed immediately upon the signing of the bill. Reports of the large number of new

⁸³ "A large proportion of the colored persons who have fled from the free states have sought refuge in Canada where they have been received with remarkable kindness and have testified the grateful sense of their reception by their exemplary conduct." American Anti-slavery Society, annual report for 1851, p. 31.

⁸⁴ *Liberator*, October 18, 1850.

⁸⁵ Annual report for 1851, p. 30.

arrivals were soon coming from Canada. Hiram Wilson, a missionary at St. Catharines, writing in *The Liberator* of December 13, 1850, says: "Probably not less than 3,000 have taken refuge in this country since the first of September. Only for the attitude of the north there would have been thousands more." He says that his church is thronged with fugitives and that what is true of his own district is true also of other parts of southern Ontario. Henry Bibb, in his paper *The Voice of the Fugitive*⁸⁶ published frequent reports of the number of fugitives arriving at Sandwich on the Detroit River. In the issue of December 3, 1851, he reports 17 arrivals in a week. On April 22, 1852, he records 15 arrivals within the last few days and notes that "the Underground Railroad is doing good business this spring." On May 20, 1852, he reports "quite an accession of refugees to our numbers during the last two weeks" and on June 17 notes the visit of agents from Chester, Pennsylvania, preparatory to the movement of a large number of people of color from that place to Canada. On the same date he says: "Numbers of free persons of color are arriving in Canada from Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia, Ohio and Indiana. Sixteen passed by Windsor on the seventh and 20 on the eighth and the cry is 'Still they come.'" The immigration was increasing week by week, for on July 1 it was reported in *The Voice of the Fugitive* that "in a single day last week there were not less than 65 colored emigrants landed at this

⁸⁶ A file of this paper for 1851 and 1852 is in the library of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

place from the south.... As far as we can learn not less than 200 have arrived within our vicinity since last issue." Almost every number of the paper during 1852 gives figures as to the arrivals of the refugees. On September 23 Bibb reported the arrival of three of his own brothers while on November 4, 1852, there is recorded the arrival of 23 men, women and children in 48 hours. Writing to *The Liberator* of November 12, 1852, Mary E. Bibb said that during the last ten days they had sheltered 23 arrivals in their own home. The American Missionary Association, which had workers among the fugitives in Canada noted in its annual report for 1852 that there had been a large increase of the Negro population during the year⁸⁷ while further testimony to the great activity along the border is given by the statement that the Vigilance Committee at Detroit assisted 1,200 refugees in one year and that the Cleveland Vigilance Committee had a record of assisting more than a hundred a month to freedom.⁸⁸

The northern newspapers of the period supply abundant information regarding the consternation into which the Negroes were thrown and their movements to find places of safety. Two weeks after President Fillmore had signed the Fugitive Slave Bill a Pittsburgh despatch to *The Liberator* stated that "nearly all the waiters in the hotels have fled to Canada. Sunday 30 fled; on Monday 40; on Tuesday 50; on Wednesday 30 and up to this time the number that has left will not fall short of

⁸⁷ American Missionary Association, *Sixth Annual Report*, 1852, p. 34.

⁸⁸ Mitchell, *Underground Railroad*, p. 113.

300. They went in large bodies, armed with pistols and bowie knives, determined to die rather than be captured."⁸⁹ A Hartford despatch of October 18, 1850, told of five Negroes leaving that place for Canada;⁹⁰ Utica reported under date of October 2 that 16 fugitive slaves passed through on a boat the day before, bound for Canada, all well armed and determined to fight to the last;⁹¹ *The Eastport Sentinel* of March 12 noted that a dozen fugitives had touched there on the steamer *Admiral*, en route to St. John's; *The New Bedford Mercury* said: "We are pleased to announce that a very large number of fugitive slaves, aided by many of our most wealthy and respected citizens have left for Canada and parts unknown and that many more are on the point of departure."⁹² The Concord, New Hampshire, *Statesman* reported: "Last Tuesday seven fugitives from slavery passed through this place ... and they probably reached Canada in safety on Wednesday last. Scarcely a day passes but more or less fugitives escape from the land of slavery to the freedom of Canada ... via this place over the track of the Northern Railroad."⁹³

Many other examples of the effect of the Fugitive Slave Act might be noted. The Negro population of Columbia,

⁸⁹ *Liberator*, October 4, 1850.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, October 18, 1850.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, October 4, 1850.

⁹² *Ibid.*, April 25, 1851.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, May 2, 1851.

Pennsylvania, dropped from 943 to 487 after the passing of the bill.⁹⁴ The members of the Negro community near Sandy Lake in northwestern Pennsylvania, many of whom had farms partly paid for, sold out or gave away their property and went in a body to Canada.⁹⁵ In Boston a fugitive slave congregation under Leonard A. Grimes had a church built when the blow fell. More than forty members fled to Canada.⁹⁶ Out of one Baptist church in Buffalo more than 130 members fled across the border, a similar migration taking place among the Negro Methodists of the same city though they were more disposed to make a stand. At Rochester all but two of the 114 members of the Negro Baptist church fled, headed by their pastor, while at Detroit the Negro Baptist church lost 84 members, some of whom abandoned their property in haste to get away.⁹⁷ A letter from William Still, agent of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, to Henry Bibb at Sandwich says there is much talk of emigration to Canada as the best course for the fugitives.⁹⁸ *The Corning Journal* illustrates the aid that was given to the fugitives by northern friends. Fifteen fugitives, men, women and children, came in by train and stopped over night. In the morning a number of Corning people assisted them to Dunkirk and sent a

⁹⁴ Siebert, *Underground Railroad*, p. 249.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

⁹⁶ Stevens, Anthony Burns, a *History*, p. 208.

⁹⁷ American Anti-slavery Society, *Eleventh Annual Report*, 1851, p. 31.

⁹⁸ *The Voice of the Fugitive*, April 9, 1851.

committee to arrange for passage to Canada. The captain of the lake steamer upon which they embarked, very obligingly stopped at Fort Maiden, on the Canadian side, for wood and water and the runaways walked ashore to freedom. "The underground railroad is in fine working order," is the comment of *The Journal*. "Rarely does a collision occur, and once on the track passengers are sent through between sunrise and sunset." That time did not dull the terrors of the Fugitive Slave Act is shown by the fact that every fresh arrest would cause a panic in its neighborhood. At Chicago in 1861, almost on the eve of the Civil War, more than 100 Negroes left on a single train following the arrest of a fugitive, taking nothing with them but the clothes on their backs and most of them leaving good situations behind."⁹⁹

The Underground Railroad system was never so successful in all its history as after 1850. Despite the law, and the infamous activities of many of the slave-catchers, at least 3,000 fugitives got through to Canada within three months after the bill was signed. This was the estimate of both Henry Bibb and Hiram Wilson and there were probably no men in Canada who were better acquainted with the situation than these two. In *The Voice of the Fugitive* of November 5, 1851, Bibb reported that "the road

⁹⁹ *Cong. Herald*, May 13, 1861, quoted in American Missionary Association, 15th annual report, 1861, p. 28. There is evidence that the Fugitive Slave Law was used in some cases to strike fear into the hearts of Negroes in order to cause them to abandon their property. *The Liberator* of October 25, 1850, quotes the *Detroit Free Press* to the effect that land speculators have been scaring the Negroes in some places in the north in order to get possession of their properties.

is doing better business this fall than usual. The Fugitive Slave Law has given it more vitality, more activity, more passengers and more opposition which invariably accelerates business.... We can run a lot of slaves through from almost any of the bordering slave states into Canada within 48 hours and we defy the slaveholders and their abettors to beat that if they can.... We have just received a fresh lot today and still there is room." *The Troy Argus* learned from "official sources" in 1859 that the Underground Railroad had been doing an unusually large business that year.¹⁰⁰ Bibb's newspaper reports, December 2, 1852, that the underground is working well. "Slaveholders are frequently seen and heard, howling on their track up to the Detroit River's edge but dare not venture over lest the British lion should lay his paw upon their guilty heads." Bibb kept a watchful eye on slave-catchers coming to the Canadian border and occasionally reported their presence in his paper. Underground activity was also noted in *The Liberator*. "The underground railroad and especially the express train, is doing a good business just now. We have good and competent conductors," was a statement in the issue of October 29, 1852.¹⁰¹

Not all those who fled to Canada left their property behind. *The Voice of the Fugitive* makes frequent reference to Negroes arriving with plenty of means to take care of themselves. "Men of

¹⁰⁰ American Anti-slavery Society, *Twenty-seventh Annual Report*, 1861, p. 49.

¹⁰¹ In *The Liberator* of July 30, 1852, a letter from Hiram Wilson, at St. Catharines, says: "Arrivals from slavery are frequent."

capital with good property, some of whom are worth thousands, are settling among us from the northern states." says the issue of October 22, 1851, while in the issue of July 1, 1852, it is noted that "22 from Indiana passed through to Amherstburg, with four fine covered waggons and eight horses. A few weeks ago six or eight such teams came from the same state into Canada. The Fugitive Slave Law is driving out brains and money." In a later issue it was stated "we know of several families of free people of color who have moved here from the northern states this summer who have brought with them property to the amount of £30,000."¹⁰² Some of these people with property joined the Elgin Association settlement at Buxton, purchasing farms and taking advantage of the opportunities that were provided there for education. A letter to *The Voice of the Fugitive* from Ezekiel C. Cooper, recently arrived at Buxton, says: "Canada is the place where we have our rights."¹⁰³ He speaks of having purchased 50 acres of land and praises the school and its teacher at Buxton. Cooper came from Northampton, Massachusetts, driven out by the Fugitive Slave Law. A rather unusual case was that of 12 manumitted slaves who were brought to Canada from the South. They had been bequeathed \$1,000 each by their former owner. They all bought homes in the Niagara district.¹⁰⁴

While fugitives and free Negroes were being harried in the

¹⁰² *The Voice of the Fugitive*, July 29, 1852.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, July 1, 1852.

¹⁰⁴ *St. Catharine's Journal*, quoted in *The Voice of the Fugitive*, September 23, 1852.

Northern States slaves continued to run away from their masters and seek liberty. "Slaves are making this a great season for running off to Pennsylvania," said the Cumberland, Virginia, *Unionist* in 1851.¹⁰⁵ "A large number have gone in the last week, most of whom were not recaptured." At the beginning of 1851 *The Liberator* had a Buffalo despatch to the effect that 87 runaways from the South had passed through to Canada since the passing of the bill the previous September.¹⁰⁶ Bibb mentions two runaways from North Carolina who were 101 days reaching Canada.¹⁰⁷ The *Detroit Free Press* reported that 29 runaways crossed to Canada about the end of March, 1859, "the first installment of northern emigration from North Carolina."¹⁰⁸ About the same time *The Detroit Advertiser* announced that "seventy fugitive slaves arrived in Canada by one train from the interior of Tennessee. A week before a company of 12 arrived. At nearly the same time a party of seven and another of five were safely landed on the free soil of Canada, making 94 in all. The underground railroad was never before doing so flourishing a business."¹⁰⁹ The New Orleans *Commercial Bulletin* of December 19, 1860, asserted that 1,500 slaves had escaped annually for

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in *The Liberator*, September 12, 1851.

¹⁰⁶ *Liberator*, February 14, 1851.

¹⁰⁷ *The Voice of the Fugitive*, August 27, 1851.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted in American Anti-slavery Society, Twenty-seventh Report, 1861.

¹⁰⁹ American Anti-slavery Society, Twenty-seventh Annual Report, 1861, pp. 48-49.

the last fifty years, a loss to the South of at least \$40,000,000. The American Anti-Slavery Society's twenty-seventh report said "Northward migration from slave land during the last year has fully equalled the average of former years."¹¹⁰

It is interesting to note that several of the most famous cases that arose under the Fugitive Slave Act had their ending in Canada. Shadrack, Anthony Burns, Jerry McHenry, the Parkers, the Lemmon slaves and others found refuge across the border after experiencing the terrors of the Fugitive Slave legislation. The Shadrack incident was one of the earliest to arise under the new law. Shadrack, a Negro employe in a Boston coffee house, was arrested on February 15, 1851, on the charge of having escaped from slavery in the previous May. As the commissioner before whom he was brought was not ready to proceed, the case was adjourned for three days. As Massachusetts had forbidden the use of her jails in fugitive cases Shadrack was detained in the United States court room at the court house. A mob of people of color broke into the building, rescued the prisoner and he escaped to Canada. The rescue caused great excitement at Washington and five of the rescuers were indicted and tried but the jury disagreed. The incident showed that the new law would be enforced with difficulty in Massachusetts in view of the fact that the mob had been supported by a Vigilance Committee of most respectable citizens.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ P. 157.

¹¹¹ Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 210.

A few months later, at Syracuse, a respectable man of color named Jerry McHenry was arrested as a fugitive on the complaint of a slaver from Missouri. He made an attempt to escape and failed. The town, however, was crowded with people who had come to a meeting of the County Agricultural Society and to attend the annual convention of the Liberty Party. On the evening of October 1, 1851, a descent was made upon the jail by a party led by Gerrit Smith and Rev. Samuel J. May, both well-known abolitionists. The Negro was rescued, concealed for a few days and then sent on to Canada where he died, at Kingston, in 1853.¹¹²

A more tragic incident was that known as the Gorsuch case. A slaver named Gorsuch, with his son and some others, all armed, came to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in search of two fugitives. In a house two miles from Lancaster was a Negro family named Parker and they were besieged by the Gorsuchs. The Negroes blew a horn and brought others to their help. Two Quakers who were present were called upon to render help in arresting the Negroes, as they were required to do under the Act, but they refused to aid. In the fighting that took place the elder Gorsuch was killed and his son wounded. The Negroes escaped to Canada where they spent the winter in Toronto and in the spring joined the Elgin Association settlement at Buxton in Kent county.¹¹³

The Anthony Burns case attracted more attention than any

¹¹² *Ibid.*, I, 224-25. See also Ward, *Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro*, p. 127.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 222-23. See also *The Voice of the Fugitive*, June 3 and July 1, 1852.

other arising in the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. Burns, who was a fugitive from Virginia living in Boston, betrayed his hiding place in a letter which fell into the hands of a southern slaver and was communicated to a slave hunter. The slaver tried to coax Burns to go back to bondage peaceably but failing in this he had him arrested and brought before a commissioner who, on June 2, 1854, decided that Burns was a fugitive and must be sent back to slavery. Boston showed its feelings on the day that the Negro was removed from jail to be sent South. Stores were closed and draped in black, bells tolled, and across State Street a coffin was suspended bearing the legend The Death of Liberty. The streets were crowded and a large military force, with a field piece in front, furnished escort for the lone black. Hisses and cries of "shame" came from the crowd as the procession passed. Burns was soon released from bondage, Boston people and others subscribing to purchase his liberty. He was brought North, educated and later entered the ministry. For several years he was a missionary at St. Catharines, Canada, and died there in the sixties.¹¹⁴

Along the international boundary there were exciting incidents at times, fugitives being chased to the border and often having narrow escapes from recapture. The Monroe family, mother and several daughters, escaped from slavery in Kentucky in 1856 and were carried by the Underground Railroad to Ann Arbor and on to Detroit, the master in hot pursuit. So close was

¹¹⁴ Schauler, *History of the United States*, V, 290-291.

the chase that as the runaways pulled out from the wharf on the ferry for Windsor, Canada, the master came running down the street crying out "Stop them! stop them!" He was jeered at by the crowd which sympathized with the Negro woman.¹¹⁵

In June, 1852, three fugitives arrived in Detroit and in response to frantic messages from Toledo were held for their pursuers. In desperation the Negroes made a savage attack on their jailer, gained their freedom and got across the border with the assistance of friends in Detroit. Rewards that were offered for their recapture were useless as the fugitives took care to remain on the Canadian side.¹¹⁶

Hiram Wilson tells of an incident that came under his notice at St. Catharines. A beautiful young girl, 14 years of age and almost white, was brought to Buffalo as maid for a slaveholder's daughter travelling in the North. She was spirited off by some Buffalo abolitionists, transferred to a steamer flying the British flag, and landed in Canada. She was taken to St. Catharines and sheltered in the home of Hiram Wilson. The master came over from Buffalo bringing a couple of lawyers with him and tried to secure his property but his demands were refused. The owner claimed that he valued the girl at \$1,000. It was later discovered that she had been sold no less than four times before coming to Canada.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Troy, *Hairbreadth Escapes*, pp. 39-43.

¹¹⁶ *Liberator*, June 11, 1852. See also *The Voice of the Fugitive*, June 17, 1852.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, July 30, 1852.

The brutality of the Fugitive Slave Law was shown on more than one occasion along the border. A case that attracted much attention at the time was that of Daniel Davis. He was cook on the steamer *Buckeye*. One day while the vessel was in port at Buffalo he was called up from below. As his head appeared above the deck he was struck a heavy blow by a slave catcher named Benjamin Rust who had a warrant from a United States commissioner for his arrest. The Negro fell back senseless into the hold and on top of a stove, being badly burned. He was brought into court at once and the newspaper accounts relate in detail how he sat during the proceedings "dozing, with blood oozing out of his mouth and nostrils." After a trial that was rushed in a most unseemly way the Negro was ordered delivered over to Rust, who was really agent for one George H. Moore, of Louisville. The brutality of the whole proceeding stirred up deep interest in Buffalo and on a writ of habeas corpus the fugitive was brought before Judge Conkling of the United States Court at Auburn and released. Before there could be further steps taken to hold the Negro he was hurried into Canada, where he remained. He was in attendance at the large Negro Convention held in Toronto in September, 1851, and with his head still in bandages afforded striking evidence of the effects of the Slave Law. Rust, Davis's assailant, was afterwards indicted at Buffalo but allowed to go after paying a paltry \$50 fine.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ *Liberator*, Sept. 12, 1851; *The Voice of the Fugitive*, Sept. 24, 1851; Anti-slavery Tracts, New Series, No. 15, p. 19.

Another memorable border incident occurred at Sandusky, Ohio, in October, 1852. A party of fugitives, two men, two women and several children had been brought from Kentucky and were aboard the steamer *Arrow* about to sail for Detroit when they were all arrested by the alleged owner and taken before the mayor of the town. Rush R. Sloane, a local lawyer, offered to act in their defence. The proceedings were so hurried that no warrant or writ was ready to be produced in court and Sloane signified by a gesture that the Negroes were free. There was an immediate rush for the door on the part of the fugitives and their friends, but even as they fled from the court room the claimant entered calling out: "Here are the papers. I own the slaves. I'll hold you personally responsible for their escape." The fugitives meanwhile had gone to the harbor, entered a sailboat owned by friendly fishermen and were on their way to Canada. The slaver, frantic at seeing his property vanishing, tried in vain to get other fishermen to pursue them. He then hurried to a neighboring town, trying to secure help, but with no more success. Within a few hours the runaways were landed at Port Stanley, safe from all pursuers. The slaver made good his threat to hold Sloane responsible for the loss of his property, entering action and securing a judgment for \$3,000. It is related as one of the pathetic incidents of this case that when the fugitives were first taken off the steamer *Arrow* one of the women dropped her infant child on the ground and disowned it, hoping that it at least would be free if she were

condemned to return to slavery.¹¹⁹

With so great an influx of refugees into a country that was sparsely settled, some suffering was inevitable, but contemporary evidence indicates that after all it was but slight. There was probably more distress during the winter of 1850-1 than later on because of the large number who came in during the few months immediately after the passing of the Fugitive Slave Bill. In their haste to find safety many left everything behind, entering Canada with little more than the clothes on their backs. A. L. Power, of Farmington, who visited Windsor at the beginning of 1851, found about a score of families living in an old military barracks, most of them in need of both fuel and clothing. At Sandwich, near by, he also found distress and mentions seeing a family of eight children who were almost nude and who were suffering from the cold.¹²⁰ Sickness was, in many cases, a result of the exposure to which the Negroes had been subjected in their effort to reach Canada. Later on, the situation improved and by 1855 the workers of the American Missionary Association reported that "in general, those who have gone there from the United States, even the fugitives, may provide for the wants of their families, after a short residence there; especially if they meet a friendly hand and, more than all, good counsel on their

¹¹⁹ Sandusky *Commercial Register*, Oct. 21, 1852; *Liberator*, Oct. 29, 1852; Anti-slavery Tracts, New Series, No. 15, p. 24.

¹²⁰ *The Voice of the Fugitive*, February 12, 1851.

arrival."¹²¹

Various agencies in both the United States and Canada were active in the work of relieving the distress among the newcomers. The American Anti-Slavery Society early addressed itself to this task. "Several agents," said Bibb, "have during the past year proceeded to Canada to exert the best influence in their power over the fugitives that have flocked to the province in years past and especially those who have gone the past year. They are supplied with the means of instructing the colored population, clothing some of the most destitute fugitives and aiding them in various ways to obtain employment, procure and cultivate land and train up their children. Our friends in Canada are exerting a good influence in the same direction."¹²²

The fugitives themselves were banded together to aid the newcomers. The Windsor Anti-Slavery Society and the Fugitives' Union were both organized to relieve distress and assist their fellows in making a living.¹²³ Supplies were sent in from points at considerable distances in some cases, clothing, food, money, and in one case a donation of 2,000 fruit trees from Henry Willis, of Battle Creek, for refugees who were going on the land.¹²⁴ Michigan people were exceedingly generous in extending aid and there is record also of supplies sent from

¹²¹ Ninth Annual Report, N. Y., 1855, p. 47

¹²² American Anti-slavery Society, Eleventh Annual Report, 1851, p. 100.

¹²³ *The Voice of the Fugitive* of January 15, 1851, and November 18, 1852.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, January 1 and May 20, 1852.

Fall River, Whitestown, New Jersey, Boston and other places in New England. There was plenty of work for the Negroes, the fifties being a period of railroad building in western Ontario, so that writing in 1861, William Troy maintained, that nine tenths of the fugitives had got along without outside aid of any kind. "The fugitives show a marked disposition to help each other and relieve want," he says. "I could show hundreds of instances of kindheartedness to all persons, irrespective of race."¹²⁵

The organization of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada came largely as a result of the sudden influx of Negroes after 1850 which, perhaps more than anything else, impressed upon Canadians the great issue that was rapidly dividing the neighboring republic. Beginning at Toronto the anti-slavery forces in Canada were organized in the various cities and towns of the province and continued active until the Civil War. There was developed in Canada a marked anti-slavery sentiment which manifested itself in part in the very large number of Canadians who enlisted in the northern armies.¹²⁶ The Anti-Slavery Society was also active in extending the helping hand to the fugitives, considerable sums being raised for relief purposes and support being given to educational and other movements designed to elevate the race.

¹²⁵ Troy, *Hair-breadth Escapes*, pp. 108 and 122.

¹²⁶ "The Canadian government reckoned that there had been not less than 40,000 Canadian enlistments in the American Army during the Civil War."—Goldwin Smith's *Correspondence* (letter to Moberly Bell), p. 377.

In Canada the refugees were absolutely safe from the operations of the Fugitive Slave Law. No loophole could be found in the Canadian law that would permit the rendition of a slave. A famous case arose in the Canadian courts on the eve of the Civil War when a Negro, John Anderson, was arrested charged with the murder of a slaver named Diggs some years before, the crime having been committed while Anderson was trying to make his escape from slavery. Canadian opinion was much aroused and though the first decision of the courts was that the Negro must be extradited this finding was overruled from England and in the end the prisoner was released on a technicality. It was made quite clear that the British Government would view with marked disapproval any decision in Canada that would return a refugee to slavery.

There were doubtless numerous attempts to kidnap Negroes who had escaped to Canada, especially in the border towns, but such attempts must have been rarely successful. An open attempt to induce a Canadian official to act as slave catcher was exposed in the *Montreal Gazette* of January 13, 1855, when there was published a letter written by one, John H. Pape, of Frederick, Maryland, to Sheriff Hays, of Montreal, proposing that the latter should use his power to arrest Negroes who would then be turned over to Pape. The proceeds from the sale of the captured chattels would be divided evenly, according to the plan suggested.

Canadians took a measure of pride in the sense of security with which their Negro immigrants could look back at their

pursuers. That the slavery issue in the United States was rapidly coming to a head was also recognized in Canada during the fifties and this, too, may have been an influence with the Canadians in doing what they could to assist the great number of more or less helpless people who came among them. Viewed in the light of more than half a century it can be seen that the influence of Canada in determining the course of the slavery issue was by no means slight.

Fred Landon

RICHARD HILL ¹²⁷

Richard Hill, one of Jamaica's most famous sons, was born at Montego Bay on the first of May, 1795. In 1779 his father, also named Richard, came to Jamaica from Lincolnshire, where the family had lived for several centuries, and along with a brother settled at Montego Bay. There he became a substantial merchant, and on his death in 1818 left his property in Jamaica to his son and two daughters, Ann and Jane. Hill's mother, who had East Indian as well as Negro blood in her veins, survived her husband many years, her son being constant in his attention to her up to the last.

At the early age of five Hill was sent to England to reside with his father's relations then living at Cheshunt, there to remain till his fourteenth year when he was sent to the Elizabethan Grammar School at Horncastle to finish his education. Upon the death of his father in 1818 Hill returned to Jamaica. Although his property came into the possession of his son and two daughters the father's death in some way involved Richard Hill in irksome money obligations which harassed him for many years, and even after he had discharged them left a gloom over his life.

His father was a man in advance of his times, hating and deploring the intolerance and the tyranny that grew out of slavery

¹²⁷ Taken in great measure from the biographical notice by the writer in the *Journal of the Institute of Jamaica*, July, 1896.

as it then existed in Jamaica. On his death-bed he made his son solemnly pledge himself to devote his energies to the cause of freedom, and never to rest until those civil disabilities, under which the Negroes were laboring, had been entirely removed; and, further, until slavery itself had received its death-blow.

The time and opportunity for fulfilling this pledge soon came, for in the year 1823 the Negroes in Jamaica commenced their agitation for obtaining equal privileges with their white brethren. It does not appear that Hill attached himself openly to any of the societies that were formed for the purpose of carrying on this agitation. But he freely gave them the benefit of his abilities, helping the whole movement with his advice and with his pen.¹²⁸

In the year 1826 Hill visited Cuba, the United States and Canada, and then went on to England, landing there in September. In 1827 he was deputed by the organization in Jamaica to use his efforts in England to secure the assistance of the leading members of the Anti-Slavery party. During his stay there he was on terms of close intimacy with Wilberforce, Buxton, Clarkson, Babington, Lushington and Zachary Macaulay,¹²⁹ all members of the Anti-Slavery Society, as well as Pringle and other men eminent for their philanthropy and talents and noted for the deep interest they took in all that

¹²⁸ For a general sketch of this period see W. J. Gardner's *a History of Jamaica*, pp. 211-317.

¹²⁹ This movement had for years been promoted by the heroic few. It was then getting a hearing in Parliament. They first advocated the abolition of the slave trade and then directed attention to slavery.

related to the elevation and welfare of the Negroes of the British West Indian colonies. The petition from the people of color of this island to the House of Commons for the removal of their civil disabilities, was entrusted to Hill, who upon the occasion of presenting it was permitted "within the bar" of the House. On that occasion Canning delivered his last speech a splendid effort in favor of the petitioners. Hill remained several years in England and contributed largely by his pen and his speeches to enlighten the public mind of England as to the real character of West Indian slavery. But the remittances from the "people of color" in Jamaica, never very large, soon became few and far between. So Hill, always independent in every way, even in his friendships and political alliances, maintained himself and his sister, Jane, almost entirely by his contributions, literary and scientific, to several popular newspapers and periodicals.¹³⁰

After a residence of several years in England, Hill was sent by the Anti-Slavery Society on a visit to San Domingo, chiefly for the purpose of ascertaining by personal observation and inquiry what was the actual social and political condition of the people of that island.¹³¹ But his commission had a more extensive object than that attached to it, which, however, directed him to obtain besides all the information he possibly could concerning the

¹³⁰ These contributions closely connected Hill with the men whose new thought revolutionized science a few decades later.

¹³¹ San Domingo was then independent and the success of the free Negroes there would have a direct bearing on the anti-slavery movement, as indifferent white men sometimes contended that the free Negro was a failure.

natural resources of every part of the country through which he was to travel. San Domingo was then under the wise and able rule of President Boyer, the whole island forming one undivided republic, enjoying internal tranquillity, and being in a comparatively flourishing condition. On his way from England to Port-au-Prince, where he arrived on the sixteenth of June, 1830, Hill visited France staying there a few months. He spent nearly two years in San Domingo travelling incessantly and making notes about everything. He has left more than one sketch-book full of sketches showing a knowledge of perspective, a keen eye for the picturesque and a true artist's feeling. He sailed from San Domingo for England on the third of May, 1832, and then for Jamaica a few months after, never again to quit his native country. In that year he was made justice of the peace for Trelawny.

He was never greedy for money and seems to have been ill-paid for his labors in San Domingo. Upon his return to Jamaica either on that account or from motives of policy he ceased all communication with the Anti-Slavery Society, and only now and then did he write to one or two of its members, and even then more as personal friends than as old political allies.

On the third of February, 1834, Hill was appointed one of a number of forty stipendiary magistrates whose duty it was to adjudicate between the former slaveholders and their "apprentices."¹³² This appointment he held until the first of

¹³² Slavery in the British West Indies was not actually abolished instantly. Gradual

January, 1872. In this connection it may be interesting to quote the opinion of Hill expressed by the Rev. James Thome and J. H. Kimball, who in 1838 published for the American Anti-Slavery Society an account of *Emancipation in the West Indies: a six months' tour in Antigua, Barbadoes and Jamaica in the year 1837*. They say: "We spent nearly a day with Richard Hill, Esq., the secretary of the special magistrates' departments, of whom we have already spoken. He is a colored gentleman, and in every respect the noblest man, white or black, whom we met in the West Indies. He is highly intelligent and of fine moral feelings. His manners are free and unassuming, and his language in conversation fluent and well chosen.... He is at the head of the special magistrates (of whom there are sixty (*sic*) in this island) and all the correspondence between them and the governor is carried on through him. The station he holds is a very important one, and the business connected with it is of a character and extent that, were he not a man of superior abilities, he could not sustain. He is highly respected by the government in the island and at home, and possesses the esteem of his fellow citizens of all colors. He associates with persons of the highest rank, dining and attending parties at the government house with all the aristocracy of Jamaica. We had the pleasure of spending an evening with him at the solicitor general's. Though an African sun has burnt

emancipation was the method tried in most parts and even in cases of immediate emancipation the system of apprenticeship which followed was not much better than slavery.

a deep tinge on him he is truly one of nature's nobleman. His demeanor is such, so dignified, yet so bland and amiable, that no one can help respecting him."¹³³

Hill represented St. James and afterwards Trelawny in the House of Assembly which sat from October 24, 1837, to November 3, 1838, and during that time he served on several important committees, notably one appointed to inquire into the state of the several courts of justice in the island. But the fact that he unsuccessfully contested the representation of Port Royal in November, 1838, may have had something to do with his withdrawal from political strife. About 1840 he was offered the governorship of St. Lucia, but his love for his native island caused him to decline the offer. He was in 1855 nominated a member of the Privy Council which post he held only about ten years.

His political career was ended early in life, and the remainder of his days were passed in retirement at Spanish-Town where he had taken up his abode upon being appointed stipendiary magistrate. He occupied his time with his daily official duties and literary work and seldom left home except for change of air at the sea side, to visit some intimate friend in Kingston, or perhaps to take the chair at some missionary gathering, or to join in the deliberations of a committee meeting. In 1847 Hill acted as Agent General of Immigration, and in December of that year

¹³³ The office of Secretary to the Stipendiary Magistrates was established in order to assist Governor Sligo to get through the enormous amount of correspondence entailed by the complaints sent to him in connection with the administration of the laws with regard to the apprenticeship system.

he submitted an interesting report to the Assembly.

When the cholera swept over the island in 1851 Hill turned his botanical studies to good account. The saline treatment was then in high esteem; but by means of the bitter-bush, *Eupatorium nervosum*, a shrub not unlike the wild sage in appearance, which grows freely on waste lands, he is said to have alleviated much suffering and saved many lives.

He was Vice-President from 1844 to 1849 of the Jamaica Society for the encouragement of Agriculture and other Arts and Sciences, instituted in 1825. In 1849 this Society ceased to exist and in its stead sprang up the Colonial Literary and Heading Society, of which Hill was one of the managing committee. He was one of the nominated members of the then Board of Education. He was a member of the original council of the Royal Agricultural Society of Jamaica, founded in 1843, Vice-President as late as 1857 of the Royal Society of Arts of Jamaica, established in 1854 as the Jamaica Society of Arts, and Vice-President of the Royal Society of Arts and Agriculture, which was the result of the amalgamation of these two societies in 1864. In 1861 he had undertaken to edit jointly with the Rev. James Watson, the Secretary, the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Arts*, to which he contributed various notes. But in the first number of the *Transactions of the Incorporated Royal Society of Arts and Agriculture* (1867) is the record of a vote of sympathy and regret at his inability to attend through ill-health; and although he contributed articles to the journal he was not able

to be present at the meetings. His leisure was devoted to scientific study, especially the ornithology, ichthyology, and anthropology of the West Indies. He never let a single opportunity pass by, if he could possibly help it, without trying to benefit his country with his ready pen, and he always gave all the encouragement he could to those who seemed at all anxious to study any subject with which he was in the least acquainted. He read some twenty-five lectures in all at various times on various subjects.

On the title page of his *Naturalist's Sojourn in Jamaica*, as well as in his preface, Gosse bears testimony to the assistance which Hill rendered to him. The appearance of Hill's name on the title page ("Assisted by Richard Hill, Esq., Cor. M. Z. S. Lond., Mem. Counc. Boy. Soc. Agriculture of Jamaica") was, Mr. Edmund Gosse tells us in his memoir of his father, greatly against that modest gentleman's wish. He tells us also that the friendship for Hill was one of the warmest and most intimate friendships of his father's life. The publication of this book was delayed by the fact that every sheet was sent to Spanish Town to be read by Hill.

Hill contributed to several scientific publications both in England and America and by this means became connected with some of the leading learned societies of the world. He was corresponding member of the Zoological Society of London, of the Leeds Institute and of the Smithsonian Institution, and he numbered amongst his correspondents Darwin and Poey. Darwin had written in September, 1856, to Gosse for further information with respect to the habits of pigeons and rabbits referred to in

his *Sojourn*, and it was at Gosse's suggestion that Darwin wrote to Hill. In a later letter, of April, 1857, he says: "I owe to using your name a most kind and valuable correspondent in Mr. Hill, of Spanish Town."

The cony of Jamaica, *Capromys brachyurus*, found commonly in his day, but now becoming extinct, was named by Hill in Gosse's *Naturalist's Sojourn*; as well as four birds—three in the *Birds of Jamaica* and one in the *Annals and Magazine of Natural History*, and two fishes. One bird (*Mimus hillii*), two fishes and four mollusca, three being Jamaican, were named after Hill.

In addition to his collaboration with Gosse of the *Birds of Jamaica* and the *Naturalist's Sojourn in Jamaica*, Hill's best-known literary productions are *A Week at Port Royal*, published at Montego Bay in 1858; *Lights and Shadows of Jamaica History*, published in Kingston in 1859; *Eight Chapters in the History of Jamaica, 1508-1680*, illustrating the settlement of the Jews in the island which appeared in 1868; and *The Picaroons of One Hundred and Fifty Years Ago*, which was published in Dublin in 1869.

He contributed, moreover, a large number of articles on natural history subjects to various Jamaica publications too numerous to mention. Some of these were: *The Jamaica Almanacs*; *Transactions of the Jamaica Society of Arts*; *Transactions of the Royal Society of Arts of Jamaica*; *The Jamaica Physical Journal*; *Jamaica Monthly Magazine*; *Jamaica Quarterly Magazine*. In England he contributed to the

Proceedings of the Zoological Society; and in America to the *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Science*, Philadelphia, and the *Annals of the Lyceum of Natural History*, New York.

In stature he was tall and commanding, though perhaps the comparison of him to Antinous made by the writer of an obituary notice was a little exaggerated. All who knew bore testimony to his generosity, philanthropy, modesty, even temper, and unfailing self-forgetfulness, his kindness of heart, his piety, and his catholicism in matters of religion. A portrait of him executed in oils, it is said, by James Wyeth, an American artist who spent a short season in the island, is in the Jamaica History Gallery at the Institute of Jamaica, which also possesses a pencil sketch of him done by himself.

For two or three years before his death Hill suffered from failing eyesight. He died, unmarried, at Spanish Town, on September 28, 1872, at the advanced age of seventy-eight. His remains were followed to the grave by an immense concourse of all classes.

Frank Cundall,
Secretary, The Institute of Jamaica

THE RELATIONS OF NEGROES AND INDIANS IN MASSACHUSETTS

One of the longest unwritten chapters of the history of the United States is that treating of the relations of the Negroes and Indians. The Indians were already here when the white men came and the Negroes brought in soon after to serve as a subject race found among the Indians one of their means of escape. That a larger number of the Negroes did not take refuge among the Indians was due to the ignorance of the blacks as to the geographic situation. Not knowing anything about the country and unacquainted with the language of the white man or that of the Indians, most Negroes dared not venture very far from the plantations on which they lived. Statistics show, however, that in spite of this impediment to the escape of Negroes to Indian communities, a considerable number of blacks availed themselves of this opportunity. From the most northern colonies as far south as Florida there was much contact resulting in the interbreeding of Indians and Negroes.

In no case was this better exemplified than in Massachusetts. Because of the cosmopolitan influences in that State where the fur trade, fisheries, and commerce brought the people into contact with a large number of foreigners, the Indian settlements by an infusion of blood from without served as a sort of melting pot in which the Negroes became an important factor. There was

extensive miscegenation of the two races after the middle of the seventeenth century. In the course of ten or twelve generations there was an opportunity for "foreign blood early introduced to permeate the whole mass and when it is considered that the intermixture was constantly kept up from the outside, it is a wonder that Indians of pure native race remained."¹³⁴

According to the first authentic census of Massachusetts, published in 1765, all of the counties of the State except Hampshire, Hampden, and Franklin had both a Negro and Indian population. Barnstable had 231 Negroes and 515 Indians; Berkshire had 88 Negroes and 221 Indians; Bristol, 287 Negroes and 106 Indians; Dukes, 46 Negroes and 313 Indians; Essex, 1070 Negroes and 8 Indians; Middlesex, 860 Negroes and 45 Indians; Nantucket, 44 Negroes and 227 Indians; Suffolk, 844 Negroes and 37 Indians; Worcester, 267 Negroes and 34 Indians, making a total of 4900 Negroes and 1697 Indians.¹³⁵ After a careful survey of the Indian situation in 1861, however, it was discovered that only a part of these Indians had retained their peculiar characteristics and these had been finally reduced to

¹³⁴ *Documents printed by order of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts during the Session of the Grand Court, 1861, No. 96, p. 10.*

¹³⁵ The figures given by *The Centinel* differed a little from these. According to its census in 1765, Barnstable had 516 Indians instead of 515; Bristol had 401 Negroes and 167 Indians; Essex 977 Negroes instead of 1,070; Middlesex 871 Negroes and 37 Indians; Nantucket 93 Indians instead of 149; Norfolk 420 Negroes instead of 414; Plymouth 223 Indians instead of 227; Suffolk 891 Negroes instead of 844; Worcester 304 Negroes instead of 267. See J. H. Benton's *Early Census making in Massachusetts*.

a few reservations known as the following: Chappaquiddick, Christiantown, Gay Head, Marshpee, Herring Pond, Natick, Punkapog, Fall River, Hassanamisco, and Dudley. There were other Indians at Yarmouth, Dartmouth, Tumpum, Deep Bottom, Middleborough, and a few scattered.¹³⁶

The Indians were generally neglected for the reason that they were considered beyond the pale of Christianity, despite professions to the contrary. As a matter of fact, being wards of the State they were scantily provided for and their fundamental needs were generally neglected. They were offered few opportunities for mental, moral, or religious improvement for the reason that the missionary spirit which characterized Cotton Mather and John Eliot no longer existed. Only a small sum was raised or appropriated for their rudimentary education and with the exception of what could be done with the "Williams Fund" of Harvard College there was little effort made for their evangelization. Left thus to themselves, the Indians developed into a state within a state.

When, therefore, the Negroes became conscious of the wrongs they suffered in slavery, a few early learned to take refuge among the Indians and even after they were freed in Massachusetts their social proscription was such among the whites that some free people of color preferred the hard life among the Indians to the whiffs and scorns of race prejudice in the seats of Christian civilization. Coming into contact there

¹³⁶ *Documents printed by order of the Senate, 1861, No. 96, passim.*

with foreigners, who found it convenient to move among these morally weak people, the Negroes served as important factors in the melting pot in which the Indians were remade and introduced to American life as whites and blacks. Referring to the moral condition of the Fall River Indians, as a case in evidence, an investigator reported in 1861 that in two families there were twelve cases of bastardy and in one of them it was said that, of eight children, the paternity was apparently about equally divided among the Indian, Negro, and white races.¹³⁷

The reports on the state of the Indians always disclosed the presence and the influence of Negroes among them. "Of the publishments of colored persons interested and the early records of Dartmouth," said J. M. Earle in 1861, "by far the larger proportion of those of them were Negro men to Indian women. In Yarmouth a large portion of those of Indian descent have intermarried with whites until their progeny has become white, their social relations are with those of that color and they are mingled with the general community having lost their identity as a distinct portion of the Hassanamiscoes and it would have been a fortunate thing for all if it had been so with them all. But the mixture in most of the tribes has been more with the Negro race than with the white until that blood probably predominates though there are still a considerable number who have the prominent characteristics of the Indians—the lank, glossy, black hair, the high cheek bones—the bright dark eye and

¹³⁷ *Documents printed by order of the Senate of Massachusetts, 1861, No. 96, p. 84.*

other features peculiar to the race."¹³⁸

Investigating the Indians of Gay Head in 1861, John M. Earle observed that the people of Gay Head, like those of other plantations, were a mixture of the red, white and black races. They had also "an infusion of the blood of the chivalry of the South as well as of the Portuguese and Dutch, as might be inferred from the names of Randolph, Madison, Corsa, Sylvia and Vanderhoop being found among them."¹³⁹ The admixture was much like that on the other plantations with perhaps a less infusion of the African than in some of them. A few were so strongly marked with Indian characteristics as to lead one to conclude that they are very nearly of pure blood, but there were none so nearly white as in some of the other tribes.

It appeared that these people had lived without the law, so to speak, in Massachusetts because of their refusal to accept certain regulations which the State desired to impose upon them. By the act of June 25, 1811, the governor was authorized to appoint three persons to be guardians of the Indian, Mulatto and Negro proprietors of Gay Head, which guardians, in addition to the usual powers given to functionaries in such cases, were empowered to take into their possession the lands of Indians, and allot to the several Indians such part of the lands as should be sufficient for their improvement from time to time. The act further provided for the discontinuance or removal of the

¹³⁸ *Documents printed by order of the Senate, 1861*, No. 96, p. 10.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

guardians at the discretion of the governor and council.¹⁴⁰ Under this act three guardians were appointed and in 1814 the Indians became dissatisfied with their guardians, who resigned, and the guardianship disappeared.

In 1828 there was enacted another measure providing that whenever the Indians and people of color at Gay Head should by a vote in town meeting accept that act and should transmit to the governor an attested copy of the vote, the governor might then authorize the guardian to take up his duties at Gay Head, and might upon their request, appoint suitable persons to divide their lands. As the Indians had unpleasant recollections of the guardian-system, they never accepted that proposal. For about thirty years they were without any guardians, and their affairs, except that of the public schools, were left to themselves.

It appears, however, that the mere provision for the appointment of a guardian was not the only objectionable feature of the Act of 1828. The guardian was given power to "punish, by fine not exceeding twenty dollars, or by solitary imprisonment not exceeding twenty days, any trespasses, batteries, larcenies under five dollars, gross lewdness and lascivious behavior, disorderly and riotous conduct, and for the sale of spirituous liquors within the territory, or on the lands of these Indians and people of color.¹⁴¹ The guardian or other justice of the peace might issue his warrant directed to the constable of the Indians

¹⁴⁰ The Laws of Massachusetts, 1811.

¹⁴¹ *Documents printed by order of the Senate, 1861*, No. 96, pp. 38-39.

and people of color, or other proper officer, to arrest and bring before him, any offender against the provisions of this act; and after judgment, he might order execution to be done by said constable or other proper officer; and if the guardian or other justice of the peace should adjudge any offender to solitary imprisonment, such offender should not, during the term of said imprisonment be visited by, or allowed to speak with any person other than the jailer, or the guardian or justice of the peace or such other person as the guardian or justice of the peace should specially authorize thereto; nor should such offender be allowed any food or drink other than coarse bread and water, unless sickness should, in the opinion of a physician, render other sustenance necessary,"¹⁴² "With such a provision in the Act," said J. M. Earle, "making a discrimination so odious and unjust, between themselves and other prisoners, the Indians would have been greatly wanting in self-respect had they accepted it. It is a provision disgraceful to the statute book of the State, and discreditable to the civilization of the age. Yet two tribes, the Chapequiddick and the Christiantown, were made subject to the provisions of this law, without the power to accept or reject it, and are governed by it to this day"¹⁴³ (1861).

¹⁴² Laws of Massachusetts, 1828.

¹⁴³ "Sixty-six out of the whole number of the tribe, at the time of the enumeration, were not residents of the District; but 52 of them were considered as retaining their rights in the tribe, and more than half of the 66 were understood to be only temporary residents abroad, expecting, at some time, to return to Marshpee, and make it their permanent place of residence. A few others, as a matter of personal convenience, are

The Marshpee tribe doubtless had a larger infusion of Negro blood than any. When the population of this tribe was 327 in 1771, 14 of them were Negroes, married to Indians. In 1832 there were 315 inhabitants, of whom 16 were Negroes. According to the report of the Indian commissioner in 1849 the population was 305 in 1848, of whom 26 were foreigners, all Negroes or mulattoes. The tribe numbered 403 in 1859, "including 32 foreigners, married to natives of the tribe, all Negroes or mulattoes, or various mixtures of Negro, Indian, or white blood—none of them being pure whites."¹⁴⁴

The Punkapog Tribe of Indians formerly dwelt on a tract of land in Canton, Norfolk County, containing five thousand acres, granted them by the General Court of Massachusetts. Before 1861, however, they had lost all of this property, the last of it being sold by the guardian, about 1841, in pursuance of a resolve of the legislature. "The full-blood Indians of the tribe," says the report of 1861, "are all extinct. Their descendants, who, like those of all the other tribes in the States, are of various grades of mixtures, of Indian, white, and Negro blood, number, so far as

now residing just over the line, and are so returned, but they consider themselves as identified with the tribe in all respects, and are so considered by the tribe. Fourteen individuals, included in the above 66, whose names are in the 'Supplementary List,' own no land in the District, but have been gone so long from it, that they are not now recognized by residents as members of the tribe." *Documents printed by order of the Senate, 1861*, No. 96, p. 40.

¹⁴⁴ *Documents printed by order of the Senate, 1861*, No. 96, p. 47.

is ascertained one hundred and seventeen persons."¹⁴⁵

According to the survey made in 1861 the moral condition of the Indians was rather low and it was a regret that the people of color exhibiting generally more moral stamina should be degraded by living among them. Accounting for this condition of Affairs a contemporary said of the low moral condition of the Fall River Indians in 1861: "The prejudice of color and caste, and the social proscription to which the colored people are subjected, has a twofold unfavorable effect upon them; first to detract from their self-respect and so to weaken the moral instincts, and then to throw them into the association of the more dissolute and degraded of other races, where they fall an easy prey to immoral habits. There are, however, in this tribe as well as the others, instances of those who rise above all the evil influences with which they are encompassed and maintain a good standing, as worthy and respectable members of the community. It would be a cause for gratification, if it could be said truly that these are increasing, or that there was any decided progress in the general character of the tribe. But, from all the evidence that can be gathered, it does not appear that, for the last twelve or fourteen years, there has been much, if any improvement in their moral and social condition,"¹⁴⁶

The situation in the Hassanamisco Tribe shows how the Indians in some of these reservations became extinct.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

¹⁴⁶ *Documents printed by order of the Senate, 1861*, No. 96, p. 84.

Interbreeding with both races they passed either to the blacks or to the whites. "But little trace of Indian descent is apparent in the members of this tribe," said J. M. Earle in 1861. "It is most marked in the few who have mixed chiefly with the whites, yet some of these have no perceptible indications of it, and have become identified with the white race. The remainder of the tribe have the distinguishing marks of African descent and mixed African and white, of various grades, from the light quadroon and mulatto, to the apparently nearly pure negro, and, in every successive generation the slight remaining characteristics of the race become less apparent."¹⁴⁷

Referring to the Yarmouth Indians the investigator informs us that these had tended to go almost altogether over to the white race. "With this exception," said he, "nearly all of his descendants have intermarried with whites, down to the present day, so that they are substantially merged in the general community, having their social relations with white people, with the exception of one or two families."¹⁴⁸ It was observed that in all the families, in which both heads are living, there were only two in which one of them was not pure white, and those having the Indian blood were usually so little colored, that it would hardly be noticed by one not acquainted with the fact. Some of them had but one sixteenth part of Indian blood. Of the two widows found there in 1861 one was the wife of a white man. The other was a

¹⁴⁷ *Documents printed by order of the Senate, 1861*, No. 96, p. 101.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

Marshpee Indian whose husband belonged to the Yarmouth tribe and she associated with the people of color.

Discussing the Middleborough Indians, the same report said: "They have been, for some time, commingled with them in the same community, generally under as favorable circumstances, in most respects, as the other colored population of the State, to which they assimilate and have not been subjected to the peculiar present disadvantages under which those labor who are residents of the plantations,"¹⁴⁹

Because of numerous complaints to the effect that the unnecessary restrictions placed on Indians no longer dependents worked a hardship, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts enacted in 1861 a measure providing that all Indians and descendants of Indians in that State should be placed on the same legal footing as other inhabitants of that Commonwealth, excepting those who were supported or had been, in whole or in part, by the State and excepting also those residing on the Indian plantations of Chapequiddick, Christiantown, Gay Head, Marshpee, Herring Pond, Fall River and Dudley tribes or those whose homes were thereon and were only temporarily absent. It further provided that any Indian or person of color, thus denied the right of citizenship but desirous of exercising that privilege might certify the same in writing to the clerk of his town or city, who should make a record of the same and upon the payment of a poll tax should become to all intents and purposes

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.

a citizen of the State, but such persons should not return to the legal condition of an Indian. Indians unable to avail themselves of this opportunity remained under a guardian in their former state but by complying with this provision they finally emerged from their tribal state into the large body of citizens.

Giving further consideration to the situation among the Indians, the legislature of Massachusetts passed in 1869 what is known as *An Act to Enfranchise the Indians of the Commonwealth*. By this measure practically all Indians in that State were made citizens entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities and subject to all the duties and liabilities to which other citizens were entitled or subject. The same provision was made in the acts of 1884, 1890, 1892 and 1893.¹⁵⁰ With a proviso exempting from attachment or seizure on execution for a debt or liability existing before the passage of the law this measure further declared all Indian lands "rightfully held by any Indian in severalty and all such lands which had been or may be set off to any Indian should be and become the property of such person and his heirs in fee simple."¹⁵¹

The Indians thereby became vested not only with the rights of any other citizen to sell or control his interest in property whether legal or equitable but were given similar rights in the common lands which were transferable. Prior to this legislation the common lands had been exploited by the State for the benefit

¹⁵⁰ *Massachusetts Acts of 1884, 1890, 1892, and 1893.*

¹⁵¹ *Massachusetts Acts of 1869, Chapter 463.*

of those Indians having the status of wards. Recognizing only equitable rights of ownership in the Indians, the commonwealth kept their property under public guardianship to protect them from the consequences of their own improvidence. Indians had the right immediately to have their share of the common lands of the tribe transferred to them or sold for their special benefit. They were granted also the right to have their share in any funds or other property held in trust for the tribe turned over to them.

The Indians of the Marshpee and Gay Head settlements, however, were made exceptions in this case for the reason that the improvement in their condition was not adequate to justify the extension to them of the same treatment given others; but they were given these same rights in 1870.¹⁵² By the Act of 1870 the district of Marshpee was abolished as such and incorporated as a town by that name. To establish the claim to the rights and privileges guaranteed other Indians in the Act of 1869, the Superior Court of the State was given jurisdiction and a board of Selectmen was constituted as the authority for making such applications instead of any member of a tribe.

It would seem that this legislation of 1869 and 1870 solved

¹⁵² "A method was also provided through which his title might be established. This was through Commissioners which were to be appointed by the Probate Court who were to act under the direction of the Court and determine all necessary questions and make their report from which the Court could make its order or decrees. Any person who deemed himself aggrieved had the right to appeal to the Supreme Judicial Court. The right of the Indians became vested and forcible the moment the statute took effect." See a statement from the present Attorney General of Massachusetts, dated December 1, 1919.

the problem of the wardship of Indians and free persons of color on the reservations. It developed thereafter, however, that all members of these communities were not in a position to maintain themselves. In 1902, therefore, it was enacted that the State Board of Charity upon the application of the overseers of the poor of any town should make provision in the State hospital or elsewhere for the support of Indians who may be unable to support themselves and have not acquired a settlement in any town. Upon the application of an Indian who received aid from the commonwealth prior to the twenty-third day of July in the year 1869, the State Board was obligated to furnish him in the State hospital or elsewhere such aid as it might consider expedient.

The provisions in the law of 1870 for the sale of certain lands in the proceeds of which these persons would share led to further action. In 1870 the probate court appointed commissioners to make partition of the common lands of the Marshpee Indians referred to in the Act of 1869. These commissioners did not make their report until 1878. In 1870 there was presented to the Superior Court by the Selectmen of Marshpee a petition for the division of common lands among the persons entitled thereto. In spite of argument to the contrary the Supreme Court of Massachusetts held that the members of the Indian tribes mentioned in the Act of 1869 acquired both legal and equitable rights in tenants in common of the undivided lands of the tribe which were transferable. It was provided in 1878 that the

proceeds from the sale of such lands should be divided among the persons entitled to the land in proportion to their interests.

In 1870 the Gay Head district also was abolished and incorporated as a town. The Indians were guaranteed the same rights to lands in severalty and the division of common lands as in the case of other Indian communities thus disestablished. The partition of these lands was to be made in the Probate Court on application of the Selectmen or ten resident owners of such land. An Indian feeling aggrieved because of an invasion of his rights could appeal his case, according to the provision set forth in chapter 117 of the General Statutes of Massachusetts.¹⁵³

Some of these Negroes from the very beginning of their association with the Indians took high rank.¹⁵⁴ The most prominent Negro of all, however, to come out of the Indian plantations was the celebrated Paul Cuffé, well known in this country and Europe by his efforts in behalf of African colonization. He was a native of the tribe of Dartmouth Indians, of mixed African and white descent. His important achievement

¹⁵³ "Section 5, chapter 463 of the Acts of 1869 provided that the general agent of the board of state charities shall take charge of the house, and all property connected therewith, in the town of Webster, belonging to the Commonwealth and permission was given him to lease the same to persona heretofore known as members of the Dudley tribe of Indians, upon terms substantially like those upon which they have heretofore occupied it; or to sell the same at public auction under the direction of the state board of charities and pay the proceeds of such lease or sale into the Treasury of the Commonwealth." Statement of present Attorney General of Massachusetts, submitted December 1, 1919.

¹⁵⁴ Samuel A. Drake, *History of Middlesex County, Massachusetts*, pp. 194, 280.

was that of exploring the western coast of Africa with ships which he owned and fitted out and commanded and which he used in the transportation of Negroes to Africa where he was the first to undertake the deportation of freedmen from the United States, preparing the way for the organization of the American Colonization Society. On one of his voyages he visited England where he was received with marked attention by the nobility and the royalty itself. Men who knew Cuffé considered him a man of great character and respected him because of his being able by dint of energy to accumulate sufficient property to place himself in circumstances of pecuniary independence. Some of his descendants remained in the vicinity of the original Dartmouth Indians but others moved to California.¹⁵⁵

Several families of Negroes in Massachusetts trace their ancestry back to these Indians. According to the Attorney General of Massachusetts, there are no special records kept at present of Negroes or persons of color who had interbred with Indians as regards the receipts by them of pensions from the commonwealth given as the result of having been dispossessed of their lands. Some persons of color assert, however, that they are the direct descendants of King Philip and Massasoit. Because of this close connection with the Indians it was necessary for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts on dispossessing the Indians of their lands to give these persons of color the benefits of the acts securing remuneration to the Indians. As these lands were

¹⁵⁵ John W. Cromwell, *The Negro in American History*, 98-103.

disposed of regardless of the rights of the Indians, the State has assumed the obligation of satisfying these claims by pensioning the complainants.

Mr. William George Butler, of West Medford, Massachusetts, a man now sixty years of age, receives such a pension. Mr. Butler's father came to Boston from Baltimore about 1815 and married a woman of color with an infusion of Indian blood. In looking up her estate this connection was discovered and a petition was sent to the Massachusetts Legislature in her favor. Upon the investigation of her claim, which proved to be just, she was granted a pension of \$250 a year, which Butler inherited.¹⁵⁶ In the following list of persons and tribes from which are descended all Indians who are at present receiving pensions from the Commonwealth, of Massachusetts, however, appear several Negroes or persons of color.¹⁵⁷ These are:

¹⁵⁶ These facts were obtained from Mr. Butler himself.

¹⁵⁷ This list was obtained from the office of the Attorney General of Massachusetts.

Lemuel D. and Anna Burr	Ponkapoag	
Fannie S. Butler	Wampanoag	
William G. Butler	Wampanoag	
James L. Cisco	Hassanamisco	
Delia L. Daley	Oneida	
Alice Gigger	Hassanamisco	
Elbridge G. Gigger	Hassanamisco	
Angela M. Leach	Pegon and Dudley	
Rebecca C. Hammond	Algonquin	
Teeweleema Mitchell	Wampanoag	
Wontonekamuske Mitchell	Wampanoag	Descendants of King Phillip and Massasoit
Sarah B. Pocknett	Algonquin	
Zeriah Robinson	Wampanoag	
Samantha Talbot	Oneida	

C. G. Woodson

DOCUMENTS

To meet the demand for an enlargement of the liberty granted the Indians and the mixed breeds living on the reservations, the Massachusetts Legislature enacted in 1861 the following measure intended to offer every ambitious one of these groups a way of escape from the wardship of the State and at the same time safeguarding the interests of those who objected to having turned loose upon society a large number of dependents who could not function as persons having a permanent attachment to the community and primarily concerned with the welfare of the body politic.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts

**In the Year One Thousand
Eight Hundred and Sixty-One**

AN ACT

Concerning the Indians of the Commonwealth

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives,
in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the
same, as follows:—*

Sect. 1. All Indians and descendants of Indians in this State are hereby placed on the same legal footing as the other inhabitants of the Commonwealth, excepting those who are supported, or have been, in whole or in part, by the State, and excepting also, those residing on the Indian plantations of the Chappequiddick, Christiantown, Gay Head, Marshpee, Herring Pond, Fall River, and Dudley tribes, or those whose homes are thereon and are only temporarily absent.

Sect. 2. Any Indian or person of color, belonging to

either of the tribes before mentioned, and residing within the limits of any town or city of this Commonwealth, to whom the right of citizenship is not extended by the first section of this act but who wishes to exercise that privilege, may certify the same in writing to the clerk of the town or city where he resides, who shall make record of the same: and upon paying a poll tax, he shall become, to all intents and purposes, a citizen of the State, and shall not, thenceforward, return to the legal condition of an Indian. And settlement shall be required, by those who become citizens, under the provisions of this act, in the same manner they are acquired by other persons, under the General Statutes of the Commonwealth.

Sect. 3. It shall be the duty of the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the council, to appoint an able, discreet, and suitable person, to be Indian commissioner, who shall hold his office for the term of three years, unless sooner removed by the governor and council. And the governor and council shall fill all vacancies which shall happen in said office, by death, resignation, expiration of said term, or otherwise. It shall be the duty of said commissioner to exercise a careful supervision over the affairs of all the Indians of the Commonwealth, not endowed by the provisions of this act, with the rights of citizenship, and to aid them, by advice, counsel, and whatever other suitable means may be within his control, to promote their welfare, to improve their general condition, and to qualify themselves, judiciously, and with safety to themselves and others, to be placed, at as early a time as

may be, on the same legal footing as the other inhabitants of the Commonwealth. He shall exercise all the powers, perform all the duties, and be subject to all the restrictions, responsibilities and liabilities, which now by law appertain to the treasurer of Marshpee, and to the guardians of other tribes except so far as they may be charged or varied by the provisions of this act; and he shall give bonds, to the satisfaction of the governor and council, for the faithful performance of such trust.

Sect. 4. The said commissioner shall, as soon as is convenient, after his appointment, cause a registration to be made, on the basis of the general registration of the State, of all the members of the several tribes, specifying the parentage and date of the birth of each, as near as can be ascertained, and the date of all marriages of parties now living, with all the particulars, that are now required of town clerks, by the laws of the State, and having completed the same, up to the time required by law for the last preceding return to be made, he shall, thenceforward make and keep a true registration of all the births, marriages, and deaths, in each of the said tribes, and shall annually make due return thereof, the whole to be done in the same manner as is required of town clerks, and under the same liabilities and conditions that are, by law, imposed upon them.

Sect. 5. The said commissioner shall, in concurrence with the proper officers of the Gay Head tribe, cause a survey of all the land held in severalty, by the members of said tribe, setting out the same to each, by betes and bounds, and, when the survey is complete, shall cause a

record of the portion of each proprietor to be made in the registry of deeds, of the county of Dukes County, and thereupon, the legal title shall vest in the several proprietors thereof, their heirs, and assigns, forever: *provided, however,* that no land on the plantation shall ever be alienated from the tribe or be held or possessed by any person who is not a member thereof; and when ever the family of any proprietor becomes extinct, the real estate of said proprietor shall revert to said tribe and become the property thereof, in common. And whenever, hereafter, any common land shall be taken up to be occupied and possessed in severalty, by any member of the tribe, having the concurrence of the tribe therein, the same shall be surveyed, set forth, and recorded, under the supervision of said commissioner, as is above provided; and no title to any common land, to be held in severalty, on said plantation shall be acquired in any other manner.

Sect. 6. The said commission shall cause a survey to be made of the Indian plantation at Fall River and the bounds thereof to be renewed, agreeably to the surveys made by order of the State in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three. He shall ascertain to whom the several lots belong by hereditary descent from the proprietors to whom they belonged in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, so far as descendants of said proprietors still remain, and shall designate the same by the numbers of the lots respectively; and in the same manner, he shall designate the several lots, if such there be, of which the families of the former proprietors have become extinct, and shall make

return of the same to the governor and council, for the use of the legislature, and shall report such other facts connected therewith as may be useful to them, and shall recommend such disposition of the land remaining in common, as in his judgment, shall be most conducive to the welfare of the Indians, and of the State.

Sect. 7. The said commissioner shall, as soon as the performance of the duties of his office shall have made him sufficiently acquainted with the necessities and wants of the Indians, and with the other facts necessary to qualify him for the service, prepare a bill embodying a system for governing, managing, and regulating the affairs of the several tribes, as nearly uniform in its provision respecting them severally, as the circumstances of the different tribes will permit, as a substitute for the present laws on that subject, and report the same to the governor and council for the consideration of the legislature, accompanied by the reasons on which the several provisions therein recommended are sustained.

Sect. 8. The Indians and people of color on Gay Head, and the officers by them appointed for the purpose, shall have the same powers in the management of their municipal affairs, and in relation to the employment of teachers, and the making and enforcing of all rules for the regulation and government of their schools, that by law are exercised by the inhabitants and corresponding officers of the several towns of the Commonwealth: *provided, however*, that this shall not be construed to authorize the alienation of any of the territory of the plantation: and *provided, further*, that

no person shall be authorized to vote in municipal affairs, except natives of the Gay Head tribe, natives of other Indian tribes of this State married or having been married to a Gay Head woman and resident on the plantation, or such other person resident on the plantation and married or having been married to a Gay Head woman, as shall have the right conferred on him by a vote of two-thirds of the voters of the plantation.

Sect. 9. All acts and parts of acts heretofore passed, so far as they conflict with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed.

Sect. 10. This act shall take effect from and after its passage.

If the legislature should decide not to authorize the appointment of a single commissioner for the State, I would propose the passage of the same Bill with the following amendments:—

Strike out the whole of section 3.

Strike out in section 4 the words "said commissioner shall, as soon as is convenient after his appointment," and insert the words—clerks of Marshpee, the guardians of the several plantation tribes, and the clerk of Gay Head shall.

In section 5, strike out the words "said commissioner," and insert the words—guardians of the Chappaquiddick and Christiantown tribes. Also, in the latter portion of the same section, strike out the word "commissioner" and insert the word—guardian.

In section 6, strike out the words "said commissioner," and insert the words—guardian of the Troy or Fall River

tribe.

Strike out section 7, entire.

Alter the numbering of the sections after 2, to correspond to the changes.

Insert the following section after section 8:—

Sect. —. No person shall be entitled to support by any tribe in the State, of whose parents, one only was an Indian, and whose residence was not on the plantation of the tribe at the time of his birth, unless the rights of himself or parents as members of the tribe, shall have been subsequently recognized by the tribe.

SOME NEGRO MEMBERS OF RECONSTRUCTION CONVENTIONS AND LEGISLATURES AND OF CONGRESS ¹⁵⁸

No systematic effort has hitherto been made to save the records of the Negro during the Reconstruction period. American public opinion has been so prejudiced against the Negroes because of their elevation to prominence in southern politics that it has been considered sufficient to destroy their régime and forget it. As future historians will seek for facts beyond those compiled by biased investigators now writing monographs in this field, a few persons realizing the importance of preserving the records in which the actual facts are set forth, are now directing the attention of the country to this neglected aspect of our history. These lists of suggestive names of the men who figured conspicuously in this recent drama will be decidedly useful in the collection of facts adequate to the presentation of both sides of the question. These lists are far from being complete. This is but a step in the right direction and persons in possession of such facts are earnestly urged to coöperate in collecting them.

¹⁵⁸ Compiled by Monroe N. Work.

It has been extremely difficult to determine the race of the members of the various Reconstruction bodies. The lists of members as published in the Journals of the legislatures do not indicate the race. This has to be determined by contemporary information. The methods used by other persons and agencies in identifying the race have been various. The Negro members of the North Carolina General Assembly, for example, were indicated by the figure 37 in the State Manual listing all persons who had been in the Assembly. Where no such information could be obtained from printed matter, it has been necessary to rely upon information obtained from individuals who participated in the Reconstruction.

Negro Members of the Alabama Constitutional Convention, 1867¹⁵⁹

District	Name	County
1st	John Carraway	Mobile
	Ovide Gregory	Mobile
6th	Thomas Diggs	Barbour
7th	B. F. Royal	Bullock
13th	Washington Johnson	Russell
15th	Peyton Finley	Montgomery
16th	H. Stokes	Dallas
	J. Hatcher	Dallas
17th	J. Wright McLeod	Marengo
18th	Benjamin Inge	Sumter
19th	Samuel Blanden	Lee
21st	Thomas Lee	Perry
22nd	J. K. Greene	Hale
	B. F. Alexander	Greene
	Lafayette Robinson	Madison

Negro Members of the Alabama Constitutional Convention, 1875¹⁶⁰

District	Name	County
	H. A. Carson	Lowndes
25th	A. H. Curtis	Perry
21st	G. S. W. Lewis	Perry

¹⁶⁰ Beverly, *History of Alabama*, 202, 208.

Senate ¹⁶¹

Session 1872-1874

Name	County
Jeremiah Haralson	Dallas
J. W. Jones	Lowndes
Lloyd Leftwich	Greene
B F. Royal	Bullock

¹⁶¹ Not returned for the 1875-1876 session.

Session 1874-1875 and 1875-1876

Name	County
A. A. Curtis	Perry
J. K. Greene	Hale
Jeremiah Haralson ^[4]	Dallas
J. W. Jones	Lowndes
Lloyd Leftwich	Greene
B. F. Royal	Bullock

⁴ Beverly, *History of Alabama*, pp. 202-208.

House

Session 1868 and 1869-1870

Name	County
Benjamin Alexander	Greene
J. H. Alston	Macon
Matt Avery	Perry
Samuel Blandon	Lee
N. A. Brewington	Lowndes
John Carraway (Speaker of House)	Mobile
George Cox	Montgomery
Thomas Diggs	Barbour
Joseph Draun	Dallas
J. K. Greene	Hale
Ovide Gregory	Mobile
George Houston	Sumter
Benjamin Inge	Sumter
C. Jones	Madison
G. S. W. Lewis	Perry

Session 1870-1871 and 1871-1872

Name	County
H. Craig	Montgomery
A. H. Curtis	Perry
Thomas Diggs	Barbour
John Dozier	Perry
William D. Gaskins	Lowndes
Ned Gee	Dallas
J. K. Greene	Hale
Jeremiah Haralson	Dallas
R. L. Johnson	Dallas
Lawrence S. Speed	Bullock
Henry St. Clair	Macon
Holland Thompson	Montgomery

House

Session 1872-1873 and 1873-1874

Name	County
W. E. Carson	Lowndes
T. J. Clark	Barbour
Mentor Dotson	Sumter
John Dozier	Perry
Hale Ellsworth	Montgomery
Samuel Fantroy	Barbour
J. H. Goldsby	Dallas
J. K. Green	Hale
R. L. Johnson	Dallas
Reuben Jones	Madison
G. S. W. Lewis	Perry
Perry Matthews	Bullock
January Maul	Lowndes
G. R. Miller	Russell
Willis Merriweather	Wilcox
S. J. Patterson	Autauga
George Patterson	Macon

House

Session 1874-1875 and 1875-1876

Name	County
Elijah Baldwin	Wilcox
W. H. Blevins	Dallas
Matt Boyd	Perry
H. V. Cashin	Montgomery
Elijah Cook	Montgomery
Charles Fagan	Montgomery
W. D. Gaskin ^[5]	Lowndes
Captain Gilmer	Montgomery
C. E. Harris	Dallas
A. W. Johnson	Macon

⁵ Served only in the session of 1874-1875.

⁶ Served only in the session of 1875-1876.

Negro Members of Congress From Alabama

Year	Name	County	Congress
1871-1873	Benjamin F. Turner	Dallas	43rd
1873-1875	James T. Rapier	Lauderdale	43rd
1875-1877	Jeremiah Haralson	Dallas	44th

James H. Alston was a member of the Alabama Legislature for Macon County, 1868 and 1869-79. He was a shoemaker by trade and had formerly been a slave. It was reported that before the war there was a Military Company in the town of Tuskegee. The members of this company desired to have a drummer, and for this purpose they sent to South Carolina and bought James H. Alston. It was thought that he came from Charleston.

Henry Young was a member of the Alabama Legislature about 1868 and 1869-70. He was a slave who could read and write, having been taught by his master's children. He would, somewhat like Frederick Douglass, spell out the words on letters that he was called upon to deliver or to get from the post office,

and in this way he also increased his ability to read.

Conway, Ark.,—October 14, 1916.

NEGROES IN POLITICS IN ARKANSAS DURING RECONSTRUCTION

In the constitutional convention of 1868, there were 8 Negro delegates, that is, J. W. Mason, Richard Samuels, William Murphy, Monroe Hawkins, William Grey, James T. White, Henry Rector and Thomas P. Johnson. (*Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1868*, pages 2 to 5.)

Negroes in the Arkansas Legislature: Session April 2 to July 23, 1869, and session November 17, 1868, to April 10, 1869, were seven Negro members of whom J. W. Mason, the leading Negro in the Senate; W. H. Grey, leading Negro in the House. (*Daily Republican*, Oct. 1, 1868).

In the Legislature of January 2 to March 25, 1871, there were eleven Negro members: J. W. Mason and J. T. White in the Senate: J. M. Alexander, Austin Barrow, Conway Barbour, John Webb, Adam Johnson, Jeff Haskins, A. Mays, William Young, Carl Pope, A. J. Robinson, E. A. Fulton in the House. (*Daily Republican*, March 25, 1871.)

In the 19th session, January 6 to April 25, 1873, the last session before Baxter called his special session, something less than one fifth of all the members were Negroes. I have been unable to ascertain the exact number in this session,

but from the standpoint of numbers, I would judge that there is no great difference between this session and the previous one. *The Arkansas Gazette* of January 12, 1873, says of the Negro members: "There are a few men among these colored members who are bright and intelligent, and much superior to some white members, but as a rule, this is not the case."

(Signed) Thomas S. Staples,

Hendrix College

Conway, Arkansas

Negro Members of the Florida Legislature during Reconstruction Period and After

Senate

Year	Name	County
1880-1888	H. W. Chandler	Marion
1881	T. V. Gibbs	Duval
80's	Joseph E. Lee	Duval
....	Thomas W. Long	Marion
1881	Robert Meacham	Jefferson
1881-1865	Daniel C. Martin	Alachua
....	G. W. Proctor	Jefferson
1863	John E. Proctor	Leon
80's	Egbert C. Sammis	Duval
....	John Wallace	Leon

Representatives

Year	Name	County
1885	Edward I. Alexander ^[7]	Madison
....	Josiah Armstrong	Columbia
....	Henry Black	Jefferson
1879	Kellis B. Bonner	Marion
....	James Dean Bryant	Monroe
....	William Bradwell	Duval
1881-83	Joseph N. Clinton	Alachua
1881	Wallace B. Carr	Leon
....	Lucian Fisher	Leon
....	John Ford	Leon
....	Samuel Frazier	Leon
....	Robert Gabriel	Monroe
....	Alfred Grant	Duval
1881	David E. Jacobs	Marion
Before 1881	Isaac Jenkins	Leon
....	A. J. Junius	Jefferson
....	Thorns W. Long	Marion
1889-91	George A. Lewis ^[8]	

⁷ Alexander is said to have been counted out. He is said to have held the position of postmaster at Madison and also to have had a deputy reserve collector.

⁸ Lewis and Scott were the last Negro members of the Florida Legislature.

Representatives

Year	Name	County
1889-91	John R. Scott, Jr.	Duval
....	Charles Shavers	Monroe
....	Rev. Catherine B. Simmons	Duval
80's	Peter Okes	Jefferson
....	W. G. Stewart	Leon
Before 1881	John N. Stokes	Leon
....	N. Trenton	Alachua
....	Josiah T. Walls	Alachua
Probably before 1881	R. W. Washington	Jefferson
80's	George W. Wetmore	Duval
1881-83	W. A. Wilkinson	Marion
....	George W. Witherspoon	Escambia

Joseph N. Clinton was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania,

November 4, 1854, and was reared in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He attended the Institute For Colored Youth and then entered Lincoln University, where he was graduated in 1873. He then taught school in South Carolina, Maryland and Florida. In addition to being a member of the Florida Legislature, 1881-83, he was clerk in the United States Land Office of Florida. He was Inspector of Customs at Pensacola, and for fourteen years held the position of Internal Revenue Collector at Tampa.

H. W. Chandler was Senator, Marion County, 1880-1888. For sketch of early life, see Simmons' *Men of Mark*. He was delegate to the National Republican Convention 1884-1908. He was Inspector of Customs at Tampa from May 1908 to December 1913.

George H. Mays was marshal of Jacksonville. This was an elective office. The position made him head of police force with appointive powers.

James Dean was County Judge, Monroe County in 1889, but served less than one year. He was impeached for issuing license to a colored Cuban man to marry a white Cuban woman. This a custom in Cuba. Dean was impeached on ground that he had issued license to Negro to marry a white woman. He was summarily removed without a hearing. This was said to have been a put-up job, as the man was secured to get a license. Dean did not have a trial. The only way to get case reviewed was to institute quo warranto proceedings. To do this, it was necessary

to get the permission of the State's Attorney General to use the State's name. He was not able to do this.

Mitchell Chappelle was Negro Mayor of LaVilla. Formerly these were two adjoining towns, Jacksonville and LaVilla. The two are now Jacksonville.

Charles Dupont was reported as being sheriff of Monroe County about 27 years ago.

In 1887 Republicans went out of power in Florida. The Constitutional Convention put Negroes and Republicans out.

Negro Members of the Georgia Legislature, 1868-69

Senate

Year	District	Name
1868-68	.....	A. Alpeoria Bradley (expelled).
1868-69	2nd	Tunis G. Campbell (unseated, 1868-69) ^[10]
reseated in 1870.		
1868-69	20th	George Wallace (unseated, 1868-69) ^[10]
reseated in 1870.		

¹⁰ Letter on October 11, 1916, from L. L. Knight, official compiler of Georgia Records; Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia*, pp. 211-214, 262, 264.

House

Year	Name	County		
1868-69	T .M. Allen	Jasper	Unseated 1862-69,	Reseated in 1870 ^[10]
	E. Barnes	Hancock	"	"
	T. G. Campbell	McIntosh	"	"
	G. H. Clower	Monroe	"	"
	A. Colby	Greene	"	"
	J. T. Costin	Talbot	"	"
	Monday Floyd	Warren	"	"
	S. Gardner	Warren	"	"
	W. A. Golden	Liberty	"	"
	W. H. Harrison	Hancock	"	"
	U. L. Houston	Bryan	"	"
	Philip Joiner	Dougherty	"	"
	George Linder	Laurens	"	"
	R. Lumpkin	Macon	Unseated 1862-69,	Reseated in 1870 ^[10]
	Romulus Moore	Columbia	"	"
	Peter O 'Neal	Baldwin	"	"
	James Porter	Chatham	"	"
	A. Richardson	Clarke	"	"
	J. M. Sims	Chatham	"	"
	Abram Smith	Muscogee	"	"
	Alexander Stone	Jefferson	"	"
	H. M. Turner	Bibb	"	"
	J. Warren	Glynn	"	"
	Samuel Williams	Burke	"	"
	M. Claiborne	Harris	"	"
	R. B. Hall	Burke	"	"
	--- Beard ^[11]	Richmond		
	--- Belcher ^[11]	Wilkins		
	Madison Davis ^[11]	Clarke		

¹⁰ Letter on October 11, 1916, from L. L. Knight, official compiler of Georgia Records; Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia*, pp. 211-214, 262, 264.

¹¹ The names of these four were later stricken out. They were so nearly white that their race was indeterminate. They remained in the house after the others were expelled.—Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia*, p. 213; House Journal Georgia Legislature, p. 229.

House

Year	Name	County
1871	James Blue ^[12]	Glynn
1872	"	"
1873	"	"
1874	"	"
1874	"	"
1875	"	"
1876	"	"
1877	"	"
1878	Thomas M. Butler ^[12]	Camden
1879	"	"
1884	A. Wilson ^[12]	Camden
1885	"	"
1886	Lectured Crawford ^[12]	McIntosh
1887	"	"

¹² Letter on October 11, 1916, from L.L. Knight, official compiler of Georgia Records.

List of Negro Members in Mississippi Legislature—1870

Senate

Name	County
Rev. H. R. Revels	Adams
Rev. William Gray	Washington
Rev. T. W. Stringer	Warren
Charles Caldwell	Hinds
Rubert Glead	Lowndes

House

Name	County
Charles P. Head	Warren
Peter Barrow	Warren
Albert Johnson	Warren
Henry Mayson	Hinds
C. F. Norris	Hinds
J. F. Bolden	Lowndes
John R. Lynch	Adams
H. P. Jacobs	Adams
Edmund Scarborough	Holmes
Cicero Mitchell	Holmes
Dr. J. J. Spellman	Madison
William Holmes	Monroe

John R. Lynch elected speaker of the House.

H. R. Revels elected to United State Senate for the unexpired term.

—*From J. M. Garner, Reconstruction in Mississippi, New York, 1901.*

Negroes Elected in 1871¹⁶²

Name	County
Henry P. Jacobs	Adams
Reuben Kendrick	Amite
Joseph Smothers	Claibome
Thomas McCain	DeSota
Monroe Bell	Hinds
William Johnson	Hinds
F. Stewart	Holmes
Richard Griggs	Issaquena
William Landers	Jefferson
Alfred Handy	Madison
Arthur Brooks	Monroe

Additions and Corrections for Mississippi

Josiah T. Settle was a member of the House from Panola in 1883-84.

G. W. Gayles was a member of the House 1873-77 and a member of the Senate 1877 to some time after 1886. He was the last Negro to be a member of the Mississippi Senate. For sketch of his career see Simmons' *Men of Mark*, 379-381.

Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, page 294, gives Negro members of the Mississippi Legislature for 1873 as Senate, 9; House, 55. On page 402, for 1876, Senate, 5; House, 16. Total membership, Senate, 37. Total membership, House, 116.

Negro Members of the North Carolina Reconstruction Constitutional Conventions, 1868 and 1875

Dates of the Conventions January 14-March 17, 1868, and September 6-October 11, 1875. Total members of each Convention 120. Negro members, 13 in Convention of 1868, and 5 in Convention of 1875.

County	Year	Name
Bertie	1868	P. D. Robbins
		Bryant Lee
Caswell	1868	Wilson Cary
Caswell	1875	Wilson Cary
Craven	1868	C. D. Pierson
Duplin	1868	J. W. Petterson
		Samuel Highsmith
Edgcombe	1868	Henry C. Cherry
Edgcombe	1875	W. P. Mabson
Franklin	1868	John H. Williamson
Halifax	1868	Henry Epps
		W. J. T. Hayes
Halifax	1875	J E. O'Hara
New Hanover	1868	A. H. Galloway
New Hanover	1875	J. H. Smythe
Wake	1868	James H. Harris
Warren	1868	John Hyman

Negro Members of General Assembly of North Carolina During Reconstruction Period and After¹⁶³

County	Year	Senatorial District	Senators	Representatives
Bertie	1868	.....	.....	Parker D. Robbins
Bertie	1870		.....	Parker D. Robbins
Bertie	1876	3rd	George A. Mebane	.....
Bertie	1881		.....	Augustus Robbins
Bertie	1883	3rd	George A. Mebane	.....
Bladen	1874		.....	John Newell
Bladen	1879		.....	John Newell
Bladen	1881		.....	John Newell
Bladen	1883		.....	John Newell
Caswell	1868		.....	Wilson Cary
Caswell	1870	24th	Wilson Cary	.....
Caswell	1874		.....	Wilson Cary
Caswell	1876		.....	Wilson Cary
Caswell	1879		.....	Wilson Cary
Caswell	1883		.....	James W. Poe
Caswell	1889		.....	Wilson Cary
Chowan	1870		.....	John R. Page
Chowan	1874		.....	Richard Elliott
Craven	1868		.....	A. W. Stevens
				B. W. Morris
Craven	1870		.....	R. Tucker
				E. R. Dudley
				G. B. Willis
Craven	1872		.....	I. B. Abbott
				E. R. Dudley
Craven	1874	8th	Richard Tucker	John R. Good
				Edward H. Hill

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 481-862.

Number White and Negro Members Each Session of the Assembly in which there were Negro Members

(Number Senators in Assembly,
50; Representatives, 120)

Year		White	Negro
1868	Senators	47	3
	Representatives	102	18
1870	Senators	46	4
	Representatives	101	19
1872	Senators	45	5
	Representatives	108	12
1874	Senators	45	4
	Representatives	107	13
1876	Senators	45	5
	Representatives	113	7

Delegates to the South Carolina Constitutional Convention¹⁶⁴ Held at Charleston, January 14 to March 18, 1868¹⁶⁵

Abbeville—John A. Hunter, B. Milford, white; H. J. Lomax, W. N. Joiner, Thomas Williamson, colored.

Anderson—William Perry, N. J. Newall, white; Samuel Johnson, colored.

Berkeley—M. F. Becker, D. H. Chamberlain, Timothy Hurley, Joseph H. Jenks, A. C. Richmond, white; William Jervey, Benjamin Byas, W. H. W. Gray, George Lee, colored.

Beaufort—J. D. Bell, R. G. Holmes, white; F. E. Wilder, L. S. Langley, W. J. Whipper, Robert Smalls, J. J. Wright, colored.

Barnwell—C. P. Leslie, Niles G. Parker, white; James N. Hayne, A. Middleton, C. D. Hayne, Julius Mayer, colored.

Charleston—A. G. Mackey, C. C. Bowen, Gilbert Pillsbury, white; F. L. Cardozo, William McKinlay, R. H. Cain, R. C. DeLarge, A. J. Ransier, colored.

Chester—Purvis Alexander, Barney Burton, Sancho

¹⁶⁴ Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, pp. 76-79.

¹⁶⁵ In 1895 South Carolina again revised her constitution. In the convention held for this purpose there were found Negro delegates, viz.: Thomas E. Miller, L. R. Reed, Robert Smalls, W. J. Whipper and James Wigg, all from Beaufort County. Smalls and Whipper had been delegates in the 1868 convention. (Reported by H. H. Wallace.)

Sanders, colored.

Chesterfield—R. J. Donaldson, white; H. L. Shrewsbury, colored.

Clarendon—Elias E. Dickson, white; William Nelson, colored.

Colleton—J. S. Craig, white; William M. Thomas, William Driffle, W. M. Vinery, colored.

Darlington—B. F. Whittemore, white; Isaac Brockenton, Jordan Lang, Richard Humbird, colored.

Edgefield—Frank Arnim, white; R. B. Elliott, Prince R. Rivers, John Bonum, David Harris, John Wooley, colored.

Fairfield—James M. Rutland, white; H. D. Edwards, Henry Jacob, colored.

Georgetown—Henry W. Webb, white; F. F. Miller, Joseph H. Rainey, colored.

Greenville—James M. Allen, J. M. Runion, white; Wilson Cook, W. B. Johnson, colored.

Horry—Henry Jones, A. R. Thompson, colored.

Kershaw—J. K. Jillson, S. G. W. Dill, white; John A. Chestnut, colored.

Lancaster—Albert Clinton, Charles Jones, colored.

Lexington—Lemanuel Boozer, Simeon Corley, white.

Laurens—Joseph Crews, Y. J. P. Owens, white; Harry McDaniels, Nelson Davis, colored.

Marion—W. S. Collins, white; J. W. Johnson, H. E. Hayne, B. A. Thompson, colored.

Marlboro—Calvin Stubbs, George Jackson, colored.

Newberry—B. O. Duncan, white; James Henderson, Lee Nance, colored.

Orangeburg—E. W. M. Mackey, white; E. J. Cain, W. J. McKinlay, T. K. Sasportas, B. F. Randolph, colored.

Pickens—M. Mauldin, Alexander Bryce, L. B. Johnson, white.

Richland—Thomas J. Robertson, white; W. B. Nash, S. B. Thompson, C. M. Wilder, colored.

Spartanburg—J. P. F. Camp, J. S. Gentry, white; Rice Foster, Coy Wingo, colored.

Sumter—T. J. Coghlan, F. J. Moses, Jr., white; W. E. Johnson, Samuel Lee, colored.

Union—J. H. Goss, white; Abram Dogan, Samuel Nuckles, colored.

Williamsburg—William Darrington, white; C. M. Olsen, S. A. Swails, colored.

York—J. L. Neagle, William E. Rose, white; J. W. Mead, J. H. White, colored.

Three of the delegates elected failed to attend,—F. A. Sawyer, white, Charleston; John K. Terry, white, Colleton; George D. Medis, colored, Edgefield.

Of the 124 delegates elected, forty-eight were white and seventy-six colored. The white men classed as Republicans were about equally divided as natives or newcomers—in the vernacular of the times, "scalawags" or "carpetbaggers."

The following table gives the previous residence of the delegates:

Whites		Negroes	
South Carolina	23	South Carolina	59
North Carolina	3	Pennsylvania	2
Georgia	1	Michigan	1
Massachusetts	7	Georgia	1
Connecticut	1	Tennessee	1
Rhode Island	1	Ohio	1
New York	1	North Carolina	1
Other Northern States	5	Virginia	1
England	2	Massachusetts	2
Ireland	1	Dutch Guiana	1
Prussia	1	Unknown	6
Denmark	1		---
Unknown	1		76

	48		

Senators of South Carolina —Reconstruction Period¹⁶⁶

*[19]— Barber	Fairfield Co.
— Bird	Fairfield Co.
R. H. Cain	Charleston Co.
*Lawrence Cain	Edgefield Co.
*Rev. H. Cardozo	Kershaw Co.
F. A. Clinton	Lancaster Co.
*S. E. Gaillard	Charleston Co.
Samuel Green	Beaufort Co. formerly of H. of Rep.
*C. D. Hayne	Aiken Co.
H. E. Hayne	Marion Co.
*W. R. Jervey	Charleston Co.
*Rev. W. E. Johnson	Sumter Co.
*W. H. Jones	Georgetown Co.
*— Jamison	Orangeburg Co.
*John Lee	Chester Co.
H. J. Maxwell	Marlboro Co.
*W. F. Myers	Colleton Co.
W. Beverley Nash	Richland Co.
J. H. Rainey	Georgetown Co.
*Rev. B. F. Randolph	Orangeburg Co.

¹⁹ Names marked with asterisk not in lists given in Reynold's *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, pp. 106-107, 394-396.

Member of the House of Representatives of South Carolina During Reconstruction Period¹⁶⁷

*— Bascomb	Beaufort Co.
S. J. Bampfield	Beaufort Co.
B. A. Bosemon	Charleston Co.
Joseph D. Boston	Newberry Co.
*J. A. Bowley	Georgetown Co.
Benjamin Byas	Berkley Co.
E. J. Cain	Berkley Co.
*J. E. Clyde	Charleston Co.
Wilson Cook	Greenville Co.
*— Davis	Charleston Co.
*James Davis	Richland Co.
R. C. DeLarge	Charleston Co.
W. A. Driffle	Colleton Co.
*Major M. R. Delaney	Charleston Co.

¹⁶⁷ Furnished by H. A. Wallace, a former page in the South Carolina House of Representatives in the Reconstruction Period. [2] Names marked with asterisk not in given in Reynold's *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, pp. 107-108, 394-396.

Additional names by Bishop George W. Clinton.

Aaron Logan
Nelson Davis, York
Allen Hudson, Lancaster
Alfred M. Moore, Fairfield
Samuel P. Coker.

See Reynold's *Reconstruction*, p. 505.

Members of South Carolina General Assembly, 1868¹⁶⁸

Senators

*Anderson—John H. Reid, white.
Barnwell—C. P. Leslie, white.
Beaufort—J. J. Wright, colored.
Charleston—D. T. Corbin, white; R. H. Cain, colored.
Chester—Lewis Wimbush, colored.
Chesterfield—R. J. Donaldson, white.
Clarendon—E. E. Dickson, white.
Colleton—William R. Hoyt, colored.
Darlington—B. F. Whittemore, white.
Edgefield—Frank Arnim, white.
Fairfield—James M. Rutland, white.
Georgetown—Joseph H. Rainey, colored.
Greenville—James M. Allen, white.
*Horry—H. Buck, white.
Kershaw—J. K. Jillson, white.
*Lancaster—R. M. Sims, white.
Laurens—Y. J. P. Owens, white.
Lexington—E. S. J. Hayes, white.
Marlboro—H. J. Maxwell, colored.
Marion—Henry E. Hayne, colored.
Newberry—C. W. Montgomery, white.
*Oconee—D. Biemann, white.
Orangeburg—B. F. Randolph, colored, succeeded by Joseph A. Greene, colored.
¹⁶⁸ Reynolds, <i>Reconstruction in South Carolina</i> , pp. 106-108.
*Pickens—T. A. Rodgers, white.

The number of white senators elected was twenty-one, and of colored, ten.

Representatives

Abbeville—George Dusenberry, T. B. Milford, James Martin, white; R. M. Valentine, W. J. Lomax, colored.

*Anderson—John B. Moore, B. Frank Sloan, John Wilson, all white.

Barnwell—B. F. Berry, W. J. Mixson, white; C. D. Hayne, James N. Hayne, Julius Mayer, R. B. Elliott, colored.

Beaufort—C. J. Stolbrand, Charles S. Kuh, white; W. J. Whipper, P. E. Ezekiel, Robert Smalls, G. A. Bennett, W. C. Morrison, colored.

Charleston—Reuben Tomlinson, Joseph H. Jenks, John B. Dennis, F. J. Moses, Jr., B. F. Jackson, white; R. C. DeLarge, A. J. Ransier, colored.

W. H. W. Gray, B. A. Bosemon, George Lee, William McKinlay, W. J. Brodie, John B. Wright, William R. Jervay, Abraham Smith, Samuel Johnson, Stephen Brown, Edward Mickey, colored.

The counties marked * were Democratic.

Chester—Barney Humphries, Sancho Sanders, Barney Burton, colored.

Chesterfield—H. L. Shrewsberry, D. I. J. Johnson, colored.

Clarendon—William Nelson, Powell Smyth, colored.

Colleton—George F. McIlntyre, white; W. B. Hoyt, W. M. Thomas, Wm. Driffle, colored.

Darlington—G. Holliman, white; Jordan Lang, John Boston, Alfred Rush, colored.

Edgefield—T. Root, white; David Harris, Samuel J. Lee, John Wooley, Prince R. Rivers, John Gardner, Lawrence Cain, colored.

Fairfield—L. W. Duvall, white; Henry Jacob, Henry Johnson, colored.

Georgetown—Henry W. Webb, white; F. F. Miller, W. H. Jones, colored.

Greenville—Samuel Tinsley, John B. Hyde, white; Wilson Cook, W. A. Bishop, colored.

*Horry—Zadock Bullock, W. W. Waller, white.

Kershaw, S. G. W. Dill, white; John A. Chestnut, J. W. Nash, colored.

*Lancaster—T. Frank Clyburn, W. G. Stewart, white.

Laurens—Joseph Crews, white; Griffin Johnson, Wade Perrin, Harry McDaniels, colored.

Lexington—G. A. Lewie, white; H. W. Purvis, colored.

Marlboro—T. B. Stubbs, white; John G. Grant, colored.

Marion—W. S. Collins, white; Evan Hayes, B. A. Thompson, colored.

Newberry—Joseph Boston, James Hutson, James Henderson, colored.

*Oconee—O. M. Doyle, W. C. Keith, white.

Orangeburg—W. J. McKinlay, T. K. Sasportas, F. DeMars, E. J. Cain, James P. Mays, colored.

*Pickens—W. T. Field, white.

Richland—S. B. Thompson, William Simmons, C. M. Wilder, Aesop Goodson, colored.

*Spartansburg—Samuel Littlejohn, Robert M. Smith, Javan Bryant, C. C. Turner, white.

Sumter—John H. Ferriter, white; W. E. Johnson, James Smiley, Burrell James, colored.

Union—Samuel Nuckles, Junius Mobley, Simon Farr, colored.

Williamsburg—C. H. Pettingill, white; R. F. Scott, Jefferson Pendergrass, colored.

York—P. J. O'Connell, John L. Neagle, white; J. H. White, John W. Mead, colored.

The number of white representatives was forty-six, and of colored seventy-eight. On joint ballot there were sixty-seven whites and eighty-eight colored—135 Republicans and twenty Democrats.

The counties marked * were Democratic.

Senators and Representatives Elected to South Carolina General Assembly in 1876¹⁶⁹

*Aiken—Senator, A. P. Butler; Representatives, C. E. Sawyer, J. Woodward, L. M. Asbill, J. G. Guignard, all white.

*Abbeville—Senator, J. C. Maxwell; Representatives, W. K. Bradley, R. R. Hemphill, F. A. Connor, Wm. Hood, J. L. Moore, all white.

*Anderson—Representatives, H. R. Vandiver, R. W.

¹⁶⁹ Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, pp. 394-396.

Simpson, W. C. Brown, James L. Orr, all white.

*Barnwell—Senator, J. M. Williams; Representatives, I. S. Bamberg, John W. Holmes, L. W. Youmans, W. A. Rountree, Robert Aldrich, all white.

Beaufort—Senator, Samuel Green; Representatives, Thomas Hamilton, Hastings Gantt, Joseph Robinson, George Reed, N. B. Myers, Thomas E. Miller, all colored.

Charleston—Senator—W. M. Taft (white); Representatives, E. W. M. Mackey (white), J. J. Lesesne, B. F. Smalls, Robert Simmons, W. C. Glover, F. S. Edwards, Isaac Prioleau, John Vanderpool, William J. Brodie, J. S. Lazarus, S. C. Brown, Benjamin F. Capers, A. P. Ford, Richard Bryan, Julius C. Tingman, Abram Smith, W. G. Pinckney, colored.

Chester—Representatives, John Lee, Samuel Coleman, Purvis Alexander, all colored.

*Chesterfield—Representatives, J. C. Coit, D. T. Redfearn, all white.

Clarendon—Representatives, S. Melton, H. Boston, all colored.

*Colleton—Representatives, H. E. Bissell, J. M. Cummins, S. E. Parler, white; William Maree (colored), R. Jones (white).

Darlington—Representatives, R. H. Humbert, S. J. Keith, Z. Wines, J. A. Smith, all colored.

*Edgefield—Senator, M. W. Gary; Representatives, W. S. Allen, J. C. Sheppard, James Callison, T. E. Jennings, H. A. Shaw, all white.

Fairfield—Senator, Israel Byrd, Representatives, John

Gibson, Daniel Bird, Prince Martin, all colored.

Georgetown—Senator, B. H. Williams; Representatives, C. S. Green, P. R. Kinloch, all colored.

*Greenville—Senator, S. S. Crittenden; Representatives, J. W. Gray, J. F. Donald, J. T. Austin, J. S. Westmoreland, all white.

*Horry—Senator, William L. Buck; Representatives, L. D. Bryan, J. K. Cooper, all white.

Kershaw—Representatives, R. D. Gaither, A. W. Kough, E. H. Dibble, all colored.

*Laurens—Senator, R. P. Todd; Representatives, J. B. Humbert, J. W. Watts, W. D. Anderson, all white.

*Lancaster—Representatives, J. B. Erwin, J. C. Blakeney, all white.

*Lexington—Senator, H. A. Meetze; Representatives, G. Leaphart, G. Muller, all white.

*Marion—Senator, R. G. Howard; Representatives, J. G. Blue, J. McRae, R. H. Rogers, J. P. Davis, all white.

Newberry—Senator, H. C. Corwin (white); Representatives, William Keitt, J. S. Bridges, W. H. Thomas (colored).

*Oconee—Senator, J. W. Livingston; Representatives, B. F. Sloan, J. S. Verner, all white.

The counties marked * were Democratic.

Orangeburg—Senator, J. L. Duncan; Representatives, D. A. Straker, S. Morgans, W. H. Reedish, C. M. Caldwell, E. Forrest, all colored.

*Pickens—Representatives, D. F. Bradley, E. S. Bates, all white.

Richland—Representatives, A. W. Curtis, Charles Minort, R. J. Palmer, J. W. Lowman, James Wells, all colored.

*Spartanburg—Senator, Gabriel Cannon; Representatives, W. P. Compton, J. W. Wofford, E. S. Allen, Charles Petty, all white.

Sumter—Representatives, J. Westberry (colored), Thomas B. Johnston (white), J. H. Ferriter (white), T. Andrews, colored.

*Union—Representatives, W. H. Wallace, G. D. Peake, William Jefferies, all white.

Williamsburg—Representatives, W. Scott, J. F. Peterson, John Evans, all colored.

*York – Senator, I. D. Witherspoon; Representatives, A. E. Hutchinson, J. A. Deal, W. E. Byers, B. H. Massey, all white.

The counties marked * were Democratic.

State Officers in South Carolina during the Reconstruction Period¹⁷⁰

Alonzo J. Ransier	Lieut. Governor	1870-1872
Richard H. Gleaves	Lieut. Governor	1872-1876
Francis L. Cardozo	Secretary of State	1868-1872
Francis L. Cardozo	State Treasurer	1872-1876
Henry E. Hayne	Secretary of State	1872-1876
Henry W. Purvis	Adjutant General	1872-1876
J. J. Wright	Associate Justice Supreme Court	1870-1877
R. C. DeLarge	State Land Commissioner	1870
R. C. DeLarge	State Commissioner Sinking Fund.	

¹⁷⁰ Furnished by H. A. Wallace, a former page in the South Carolina House of Representatives in the Reconstruction Period.

Federal Office Holders in South Carolina during Reconstruction Period¹⁷¹

Dr. B. A. Bosemon	Postmaster—Charleston, S.C.
Charles M. Wilder	Postmaster—Columbia, S.C.
John Lee	Postmaster—Chester, S.C.
Rev. J. E. Wilson	Postmaster—Florence, S.C.
S. J. Bampfield	Postmaster—Beaufort, S.C.
Fred. Nix, Jr.	Postmaster—Barnwell, S.C.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

**There were many others but
I cannot recall their names**

Names of Congressmen who represented South Carolina during the Reconstruction Period¹⁷²

Joseph H. Rainey	41st, 42d, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th Congress.
Robert Brown Elliott	42d Congress.
Alonzo J. Ransier	42d Congress.
Robert C. DeLarge	42d Congress.
Rev. R. H. Cain	43d, 45th Congress
Robert Smalls	44th, 45th, 48th 49th Congress.

Names of Congressmen who represented South Carolina after the Reconstruction Period

Robert Smalls	Part before and part after Reconstruction.
Thomas E. Miller	51st Congress.
George W. Murray	53d Congress.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

103 West 131st Street,

New York City,

October, 1917.

Mr. Monroe N. Work,
Editor—*The Negro Year Book*,
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter requesting my assistance in getting data relative to the Reconstruction Period in South Carolina, I have the honor to submit the following:

It will be utterly impossible to give dates after a lapse of nearly fifty years, especially with reference to the terms the legislators served, unless I had access to the records. I was a boy when our family returned to South Carolina in 1870, two years after the adjournment of the Constitutional Convention. At that period I was not especially interested in the trend of affairs. I was thinking more of the splendid opportunities I had left behind in Canada.

I think it very important that all of the data possible should be collected pertaining to the Constitutional Convening as I regard it the most important Convention ever held in which colored men participated. I was very fortunate in finding a copy of the Proceedings of the Convention in the Public Library in this city. I have given only such names as I could positively identify as colored. No doubt some names have been omitted but not of any who took an active or important part in political affairs.

F. B. Perry, of Greenville, S.C., was appointed Provisional Governor of South Carolina by President Johnson in 1865.

Pursuant to a call for a convention of the people issued by Governor Perry in obedience to the proclamation of President Johnson for the purpose of organizing a State Government, the Convention assembled at Columbia, S.C., September 13, 1865.

To show the intense bitter feeling of Governor Perry the following is from his proclamation:

"It is a source of congratulation to know that the colored troops, whose atrocious conduct has disgraced the service and filled the public mind with the most horrible apprehensions, have been withdrawn from the interior of the State, and are to be placed in garrisons on the coast where they can do no further mischief. In all of my personal interviews with the President and in all of my dispatches to him I urged this course most earnestly."

A Constitution was adopted by the Convention without being submitted to the people for ratification.

The Constitution provided that only free white men were eligible for membership in the Senate and House of Representatives; only free white men were entitled to vote and that the appointment of members of the House of Representatives among the several election districts of the State should be in accordance with the number of white inhabitants in each.

The Convention adjourned September 27, 1865.

Congress decided that it was no part of the prerogative

of the Executive to call conventions or to direct the adoption of Constitutions.

J. L. Orr, of Anderson, S. C., was elected Provisional Governor, October, 1865, to succeed Governor Perry.

Persuant to an Act of Congress of the United States entitled "An Act to provide for the More Efficient Government of the Rebel States" an election was held in South Carolina on November 19th and 20th, 1867, and the electors of that State voted in favor of a Constitutional Convention, and at the same time voted for delegates thereto.

Brevet Major-General E. R. S. Canby, Commanding 2d Military District of South Carolina issued orders for the delegates to assemble in convention at Charleston, S.C., January 14, 1868.

The Convention composed of 124 delegates, a large majority being colored, met at Charleston, on the date named.

T. J. Robertson, white, was elected temporary President and Dr. A. G. Mackey, white, was elected permanent President.

W. J. McKinlay and H. E. Hayne were elected temporary Secretary and Assistant Secretary, respectively.

General Carlos J. Stalbrand, white, was elected permanent Secretary. Josephus Woodruff, white, compiled the proceedings.

John R. Pinckney and Peter Miller were elected Sergeants-at-Arms.

F. L. Cardozo was Chairman of the Committee on

Education.

S. A. Swails, Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Regulations.

Robert C. DeLarge, Chairman of the Committee on Franchise and Elections.

Colored members were on all of the Committees, in most cases being in the majority.

In looking over the proceedings I find that the following named delegates took a very active part in all of the deliberations:

R. B. Elliott, R. C. DeLarge, F. L. Cardozo, J. J. Wright, W. J. Whipper, W. J. McKinlay, S. A. Swails, A. J. Ransier, R. H. Cain, B. F. Randolph, and W. B. Nash.

The Constitution provided for the election of Senators and Representatives on April 14, 15 and 16, 1868, to assemble at Columbia, May 12, 1868.

The Convention adjourned sine die March 14, 1868.

The Constitution adopted in 1868 stood unchanged until 1895 when a Convention was called to meet at Columbia, on September 10, 1895, to revise it.

The fact that the old Constitution stood for nineteen years after the Democratic party came into power (1876) shows that there could not have been anything objectionable in it to the Democrats or they would have changed it immediately after regaining control. It speaks volumes for the wisdom and foresight of the men of the Reconstruction Period.

In the Convention which met at Columbia in 1895, there were only five colored delegates and they were all from

Beaufort County, a county which has very few white persons in it. The delegates were W. J. Whipper, Robert Smalls, Thomas E. Miller, James Wigg, and L. R. Reed. Of these, W. J. Whipper and Robert Smalls were delegates to the Constitutional Convention which met at Charleston in 1868.

As General Smalls died only about two or three years ago what a wealth of information he could have furnished pertaining to the Reconstruction Period had your request been sent out before his death.

Inclosure 2 contains the names of State Senators and the counties they represented. In several cases of Senators and also of Members of the House of Representatives I cannot recall their initials.

There were 32 senators, the majority being colored, of whom the following were conspicuous for their activity on all important legislation:

S. A. Swails, J. H. Rainey, R. H. Cain, W. H. Jones, W. B. Nash and H. J. Maxwell.

Inclosure 3 contains names of members of the House of Representatives at various times. Some served more than one term. The more prominent were: R. B. Elliott, S.J. Lee, Dr. B.A. Bosemon, J. H. Rainey, R. C. DeLarge, J. A. Bowley, W. J. Whipper, D. A. Straker, C. M. Wilder, Prince Rivers, F. H. Frost, T. E. Miller, and W. H. Thomas.

The House of Representatives was composed of 124 members and colored members were always in the majority.

Inclosure 4—Names of State Officers.

Inclosure 5—Names of Federal Office holders.

Inclosure 6—Names of Congressmen who represented

South Carolina.

I shall never forget the scene in 1876 when Col. A. C. Haskell, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee at the head of the Democratic members of the legislature forced his way into the Hall of the Representatives then occupied by the Republican members. Pandemonium reigned for a time. There were two Houses, each having its own officers trying to transact business at the same time. Finally the U. S. soldiers were called upon and those Democrats who had no certificate of election were ejected.

All of the Democratic members then withdrew and formed an organization in another hall.

Three colored Republicans whose names I do not care to mention went over to the Democrats, but the latter could do nothing without the Senate which was admittedly Republican.

The struggle was kept up until Mr. Hayes was inaugurated President, when he withdrew the U. S. troops, leaving the Republicans without any protection.

Governor Chamberlain and the State Officers elected with him seeing that they were deserted by the National Administration withdrew from the contest, leaving Gen. Hampton who was the Democratic nominee for Governor in possession.

The Democrats then organized the Senate and House of Representatives, and in joint session elected Gen. M. C. Butler, U. S. Senator. D. T. Corbin, who received the Republican votes, contested, but the Senate which was Republican by a small majority seated Butler. Senators Don

Cameron from Pennsylvania and John J. Patterson from South Carolina, both Republicans, voted for Butler.

That there was no one killed or injured while the contest was going on is remarkable when the great excitement during and after the "Red Shirt" campaign is considered. It shows what absolute control the gubernational candidates had over their followers. No doubt the Democrats, who were assured that the U. S. soldiers would be withdrawn, did not care to make a slip as Chamberlin was still governor and the troops were practically under his orders.

Thus ended the Reconstruction Period in South Carolina.

At every step the Republican Party in South Carolina was betrayed by Republicans.

Col. T. W. Parmele, white. Superintendent of the Penitentiary, appointed as a Republican by Gov. Chamberlin, recognized an order from Gen. Hampton for the pardon of a convict. Legal complications ensued and the case was carried before Associate Justice Willard, white, of the Supreme Court, a Republican elected by the legislature, and he decided in favor of Hampton.

Three colored members of the legislature deserted to the Democrats, which practically made the House Democratic.

Col. Parmele and Justice Willard were Northern white men.

This paper would not be complete without some reference to the prominent colored men who helped to make history during that eventful period.

Robert Brown Elliott—

Born at Boston, Mass., August 11, 1842.

Entered High Holborn Academy, London, England, 1853.

Entered Eton College, 1855 and graduated in 1859. Studied law.

Member of the State Constitutional Convention.

Member of the House of Representatives of South Carolina, 1868-1870.

Assistant Adjutant General.

Elected to the 42nd Congress.

Resigned his seat in Congress and was elected to the House of Representatives of S.C. for the second time, and was elected Speaker of the House.

He came within a few votes of being elected U. S. Senator in 1874, but the powerful influence of the Pennsylvania R. R. Co., was exerted in behalf of John J. Patterson, white, the successful candidate. There was a colored majority in both branches of the legislature at the time and had the colored members so desired they could have elected Gen. Elliott.

In 1876 Gen. Elliott was the nominee on the Republican ticket for Attorney General and was elected but was forced to withdraw with the rest of the ticket.

He was Chairman of the State Republican Committee during the campaign of 1876.

For scholarly attainments, legal acumen, political sagacity and oratorical power, Robert Brown Elliott stands out as the most brilliant figure of the Reconstruction Period.

Joseph H. Rainey—

Born at Georgetown, S.C., June 21, 1832.

Although debarred by law from attending school he acquired a good education and further improved his mind by observation and travel.

He was a barber by trade and followed that occupation at Charleston, S.C., until 1862, when having been forced to work upon the fortifications of the Confederates he escaped to the West Indies, where he remained until the close of the war, when he returned to his native town.

Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

State Senator from Georgetown County.

Elected to the 41st Congress, being the first colored man having that distinction, and was re-elected to the 42nd, 43rd, 44th and 45th Congresses, five successive terms, the only colored man with such a record.

He received a caucus nomination as Clerk of the House, from the Republican members of Congress, the only colored man who has ever been honored by a Republican caucus.

The House was Democratic.

He was a delegate to several National Republican Conventions.

Served as Special Agent for the Treasury Department.

Polished in his manners—a fluent and convincing speaker, he was prominent in the Councils of the Republican Party.

Gen. Robert Smalls—

Born in South Carolina, at Beaufort, April 5, 1839.

Although debarred by Statute from attending school, he

educated himself with such limited advantages as he could secure.

Removed to Charleston, S.C., in 1851, worked as a rigger, leading a sea-faring life.

Employed on the *Planter*, a steamer plying in Charleston harbor as a transport, which he took over Charleston Bar in May, 1862, and delivered her and his services to the U. S. Blockading Squadron.

In recognition of his services was appointed Pilot in the U. S. Navy, and served in that capacity on the monitor "Koekuk."

Promoted as Captain for gallant and meritorious conduct, December 1, 1863, and placed in command of the *Planter*, serving until she was put out of commission in 1866.

Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

State Senator from Beaufort Co.

Elected to the 44th Congress, and re-elected to the 45th, 48th and 49th Congresses.

Was a delegate to every National Republican Convention up to within a short time of his death.

Collector of the Port of Beaufort, S. C.

Died two or three years ago, the last of the "Old Guard" in S. C.

Alonzo J. Ransier—

Born at Charleston, S.C., 1834.

Self educated. Employed as a shipping clerk in 1850 by leading merchant, who was tried for violation of law "in having a colored clerk" and fined one cent with costs.

Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.
Member of the House of Representatives of S.C.

Elected Lieutenant Governor on ticket with Gov. R. K. Scott, in 1870.

President of Southern States Convention held at Columbia, S.C., in 1871.

Presidential Elector on Grant and Colfax ticket in 1868.

Delegate to National Republican Convention in 1872.

Elected to the 42 Congress.

A man singularly gifted with political farsightedness.

Robert C. DeLarge.

Born at Aiken, S.C., March 15, 1842.

Farmer—Self-educated.

Agent of the Freedmen's Bureau from May, 1867 to April, 1868.

Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

Member of the House of Representatives, 1860-1870.

One of the State Commissioners of the Sinking Fund.

Elected State Commissioner in 1870.

Elected to the 42d Congress.

Very prominent in the Party Councils.

Rev. R. H. Cain—

Born in Greenbrier Co., Va., April 12, 1825.

His father moved to Ohio in 1831 and settled in Gallipolis.

Entered the ministry at an early age and became a student at Wilberforce University in 1860 and remained there one year.

Removed to Brooklyn, N. Y., at the breaking out of the

war where he discharged ministerial duties as pastor for four years.

Was sent by his church as a missionary to the Freedmen in South Carolina.

Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

State Senator from Charleston Co.

Elected to the 43d Congress, and re-elected to the 45th Congress.

Bishop in the African Methodist Church and a power in that denomination.

William Beverly Nash—

Born in South Carolina.

Of limited education but endowed with wonderful common sense and political foresight.

Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

State Senator from Richland Co., in which Columbia is located.

For one term (four years) was Chairman of the Powerful Ways and Means Committee.

An elector on the Hayes and Wheeler ticket in 1876.

It was reported that he was offered \$100,000 to vote for Tilden and Hendricks. Had he accepted the offer the Democratic ticket would have been elected, as the vote stood 186 for Hayes and 185 for Tilden. Be it said to his eternal honor he was beyond price.

Stephen A. Swails—

Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

Represented Williamsburg Co., in the Senate.

Elected President pro term of the Senate for the whole

period.

A very strong character and exerted considerable influence in legislation.

Was in the 54th Massachusetts Infantry.

Had musical talent of a high order.

Judge Lee—

Judge of the Municipal Court of Charleston, S. C.

A man of ripe scholarship and of high legal attainments.

Until President Roosevelt appointed Judge R. H. Terrell of Washington to a similar position, I think he was the only colored man who ever occupied such a position.

Francis L. Cardozo—

Born in South Carolina, at Charleston.

Educated in Scotland, at Glasgow University.

Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

Secretary of State for four years.

State Treasurer for two years.

Scholarly, courtly and dignified.

Took great interest in the education of the colored youth, and was popular among the boys on account of the fatherly interest he manifested in them.

Moved to Washington, D. C., after 1876 and accepted a position in the office of the Auditor for the Post Office Department.

After serving for several years in the Department he was elected to the Principalship of the Colored High School in Washington, a position he filled with honor and credit to the race and himself. After his death the Board of Education named one of the School Buildings the "Cardozo Building"

as a tribute to his great interest in the educational welfare of the colored race.

Henry E. Hayne—

Born in South Carolina.

Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

State Senator from Marion, Co.

Secretary of State.

Was very much interested in the education of the colored youth.

Richard H. Gleaves—

Served two terms as Lieutenant Governor.

Elected with Gov. F. J. Moses in 1872 and with Gov. D. H. Chamberlin in 1874.

Was nominated a third time with Gov. Chamberlin and elected but forced by the Democrats to withdraw.

Henry W. Purvis—

Born in Philadelphia, Pa.

Son of Hon. Robert Purvis, the great Abolitionist. Member, house of Representatives, 1868-1870, and then was Adjutant General.

Was Adjutant General of the State most of the Reconstruction Period.

He was a man without fear.

In the campaign of 1876 he went to Edgefield, the homes of Generals Butler and Gary, the Democratic leaders, and regarded as fire eaters and spoke on the campaign issues. He also went to other parts of the State equally as dangerous and filled his engagements.

J. J. Wright—

Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

On account of his great legal ability he was elected by the legislature as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the State. (There were two Associate Justices.) He had the respect of the entire Bar of the State.

He was pre-eminently fitted for the position.

He is the only colored man who has ever occupied such an exalted judicial position in this country.

Thomas E. Miller—

Born at Ferrybeeville, Beaufort Co., June 17, 1849.

Attended the free public school for Negro youths up to the breaking out of the war.

Graduated from Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, in 1872.

Read law under Judge P. L. Wiggin and Chief Justice Moses of South Carolina and was admitted to the Supreme Court of S. C. in 1875.

Elected to the House of Representatives of S. C., 1874-1876-1878.

Elected Senator from Beaufort Co., 1880.

Elected to the 51st Congress.

Elected to the House of Representatives of S. C., in 1866, and while serving was instrumental in having the "State College for Colored Youth" established at Orangeburg, S. C., and on that account was elected its first President.

Dr. B. A. Bosemon—

Born at Troy, N. Y.

Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

Member of the House of Representatives of S. C. Appointed Postmaster at Charleston, S. C., by President Grant and served four years with entire satisfaction to the people of that city with honor and credit to himself and the race.

Suave and polished he had a pleasing personality.

He had quite a large and lucrative practice in his profession.

Charles McDuffie Wilder—

Born in South Carolina. Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

Member of the House of Representatives of S. C. Member of the City Council of Columbia, S. C.

Postmaster at Columbia, S. C. for sixteen years. Appointed by President Grant two terms and one term each by Presidents Garfield and Hayes.

There were two white applicants for the position after President Garfield was inaugurated and Postmaster General James, who was supposed to be friendly with one of them, sent a Post Office Inspector to Columbia to find out the sentiment of the business men. They were almost unanimously for Mr. Wilder. They stated that he had served them efficiently for eight years and did not approve of a change.

Generals Hampton and Butler represented the State in the U. S. Senate at the time, Columbia being Senator Hampton's home and had he objected Senatorial courtesy would have sustained him.

It shows in what estimation Mr. Wilder was held by his

home people.

Mr. Wilder's appointment of four successive terms to a first-class post office is a record.

Mr. Wilder was a delegate to all of the National Republican Conventions up to and including that of 1888.

Mr. Wilder was a man of good sound judgment, of great political force and one of the few who had anything to show after the political upheaval of 1876.

Samuel J. Lee—of Aiken, S. C.

Born in South Carolina.

Member of the House of Representatives of S. C.

Speaker of the House of Representatives for one term.

A lawyer of recognized ability.

An expert in parliamentary procedure.

A man of engaging address, of a genial disposition, a pleasing speaker, he was the most popular presiding officer of that period.

D. Augustus Straker—

A prominent member of the House of Representatives during the latter part of the Reconstruction Period.

A man of brilliant parts and one of the leading lawyers of the State.

Moved to Detroit, Mich., after the collapse in 1876, and played quite an active and conspicuous part in politics there.

William J. Whipper—

Born in South Carolina.

Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

Member of the House of Representatives of S. C.

A man of splendid legal talent.

Elected by the legislature a Circuit Court Judge but Gov. Chamberlain refused to commission him, (Ex. Gov. Moses, white, was elected a Circuit Court Judge at the same time and he was also refused a commission by Gov. Chamberlin.)

Judge of Probate of Beaufort Co., for more than ten years.

Prince Rivers—

Born in South Carolina.

Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

Member of the House of Representatives of S. C.

Brigadier General in the South Carolina Militia.

Called the "black Prince" and he looked it with his fine physique and military bearing as he rode at the head of the colored troops as they passed in review before the Governor at their annual inspection.

John Lee—

Born at Columbia, S. C.

State Senator from Chester Co.

Postmaster at Chester.

Self educated.

Very prominent in his county.

W. J. McKinlay—

Born at Charleston, S. C.

Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

One of the most prominent colored men in Charleston Co., and one of the most influential in the Party Councils.

Member of the House of Representatives 1868 and part of 1869. Resigned to accept position of Register of Mesne Conveyances, a very important office which he held for

several years.

W. H. Thomas—

Born in Ohio.

A man of brilliant intellect.

One of the most prominent members of the House of Representatives at the close of the Reconstruction Period.

I remember well the conspicuous part he took in the proceedings in the House of Representatives in 1876. Those were times that tried men's souls but Mr. Thomas held his own with the best men in the Democratic party.

Samuel Lee of Sumter, S. C.—

Born in South Carolina.

Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention.

A very strong character and one of the bright young men of the state.

He was elected to Congress but the Democrats counted him out.

He contested the seat and though the House was Republican and his case a good one, the Chairman of the Committee on Elections, a Republican from Indiana, who was personally antagonistic to him failed to report on the case and Congress adjourned without taking any action.

Jas. A. Bowley—

Member of the House of Representatives.

For one term he was chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means.

He wielded considerable power in legislation.

Was considered the "Beau Brummel" of the House.

F. H. Frost—

Born in South Carolina.

Member of the House of Representatives.

Active in all legislation.

Polished and highly cultured.

Henry J. Maxwell—

Born in South Carolina, at Charleston.

Senator from Marlboro County.

Active in all legislation.

Considered the best dressed member in the Senate.

Known to his associates at the "Duke of Marlboro."

W. H. Jones—

State Senator from Georgetown Co.

Quite a fluent speaker and well versed on all public questions.

On account of his bellicose nature he was given the sobriquet of "Red Hot Jones."

A. C. Jones—

Born in Washington, D. C.

Clerk of the House of Representatives during the whole Reconstruction Period.

A very capable officer and very popular.

Walter R. Jones—

Born in South Carolina at Charleston.

Graduate of Oberlin College.

Secretary of the State Financial Board, consisting of the Governor, Attorney General, State Treasurer and Comptroller, all white at that time.

Elected Clerk of the City Council of Columbia, S. C., by the unanimous vote of the members.

Resigned that position to accept the position of Private Secretary to Governor Chamberlain.

The best equipped and most brilliant young colored man I ever met.

J. E. Green—

Sergeant at Arms of the Senate during the whole Reconstruction Period.

A very efficient officer and a man of fine parts.

John Williams—

Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives during the whole period.

A very capable man and popular with the members.

There were many colored men who occupied positions of importance in the different countries—positions such as Sheriff, Treasurer, Auditor, Clerk of Court, Commissioner, Coroner and School Commissioner.

I never heard of any of them being removed for incompetency, dereliction of duty or malfeasance.

I regret very much that I cannot give you any information as to whether the men mentioned were free or slaves, as the persons from whom I could have gotten that information have all passed away. Had I received such inquiry eight or ten years ago I could have furnished it as there were several persons then living who, I know, were well posted on that subject.

Of the names noted in this paper the following were from the North.

Some of them may have been from the South originally and returned after the war: R. B. Elliott, D. A. Straker, Maj.

M. R. Delaney, W. H. Jones, Dr. B. A. Bosemon, W. H. Thomas, H. W. Purvis, R. H. Gleaves, A. C. Jones, S. A. Swails, J. A. Bowley, J. E. Green.

The colored men of South Carolina played a more conspicuous part and held more offices of a high grade during the Reconstruction Period than the colored men of any other State.

South Carolina has the distinction of electing the first colored Congressman, (Joseph H. Rainey) and the last (George W. Murray.)¹⁷³

South Carolina was represented in Congress by eight colored men—Rainey, Elliott, Ransier, Cain, Delarge, Smalls, Miller and Murray.

Mr. Miller and Mr. Murray served after the Reconstruction Period and most of Gen. Smalls' service was after that period.

When I compare the present political leaders in South Carolina with those of the Reconstruction Period I must confess that we have retrograded politically. They may be due to conditions. Not only in South Carolina, but where would you find in any State at the present time, political leaders who can measure up to the caliber of Elliott, Rainey, Straker, Cardozo, Swails, DeLarge, Bosemon, Wright, Ransier, Lee, McKinlay, Cain, Whipper and Wilder?

When the Negro race can again produce political leaders of the type named then we may look forward with some degree of hope for a solution of the Negro problem.

¹⁷³ George H. White, North Carolina, member of 55th and 56th Congresses, as the last Negro member. (Editor.)

Your idea in collecting data relative to the Reconstruction Period is a laudable one, and the wonder is, and the pity of it is, that it had not been thought of long ere this. There are very few now left to tell the tale, and that in a very unsatisfactory way.

Some of the data relative to the Congressmen I got from Congressional Directories. To recall all names, dates and incidents pertaining to the Reconstruction Period after a period of fifty years would require the prodigious memory of a Macauley, even had I been an active participant in political affairs at that time. There may be a few errors but they are of a minor character. I am glad that I am able to be of some assistance to you in this matter, however, little, and I can only say in the words of Macbeth,

"The service and the loyalty I owe,
In doing it, pays itself."

Very respectfully,
*(Signed) H. A. Wallace.*¹⁷⁴

All names referred to in this paper are of colored men unless otherwise stated.

¹⁷⁴ He was a page in the South Carolina House of Representatives in the Reconstruction Period.

Corrections of Data submitted by Mr. H. A. Wallace, of New York City

103 West 131 St.,

New York, N. Y.,

February 18, 1918.

Mr. Monroe N. Work,
Editor—Negro Year Book,
Tuskegee Institute, Ala,

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of the 11th inst., I beg leave to state that Hunter and Dickson were white. As to Brokenton I probably was thinking of a Brockenboro in Washington and got the names mixed.

Before leaving Washington in 1913 I let Whitfield McKinlay have my book, "Reconstruction in South Carolina" by John S. Reynolds, to read. When I received your letters asking for assistance in getting the data relative to reconstruction in South Carolina I wrote to Mr. McKinley for the book. I wrote for it several times but not until about a month ago did he send it. I did not care to delay sending you the data, consequently I mailed it before the book came to hand. Had I received the book in time I could have made my paper a little more readable and avoided the errors referred to.

As you have, no doubt, taken data from the book by Reynolds I would like to correct a few errors I found therein.

Reconstruction Convention

Colleton—W. M. Vinery, should be Viney
Darlington—Richard Humbird, should be Humbert
Edgefield—John Wooley, colored, should be white
Greenville—Wilson Cook, should be Cooke
Kershaw—John A. Chestnut, should be Chesnut

Chapter III—Scott's First Term

Senate—

Chester—Lewis Wimbush, should be Lucius Wimbush
Union—H. W. Duncan, colored, should be white

This would make ten colored Senators

House of Representatives—

Abbeville—James Martin, white, should be colored

Charleston—B. A. Bosemon, should be Dr. B. A.

Bosemon, Jr.

William R. Jervay, should be Jarvey

Chesterfield—H. L. Shrewsbury, should be Shrewsbury

Colleton—W. R. Hoyt is in the Senate column Wm.

Driffle,

should be Wm. A. Driffle H. James and T. Richardson,

as

members in addition to Thomas and Driffle.

Edgefield—John Wooley, colored should be white

Georgetown—W. H. Jones, should be W. H. Jones *Jr.*

Greenville—Wilson Cook, should be Cooke

Kershaw—John A. Chestnut, should be *Chesnut*

Williamsburg—Jeff. Pendergrass, should be *Jeffery Prendergrass.*

Jas. Martin, Lee Nance and Wade Perrin, representatives and B. F. Randolph, senator, were assassinated by the Ku-Klux Klan.

Page 111—"Among Mr Robertson's earliest official acts was the recommendation of an incompetent colored man to be postmaster at Columbia."

If you will look at the sketch I gave of Mr Wilder, the postmaster referred to, you will note that in 1880 when the Democrats had absolute control of South Carolina and Gens. Hampton and Butler represented the State in the U. S. Senate, Mr Wilder was confirmed for the fourth time, and as Columbia was the home post office of Senator Hampton it is not likely that he or Butler would have voted to confirm an incompetent colored man when senatorial courtesy would have sustained them had they objected.

Page 229—W. R. Jervay, should be Jarvey.

Page 233—Relative to Henry E. Hayne going to the communion table I have to say that is all rot in so far as there were any objections. The communicants with the exception of Mr Babbitt and family were nearly all colored. I know that the wardens and vestrymen were colored.

Page 234—I do not know about all of the colored men mentioned as having matriculated in the School of Law, but I am certain that Mr Wilder did not.

Page 236—William R. Jervay, should be Jervey.

Page 333—With reference to Dr. Bosemon being under the influence of liquor I desire to state that he did not touch, taste nor handle the stuff. Dr Bosemon was a cultured gentleman, polished in his manners and was a surgeon in one of the colored regiments during the war.

Page 366—Instead of N. B. Myers being the elector for the fifth district I think it was his brother, Senator William F. Myers.

As N. B. Myers went over to the Hampton House it is not probable that he would stultify himself by voting for Hayes and acknowledging Hampton as Governor.

Page 462—Gen. Elliott did not become a department clerk in Washington. He moved to New Orleans where he practised law several years before his death.

All the Republican politicians who remained in South Carolina *did not* sink into actual obscurity or harmless inactivity after 1876.

Mr. Wilder was postmaster at Columbia until June 30, 1885.

Gen. Smalls represented the State in Congress for several terms after 1876, and was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1895. Was also Collector of Port of Beaufort.

Thomas E. Miller was also a delegate to the same convention and served a term in Congress, and was a member of the S. C. House of Representatives.

W. J. Whipper was a member of the legislature. Probate judge of the county for ten years and a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1895.

John Lee was postmaster at Chester for several years.

Mr Rainey was a special agent of the Treasury Department with headquarters in South Carolina.

H. L. Shrewsbury and W. F. Myers were in the Revenue Service and active in politics as was A. W. Curtis.

There were others but I cannot recall their names.

Referring to the data mailed to you I desire to make the following corrections:

Page 2—J. H. Rainey was not a member of the House of Representatives but Senator from Georgetown.

Page 6—Relative to Judge Lee I desire to state that I am in error as to his case being the first where a colored man was elected to a municipal judgeship. Macon B. Allen was elected by the legislature as judge of the Inferior Court of Charlestown prior to Lee's election or appointment. Therefore Judge Allen should be given the honor.

Of course J. J. Wright who was elected an associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the State by the legislature was the first Negro in this country who ever occupied a judicial position.

Page 7—Henry W. Purvis was elected Adjutant General for the four year term 1872-1876. Member of Legislature 1868-1870.

Page 10—W. J. McKinlay was also a member of the House of Representatives for part of 1868-69 period but resigned his seat to accept the position of Register of Mesne

Conveyanes for Charlestown, to which the legislature elected him.

Page 11—W. H. Jones, should be W H. Jones, Jr.

John Williams was Sergeant-at-Arms from 1870 to close of period.

As there were no free public schools for colored youth in South Carolina it is an error to state that Thomas E. Miller was educated in that way. It was against the law for anyone to teach a Negro even to read or write.

I am also told that I am in error as to giving him credit for the establishment of the " State College" at Orangeburg. I will try to find out something about that matter.

Very respectfully,

H. A. Wallace

Some Corrections for Data Submitted by Mr. H. A. Wallace of New York City

103 West 131 St.,

New York City.

March 11, 1918.

Mr. Monroe N. Work,
Editor Negro Year Book,
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dear Sir:

I presume you received my letter of February 18, also

the one of January 19, relative to corrections in the data on Reconstruction.

I herewith send you a few more before you go to press on your book pertaining to the part the Negro played in the political history of the Southern States during the Reconstruction period:

I am in error as to James Martin, of Abbeville, who was assassinated, as being colored. I was informed that he was colored, but in reading the eulogies delivered by the different members of the House and Senate, I find that he was not even an American. He was a native of Ireland.

W. A. Bishop, who represented the Greenville district in the first legislature, was white, not colored. In the list of delegates to the Republican meeting at Charlestown, May 9, 1867, he is given as white in Reynolds' book. I met a friend from Greenville about ten days ago and in speaking to him about Bishop he said that he was white and that he knew of no colored Bishops in that district.

On page 9 of my data I state that Mr. Whipper was born in South Carolina. I met his son, who is living here, sometime ago and he informed me that his father was born in Pennsylvania.

With reference to Judge Whipper I would add that one of the first acts of the first legislature was to elect a commission of three members to revise and consolidate the Statute laws of the State and that he was the first member elected. Quite a tribute to his legal ability.

On page 12 add the following names as from the North.
Rev. B. F. Randolph—Senator—Orangeburg district.

W. J. Whipper—Member—Beaufort district.

Judge J. J. Wright—Beaufort district—afterwards Associate Judge Supreme Court, and on page 8, under his name please state—born in Pennsylvania.

On page 107 Reynolds' book—Abbeville Co.—W. J. Lomax, should be Hutson J. Lomax, this is official. On page 59 and 77 he has it H. J. which is correct.

Same page—Fairfield—Henry Jacob, should be Jacobs—He was also a delegate to the Constitutional Convention—See page 77.

Very Respectfully,

(Signed) H. A. Wallace

Copy.

Sumner and Stevens advise with Reference to Reconstruction Policy in South Carolina

The late Honorable Francis L. Cardoza at one time Secretary of State for South Carolina, several years before his death stated to the undersigned the following in substance:

That a number of colored men met and appointed a committee which was sent to Washington to get the advice of Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens concerning the formation of the political organization for the newly enfranchised Negro citizen shortly after the adoption of the 14th Amendment.

Pains were taken to keep the plans from both the native whites and the so-called carpet baggers from the North. That both Mr. Sumner and Mr. Stevens advised the committee to tender the leadership to native whites of the former master class of conservative views: but this plan was frustrated because they were not able to secure the consent of desired representatives of the former master class to assume the proffered leadership.

(Signed) Kelly Miller

(Signed) Whitefield McKinlay

Washington, D. C., December 14, 1917.

Subscribed to and sworn before me, Samuel E. Lacy a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, this Fourteenth (14th) Day of December 1917.

(Signed) Samuel E. Lacy,

Notary Public, D. C.

Some Negro Members of Reconstruction Legislatures

Texas

J. H. Stewart who now lives in Austin.

Edward Patton, San Jacinto County, now living in Washington is in Government service.

Nathan H. Haller, Brazoria County. House, 1892-94. Reelected and counted out. Contested his seat and won.

R. L. Smith, Colorado County, 1895-99, now living in Waco. Is president of the Farmers Bank and head of the Farmers Improvement Association. For sketch of, see *Negro Year Book*, p. 322. For his work in the Legislature, see attached letter.

Elias May, Brazos County, in the early days of Reconstruction.

R. J. Moore, Washington County, representative.

— Gaines, senator, Lee County.

Copy.

Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics

College Station, Texas

Waco, Texas, March 26, 1918.

Prof. Monroe N. Work, Tuskegee Inst. Ala.

Dear Mr. Work:

I was elected in Nov. 1894 as representative for Colorado county and was re-elected in 1896.

My majority in 1894 was 168 and in 1896 at the next election it was 450 as I recollect it.

I was appointed on the committee on education and on privilege and election and on agriculture.

I introduced a bill restoring colored trustees which

finally passed.

I fought a bill establishing separate waiting rooms for the races at R. R. Station and killed it for four years.

I introduced a resolution inviting manufacturing cotton plants to come to Texas. I introduced a resolution granting the use of the Hall of the House of Representatives to the colored citizens of Austin to hold their memorial services for Fred Douglas. When one understands the race feeling in the South this was indeed a triumph. I introduced a bill establishing a college course as a part of our curriculum at Prairie View Normal which passed carrying with it a grant of fifty thousand acres of land.

I worked hard to help carry a bill through making any peace officer automatically lose his office whenever a lynching took place in his county. This bill passed but was declared unconstitutional by the supreme court. I was appointed by the speaker as a member of the visiting board for Prairie View State Normal. As a member of the committee on privileges and Election I single handed fought for a colored man elected from Brazoria county, N. H. Haller by name who had the nerve to contest the seat of a white man to whom the certificate of election had been awarded. After a long and bitter fight in which three times I carried in and presented a minority report we won and Haller was seated. This isn't the only case of its kind that I know of in this state.

Haller of course had able legal talent to take care of his case.

I voted for the purchase of the battle field of San

Jacinto which is in Harris country about twenty miles below Houston. It was on this battlefield that Texas won her independence from Mexico in 1836. It is now a beautiful state park. For this action I was publicly thanked by the Daughters of the Republic.

Respectfully

(Signed) R. L. Smith.

The legislatures which I served in were the 23d and 24th.

Charles A. Culberson, now U. S. senator was governor and our relations were very cordial.

In 1902 I was tendered and accepted a position in the U. S. Marshal's office for the Eastern Dist. of Texas by Pres. Roosevelt. Held same until 1909. This was the most honorable and best paid federal position ever held by a Negro in Texas except that held by Hon. N. W. Cuney who was collector of the Post of Galveston. In 1915 I took charge of the Extension Service work for Negroes in Texas which I now hold.

Some Negro Members of the Tennessee Legislature during Reconstruction Period and After¹⁷⁵

**By Honorable J. C. Napier, of Nashville, Tenn.,
register of United States Treasury, May, 1917**

Year	Name	County
1871-73	Sampson W. Keeble	Davidson
1877-79	Thos. A. Sykes?	Davidson
1879-81	S.A. McElwee?	Haywood
1881-83	T. Frank Cassells	Shelby
	J.F. Norris	Shelby
	Thos. A. Sykes?	Davidson
	S.A. McElwee?	Haywood
1883-85	J.W. Boyd	Weakley
	S.A. McElwee	Haywood
	D.F. Rivers	Fayette
1885-87	G.E. Evans	Shelby
	W.A. Fields	Shelby

¹⁷⁵ There were no colored members of the Tennessee Senate.

³⁰ Contested, not seated.

Davidson county, Tennessee, sent two colored men to the Legislature. The first colored member of the Legislature was Sampson W. Keeble from 71-73. From 77-79 the colored member was Thomas A. Sykes. Both of these were representatives. Tennessee never had any colored senators. Sampson W. Keeble was a native of Tennessee. Thomas A. Sykes was a native of North Carolina and had been a member of the North Carolina legislature.¹⁷⁶

Captain James H. Sumner, of Davidson County, was elected a door-keeper of the House of Representatives for 1867-69. He was afterwards appointed captain of a Militia Company which rendered the State valuable service in putting down the Ku-Klux. Later by act of the Legislature a committee was authorized for Nashville consisting of three persons to audit claims against the State for destruction of property by soldiers of the Confederates and Federal armies during the war. Governor Brownlow appointed on this commission James H. Sumner, a white man named Lassiter, and J.C. Napier. They examined claims amounting to millions of dollars, some of which were afterwards paid and others rejected. There were other colored men on such commissions in other parts of the state whose names I do not now recall.

Haywood county first sent Samuel A. McElwee. He served

¹⁷⁶ 1868, 1870, see North Carolina list, Pasquotank County.

from 79-83. The same county afterwards sent Rev. D.F. Rivers who is now pastor of the Berean Baptist Church in Washington, D.C. Rev. Rivers defeated the father of a very popular white girl and she met him in the street and spat in his face. McElwee made a very active member and was highly respected by all. He was a graduate of Fisk University and the law department of Walden University.

Weakley County sent John W. Boyd who served two or three terms in the legislature. He ran for the senate but was defeated.

Perhaps there was one from Hamilton county or Knox county.

Shelby county sent quite a delegation of colored men from time to time. Among them were T.F. Cassells and I.F. Norris, who is still living in North Dakota. Cassells was a lawyer, educated at Oberlin.

Mr. Norris was a successful business man of Memphis, Mr. Keeble was a barber in Nashville.

Mr. Sykes was Internal Revenue Collector in Nashville and came there with high revenue officials from North Carolina. He entered politics and was quite influential and finally died at Nashville.

Keeble was of a family highly respected and of very high standing in Nashville. The men from Memphis and Haywood counties were more highly educated than the others. They were free men of high class and up to the standard of the whites who were sent to the legislature in those days.

Colored Men in Other Positions

At one time the county government of Davidson County was run by three Commissioners; one of these commissioners was a colored man, named Randall Brown of limited education, but large experience and a large amount of good common sense. He was very influential and highly thought of by white and colored people.

Nashville city government during the days of reconstruction had among its membership, perhaps, one-third colored members. These men were not of the same calibre as the colored members of the legislature. They were picked up in the different wards by their friends. They were chosen for their popularity rather than for fitness for the work before them.

Immediately following the reconstruction days, Josiah T. Settle was elected Assistant Attorney General for Shelby county under General Patterson who afterwards served as Governor of the State of Tennessee. Mr. Settle had previously been a member of the Mississippi Legislature.

In Knoxville men have served in the legislature of the city government.

When they changed the form of government in Nashville, there was a colored man a member of the Board of Aldermen. Two colored men were elected to the council. As a result, two fire companies were given to colored men. Mr. Charles Gowdey

and Mr. J.C. Napier were the colored members of the council. The first two brick school houses were erected for colored children during their term. They were the Pearl High School and the Meigs School. At that time the people of Nashville, the Democrats especially, showed a very liberal spirit to the colored people and divided the positions with them. Shortly after this with a more liberal spirit, they erected the third brick school house in the city of Nashville, The Napier School.

After things went out of the hands of the Republicans in Tennessee, Capt. Sumner went down into Mississippi, entered politics and was elected Sheriff of Holmes county. He became quite wealthy. His family was of high standing. Owned property in Nashville and the descendants still own it.

Settle and Cassells were free men. Keeble was owned by a very distinguished Tennessee family named Keeble.

Schools for Free Negroes and Slaves

In Tennessee before the war there were schools for Negroes. There were no laws against schools for free colored people until the agitation that brought on the war.

At Nashville, Franklin college graduated three colored men; that is the school gave them graduation papers. They were prepared for the ministry in the Christian church (Disciples). These men were Samuel Lowery, Daniel Watkins and James T. Rapier. Lowery, Rapier and Watkins were all free men. Rapier

served a term or two from Florence, Ala., in Congress during the Reconstruction Period. He was a man of some wealth, was very active and traveled a good deal. Lowery's father was also a minister, before him, in the Christian Church. He had a farm as well as city property. Franklin College was a Campbellite Institution or what is now known as the Christian Church Institution.

When the agitation came about preceding the Civil War they closed all of the colored schools.

Mr. Napier's father and mother with some other colored people had a man named Rufus Conrad come down from Cincinnati, Ohio, to teach their children. This was in 1859. Both free and slave children went to this school. The school had been open two or three months when one day, while the class was spelling the word baker, an abrupt knock on the door interrupted the class and then a man entered without waiting to be admitted. He said to the teacher, "What is your name?" The teacher answered, "Rufus Conrad." "Where did you come from?" was the next question. The teacher answered, "From Cincinnati, Ohio." The man said, "I have been authorized by the powers that be in Nashville to send these children home, to close the doors of this school and give you just 24 hours to leave this town." This ended this school.

There were three or four schools in Nashville, before the war. One was taught by Samuel Watkins. He taught school in an old church right over a branch. It was built up on stilts, and was a

place of worship built for the slaves by their owners. Another one was taught by a Mrs. Tate, who was of a very excellent family. Mrs. Sallie Player, a most delightful teacher taught another one of these schools. Mrs. Player was a free woman but her husband was a slave. He belonged to a very excellent family of white people, whose slaves enjoyed every privilege that free people enjoyed. They were protected by their owner. She was a woman of some education. Her husband also had some education, although a slave. There was another school taught by a white man and his wife whose name was Westbrooks. They came to Nashville from St. Louis, Missouri and organized a school. These two gathered considerable money from the free and slave people who wanted to send their children to school. They taught school about three weeks when they suddenly disappeared.

Slaves in Business and Negroes who Owned Slaves

Slaves had more money than is generally thought. Henry Harding, a slave with some education, was a thorough business man from beginning to end. Everything he touched turned to money. His home in Nashville now is as pretty a home as you want to see. He was allowed every liberty by his owners that a free person enjoyed. He was a carpenter and contractor. He did all the construction work on three plantations, that of General Harding, his son's, John Harding and of David Gavock's. One of the Hardings was his father. He was held as a slave

until Emancipation in '63. He immediately came to Nashville and went into business building houses. When he died he had considerable property.

Hardy Perry, a slave in Nashville, had a line of hacks and transfer teams during slavery time. He hired his own time. Steven Boyd and Mr. Napier kept a livery stable.

My father's father was a pioneer iron man in middle Tennessee. His parents came from England and went to Dixon county and established what is still known as the Napier Iron Works. He was a man of considerable force of character and influence. He had four colored sons and daughters. He had these sons go to school along with the white children. When he died his will provided that they should leave Tennessee and go to a free state or to Liberia. They went to Ohio and lived on Walnut Hill where they bought a farm. They concluded to sell the farm on Walnut Hill, trading it for a farm at New Richmond, Ohio. Two of the sons went to Richmond with my grandmother, another went to St. Louis, Mo., and my father went back to Nashville. Two of the brothers who went to Richmond with their mother became school teachers in Richmond. The one who went to Nashville went into the livery business.

My father's father was a physician, having graduated from the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania. He had great political influence and it was through his influence that one of the governors of Tennessee was elected.

Alice Bosley, whose husband was white, and her family owned

two large plantations south of Nashville and the other north-east of Nashville. They owned about twenty-five or thirty slaves. She was a thoroughly religious woman and every Sunday would have her slaves and children attend church.

Manse Bryant was another large land owner and slave owner.

Virginia State Library

Richmond, Va

September 28, 1916.

Mr. Monroe N. Work, Editor,
Tuskegee, Alabama.

My Dear Sir:—

The Journals of the Senate and House of Delegates for the years in which there have been Negro members do not indicate which of the members were white and which negro. The almanacs, however, do as a general thing though the almanacs are not extremely reliable. I have gotten the following information from the almanacs. The first year in which negroes were allowed to hold office in Virginia was 1869.

The almanac for the year 1870 (which was printed the latter part of 1869 and which gives, therefore, the members of the General Assembly for the session of 1869-70) gives

no negro members of the Senate of Virginia, but 18 negro members of the House. The total membership of the House was 137. The membership of the Senate was 40. For the session of 1870-71 there were, according to the almanac, no negro members of the Senate. For the session of 1870-71, I regret to say that the almanac does not differentiate between white and negro members. For the session of 1871-72, I regret to say that the almanac does not give the members of the House of Delegates; nor in the list of the members of the Senate does it differentiate between the two races. For the session of 1872-3 the almanac does not differentiate. For the session of 1873-4 the almanac gives 3 negro members out of 40 in the Senate, and 17 out of 132 members in the House. For the session of 1874-5 there were three negro members out of 40 in the Senate, and there were 17 negro members in the House. In the session of 1875-6 there were 3 negro Senators, and 13 negro members of the House. In the session of 1876-77 there were three negro members in the Senate, and 12 negro members of the House. In 1877-78 there were 3 negro members of the Senate, and four negro members of the House. In 1878-9 there were three negro members of the Senate and four negro members of the House. For the session of 1879-80 the almanac gives no marks of differentiation. For the session of 1880-81 the almanac makes no distinction. For the 1881-2 session the almanac has no list of the members. For the session of 1882-3 the almanac does not differentiate. For the session of 1883-4 there were 3 negro senators and 8 members of the House. For the session of 1884-5 there was one

negro senator, and 7 members of the House, out of a total membership of one hundred. In the session of 1885-6 there was only one senator out of a membership of 39, and only one member of the House of Delegates, out of one hundred. In the session of 1886-7 there was one senator and one member of the House. In the session of 1887-8 there was one negro senator, and there were seven members of the House. In the session of 1889-9 there was one senator, and seven members of the House. In the session of 1889-90 there was one negro senator, and three members of the House. In the session of 1890-91 there was one negro senator, and three members of the House. In the session of 1891-2 there were no negroes in either the Senate or the House, that is, none marked. For the session of 1892-3 no negroes were marked. For the session of 1893-4 there seem to have been none. I have not looked further, but I do not believe there has been a negro member in either House since that time.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) H. R. McIlwaine

State Librarian.

JAMES G. THOMPSON, THE ORIGINAL CARPETBAGGER ¹⁷⁷

"I suppose I might call myself the first Carpet Bagger." This expression casually let fall by Mr. J.G. Thompson, of this city, in a conversation with the writer, was so striking and so suggestive that I asked him to explain. He complied, and in so doing, gave the following extraordinary narrative, which he subsequently consented to have published:

From the 7th of November, 1861, when Hilton Head was captured by the United States naval forces, the sea islands of South Carolina never passed out of the hands of the United States. Those islands and a considerable portion of the mainland were thereupon brought under the operation of the United States direct tax act, and were in time sold for United States taxes to whoever would buy them. They were mainly bought in by the United States and were subsequently re-sold to soldiers, army followers and Negroes. Towards the close of the war, having concluded my service under the government, I resolved to settle in the South, and purchased in 1864, a plantation on St. Helena, one of these islands, with the intention of becoming a Southern planter. I was thus engaged when Andrew Johnson

¹⁷⁷ This account was taken from James G. Thompson's Papers by his daughter, Caroline B. Stephen, of Washington, D.C. Special Correspondence of the *New York Tribune*.

began his reconstruction efforts and appointed Benjamin F. Perry provisional governor. This was the first attempt at the reconstruction of the South, and South Carolina was the first state called upon to resume its relations with the Union, as she had been the first to go out. In October, 1865, the provisional governor issued a proclamation setting a day for an election of delegates to a

Constitutional Convention

His Proclamation called upon the people to repeal the ordinances of secession form a constitution and make such preparations as were necessary to obtain admission into the Union. St. Helena parish was entitled to one delegate to that constitutional convention.

All the original inhabitants of the parish, upon the approach of the Federal forces, had fled. There was but one man left in the whole parish when the United States took possession of the town of Beaufort, and he was found in a garret dead drunk. Consequently when the convention was called the question arose who were citizens of the parish. There were few white natives of South Carolina in the parish. The managers of election were not present. Governor Perry had named the managers of the previous elections held under the confederate government as the ones to conduct the election now to be held, but none of these people were there. So a town meeting in the New England style

was called to consider the situation, at which the colored people were in a large majority. Probably one hundred white ex-soldiers, army officers, settlers, clerks, quartermasters, employes, etc., came to the meeting. An examination of the law of South Carolina as to

What Constituted Citizenship

showed that it required a three years' residence to be a citizen, and that no person then a soldier of the United States could vote in the state at any election. A long discussion followed, whether to nominate a candidate or not, which ended in a decision to nominate. Then came the query whether every one at the town meeting could take part in naming a candidate to be voted for. The advocates of Negro suffrage claimed that the colored native citizens of South Carolina had a better right to select the candidate to be voted for than any of the white men present. It should be remembered that at this time the Fifteenth amendment had not been adopted. The point was made on the other side that only those who would have the right to vote for such a candidate had the right to participate in the nomination. This proposition was voted down, however, by a large majority, and H.G. Judd, a philanthropist engaged in the work of educating the Negroes, was nominated. Subsequently, however, another meeting was held by the white settlers who had acquired a residence, and who were entitled under the laws of South Carolina to vote, having resided

there three years, at which meeting I was nominated.

This Election

occurred the next day, and I received 36 votes and H.G. Judd 8 votes. There being no authorized managers of the election, the voters assembled at the polls on the morning of the election and elected three persons to act in that capacity. These persons made a certificate that I had received the largest number of votes at the election.

When the convention assembled in Columbia, I presented by credentials and could have been sworn in without question if I had preferred to make a statement to the convention that it might not act unadvisedly of the circumstances of my election. I asked that the credentials be referred to the committee on credentials. It was so ordered and I then appeared before the committee and related the facts. After the hearing a report was presented which stated that perhaps this was the only case known to legislative history in which a man contested his own seat, and that all the evidence for and against my right to the seat was presented by myself. The committee reported unanimously in favor of

Seating Me

A long debate, however, ensued in the convention upon the

question, and it was finally decided only by the close vote of 53 to 50 that I be seated. George D. Tillman, now a member of Congress from South Carolina, made a very bitter speech against seating me. He thought the insolence of this Yankee was beyond precedent in claiming to represent the grand old parish of St. Helena, which had been represented in the past by Middleton, Rhett, Bull and other distinguished citizens of the State. In a speech that was really prophetic, he predicted that to admit me would be to show dragons' teeth, and that ultimately I would be followed by a horde which should devour the state.

James L. Orr made a speech in favor of my admission, and said that he hoped to see the state overrun with just such newcomers. I was, perhaps, the youngest man in the convention, and was surrounded by men of the first rank of the State. Scarcely a man in that convention but had a title. There were ex-senators, ex-governors, ex-chancellors, ex-judges and ex-members of Congress. It was the intellectual power of the state to say nothing of ex-generals, colonels and ex-captains of the confederate army. Probably two-thirds of those men had been members of the convention which carried the state out of the Union, and had looked upon that act at the time it was performed as

The Crowning End

of a lifetime of agitation and anxiety. Now they were called

upon to undo it all, but they seemed incapable of understanding the true position of affairs, and were totally ignorant of what had been accomplished by the war and blind to the logic of events.

For instance, one of the questions early raised and referred to the judiciary committee was whether Negroes should be allowed to testify in the courts. Judge Frost of Charleston introduced a resolution that the ordinance fixing the status of the Negro upon this question should be passed by the convention. Chancellor Ingalls, who recently died in Baltimore, opposed the proposition, claiming that a sovereign convention called as this was for a special purpose, ought not to legislate. Upon the question of discharging the committee from further consideration of the subject, there were but two votes in the negative, Judge Frost, the mover, a man of 80 years, and myself.

Isolated as I was from the start, I was treated by the convention with the utmost courtesy, and when I occasionally rose to speak, I received the

Undivided Attention

of the members, and the rather obtrusive attention of the ladies who filled the galleries. Such remarks could be heard as: "There, that Yankee is going to speak."

Another point that agitated the convention was, what laws should be passed to fix the status of the Negro, and, after a long discussion, a committee was appointed to frame a code of laws

to be submitted to the legislature, which should assemble under the constitution adopted by this convention. The product of that commission was "The Black Code." Its intentions and provisions were foreshadowed in the debates of the convention. At the close of the debate I spoke for five minutes, closing with the prediction that if the convention thought that its work would be of any value to the state, they were mistaken. If the convention thought it possible to provide a different code of laws for the government of the loyal black citizens of the United States, from that which governed the disloyal white citizens of South Carolina, they did not understand what the war had accomplished. I said that I knew more of the

Opinion of the War

than it was possible for any man in that convention or all of them to know. While I spoke with modesty before men who had occupied high political positions in the past, I spoke with confidence as to the opinion of the people of the North who had waged a successful war against secession and slavery. Speaking for them I predicted that their laws would be made by major-generals and executed by provost-marshal until the last man present would fall into his grave before the North would admit the state into the Union under a constitution which did not recognize that all men were equal before the law. When I sat down there was a dead silence and solemn faces.

To show the opposition I excited, let me give another anecdote.

James L. Orr came to my room one evening and asked me not to be offended if he requested that upon a certain question he proposed to bring before the convention the next day I would not speak in its favor. He said: "There are fools enough in this convention that do not want anything that you do want, and every time you speak on a measure you hinder its adoption." The proposition he had at hand was to

Reduce the Time

requisite to obtain citizenship in the state from three years to one, and after much difficulty he persuaded the convention to make the change. He also wished to abolish the property qualification for state senators. Tillman appealed to him in an eloquent speech to spare this last relic of South Carolina conservatism. Orr, in reply, asked what in God's name had South Carolina conservatism done for South Carolina. He pointed to what its condition was once and what it now was, and charged South Carolina conservatism with the result. His speech was a powerful one, and brought the convention to his views, and no property qualification was thereafter imposed upon any officer.

Near the close of the convention I asked leave to present a petition from 250 colored property owners of the city of Charleston, who asked that the right of suffrage be extended

to them. This, I suppose, was the first petition of the kind ever offered in the slave states. A member of the convention immediately moved that the petition be returned to me and not received by the convention. Mr. Orr said that the petition was respectful in form and ought to be received. He moved that it be laid on the table. Another delegate moved that

No Mention

of the reception of the petition be made in the journal. I then rose to speak upon the last of these motions, but the president of the convention entertained a motion to adjourn, and the convention did so.

The convention made a constitution which was not, however, submitted to the people for their approval. Under it a governor and legislature were elected.

The Black Code

was ratified by the legislature, and many preposterous laws relating to the Negroes were passed. It was evident that the freedman was to be reduced to a condition worse than slavery—he was to be made a serf, attached to the land, and to be under all the disabilities of slavery without having the protection of the property interest of the owner. Congress took charge of the

reconstruction, and the new government of South Carolina fell to pieces, after a brief and inglorious existence.

Although I was the first "carpet bagger," I did not pursue the occupation. I never held office again in the state, although I continued to live there for sixteen years, and taking part in politics as the editor of the Beaufort *Republican* and the Columbia *Union-Herald*.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1865-1902. By Richard L. Morton, Ph.D., Phelps Stokes Fellow in the University of Virginia, 1917-1918. Charlottesville, Virginia, 1919. Pp. 199. Price, \$1.50.

This is the fourth number of a series of studies in the race problem promoted by the Phelps Stokes Fund with a view to interesting a larger number of southern white scholars in this field. The seriousness of the problem during recent years has driven home the thought that without scientific investigation it will be extremely difficult to find a rational basis upon which the two races may cooperate for the greatest good of the greatest number. These monographs are very much like the addresses and studies of the University Commission making an effort to meet this need. Judged from the value of the monographs hitherto produced, however, one must express the regret that these works do not measure up to the desired standard. The chief difficulty lies in the misconception that the whole matter of readjustment may be effected by using the white man only. He is to do the thinking, outline the method of attack, and direct the movement. The Negro, the other half of the equation, has not been invited to share this work and the writers making these investigations are unfortunately biased rather than scientific.

The purpose of this monograph is to show the bad effects

of Negro suffrage which had no place in Lincoln's plan of Reconstruction or in the early Congressional plan, but was forced upon the South by a group of aggressive radicals led by Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner as a means of their personal aggrandizement and of executing punishment and revenge upon the Southern States. It is not true that these two statesmen desired to force Negro rule upon the South. They tried to give that section a democratic government. At first they advised the Negroes to choose for their leaders the intelligent southern whites and the Negroes entreated their former masters to serve them in this capacity. When the whites refused to coöperate, therefore, Congress could do nothing else but make the Negroes the basis of the reconstructed governments. From this partisan point of view only then the monograph is very much of a success. The writer suffered from a preoccupation of mind and in his researches was governed accordingly. He knew what he wanted to write and found facts to assist him toward this end.

The book covers in detail form the beginnings of Negro suffrage in Virginia, the campaign of 1867 in which radicals and Negroes drew the color line, the constitutional convention of 1867-68, the committee of nine, the campaign of 1869, the restoration of Virginia, the elimination of the Carpetbaggers from 1869 to 1879, the Readjuster movement in Virginia from 1879 to 1883, politics and race friction from 1885 to 1900, the constitutional convention of 1901-1902, and the new constitution. He, therefore, discusses certain topics already

treated in J.A.C. Chandler's *Representation in Virginia*, and *The History of Suffrage in Virginia*; J.P. McConnell's *Negroes and their Treatment in Virginia from 1865-1867*; H.J. Eckenrode's *The Political History of Virginia during Reconstruction*; and C.C. Pearson's *The Readjuster Movement in Virginia*.

The author makes a survey of the situation prior to the Civil War, explaining why the aristocratic Virginians long since accustomed to rule even by excluding the poor whites from the electorate could not tolerate the enfranchisement of the Negroes. An effort is made also to show that inasmuch as most of the Northern States prior to the Civil War had not accepted Negro suffrage, it was natural for the southern people to be opposed to such a policy. To strengthen this point he refers to such authorities as Oliver P. Morton, Governor Andrew and Abraham Lincoln.

The author considers the Negro a failure in politics and supports his contention by a quotation from George W. Murray, who felt that it was the mistake of the nineteenth century to attempt to make the ex-slave a governor before he had learned to be governed and of Booker T. Washington who said, "There is no doubt but that we made a mistake at the beginning of our freedom of putting the emphasis on the wrong end. Politics and the holding of office were too largely emphasized almost to the exclusion of every interest."

Since the Negro has been eliminated, the author seems to rejoice that the races in Virginia now work together in harmony

and are friends. He believes that this relationship will continue only so long as no exterior factor disturbs the equilibrium and concludes with a quotation from John Sharp Williams who feels that "It will be well that wise men think more, that good men pray more and that all men talk less and curse less." If the author really intends to set forth the views of such radicals as John Sharp Williams as those upon which the races may expect to coöperate in the South, he might have added his recent pronunciamento that "when it comes to maintaining the honor of a white woman the South respects no law human or divine."

These observations are sufficient to establish the idea of the book. The Negro during the Reconstruction period was a failure. The white man who has been restored to absolute power so as to establish social ostracism, segregation and lynching is a success. In other words, the whole study is from the white man's point of view. The Negro has no political rights which the white man should respect and unless things are in conformity with the white man's prejudice they are wrong.

No one would gainsay that the enfranchisement of all ex-slaves was a mistake. Oliver P. Morton, and Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, were to some extent right in their criticism of such a policy. It would have been much better to have followed Abraham Lincoln's plan of enfranchising those Negroes who were owners of property or able to read and write and those white men who had not taken any part in the Rebellion. While it should not have been expected that ex-slaves could administer the

affairs of the country it could not, on the other hand, have been imagined that their masters who had begrudgingly abandoned their title to men as property would in a few years deal with them as one should with human beings. As a matter of fact the black codes which the Southern States enacted immediately after the war show the inability of the aristocratic southerners to deal humanely with a subject people. If, therefore, Abraham Lincoln's policy, of gradually recruiting voters from such blacks as gave evidence of wealth and education and from such whites as manifested a disposition to do the right thing by the country and by the freedmen had been followed, the mistakes of the Reconstruction would have been avoided.

The Negro Trail Blazers of California. By Delilah L. Beasley, Los Angeles, California, 1919. Pp. 317.

This is, according to the author, a compilation of records from the California Archives in the Bancroft Library at the University of California and from the diaries, papers and conversations of pioneers in the State of California. It includes also a record of present-day Negroes in that State. The book is illustrated with portraits exhibiting the life of the people past and present. The work is divided into three parts, the first being historical, the second biographical, and the third an account of the present-day Negro.

Taking up the historical task, the author accounts for the discovery of California and mentions the important roles played by Estevanecito and the Negro priest accompanying the

explorers. She then discusses the rule of Spain in California, the Bear Flag Party, the landing of Commodore John D. Sloate, the admission of California to the Union, the Pony Express, the right of testimony, the homestead law, the elective franchise, slavery in California, and freedom papers. Although intended as a continuous sketch, however, this portion of the work, like most of it, is a mixture of narratives and documents.

In the second part of the book giving biographical sketches there is a chapter on the first Negro settlers on the Pacific coast, a pioneer list and the Forty-Niners of color engaged in mining. Into this are worked all sorts of personal narratives without any organizing or unifying scheme as to place or achievement. Not much attention is paid to proportion. The author seemingly wrote all she had heard or collected in each case regardless of the worth of these personal achievements.

The same style holds in the treatment of the present-day Negro of California. There is something about almost everything. The Negro churches and the Negro in education, law and music have considerable space. The author next takes up distinguished women of color, doctors, dentists, literary persons, Negroes at the Panama Pacific International Exposition, and Negroes in the army. Then follow the notes on the text which, instead of being given throughout the work as footnotes are placed at the end of the work.

Judged from the point of view of the scientific investigator, the work is neither a popular nor a documented account. When

one considers the numerous valuable facts in the book, however, he must regret that the author did not write the work under the direction of some one well grounded in English composition. As it is, it is so much of a hodge-podge that one is inclined to weep like the minister who felt that his congregation consisted of too many to be lost but not enough to be saved.

A History of South Africa. By Dorothea Fairbridge, Oxford University Press, London, 1918. Pp. 319.

One hears much nowadays about the history of South Africa and the development of that recently enlarged domain under the direction of Great Britain adds further interest to the story. The present volume differs, however, from the type of most recent accounts of South Africa in that it is a small illustrated work within the reach of those too busy or not sufficiently well grounded in the social sciences to read an intensively scientific treatise. As such, it has a place in the current historical volumes growing out of the reconstruction of the countries revolutionized by the world war.

The work begins with a picture of the country as nature made it. There is an account of early plant life, prehistoric animals, paleoliths, and prehistoric man. The early inhabitants are then given more detailed treatment. Attention is directed to the Bushman, the Hottentot, and the Bantu as each figured in South Africa. An effort to contrast the country as the natives kept it with the country as the white man developed it, is a large part of this chapter.

Beginning then with Prince Henry of Portugal the author presents an array of "Great Adventurers." Following this sketch comes the account of the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Bartholomew Diaz and next Vasco da Gama's voyage around the Cape to India. The climbing of the Table Mountain by Antonio de Saldanha, the landing of Don Francisco of Almeida, the voyage of Sir Francis Drake, and the adventures of other travellers appear in chronological order.

The rise of settlements in South Africa or on the neighboring islands as half-way stations, show the early importance of the country which, after being conquered, soon experienced considerable expansion. Then followed in the seventeenth century an era of prosperity which paved the way for better beginnings the next century under Governors Hendrik, Swellengrebel and Tulbagh. The troubles of the eighteenth century when the settlements had to reckon with natives and foreigners constitute a critical period of the colony ending with the capture of the Cape by the English in 1795. Then follow the first British occupation, the restoration of the Cape to the Dutch by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, the second rule of the Dutch and the second coming of the British.

With the nineteenth century the British were to be free to start upon an all but uninterrupted rule of prosperity. The establishment of courts, the rise of missions, the improvement in agriculture, and the extension of the frontier characterized the first efforts of the pioneering British. Their relations with

the natives and difficulties with the Boers are treated in the chapters on the Story of Natal, the Vootrekkers, the founding of the Boer Republic and the retrocession of the Transvaal. The chapters covering the subsequent period consist of a discussion of new influences, the Uitlanders, the Jameson Raid, the War of 1899-1902, and the problems of peace and reconstruction.

Reconstruction in Louisiana. By Ella Lonn, Assistant Professor in Grinnell College. G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1919. Pp. 538. Price \$3.00 net.

Miss Lonn's book is an exhibition of the true scholarly spirit. Her analysis of the situation in Louisiana politics during the period of Reconstruction is most ably executed. She has neglected no source which would throw light upon this very anachronistic epoch. Public documents of all kinds, and especially those which embody the debates in the Senate and assembly of Louisiana have been made to yield interesting testimonies of the passing shows of the years 1867-1876. Not content, however, with these testimonies, she has called to her aid many other sources including the newspapers of the day wherein is displayed popular reaction towards the orgies being indulged in the State House. And thus the reader's mind, by means of most carefully chosen quotations from these records, as if by a lightning flash, is frequently illumined; so that the whole comedy unfolds before the eyes in a most interesting fashion.

The book is not only filled with a wealth of detailed information concerning the period, it not only tells the story of

political debauchery, ignorance and fraud; but notes also the few shreds of constructive work done by the legislators under the coercion of public opinion. All of these facts are put together in a logical manner and show that the author is not only gifted with keen analytic powers, but is also endowed with a peculiar faculty for organizing and marshalling facts in such a manner as to weave a beautiful mosaic of otherwise widely divergent elements.

Miss Lonn has succeeded in writing a very interesting narrative and her book will hold the attention of a widely differing clientele. The student of American politics will find an illuminative study of this very remarkable period, and therefore much food for thought. But this book offers to the lover of fiction a new field. There is the hero, Warmoth, the villain, whose protraiture has been limned by a masterly hand. Little by little, sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly; sometimes by the words of his own mouth, oftener by the mouths of those whom he attacked, and almost constantly by the unfriendly newspapers, she deftly portrays the elements of his character. Warmoth had almost unlimited power and he used it like Cataline to corrupt the corruptible elements of the State. He was essentially a Nero, callous to the last degree and indifferent to the progressive anemia which was destroying the State's finances. Like Julius Caesar he attained his gubernatorial power by making multiple false promises and kept it by a species of corrupt practices which were incredibly vile. There is the tragic setting, the broken, maimed, devastated State of Louisiana, just out of the

War of Rebellion and struggling hard to regain her "former glory." There are the carpetbaggers, irresponsible, predatory and indigent, of whom an army estimated to have been five hundred thousand strong invaded the State attracted as vultures by the rich pickings of political conquest. There are scalawags, remnants of the Confederate army, also indigent, nevertheless troublesome and among whom many brigands, murderers and cut-throats sprang up. There were respectable Republicans and Democrats, whites and blacks who formed the background for the tragedy of Reconstruction in Louisiana. There were also the Manichean gods of sharply defined good and evil, sanity and insanity, righteousness and corruption, civic pride and utmost indifference; murder, theft, malfeasance, ignorance and crass stupidity. All these thrown in the pot of political regeneration made a situation that was tragically immoral and horrific.

During Warmoth's administration the legislature was a minstrel show. It was worse than a minstrel show; it was profoundly corrupt. Lobbyists openly paid legislators, black and white, for their votes. And what is more, the money was parceled out to each one on the very floor of the Senate and House. This corruption was so rife that it was sickening; it is even nauseating now to read about it. He was finally impeached by the Senate. When it became certain to him that the Senate would vote for his impeachment he cowardly sought to nullify the vote by resigning and fleeing the State. But he regained his power and influence and held office two years longer. And during this time his power

was so absolute that the fear of him is manifest in the Senate and House debates. Speakers in making charges of corruption, and even when speaking against bills aimed at increasing the power of the governor, always added, so great was their fear of him, "no reflection is meant upon the present incumbent," or words to that effect. This although they knew well that it was his very abuse of power which called forth many of the bills under consideration.

It was scarcely possible, however, that such abuses, such corruption and infamy, such vile and degraded practices as those which characterized Warmoth's administration as Governor of Louisiana could long continue. So in 1871 came the crash. An open rupture in the ranks of the Republican party developed. The gatling gun convention, so-called, because federal troops with two gatling guns, guarded the convention building, was held. Warmoth, scenting a conspiracy, bolted and held an independent convention in Turner Hall. With him as the leading spirit of the gathering was Pinchback, then majority leader in the Senate.

The career of Pinchback sheds additional light upon this period. He held a high place in the political life of that day, rising from majority leader, by successive stages, to the lieutenant-governorship, and to the presidency of the Senate. He also became immensely wealthy on account of his association with Warmoth, who is said to have acquired a fortune of more than a million dollars during three years of his administration. While Pinchback was Park Commissioner he was accused by Antoine of cheating him out of \$40,000 at one clip. For a time Pinchback

was one of Warmoth's staunchest supporters, and when the party in Louisiana was split by the two factions, the Custom House ring and the Warmoth faction, Pinchback was elected permanent chairman of the Warmoth convention and made the keynote speech for the campaign. Subsequently, Warmoth's utter degeneracy alienated him and so they parted company. Warmoth's star descended, and he went down to ignominious defeat. Upon his name and memory were heaped derogations, curses and anathemas. And unfortunately these will always be associated with his memory. On the other hand, Pinchback's star rose to the ascendant and he was elected to the United States Senate.

Pinchback was a man of good breeding, education and culture; and if he yielded to the corrupt influences of his time, it was because he was unable to withstand the flood; it was because the corrupt hand of everyone in politics at that time, Ishmael-like, was turned against the forces of righteousness in political affairs. For, at that time, as the author clearly shows, crime, corruption and fraud were so rife, so common, that they were taken for granted. And the moral sense was so low, so negligible, that men did not think of their crimes as crimes. They committed them simply because "everybody was doing so," and unrighteousness filled the State as "the waters the great deeps."

Finally, by a species of corrupt and criminal practices which made those of the Warmoth régime pale into the utmost insignificance, the tide was turned. Another party came into

power and the lily-white government was established. Out of such conditions as Miss Lonn has depicted the government of all the Southern States sprang. This book helps us to understand, in some slight degree, the curious political bias of these States. It is in part a heritage of unreasoning fear—not so much of Negro domination as of again being overwhelmed by a flood of corruption let loose by their own kind. How this fear has expressed itself in more recent times we all know too well.

Miss Lonn closes her book with this fitting paragraph: "And therewith the curtain fell upon the last act in this long and weary drama. One can hardly help feeling that surely if Louisiana had sinned, she had paid the penalty of her sins in full measure of atonement."

R. T. Browne

NOTES

Recently there passed from this life Sir T. F. Victor Buxton, Bart., a man attracted to Africa, no doubt, by the record of his distinguished great grandfather T. F. Buxton, Bart., who belonged to that group of English reformers instrumental in giving the death blow to the African slave trade. Early interested in the natives of Africa, the grandson soon became associated with the Church missionary movement. He was largely concerned in the establishment of two corporations, the Uganda Company and the East African Industries, both intended to benefit the natives.

Closely connected with Africa, he often visited various parts with a view to studying the many problems arising in the commercial, social and political world. On these occasions many Africans were entertained by him and he maintained friendly relations with them so as to bring together the representatives of various interests to work for the good of all. His interest in the African natives is further shown by his service as president of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society and as a firm supporter of the Native Races and Liquor Traffic Committee.

Owing to the printers' strike the publication of Dr. C.G. Woodson's illustrated textbook, *The Negro in our History*, has been delayed. It is highly probable that the volume will appear before spring.

This dissertation was in 1917 submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature of the University of Chicago, in candidacy for the degree of Master of Arts by Henry S. Williams. The following original sources were used in the preparation of this manuscript: *Reports of Superintendent of the Public Schools of the State of Missouri*, 1866-1917; Session Laws of the State of Missouri, 1866-1913; *Reports of the U.S. Commissioner of Education*, 1870-1916; U.S. *Census Reports*, 1860-1910; *The Missouri Republican*, 1866-1870; *Journal of Education*, Vols. I and II (St. Louis, Missouri, 1879); *Revised Statutes of Missouri*, 1879-1909; *Proceedings and Occasional Papers of the Slater Fund* (Baltimore, Maryland); *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vols. II and III; Asa E. Martin, *Our Negro Population* (Kansas City, Missouri, 1913); N.H. Parker, *Missouri as it is in 1867* (Philadelphia, 1867); *Am. Annual Cyclopedia*, 1870-1877; *Annual Reports of the Board of Education of St. Louis*, 1867-1916; *Annual Reports of the Board of Education*, of Kansas City, 1870-1915. The secondary sources consulted follow: Lucian Carr, *American Commonwealths, Missouri a Bone of Contention* (Boston, 1894); C.R. Barnes, *Switzler's Illustrated History of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1889); W.B. Davis, and D.S. Durrie, *An Illustrated History of Missouri* (Cincinnati, Ohio); S.B. Harding, *Life of George R. Smith* (Sedalia, Missouri, 1904); W.E.B. DuBois, *The Negro Common School* (Atlanta, Georgia); C.L. Butt, *History of Buchanan County* (Chicago, 1915); H.A. Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865* (Baltimore, Maryland, 1914); C.G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, (New York, 1915); *History of Calloway County* (St. Louis, 1884); *History of Cole, Moniteau, Morgan, Benton, Miller, Maries, and Orange Counties, Missouri* (Chicago, 1889); J.T. Shaff, *History of St. Louis City and County* (Philadelphia, 1885); R.A. Campbell, *Campbell's Gazetteer of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1875); *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis* (New York, 1889); *Missouri Historical Review*, Vols. I, II, IV, VI, VII, and IX (Columbia, Missouri); *The Negro Year Book* (Tuskegee, Alabama, 1917).

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN MISSOURI ¹⁷⁸

THE PERIOD FROM 1865 TO 1875

On Tuesday, the eleventh day of January, 1865, the Negro of Missouri awoke a slave; that night he retired a free man.¹⁷⁹ His darkest hour had passed but before him loomed a great task, that of living up to the requirements of a man. His emancipators were confronted with the responsibility of preparing him for his new duties and for the proper use of suffrage which was to be granted him a few years later.

Prior to 1865 the State had seen fit to prohibit the education¹⁸⁰ of the slave because, although the educated slave was the more efficient, yet he was the more dangerous; as his training might

¹⁷⁹ Parker, N.H., *Missouri as it is in 1867*, p. 424.

¹⁸⁰ Woodson, C.G., *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, p. 159-168.

aid him to make a better revolt against his position. But the qualities which were objectionable in the slave were necessary to the freed man, if he was to prove other than a menace to the State. His emancipators faced the education of the Negro fairly, and the same convention which had passed the Emancipation Act of 1865, drew up a new State constitution which was ratified the same year. This constitution¹⁸¹ provided for the establishment and the maintenance of free public schools for the instruction of all persons in the State who were between the ages of five and twenty-one. It further provided that all funds for the support of the public schools should be appropriated in proportion to the number of children without regard to color.

The legislature, which met the same year, passed a law¹⁸² which required that the township boards of education, and those in charge of the educational affairs in the cities and the incorporated villages of the State should establish and maintain one or more separate schools for the colored children of school age within their respective jurisdictions, provided the number of such children should exceed twenty. Persons over twenty-one were to be admitted to these schools. The same officers who were in charge of the educational interests of the white schools were to control the Negro schools. The length of the term and the other advantages to be enjoyed by these schools were to be the same as those enjoyed by the white schools of the same grade.

¹⁸¹ *Missouri State Convention of 1865*, Art. IX.

¹⁸² *Laws of State of Missouri*, Adjourned Session 23d General Assembly, p. 177.

This law further provided that if the average attendance for any month should drop below twelve the school might be closed for a period not to exceed six months. In districts where there were less than twenty Negro children, the money raised for their education was to be reserved by the boards of education in those districts and to be appropriated as the boards saw fit for the education of the Negro children upon whom the money had been raised. The same legislature¹⁸³ passed an act authorizing towns, cities, and villages to organize for school purposes with special privileges. This act, however, provided that any town, city or village so incorporated should be required to establish one or more Negro schools according to the law. At this session of the legislature¹⁸⁴ there was enacted a law to compel the school authorities in each sub-district to prepare a school census of their respective jurisdictions which should enumerate separately and according to sex the white and the Negro children who were permanently resident within the sub-district. In case the directors failed to perform this duty the township clerk was to have the census taken and to recover from the directors by judicial proceedings the cost of the work.

If we were to judge from the constitutional and the statutory laws of this period, we might conclude that the education of the Negro was very popular and that his needs were well taken care of. But before we can draw any conclusion we must study certain

¹⁸³ *Laws of the State of Missouri, op. cit.*, p. 191.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

conditions. We must know something of the character of the men who were to enforce the law, of the desire of the Negroes for an education, of popular opinion concerning public education, and of the distribution of the Negro population.

The State Superintendents of this period were well trained men,¹⁸⁵ and their reports show that they were faithful in the discharge of their duty. One of these superintendents, John Monteith,¹⁸⁶ showed great zeal in the establishment and development of the Negro school system. He was born in the Western Reserve district of Ohio, a section noted for its strong anti-slavery sentiment. He belonged to a family of educators. His father was one of the first presidents of the University of Michigan. Monteith completed his education at Yale and served for a number of years as a minister in St. Louis. Upon becoming State Superintendent, he wrote in favor of Negro education a pamphlet which he sent to each of the county superintendents. His annual reports,¹⁸⁷ to which we shall refer later, show the interest and the effort which this man put forth to develop the Negro schools of the State.

The Negroes were not indifferent to the efforts which were put forth in their behalf. There is much evidence to show that they

¹⁸⁵ Ira Divoll, see Schaff, *Hist. of City and County of St. Louis*, Vol. I, p. 843; R.D. Shannon, see Davis, W.B., *Ill. Hist. of Mo.*, p. 587.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 550.

¹⁸⁷ *Ann. Reports of Supt. of Pub. Schools, 1871-'72-'73-'74.*

took an active part in the establishment¹⁸⁸ and the maintenance of schools for their children. In those districts in which Negro schools were maintained and an honest effort was made to better the conditions of the Negroes, they responded heartily to their opportunities. The following quotations are typical of the reports which the superintendents in those counties were able to make in 1874: "In most of the townships a commendable interest is manifested in the support of Negro schools, which I am happy to report, is appreciated by the Negroes¹⁸⁹ themselves. The schools have been well attended with considerable diligence manifested by the pupils." A.A. Neal, Superintendent of Pettis County, reported:¹⁹⁰ "The Negro schools are doing better than could be expected under existing circumstances." The Superintendent of Bay County said:¹⁹¹ "The Negro schools have been well attended. The pupils have manifested great enthusiasm, and have made surprising advancement in the rudiments." *The Journal of Education*¹⁹² which was printed in St. Louis, by J.B. Merwin in 1869, states: "It is a well known fact that our Negro population manifests the greatest zeal in taking advantage of every opportunity for acquiring education."

At the beginning of this period, popular opinion concerning

¹⁸⁸ *8th Ann. Report of Supt. of Pub. Schools*, 1874, p. 37.

¹⁸⁹ *7th Ann. Report of Supt. of Pub. Schools*, 1873, p. 250.

¹⁹⁰ *7th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1873, p. 281.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

¹⁹² *Journal of Education*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 5, St. Louis, 1869.

free public schools in general and Negro schools in particular was not favorable. The school laws of the State were in advance of the people. These laws¹⁹³ were the product of a few statesmen who appeared at intervals, and who, in spite of well known social protests, pushed forward with great energy school laws modeled after those of the more progressive eastern States.¹⁹⁴ The State Superintendent complained in his report for 1867 that in those counties in which the southern sympathizers predominated, the people were either wholly negligent or bitterly opposed to their public school right. Three classes of opposers were enumerated;¹⁹⁵ those who believed that the public schools tended to foster infidelity, those who believed that the State, the county or a municipal body had no right to tax for educational purposes, and those who regarded as unnecessary any education beyond reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. In March of the year 1866, four months after the constitution of 1865 had gone into effect, of the thirty-four Negro schools¹⁹⁶ in the State only two were situated in counties in which the southern element predominated. Thus we see that the attitude toward public schools in general was reflected upon the Negro schools.

The school laws themselves, which seem to have been adequate to provide equal school rights for all the children in the

¹⁹³ *Report of Commissioner of Education*, 1870, p. 202.

¹⁹⁴ N. H. Parker, *Missouri as it is in 1865*, p. 53. *Op. cit.*

¹⁹⁵ *Report of Commissioner of Ed.*, 1871, p. 260.

¹⁹⁶ *Parker, op. cit.*, p. 54.

State, were easily evaded when the officials of a community were hostile to them. In his first annual report,¹⁹⁷ State Superintendent Parker called attention to the following facts: No remedy was provided in case the township board refused to comply with the statutes. There was no remedy in case the local board of directors refused to hire teachers for the school when the requisite number of pupils were in the district. In this manner, he reported, the Negro children in many districts were deprived of an opportunity to attend school. Even where there was no apparent hostility to the statutes and to the education of the Negroes there was a failure to make the requisite enumeration of the Negro children in many townships and consequently many children were by the very law itself deprived of the benefits of the State school fund. He pointed out that in the year 1867 many would thus be deprived, since the law regulating the apportionment of the State school fund, compelled the apportionment to be made on the basis of the enumeration which had already been made, and which in many cases did not include the Negro children. The law concerning the establishment of Negro schools was abused here and there throughout the entire period. As late as 1876 the State Superintendent complained¹⁹⁸ that in many cases through ignorance of the law and in other cases through willful disobedience of the law, schools for the Negroes had not been established. In the first case, he reported that merely explaining

¹⁹⁷ *1st Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools of Missouri*, 1867, p. 9.

¹⁹⁸ *27th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools of Mo.*, 1877, p. 17.

the law had the desired effect and in the other case it was necessary to call the assistance of county clerks and of grand juries.

During this period there was a growing sentiment in favor of public schools. This is shown by the reports which came from the various counties to the State Superintendent's office, and also by the increase in the number of children enumerated and by the increasing number of schools. In 1870,¹⁹⁹ the county superintendents reported a great deal of opposition and indifference to the schools especially on the part of the taxpayers. In 1872 a majority of the county superintendents were able to report²⁰⁰ a growing sentiment in favor of public education. They could then say that the enemies of this institution were becoming its friends. The State Superintendent²⁰¹ reported in 1874 that in the four years of his administration there had been a steady growth in the popularity of the public school system. We can better appreciate the progress made in this period when we remember that prior to the Civil War, the public school in Missouri had been considered a pauper's school. The Constitution²⁰² of 1820 had provided: "One or more schools shall be established in each county township as soon as practicable and necessary where the poor shall be taught gratis." The attendance

¹⁹⁹ *5th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools of Mo.*, 1871, p. 125-245.

²⁰⁰ *7th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools of Mo.*, 1873, pp. 233-300.

²⁰¹ *9th Annual Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1875, p. 23.

²⁰² *Missouri State Constitution of 1840*, Art. 6.

also showed a healthy growth. In 1870²⁰³ there were 280,473 pupils attending 7,547 public schools in the State. There were 389,956 pupils attending these schools in 1872. In 1874 the enumeration showed that there were 708,354 children of school age in the State.

As sentiment in favor of the public school grew, the willingness to enumerate and to provide schools for the Negro children also increased. In 1867 the number of Negro children enumerated was 33,619. This was an increase of 13,709 over the previous year. Fifty-six public schools were provided for these children. In 1869 forty counties reported 12,871 Negro children and 80 schoolhouses which were devoted to their use. The average school term was four and one-third months. In 1871 the enumeration had increased to 37,173, and the number of public schools to 212. These schools had an enrollment of 4,358 pupils. In 1873²⁰⁴ the enumeration had increased to 38,234 and the number of schools to 252.

The work of the public school for the education of the Negro was supplemented by two other classes of schools. In 1867²⁰⁵ the State Superintendent called attention to three classes of schools which were educating the Negroes in the State. In the first place there were those supported by benevolent societies in other States. These schools were generally supplied with white

²⁰³ *5th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1871, p. 6.

²⁰⁴ *8th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1874, p. 5.

²⁰⁵ *2nd Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1868, p. 10.

teachers and were doing good work. There were then the private or subscription schools, which were supported by the tuition of the pupils and in many cases these were taught by colored teachers of inferior qualifications. Finally there were the public schools as contemplated by the law. A few such schools had been established in the large towns and cities.

In 1869²⁰⁶ it was estimated that there were in the State 34,000 Negro children of educable age. For their accommodation there were 59 Negro public schools with an average attendance of 2,000. This report also states that the majority of these schools were taught in churches and cabins with walls admirably adapted for ventilation and for admission of copious shower baths of rain. The same year Colonel Seely, Agent for the Freedman's Bureau in Missouri, reported 114 schools for the freedmen. Most of these were public schools and the attendance was 6,240. The ninth census for 1870, reported that 9,080 Negro children were attending school in Missouri. Thus we see that the public schools of this period were greatly aided by mission and private schools.

In 1868 the legislature enacted a law²⁰⁷ which gave the State Superintendent the authority to assume the powers of the school board for establishing and maintaining a school for Negro children when the township, city, or village, neglected to establish and to maintain such a school in accordance with

²⁰⁶ *Journal of Education*, 1869, Vol. I, p. 181.

²⁰⁷ *Laws of State of Mo.*, Adj. Sess., 24th Assembly, p. 170.

the law. The same year the school law was amended²⁰⁸ so as to require the township, the city or the incorporated village to establish one or more schools for Negro children when there was more than fifteen children in the jurisdiction. A Negro school could be closed for six months when the attendance for any month dropped below ten.

There is evidence to show that the State Superintendent used his power to establish Negro schools when the local authorities neglected this task. In 1873, he reported:²⁰⁹ "I have established between 50 and 60 Negro schools in the State without resorting to the expedient of a tax as indicated and authorized by law." In 1875 he reported: "I have levied taxes for Negro schools in three instances. The medicine is good and effective and I trust it will be administered in every similar case in the State until the Negroes enjoy schools equally good in every way as the white schools." Thus we see that by the Law of 1868 the State Superintendent had the power to remedy conditions as far as the Negroes were concerned but there was no evidence to show that he used this power prior to 1872, although there are reports of violations of the law. In 1874 there was passed a law²¹⁰ which made a school official subject to a fine of not less than fifty or more than five hundred dollars, for the persistent neglect or refusal to perform any duty or duties pertaining to his office. In view of this

²⁰⁸ See page 140 of this work.

²⁰⁹ *Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1874, p. 44.

²¹⁰ *Laws of State of Mo.*, Adj. Sess., 27th Assemb., p. 168.

and the offensiveness of the results threatened in the civil rights bill,²¹¹ the State Superintendent²¹² was astonished at the number of delinquencies and persistent evasions of the law.

The Commissioner of Education was able to report in 1870: "This State has a larger proportion of schools²¹³ for Negro children than any former slave State. Opposition to the education of the Negroes is rapidly disappearing. Their rapid improvement and good conduct help to disarm prejudice." Among the methods of evading the law the following were reported; the failure to enumerate the Negro children, the complaints of a lack of funds, and the plea of an inability to secure teachers. In 1875 the State Superintendent reported²¹⁴ that the citizens of Calloway County, the most strongly southern county in the State during the Civil War, were evincing the greatest readiness to provide good schools for their large Negro population. This, he believed, augured well for the future of the Negro schools of the State, since it indicated a growing kindly disposition of the southern element of the State towards them. How great was the change in sentiment can be readily seen by contrasting this report with those of the county superintendent for 1866 and 1867. In 1866 the Superintendent of Calloway reported²¹⁵ much

²¹¹ *A Bill to establish mixed schools.*

²¹² *9th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools, 1875.*

²¹³ *Report of Com. of Ed., 1870, p. 202.*

²¹⁴ *26th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools, 1876, p. 12.*

²¹⁵ *Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools, 1867, p. 28.*

objection to public schools in that county on account of the impartial application to children of all races and colors. The only Negro school in the county had been established under very discouraging circumstances at Fulton. In many rural districts there were not enough children to permit the establishment of a school and in other districts the existing opposition to Negro schools made their establishment impossible. The next year it was reported²¹⁶ that the white schools were better fitted for pigs than for children and that there was no interest at all in the education of Negro children.

Another factor which effected the development of the Negro school system was the sparseness of the Negro population. In many districts and even in some counties there were not enough Negro children to form a school. In 1871, reports²¹⁷ were received from 109 of the 115 counties of the State. Thirty-nine of the 109 counties did not report a single school district with the required number of Negro children to establish a school. The other seventy counties reported 395 school districts having twenty or more Negro children of school age. The same counties also reported 158 schools for these children. In their annual letters for 1872 twenty-one county superintendents called attention to the fact that the Negro population was so distributed over the counties that it was impossible to provide schools for them according to the law. Three of these superintendents asked

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1868, p. 59.

²¹⁷ *6th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1872, p. 257.

that the law might be so amended as to provide for Negro children in the sparsely settled districts, and one superintendent advocated²¹⁸ that in districts in which there were too few Negro children to form separate schools, they should be admitted to the white schools.

That same year the State Superintendent reported²¹⁹ that in several cases in which no schools were provided because of the small number of pupils, that their parents had asked why their children could not enter the white schools since there was no direct law prohibiting it. The next year²²⁰ the Negro children in several districts did enter the white schools with the tacit consent of the white population. When the State Superintendent was asked whether or not they could be ejected²²¹ he replied that there was no law to that effect. At this time the enactment of a civil rights bill was being agitated in the State. This bill²²² provided that the public schools of the State should be open to all children regardless of color. When the civil rights bill was defeated in 1874, there was passed another bill which aimed to relieve the situation in the sparsely settled districts.

In 1869 the legislature had passed a law²²³ permitting two

²¹⁸ E.H. Davis, *Clark County*. See *7th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1872, p. 246.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²²⁰ *8th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1873, p. 38.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² *9th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1875, p. 18.

²²³ *Laws of State of Missouri*, 25th Gen. Ass., 1869, p. 86.

or more districts, each of which had less than fifteen Negro population but which when taken together had more than that number, to establish a union school for those children. This law on account of its lack of force did not accomplish much good. In 1874 the law²²⁴ was amended in such a way as to make it obligatory for two or more districts, each of which had too few Negro children, to form a school to unite to form a union school. It was also ordered that all taxable property in a township in which a Negro school was situated should be taxed for its support.

In 1875 each district supported its own school²²⁵ for white children, while the whole township in which a Negro school was situated was taxed for its support. No district in the State could be compelled by the law to maintain a school for its white children, but if there were more than fifteen Negro children in the district, the law compelled the local authorities to establish a school for them. If they failed to do so, the law directed the State Superintendent to establish and to levy taxes for the support of Negro schools in such communities. In those districts in which there were too few Negro children to form a separate school, union schools were to be established. The last mentioned law, however, was passed too late to have much effect upon the period under discussion. School officials who refused to perform the duties of their office could be fined²²⁶

²²⁴ *Laws of State of Missouri*, Reg. Session, 25th Gen. Assemb., p. 164.

²²⁵ *26th Ann. Report of Supt. of Schools*, 1876, p. 12.

²²⁶ *27th Gen. Assemb.*, Adj. Sess., p. 168.

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