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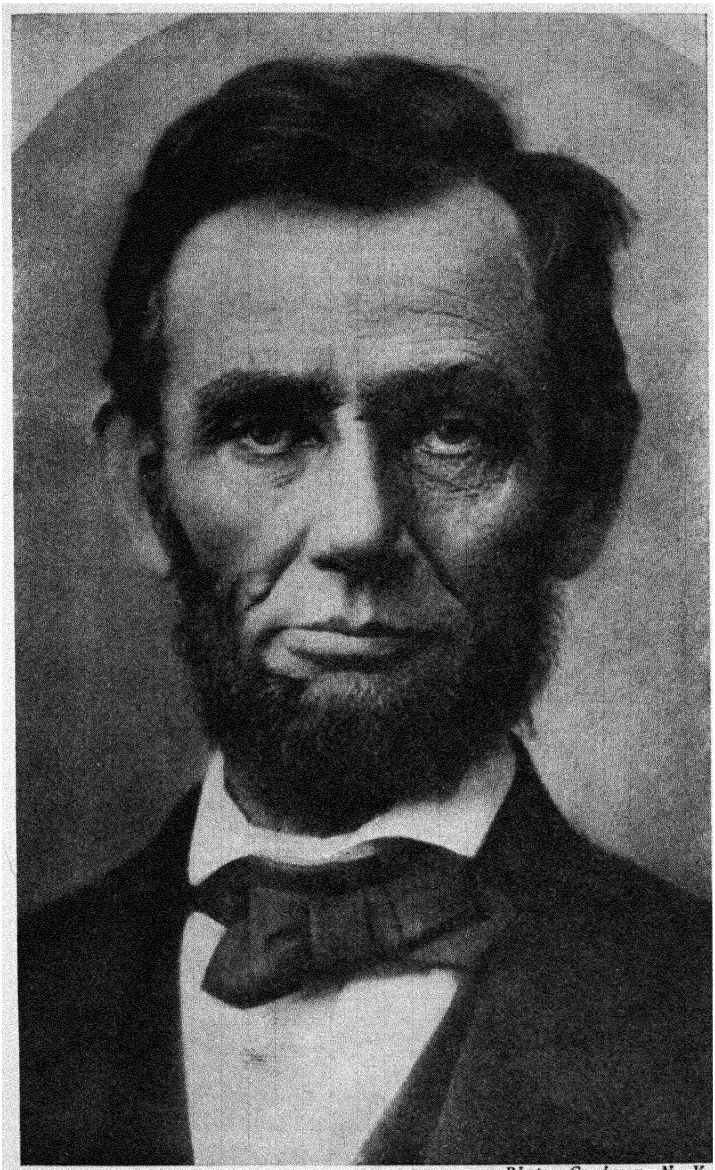
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THE NEGRO, TOO,
IN
AMERICAN HISTORY



Photo—Gendreau, N. Y.

Abraham Lincoln, Sixteenth President of the United States, 1861-1865. "My father insisted that none of his children should suffer for the lack of education as he did"

THE NEGRO, TOO, IN AMERICAN HISTORY

By

MERL R. EPPSE, M.A.

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DEDICATED

TO

A NATIONAL EDUCATOR

"The best legacy for your children is education for other children. Yours won't be safe if their neighbors are ignorant."

THE AUTHOR.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Ten years ago Dr. Frank I. Herriott, Professor of Political Science, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa, said to me, "Eppse, who is Du Bois?" I did not give him a satisfactory answer. This was the beginning of my interest in my own people. Later I visited my mother and was telling her about the achievements of the Negro. It was on this occasion that she told me that the first Negro Senator, Hiram R. Revels, who took his seat in the Senate February 1, 1870, was an uncle of mine.

The many interesting things which have been revealed to me since then are too numerous to mention, but I think it is not only necessary but also a pleasure for me to acknowledge the services of some of my many interested friends: Mr. A. P. Whitlock, a white Southern Educator for a quarter of a century, who is the Founder and President of the National Educational Publishing Company, made it possible for this book to come from the press. Dr. Charles G. Pfab, and the other associates of Mr. Whitlock, viz., W. R. Hayes, H. T. Hayes, W. D. Allimono, Dr. J. H. White, and Attorney W. M. Fuqua have loyally supported this project. Dr. Alva Taylor, formerly of Vanderbilt University; Dr. Charles Johnson, Fisk University; and Miss Mabel Carney of Columbia University, N. Y., have been unusually helpful with their suggestions. Dr. A. P. Foster, Recording Secretary of the Tennessee Historical Society, has critically read and helped with the original manuscript. I am very grateful to Dr. S. L. Smith, Provost of George Peabody College for Teachers, for his untiring efforts. Mr. Edwin Em-

bree of the Julius Rosenwald Fund; Mr. Leo Favrot, Mr. Fred McCuistion, and Mr. Jackson Davis, all of the General Education Board, have helped in more ways than one.

Dr. Mary E. Townsend, Dr. Erling Hunt, Dr. Henry Johnson and Miss Edna Feagley, all of Columbia University, have guided my research work for two years, for which I am grateful. President William Jasper Hale, who has been my constant friend and advisor for the ten years during which I have worked for him, deserves unstinted credit for the many courtesies he has extended to me. Again with deep appreciation for the assistance rendered by the above mentioned people and with gratitude to the hundreds of students and teachers who have studied with me through the years, I can only say that their imprint is in this book in many places, but I am solely responsible for all errors.

—MERL R. EPPSE

PREFACE

The story of America has been written many times. At first, it was the story told by those who had taken part in the founding and settling of the country; but as the years passed, and the numbers of those who came to our shores increased, the story became more varied and complex, thus causing legend and tradition to become confused with actual facts. Later a pattern for the writing of our history was established, because casual events were accepted as constant truth, facts were confused with fiction, and in many cases the facts were left out entirely. Heroes of small, contemporary significance assumed a more important place than their importance justified. Events of little importance were described and embellished, whereas, the role played by a great number of people was merely mentioned in the footnotes or entirely deleted.

It is safe to say that only in our present century have the writers of American History undertaken to present the facts of the past more nearly as they actually occurred, and to give these facts the relative importance which they should possess as viewed at a long range.

In this book the author has surveyed the records of the remote past and has gone to the root of many of the sources of our development. Careful research shows that all races that have come to our shores have wrought well, but some have not been given sufficient emphasis. The political life of the country is only a small part of its history, and the thing which makes the political pot boil is the issue at hand—one would never think of the Negro sharing in the discovery, exploration and early settlement. Negroes came to

America with Columbus, and the records show that they accompanied virtually all of the discoverers and explorers. They were here when the Indians taught the early settlers tobacco cultivation; they helped to hew the wood out of which the pioneer cabins were built; and they cleared and tilled the soil for the pioneers in order that they might have more time to think and plan. They protected the homes of the pioneers, and by so doing, a great faith and fidelity developed between the two races. Walking by the side of the white man in his adventures, helping him to make a living, fighting in wars with him—all this devotion has caused the present generation to look back over such relationships, to read a new meaning in the slave-master relationship and to discover the good as well as the evil that came out of it. People of this day do not see a picture in mind of one being black and menial, while the other is white and powerful—but they see two persons of different color, sharing, planning, working and fighting together—out of which has emerged a great democracy that we call America.

One group has helped as much as the other, and while one contributed one thing, the other contributed another of equal importance, and when both pooled their separate offerings, there developed a new America for all.

While our forefathers have wrought well, and we certainly know there are no more undiscovered frontiers to be disclosed—yet we see new border lines presenting themselves and the only way for these new lines to be obliterated is for all races to have less differences among themselves, because we are all so dependent on one another that the injury of one is the concern of all. What would happen to us if the coal miners should quit, the automobile makers cease work, the farmers all move to town, and the railroad hands take vacations? These, taken separately, would not have meant

much in the old pioneer days, but now one can see very quickly that all would be made to suffer. It is in this spirit that we search the records of our past and re-evaluate the labors of the Negro to see if he justly shares in all that we call good in America.

The beginnings in America were no little task; it took faith, fidelity and courage to face the many problems of that time, such as, dredging ditches, planting fields, fighting Indians and building homes. The pioneers had to have by their side people who could be trusted, and the Negro coming from a very primitive culture in the strange land called Africa, had to unfrock himself of all those customs and habits of his native land, had the task of clothing himself with the ways of American life, and had at the same time to learn how to work in the American way. This many-sided task has been the cause of much study and speculation, yet, underneath all of it, there emerges much which is laudable in the people who were responsible for bringing the Negro to America, and much must be said concerning the way by which the Negro has struggled to become the best American possible.

In the short space of a few years, sentiment has changed wonderfully in favor of the good that the Negro has done as a whole, rather than to emphasize the bad that a few have done. This book will present a continuous story of constructive contributions of the Negro, realizing at all times that mutual understanding and helpfulness were at the core of this relationship, and if America is ever to be the place that it was intended to be by our founding fathers, then the same core of objectives must be uppermost in the minds of all of us as a guiding principle of our lives.

This effort is not the last word on the subject, but is a suggestion or starting point for our youth in building a frame of references and information by which they may strive and work for America.

We feel that one should know about Africa and its people, the birth of America and the struggles attached therewith, the beginning and growth of our patterns of life, the breaking of our European ties, the birth of our liberties, the clash of sectionalism, the problems of reconstruction, the growth of America industrially and the part that the Negro has played—the new Negro—the contribution of the Negro to American culture and the outlook for the future.

If these things are kept in mind, as one goes forth to serve, we feel that this book will have accomplished what has been intended!—That is, to help make America a better place in which to live, and the people of America to become the protectors and defenders of American liberties.

M. R. E.

Tennessee A. & I. State College,
Nashville, Tenn.
April, 1939.

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INTRODUCTION

The true object of all history is to record the truth, and historians should be on the alert to keep this object ever in view. For prejudice constantly obtrudes mistaken, and sometimes malevolent, conceptions that have far-reaching consequences for evil. This failure to adhere to the truth strictly and conscientiously has been especially unfortunate with regard to the Negro and has been borne by him with singular patience. So much so, indeed, that when we understand what the Negro has accomplished in so short a time, speaking comparatively, we contemplate with admiration his achievements and are encouraged to believe that in the course of time his race will be in the forefront of the races of the world in civilization, in culture and in material performance.

To obtain the proper point of view relative to the career of the Negro in America, what he has done here, his proper place in its history, and the long distance he has already covered in his world career, it is necessary to consider him "at home," in Africa.

The story of Africa, although not yet finished, is already one of the most interesting to which the cultivated mind can give attention. Under Egyptian civilization it reaches back more than five thousand years. The Negroes, who inhabited the greater part of Africa, were well known to the ancient Egyptians, as well as to the Chaldeans, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Hebrews, the Greeks and the Romans.

There has been much speculation as to the origin of the Negroes. According to the Old Testament of the Bible, Noah had three sons, Shem, Ham and Japhet. It is supposed by many that Ham was a black man (Negro), that Shem was the progenitor of the Semites (Hebrews and Arabs), and that Japhet established the

Aryan or Indo-European peoples, who originated in central Asia and gradually pushed south and west in successive waves of migration until they had settled all parts of Europe. And philology teaches that these families were certainly related. In all such discussions, however, much is unknown; little of a positive, certain or definite character can be stated.

One thing, nevertheless, is known, and that is that for thousands of years, during which the Aryans and the Semites were slowly but surely making progress in culture, they did not penetrate into the mysteries of Africa, notwithstanding the fact that it finally became known that this continent was rich in animal and vegetable life, and in minerals, including gold, silver and diamonds. Indeed, explorations in Africa were virtually unknown, before the time of the Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama (1450(?)-1524). It may definitely be said, in fact, that penetration of the "dark continent," began contemporaneously with the Renaissance, and continued sporadically only for many years, or until recent years. And it has not been thoroughly explored yet.

Until the time of Livingstone (David Livingstone, Scottish Explorer in Africa, 1813-1873), almost all of the expeditions into the interior of Africa were for purposes of sport, for the shooting of big game. But, for whatever purposes enterprising and adventurous men have proceeded into the wilds of this continent, it is interesting and important to consider the subjoined modified bibliography which tells where the investigator can secure information upon this subject:

Geo. Africanus' Description of Africa (about A.D. 1517).

John Leyden's *Historical Account of Discoveries in Northern and Western Africa* (1789).

Vaillant's celebrated *French travels in South Africa.*

Sir John Barrow's *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa.*

Bayard Taylor's *Journey to Central Africa* (1854).

Livingstone's labors in Africa from 1840 to 1873; his *Researches in South Africa* (1857), *Expedition to the Zambezi* (1865) *and Last Journeys in Central Africa,* 1865-1873.

Speke's explorations with Burton, and discovery of the Great Lakes of Central Africa and of the source from them of the Nile.

Richard Burton's reports of explorations in the *Lake Regions of Central Africa.*

Du Chaillu's *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* (1855-59); and *A Journey to Ashango-Land* (1867).

Wissman, author of important German reports of explorations entirely across Africa, in 1880-82 and 1890.

Oskar Lenz's German explorations from 1874 to 1895.

Stanley's explorations in the years 1874-90 and founding of the Congo Free State.

Stanley's narrative of travel across the continent in 1874-78.

Schweinfurth's Nile Valley explorations, and work *In the Heart of Africa* (1864-74).

Baker's exploration (1861-65) of the sources of the Nile.

Baker's *Albert Nyanza* and *Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia.*

Henry Drummond, on *Tropical Africa,* outlining the water-route to the heart of Africa, with an account of the slave-trade.

A. H. Keane's comprehensive work, Vol. I, *North Africa;* Vol. II, *South Africa,* thoroughly describing the whole continent.

Felix Dubois' story of a long journey to Timbuctoo in French Africa.
Edmondo de Amicis on Morocco.
Bosworth Smith's *Carthage and the Carthagenians.*
A. J. Church's *Story of Carthage.*
English Literature at Cape Town in Olive Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm.*

Within the last three quarters of a century, Africa has possessed interests aside from being a source of supplies for slaves. The extinction of the trade in Negroes initiated by Great Britain and the subsequent overthrow of slavery, first by Great Britain and then as one of the results of the War Between the States caused humanitarian efforts to be made to stop the slave-hunting expeditions of Arabs and other Orientals. These efforts were naturally followed by schemes of extensive exploration in the interest of humanity and science. And, with equal naturalness, exploration awakened cupidity, the desire for extensive raw materials, and for conquest and occupation. So that, with the exception of a few regions the whole continent has become fairly well known and intelligibly mapped. Also, ignoring to a large extent the rights of the aborginees (Negroes) the incoming usurpers are holding these extensive regions for development, colonization and civilization. The leading nations that have thus summarily taken over Africa are England, France, Italy, Belgium and Spain. Germany also acquired vast areas, which were taken from her as reparations after the World War. The Dutch, too, lost their holdings in consequence of the Boer War. In spite of the greediness for lands which animates the British, it may be said English culture long since planted side by side with that of the Dutch in Southern Africa has, in recent years, entered through Egypt, one of the most

ancient homes of human culture, to rescue, perhaps, that land of magnificent ruins from the influences of barbarism, and to carry a highway of enlightened occupation from the mouth of the Nile to the Cape of Good Hope.

No sooner had the hapless Africans become slaves in the West Indies and on the North American Continent than they began to slough off the tissues of paganism and to develop gradually but surely in civilization and culture. The institution of slavery, however, precluded the advancement of which they were capable. This fact was clearly perceived by Thomas Jefferson, who says in his *Notes on Virginia,* published in 1782:

"It is difficult to determine on the standard by which the manners of a nation may be tried, whether catholic or particular. It is more difficult for a native to bring to that standard the manners of his own nation, familiarized to him by habit. There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions,—the most unremitting despotism on the one part and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms; the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs, in the circle of smaller slaves give a loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in

tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execrations should the statesman be loaded who, permitting one-half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part and the *amor patriae* of the other! For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another; in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute as far as depends on his individual endeavors to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, their industry is destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labor. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest. But it is impossible to be temperate and to pursue this subject through the various considerations of policy, of morals, of history natural and civil. We must be contented to hope they will force their way

into every one's mind. I think a change already perceptible, since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying; the way, I hope, preparing under the auspices of heaven for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed in the order of events to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation."

Jefferson did not see this hope fulfilled, for he died on the fourth of July, 1826, an exact half century after the adoption of his immortal Declaration of Independence. By a singular coincidence John Adams died also on the same day. But Jefferson did see, before he passed on, tangible evidences that the Negro was advancing. And it is now known of all men that his progress has been continuous, in spite of all obstacles; and that, since emancipation (Jan. 1. 1863) it has been beyond all anticipation.

There came a time, only three years ago, when the same idea occurred to several persons simultaneously —the idea that the astounding achievements of the Negro should be recorded in a book that would perpetuate his history and progress and would serve as a healthy stimulus to the ambitions of the youth of all races, and of special pride to the descendants of that lowly people who, for so many centuries, had been bound in the fetters of heathendom, of superstition and of slavery.

It was decided to incorporate in a book the information to be disseminated, and *The Negro, Too, in American History* is the result.

Professor Merl R. Eppse, a member of the faculty of the Tennessee A. & I. State College, was suggested as the author and that this selection was a happy one is attested by an inspection of this book, to the prepar-

ation of which Professor Eppse has brought ripe scholarship, extreme diligence and the results of extensive and indefatigable research work.

AUSTIN P. FOSTER,
Recording Secretary, Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee

CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA

Africa. Africa, the second largest continent in the world, is the original home of the black man, or the Negro. He was found there by the earliest people who traveled about the Mediterranean Sea, and has been in Africa from time immemorial. Little change has come to him in Africa. Africa is 11,720,000 square miles in area and has a population estimated to be 150,000,000.

The coast line of Africa is regular, with the exception of a few indentures, and measures 16,200 miles in length. There are very few harbors. Africa was once called the "Dark Continent," not wholly because of the black people, but also because of its black, rich soil, and the fact that little was known of the interior until recent times.

About four-fifths of the entire continent of Africa lies within the Torrid Zone. The inhabitants of our country know very little about the effect this has on its people, because America lies principally in the Temperate Zone. It seems that the climate of Africa is extremely hot while ours is more moderate. The rainfall is abundant in the equatorial belt, while to the north of it the Sahara Desert is the largest dry region in the world. In the extreme southern part one finds a climate more nearly like ours in America.

Topography. If one could ascend high enough to look over Africa, he would see deserts and steppes in the extreme north and south, and between these portions large forests. In the eastern portion of the con-

tinent are found great lakes and wide, grassy plains. The general slope of the country is from the east and south toward the west and north, where great plateaus are found; on the east are highlands. Almost around the whole continent is a narrow lowland, which, in many sections, is so hot and unhealthful that no other race but the Negro can live upon it. Back of this low coast strip, the surface rises and becomes a plateau over most of the continent. Much of the interior plateau is from 2,000 to 4,000 feet in altitude, and all of the great rivers descend from the uplands to the coastal lowlands by a series of rapids or falls. Above these falls the rivers are navigable for hundreds of miles. Africa has fewer high mountains than any other continent except Australia. The range known as the Atlas Mountains extends through Northern Africa about 1,400 miles from the Atlantic Ocean to the eastern part of Tunis. The highest point in these mountains has an altitude of nearly 15,000 feet. The Ruwenzori Mountains are a short, high range in Central Africa whose tops are covered with snow and glaciers, the highest peak rising to 16,600 feet. Eastern Africa has a highland that extends from the Zambezi River to the Red Sea. Abyssinia occupies a lofty plateau, above which volcanic peaks reach to a height of about 15,000 feet above sea level.

Rivers. Africa has only four great rivers, the longest being the Nile which rises in the region of the Great Lakes of the east—Central Africa—and flows northward to the Mediterranean. It is 3,700 miles long. The Congo River is somewhat shorter, but has a still larger volume of water, which flows westward. It is navigable for 1,000 miles. The Niger is the greatest river in that part of Western Africa which lies north of the Equator. It flows northeast for a long distance and then turns to the southeast and finally enters the Gulf of Guinea. The Niger is navigable in

most of its course, but rapids at several points prevent the passage of steamboats.

Zambezi is the principal river of Southern Africa, and it rises near the sources of the Congo and flows eastward to the Indian Ocean. In the highlands of East and Central Africa are found several lakes which compare in size with the Great Lakes of North America. The largest are Victoria, Tanganyika, and Nyassa. South of the Sahara Desert is Lake Chad, which is fed by rivers, but has no outlet. It varies in size from 10,000 to 20,000 square miles, because it is in a region which has much rainfall during all seasons of the year.

As a whole, Africa is more in the tropics and has a higher temperature than is the case with South America. It is also drier because it is mostly a plateau and has no great mountain ranges, like the Andes, to condense the moisture brought by the winds.

Forest and Animals. As the climate of most of Africa is either hot or subtropical, the vegetation is mostly such as is found in warm countries. The largest trees are in the hot, rainy region near the Equator, especially in the basin of the Congo River. These forests are tangled and dense with trees, shrubs and rivers which shield most of the ground so completely that the sun's rays do not reach it. North and south of this forest belt are grasslands, with trees in the valleys and reeds in the marshes. Trees do not flourish in the grasslands because rain falls only part of the year. Date palms grow in the oases, and are used for food. Near the Mediterranean, which is more temperate, the vegetation includes palms, oaks, the olive and the vine.

Many large animals are found in Africa, such as the elephant, rhinocerous, giraffe, leopard, lion and hippopotamus. Camels are much used as beasts of burden in the deserts of Northern Africa. The quagga and

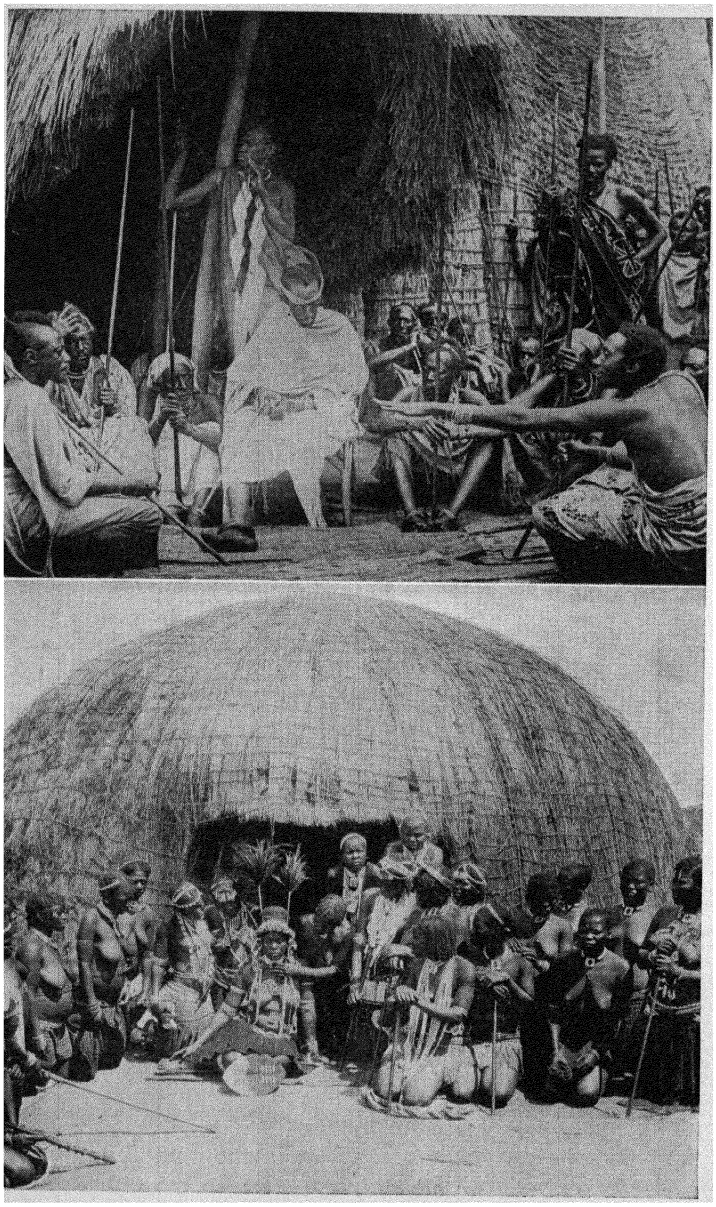
zebra, animals of the horse family, are numerous in the grasslands. Among other African animals are apes, chimpanzees, gorillas, baboons and monkeys. In the tropical forests, there are many venomous reptiles and many birds with brilliant plumages. The ostrich of Southern Africa is raised for its feathers. Ants are numerous and build mounds ten or fifteen feet high. The white ant destroys almost anything made of wood.

Other Resources. Africa furnishes the world four-fifths of all diamonds, and one-half of the world's supply of gold comes from the southern part of Africa. Tropical forest products are: rubber, palm oil, bananas and various fine cabinet woods, such as mahogany and ebony. Ivory is supplied by the tusks of elephants. Cotton of a very excellent quality is raised in Egypt. Esparto grass is shipped from Libya to England for making paper. Camels are used to carry these products to the seaports. It sometimes takes three months to go one way and only three hundred pounds can be carried at one time. Barley, oats, corn, figs, cork, sheep and cattle are raised in Africa. More cocoa comes from the Sudan than from any other country in the world.

The People. We, in America, have a friendly relationship with the many nationalities who have come to our country to make their homes, but we know very little about the 150,000,000 people of Africa, of whom over 3,000,000 were brought here to work. While it is very easy to understand about our ancestors from England, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Ireland, and many other lands, because we can easily trace most of the things which we do and the articles which we use to their native land, yet, when it comes to tracing the habits and customs of the people of Africa, we encounter great difficulties, because they live very differently from us. When we first came in contact with the Africans, we found them very unlike the other

immigrants. The African is dark in complexion, has fuzzy hair, is strong in physique, has a broad nose, wide mouth, shiny white teeth, jovial disposition, is rather awkward in his ways of action, and is usually clad in overalls or work clothes. The African women, while having the same characteristics as the men, usually wear gingham clothes and a pleasant smile. Little does one think that these clothes are an indication of an unusual transition for the Negroes, because in Africa they wear very few clothes, and those that they wear are made of skins of animals, or made from flax or some grasses which are woven into cloth. The climate is so warm that they do not need more clothing. They usually go barefooted, or wear something to protect the soles of their feet, and usually wear nothing over their heads. Scientific investigations have proven that people become habituated, which means that nature so adjusts the organs, cells and even the color of persons, that they can exist under any conditions in which they are found. The Negro is adjusted to a warm climate. This is true with the African. He has all of these characteristics, so that he can live in the land of Africa better than any other group of people. While we have heard that he is black because he is cursed; that he is poor because he is lazy; that he is diseased because he is physically weak; that he is not thrifty because he revels in idleness, these are all false statements because, when we study Africa, and its climate and people, we find that it is only a matter of a people living the life that is lived in their native home. As soon as they are accustomed to our way of life, they readily quit doing things the African way and take on our methods.

Tribes. The people of Africa are known best to us as being composed of tribes, or large groups who have similar languages, and customs. We find that these tribes are more nearly like our states. Not having a



Photos by Acme

Top—Congo Chief dethroned in favor of his son. Bottom—Zulu

highly developed means of communication, transportation and means of exchange, we find that the people of Africa usually live in villages or kraals. Their roads are more like our paths in parks or woods. They beat a drum or give a loud whoop or tell each other by word of mouth, because they have no telephones, automobiles, radios or books. They usually trade by barter since they do not have banks or money, or many manufactured goods, as their interest is centered on the necessities of life, such as food or clothing.

The tribes do not live in the open country as much as our population does, because of the ferocious animals and the likelihood of other tribes attacking them. However, a primitive form of agriculture is carried on by all, inasmuch as that is their chief means of making a living. Usually, one is able to see how much the people of Africa are divided, if we take the reports of those who have been to Africa. It is reported by travelers that, in Africa, ten languages, comprising twelve dialects, are Semitic, forty-seven languages with seventy-one dialects are Hamitic, one hundred and eighty with one hundred and nineteen dialects, are among the Bantu tribes; two hundred and sixty-four languages, with one hundred and fourteen dialects, are among the Sudanese; eleven languages, with three dialects, are among the Bushmen; and the Hottentots have a specific language. This record shows that there are five hundred and fourteen languages and three hundred and eighteen dialects known to be existing, besides all of those not accounted for until more is known about Africa.

It is not known how long the Negroes have been in Africa. The vast continent is sometimes called the "birthplace of civilization." Its early history is filled with myth and fable, but true facts are interesting. The ancient people lived on the continent perhaps tens of thousands of years ago, but for many reasons

the records were not preserved to tell us of their progress. Until less than a hundred years ago many of the Africans even now are using tools that were the same as those used in Europe during the latter part of the Stone Age.

If we suppose the original black people to be confined to the African continent, we find that they originated on the peninsular, where the continent projects into the Indian Ocean, about the parallel of ten degrees north. Most of the people of this coastal region, as far west as thirty-seven degrees of longitude, are of Semitic origin, with perhaps a mixture of Hamitic stock. Such people are the Somali, Donakid and the Galli tribes. Somewhat west of these is where black people seem to have originated. That is to say that this line is indicative of the migration of the black races from the eastern coast of Africa, from about a distance of ten degrees from the ocean.

The Africans are divided into many branches or groups. The oldest trace of the Negro family is the Fundi-Sudanese, who occupied the country between the Blue Nile and White Nile, south of their intersection. The Fundi-Sudanese seem to have never moved very far from their original seat. They founded the Kingdom of Sennaar. Some of the peculiar tribal characteristics of these people are found among Negroes of the southern and western portions of Africa. The Sudanese are those people who occupied the upper Nile region across the continent to the west.

Let us see how complex it is to name and locate some of these tribes: In the west Sudan and Guinea region, we find the Fulas tribe, who are divided into ten nations. They inhabit the eastern part of Senegambia, eastward to the Baghernui country. The Woloffs are divided into seven tribes, distributed inland between the Senegal and Gambia rivers. The Felups are divided into twelve tribes, scattered over

territory between the Gambia River and Sierra Leone. The Liberians are separated into seventeen tribal divisions who live along the Grain and Ivory Coasts. The Sudanese are divided into West Sudan, East Sudan and Central Sudan. The Guinea Negroes are found in the Chad Basin and the upper Nile.

In the Central Sudan and the Chad Basin, we find the Adamawa group who are divided into sixteen tribal branches; the Fula, divided into twelve tribes; the Logone, divided into fifteen tribes; the Bagirmi, divided into fifteen tribes and the Waday, divided into a vast number of tribes.

In the East Sudan and the upper Nile, we find four rare families: the Darbanda, with eleven tribes; the Fue, with seventeen tribes; the Nioltes, with more than twenty tribes; the Zandey, one of the better organized groups, who live near the Lualaba.

The Bantu. This is a great race divided into five ethnic groups. They occupy the South Central part of Africa between the Sudanese on the north, the Kaffirs and the Hottentots on the south. The first of these groups are the Zulu-Kaffirs. They are scattered throughout Zululand, Natal-Kaffraria and the region northward to the Great Lakes of East Africa.

The central group, comprising sixteen tribes, live in the upper Orange River, Transvaal, the shores of Lake N'gami and part of Zambezi. The eastern group comprises many subordinate tribes who live on the east coast from the Equator southward to the edge of the Delgado, westward to Lake Nyassa. The Equatorial group, with more than twenty tribes, fill the regions of the great lakes, the upper part of Lualaba and the country south of the Lakinga Mountains. The western groups, with forty tribes, are found on the west coast of the continent from Damaraland, northward to Cameroon Mountains and eastward to the twentieth meridian of longitude.

The Hottentots, among the most ancient races on the face of the earth, are divided into many tribes, and are found in the central and western parts of the continent. Some of the principal tribes are the Bassutas, who live in the valley of the Zambezi. The Makololo, regarded as the oldest branch of the Hottentots existing today, live on the right bank of the Zambezi River and in the central part of the country through which the Zambezi River flows. The Bushmen are the lowest type of aboriginal life. They occupy the extreme portion south of Namaqua. Some are better known to us as pygmies. Some travelers say that they exhibit vivacity and adroitness, a quickness of picking up information and languages. They are clean in their habits, have a natural sense of modesty and refinement, and observe the decencies of life.

Pygmies. The pygmies are a dwarf people; they are about fifty-two to fifty-eight inches in height; their skin is reddish or yellowish brown or very dark; their body is covered with light, downy hair; the nose is flat and broad; the eyes are large and prominent, and the face is short and broad. The Egyptian records refer to the pygmies as far back as the sixth dynasty. They live in the area of the Equatorial forest region, where the incessant rains produce a luxuriant vegetation. The trees are very thick, and even at mid-day darkness is everywhere.

They make their living by hunting. Small game only can penetrate the dense forests, such as gazelle, monkey, baboon, leopard, boa, rats and small birds, and guinea fowl. They gather bananas, plaintains, berries and some edible roots. They use the bow and arrow, made of bamboo plant and poisoned with aconite. They are forced to live in villages made of oval shaped huts. They have a desperate struggle for existence. They received nothing from their ancestors, and hand nothing down to posterity.

Since the Hottentots are known to have existed so long in Africa, it is well for us to get a closer view of them: In appearance, they are similar to the Bushmen, but taller, usually five feet three inches in height; their head is longer and narrower, slightly darker than the Bushman of yellowish brown color. They are divided into tribes, and the tribes are divided into clans. One clansman claims sovereignty and he is known as chief. The old men usually decide all questions of dispute. The family life is headed by the father, and the children usually remain with the family until grandchildren appear. Traditions are handed down from generation to generation. They live a pastoral life with large herds of long-horned cattle and fat-tailed sheep. Their principal foods are vegetables, milk, roots and berries.

Marriages are arranged by the parents. The betrothed can speak only through someone else. The wife is the mistress of the hut, and if the husband should die naturally or get killed, the wife is inherited by the brother of the deceased husband. These huts are usually beehive shaped and clustered close together. Their religion is moon worship, which shows that nature has a great power over them. They weave cloth which is very ornamental. Almost every night they have some kind of a festival, which is usually dancing that lasts until daylight. The records show that they have been much mixed by Europeans and their original number has dwindled to a few thousands.

It would be useless to take up each tribe and discuss in detail what goes on in their tribal life because we see a general thread of similarity running through all of them. For that reason, we are going to take a broad view of the African life and make a statement concerning some of the traits of the Negro which are most obvious.

Dr. James Stewart says: "Out of scores of estimates of the Negro from Kenya Colony to Cape of Good Hope, this is a representative view: Taking the average native African as he is found over wide areas, a fair and unprejudiced judgment would admit that he possesses a larger amount of good sense, a firmer texture of mind, and a more intellectual ability than he generally gets credit for. He is a natural orator, and though not a remarkable logician, he is an excellent lawyer and generally defends his own case in any trial. His receptive mental powers are greater than his reflective. He has a great desire for knowledge and regards it as a valuable possession. He is fond beyond measure of music, seems to have an instinctive knowledge of harmony and an extraordinary power of keeping time." With this statement in view, let us examine first the religion of the Negro. In Africa, one finds many conceptions of God. However, Africans usually recognize God as the originator of all good things that they enjoy, and usually make offerings in return for it. One finds God in the river, the Sun-God. While it is not the sun, the Sun-God animates it. These Gods have their abode in natural attributes, and may, if he so wills, leave them, move amongst his family, and there plant the seeds of blessings and abundance of increase. Precisely in the same way, he can inspire; that is, enter into those specially destined to receive him, so that they behave as though possessed.

The African version of creation varies little from that of the Hebrews. They take account of the fall and redemption of man. Diseases and harm are ascribed to the will of God. Their religion is administered by a priest-craft of which the king himself is head. Usually the priest is the same as the medicine man, and administers to both the mind and body. He usually gets his place by starting his training in early childhood, when he is sent to live with a priest for

several years. This training usually consists of the manipulation of things spiritual as well as the use of herbal remedies. At the close of his training an exciting dance is staged at which time the fetish is said to come upon him.

One can readily see that the African lives in a world of fear and awe. His training does not exceed that of his elders, and the rigid rules make it necessary for him to follow in the footsteps of his elders. That is why we usually speak of the Negro as being emotional and excitable. Take a glimpse at the elaborate ceremonies over the dead. In such observances one finds the African making great preparations for the dead to have a safe and successful journey on the trip that he is about to take. Days are set aside when people who are hired to moan and cry are gathered about the dead person's home, where they weep and wail. The minds of the group usually go out in search for an evil spirit, and the medicine man is asked to pick out the one who possesses the spirit. If he is found, he is usually made way with. But at any rate, the whole tribal life is disturbed over this death.

Marriage. In marriage the usual custom is for the youth to have in mind the good of the communal state. The contract is made by the parents of the young people. They, themselves, have very little to do with it. The groom is accustomed to give a number of cows, goats, sheep, deer, or the like, to the parents of the girl he has chosen. These are not purchased, but are bestowed as a dower or evidence of his affection and the assurance that he will protect her against any ill treatment. If he does not keep his vows, the girl may return home, and the gifts are forfeited. The marriage is usually celebrated, with much dancing and festival, at which time they use drums, horns and reed instruments to make music.

Polygamy is practiced in some places, but this usually does not obtain, unless the man is of sufficient wealth to care for other wives. If it does take place, one wife is usually the head manager and the others hold a subordinate position. Polygamy was due to a surplus of women, as many men lost their lives in the wars. This practice originated in the Orient.

Education. The education of Africans usually consists of the children taking on the mode of life of the elders. The boys go with the men to hunt, and the girls with the women to the fields to work. Since all of their education is fostered by the activity program, it is not long until the youths are prepared to take their place in society.

The records show that Africans possess an unusual skill in metal work, industrial arts and fine arts. Homes are usually built to withstand the climate and weather of their locality. Some are built to resist the rain, wind and storms, while others are made for extremely hot weather. In pottery, basketry, implements and weapons, Africans have shown an unusual skill. Their cutlery displays workmanship and inventive genius, which cannot be excelled. In the field of fine arts, recent investigations disclose that the Egyptians must have gotten their knowledge from the Africans, and that these subtle models of artistry are at the base of Europeans' conception of beauty.

While one reviews all of these contributions as a part of the inner life of the African, yet one can see that the political life of the African made it necessary for him to be amenable to law and order. The chieftain, medicine man, priesthood and elders usually taught the young offenders the painful consequences of their erring ways; therefore, a strict monarchy or oligarchy was carried out to the letter. Yet, with all this group of rules, one sees the *perfect* working of a

communistic society, in which each for all and all for each was the general rule.

The Negroes of Africa bring to our shores customs and traditions very different from those of Europe. It is, therefore, our duty to study the effect that these strange practices would have on one; then we are more able to understand the ways of the Negro and in turn all of us can get along better together.

CHAPTER II

EUROPEAN EXPLORATION AND DISCOVERERS

The people of Western Europe did not just pack up and cross the Atlantic Ocean, three thousand miles, and discover and explore. It is a much more complicated situation that we have to examine before we can determine some of the factors which impelled the Europeans to come to our country.

Man has lived on the earth many thousands of years. He has reached the present stage of civilization, after having passed through savagery, barbarism and the civilized stage. When the Europeans were passing through the first two stages, in Northeastern Africa, the valley of the Nile, we find a highly developed culture there, and soon a similar stage of development was found in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers and across the Red Sea to the west of Africa. The people in these regions had learned to write, to use metals and fire, to make clothing, build ships, pyramids and great temples, and by various means they began to spread their knowledge.

From the river valleys where it originated, civilization finally spread to parts of Europe; first to the regions on or near the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The Phœnicians, who lived on the eastern shores of this sea, early became interested in navigation, and, by sailing the seas, they came in contact with other people who lived along the waters of this region. Among these people were the Greeks, who had come from the north and settled in the land that we call

Greece. The Greeks were lovers of beauty, and expressed it in fine buildings, beautiful columns, sculpture and literature. We are familiar with the names of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Phidias and Alexander the Great. All of these people lived hundreds of years before the birth of Christ, but they came in contact, through trade, with Rome, and they were conquered by Rome, and then we see that their customs and habits were transplanted to Western Europe through this experience.

Rome spread her influence through lands which included almost all of Western Europe. Even England and Northern Africa were touched by the Romans and consequently their culture was taken on by these peoples. It is out of this experience that America was discovered. America can be called the child of Europe. It was because of extensive study of the records of these aforementioned people that the scholars brought on an era called the Renaissance, or a new awakening. This era, however, was not brought about suddenly because five or six hundred years after the Roman Empire had gone to pieces, Western Europe passed through the Dark Ages. The political authority, the legal institutions, the commercial industry, the arts and letters of the ancient world were lost. Feudalism, a form of society based upon military service and land tenure, held the people in a static position. The Catholic Church, which was composed of the educated class, was the best place in which to find records that had been preserved concerning the ancient people.

Crusades. Toward the close of the eleventh century, events occurred which stirred Europe from her lethargy. Ever since the rapid conquests of the Mohammedan armies in the seventh century, the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, had been in the hands of the Arabs.

These people had permitted the Christians to visit the Holy Land, but presently the Seljuk Turks overpowered the Arabs and barred the Christians from their pilgrimage to the holy places. In 1095, Pope Urban II and Peter the Hermit preached a war to be waged against the Turks. For nearly two hundred years great throngs of people of Western Europe, fired by a Christian zeal bordering on a mania, walked and used the water routes to the Holy Land. While they, temporarily, had some success, the Turks remained in possession of the Holy Land from 1224 to 1918. This crusading left many of the serfs without a master. Slowly a middle class of merchants and traders emerged, who were called bourgeoisie, who in time were to amass riches by commerce and manufacture, and to contend with kings for power.

Among the new things brought back to Europe were: the drum and trumpet, the windmill for grinding grain, oriental rugs and tapestries, sugar, watermelons, apricots, rice, garlic, spices, Arabian horses, damask, Arabic numerals, algebra, hemp, oranges, lemons, alcohol, and better knowledge of medicine, astronomy, geography, chemistry and other sciences.

Marco Polo. Not only did the people get acquainted with these new products, but new interest was aroused at Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Marseilles, and they grew into great seaports. In the meantime, Genghis Khan (died 1227) and his successors extended their empire from Mongolia to the borders of the Balkans. The Mongols were friendly to the Europeans and soon the Europeans found their way to Cathay or China. Marco Polo was a Venetian merchant, whose accounts of his travels marked the greatest advance in geographical knowledge for more than a thousand years.

Missionaries. Frightened lest the Mongols would overrun Central and Western Europe, Pope Innocent

IV and St. Louis of France (Louis IX) conceived the idea of saving Europe by converting the Mongols to Christianity or by making an alliance with them against the Moslems. No one was more strongly of this opinion than St. Francis of Assisi, and accordingly, in 1219, he embarked for Egypt for the purpose of converting Syria and the Holy Land. They acquired an enormous amount of knowledge about the lands of the people of the Near East.

Invention of Printing. The most important contribution of the awakening was the invention of printing. Perhaps, its long delay was due to the fact that they had no suitable material for a printed page until the Arabs introduced paper into Europe from the East about the thirteenth century. John Gutenberg, of Mainz, Germany, first printed the Bible in 1456. Before this took place man did his writing by hand. This invention caused books to become cheaper and they could be printed more rapidly. "Learning, yea, and wisdom also, can now knock at every man's door." Reading spread ideas and ideas stimulated further writing. The middle class now began to share in the intellectual life, which before belonged to the university scholars, the theologians, and the scribes. Editions of Ptolemy's geography and Marco Polo's travels, and the zeal for commerce of the East, had led to a diligent study of geography, and a great improvement in the science of navigation.

New Inventions. The magnetic needle was utilized in the form of the compass to determine the direction of navigators' voyages. The astrolabe, a device for calculating the altitude of the stars, and hence measuring latitude, was perfected in the fifteenth century. Portcharts, which showed the shores of the Mediterranean with wonderful exactness, were in use as early as 1339. With the settings at hand for adventure, new, better

and larger ships were put into use, and seamen were soon to venture out into new routes.

Gunpowder. Gunpowder, a mixture of saltpeter, sulphur and charcoal, was known to the Chinese at an early date. It was probably through the Arabs that the knowledge of this mixture was introduced into Europe about 1300. This was utilized to destroy the castles and incidentally feudalism.

Trade Routes Changed. Traffic on the three main routes over which goods from the East were brought was interfered with when the Turks seized Constantinople, (1453 A.D.) and began to take all of the ports of the East. Trade restrictions, in the form of high tariffs, were levied, privileges were curtailed, and the island possessions of Venice and Genoa were seized by the conquerors. These disasters were felt by all of the Mediterranean merchants, and stimulated a general desire for another way to the East. The Portuguese and Spaniards did not profit by the trade that passed from Italy to Northern Europe. In order to share in this trade, they desired water routes to India.

Since some of the goods, which passed to Europe by the way of the Italian cities, had to be sent on horse and mule back over the passes of the Alps to find a market at good prices in the cities of France and Germany, and since other goods had to be reshipped from these Italian cities by the way of the Atlantic Ocean to Flanders, England, and other countries of the West, it was only natural that a rivalry, stimulated by the profit motive, would exist between Genoa and Venice.

Northmen. Long before these trade routes were closed to Western Europe, the Northmen, as we call them, visited the coasts of North America between the tenth and twelfth centuries. The evidence of these voyages is found in old writings called "Sagas." These vineland sagas all relate that wild wheat and wine

berries were abundant in the country that was discovered by Leif Ericsson in the year 1000. They gradually ceased coming, and all memory of the Western land faded away, except in the mind of a few scholars.

Africans. The question may often arise among students, what did the ancients know about Africa? How did they get their information? A story is told by Herodotus concerning the Phœnicians, who were sent down to the Red Sea to a King of Egypt, the sixth century before Christ. These Phœnicians sowed and reaped crops for two years, finding as they went that they had the sun on their right, a proof that they crossed the Equator. Eventually in the third year, they returned home through the Strait of Gibraltar. Another instance is that some four and a half centuries B.C. the Carthagenians planted trading stations or colonies on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, going as far south as Sierra Leone and possibly traded with the nations on the Gold Coast. Before the Roman Conquest of Carthage, the African coast, west of Cyrene, was settled by Phœnicians. The earliest Phœnician settlement on the coast of Africa, and the greatest, was Carthage. These Phœnicians were the boldest seamen of the ancient world, and the greatest traders. They sailed farther on the seas than any other seamen of their time. Nearly all the early sea ventures and explorations were made in Phœnician ships. These seamen carried the news of the continent of Africa to all foreign ports that they entered for products.

Mohammedans in Africa. With the crescent as a symbol of their God Allah, these long, white, flowing-robed people appeared on the shores of Africa in the seventh century, and with a zeal to convert the native African to their religion, they seized every opportunity available and as a result, millions of the Africans were converted to their faith and much intermixing took

place. Since it was a practice of the Arabs to have more than one wife, and since slavery was the custom in Arabia, it was not long until Negroes were taken back to Arabia either to fill the harem or to do menial work. Those Africans who were not removed were easily converted to the Moorish religion. Of every hundred people in Africa, only three are Christians, thirty-six are Mohammedans, while fifty-eight shrink under the native "religion," which peoples all the air, the woods, and every shadow with evil spirits seeking to bewitch and harm man.

Hyksos and Greeks in Africa. Even before the Mohammedans went to Africa, we find that Homer said that the Ethiopians were the farthest removed of men. It is recorded that Xerxes had black troops in his army. The contact with the Greeks will be better understood if one takes note of Nefertari, the famous Queen of Ashmes and the King of Egypt, who drove the Hyksos from the land. She is reputed to have been a Negress of rare beauty, strong personality and to have possessed an unusual technique for administering the affairs of the state. Later, she was known to be the wife of the God Ammon. Then came the Pharaohs with Mut-em-ua, wife of Thothmes IV, whose son Amen-hotel III had Negro features. Later the Queen of Sheba, regarded as a Negress, and Great Solomon, were the forerunners of the Negro empire that we know as Abyssinia.

Medieval Europe in Africa. Africa was not entirely neglected by traders and explorers of Medieval Europe. As early as the eleventh century, Genoese, Pisanese and Aragonese vessels were carrying on a thriving trade with Tripoli, Ceuta and other North African ports. From these port towns enormously long trade routes stretched southward across the Sahara to the vast Negro empire of the Hansa peoples, cattle

raisers and goat herders, and manufacturers of highly prized, colored textiles. Before the middle of the fifteenth century this Central African region had been visited by Anseleme Disalguier and Antonio Malfante, two French trade-adventurers. Unfortunately, neither was as adept in describing the country as the Asiatic travelers were, and their explorations, therefore, apparently, had little influence upon the wealth and conditions in Africa.

Portuguese. In 1341, the forgotten Canaries, identified by the Italian, Lancelot Malocello, in 1270, were rediscovered by the Portuguese. Before the end of the fourteenth century both the Madeira Islands and the Azores were visited by Europeans. The first attempt to penetrate into Africa, on the pretext to locate the traditional kingdom of "Prester John" whose power and wealth were much exaggerated in the popular imagination, was made by the Portuguese. The most outstanding man was Prince Henry, "The Navigator" (1394-1460), the third son of King John I of Portugal. Without family responsibility or hope of the crown, he could follow the promptings of a scientific and adventurous disposition. In 1419, at Sagres, on Cape St. Vincent, he established a home and sort of maritime college for the double purpose of finding places where there was "a sure and certain hope of profit" and converting the infidel inhabitants thereof to the true faith of the Catholics. Here he assembled the most noted geographers, map makers, and naval architects of the day. Continual improvements were made in the design, construction and rigging of vessels, and fleet after fleet was sent out to explore the waters of the African coast. It was while engaged in campaigns against the hated Moors, first in 1415 and again in 1418, that he learned of the caravan routes extending from Tripoli, Ceuta, and the other Mediterranean towns. South-

ward across the Sahara and the Sudan, over these routes, Moorish prisoners informed him, came gold, wines, textiles, and slaves from the Senegal and Gambia regions, and from the Gold and Ivory Coasts on the Gulf of Guinea. News of the rich trade "inspired him to seek those lands by the way of the sea."

His father, brother, nephew, and great nephew, four generations of kings, supported his work. Year after year, increasing numbers of caravels sailed southward from the neighboring port of Lagos. In 1418, Porto Santo was discovered. In 1434, a Portuguese ship returned from the coast of Africa with a cargo of slaves, at which time slave trading became an important part of Portuguese commerce. In 1441, Cape Blanco was rounded, and in 1443, Gil Eannes, more daring than his predecessors, passed the dreaded Cape Bayador. Two years later Cape Verde was discovered. When adversities—scurvy, tropical diseases, and fear growing out of the ignorance and credulity of the age—seized both captains and sailors, Prince Henry's enthusiasm never flagged. Finally, intrepid mariners, like Muno Tristam, Denie Diaz, and the Venetian Cadamosto pushed southward as far as Sierra Leone. When Prince Henry died in 1460, Portuguese mariners were, therefore, familiar with two thousand miles of the west coast of Africa, instead of six hundred miles at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

In 1447, they reached the "Green Cape" (Cape Verde), farther south than the Sahara Desert, which was supposed to set the bounds of habitable land. From the coast they opened up the trade of the interior of Africa in gold, ivory, and Negro slaves. In 1471, they crossed the Equator without falling into the fabled boiling whirlpools or the goblin clutch of Spain.

Diaz. In 1486, Barthloman Diaz was blown by a heavy wind past the mouth of the Congo River. He

had three small vessels and for thirteen days, without seeing land, he finally landed twenty degrees below the Equator. This was the terminal point on the southernmost coast in Africa. He called it "Cape of Storms;" but upon his return King John said, "Nay, let it rather be called the Cape of Good Hope, for there is much reason to believe that we have now found the ocean route to the Indies."

Vasco Da Gama Reaches India (1498). His voyage to India was a great feat of seamanship. The distance which he traveled was three or four times that to America, and the winds and the currents were more baffling than those with which others had to contend. He reached the great trading port of Calicut, on the western coast of India.

Prince Henry Gomez. This navigator should be mentioned. He made one voyage in 1458 and 1460. He tried coercion and friendliness in dealing with the natives. In 1461, the year after Prince Henry's death, King Alfonzo sent De Cintra on a voyage. His information included Sierra Leone, the Grain, Ivory and Gold Coasts as far as Elmira. Ten years later the Portuguese had gone below the Equator, and the sources of the slave supply were open to the white world.

The Portuguese built the first slave-trading posts on the Gold Coast at Elmira in 1482. The traffic grew larger and larger until it became far more important in money value than other commerce on the Zambezi basin. The Portuguese were supreme in Africa for fully a century until after 1600, when the Dutch took the Portuguese holdings on the Gold Coast and drove them out of West Africa.

Spain—Christopher Columbus. First among the adventurers, who sailed under the flag of Spain, was Christopher Columbus. He was born probably in 1451

near Genoa, Italy. His father was a woolworker and weaver, but the boy early became a navigator. He learned later and read diligently the geographical books of his day. He liked to make maps, work mathematics and study astronomy. In one of his own accounts, he tells about becoming a sailor at the early age of fourteen, and that he followed the sea for forty years. He made several daring adventures on the Mediterranean Sea with a Genoese Captain. He lived for a time on one of the Madeira Islands, where he studied the ocean and later was attracted to go to Lisbon, Portugal. Here, he married into the family of a prominent navigator. The father of his wife was one of Prince Henry's old sea-dogs, the royal governor of the Madeiras.

While in Lisbon, about ten years before his famous voyage, Columbus learned that Toscanelli, a noted Florentine astronomer, announced the possibility of sailing from the West to the East. He wrote to the Italian, asking for instructions, and received in reply a copy of a former letter by the astronomer in which the possibility of the fact in question was asserted, but no instructions for making the journey were given.

He applied to King John II for a ship and men to test his idea, but was refused and branded as a dreamer. He had made voyages to England and along the coast of Africa, and he was unshakable in his idea that there were new lands to be found by sailing boldly out into the Atlantic. In the meantime, the king had sent some of his men to try out the ideas of Columbus, and they reported that they were visionary.

In 1484, he betook himself to Spain, where, for seven years, he urged his plans with little prospect of success. Columbus grew quite desperate and was on his way across the mountains where he stopped at a monastery to get some bread for his son Diego. Here

a monk became interested in his project. The monk wrote the Queen, urging the aid that Columbus sought, in order that Spain might beat the Portuguese in the race to the Indies. His brother, Bartholomeo, had received encouragement from the English King, Henry VII, but the news did not reach Columbus before King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella had consented to aid him by raising $59,000, with the right to govern the new lands and Columbus was to be made an hereditary grandee and admiral of Castile.

Negroes in Spain. Some Negroes had been carried to Spain in the fourteenth century. In the year of 1474, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella communicated by letter to a celebrated Negro, Juan De Vallodolid, who was known in Seville as "Negro Count." "He was nominated to the office of Mayor of the Negroes in Seville." This shows that Negroes were alert and intelligent enough to be placed in charge of offices. These Negroes kept their own native dances and festivities and had their own chiefs, who represented them in the courts of Spain at a very early date.

Columbus Sails. After many years' struggles the Moors were successfully subdued at the battle of Granada (1492). The Spanish rulers could now devote their attention to Columbus' undertaking. In his preparation Martin Pizon, a leading sea captain of Palos, Spain, became Chief Captain, and his two brothers accompanied Columbus on his westward trip. Embarking with less than one hundred men, they set sail August 3, 1492, in the early morning. The three ships, the *Santa Maria,* the *Pinta* and the *Nina,* took out to sea from the port of Palos, sailing first to the Canaries.

Negroes with Columbus. Peter Martyr's decades relate the fact that the captain of the Nina was Alonzo

Pietro. His name appears in the "Libretto," as Pietro Alonzo, il Negro.

After sixty-seven days of sailing, one of the sailors of the Pinta spied a light ahead moving like a torch. The next morning, the ships approached the shores of an island in the Bahama group, and while the sailors expressed great and reverent thanks, Columbus took possession of the land in the name of Spain.

America Discovered. His landing was on Friday morning, October 12, 1492. He did not find large cities, nor were there jewels, spices, silks and drugs, which were reported to exist in the Indies in abundance. Instead of these, he found only rude villages and naked savages. After exploring a part of the interior and some places along the coast, he built Fort Nativity and stationed thirty-seven men there. He returned to Palos in March, 1493. He appeared before Ferdinand and Isabella, and informed them of his great discovery. He had brought back with him several copper-colored natives, whom he called Indians, and also a few strange birds and animals, and some gold. He received the royal honors from his sovereigns. In September, 1493, he fitted out another voyage. It was not hard for him to obtain seventeen ships and a crew of fifteen hundred men. He took horses, cattle, hogs, chickens, fruits, vegetables, seeds and sugar cane and established a Spanish colony on the Island of Hispaniola. This was the first successful European settlement in the New World, because the few left there on the first voyage had perished.

Columbus made two other voyages to America, and in 1498, discovered the mainland of South America. Then he skirted the savage shores of Central America from Nicaragua to Panama with no better success. His misfortunes, as an administrator, equalled his disappointments as an explorer. His vanity, avarice and

despotism invited resentment and plots among his followers.

In the meantime, Vasco Da Gama had reached the harbor of India by the way of Cape of Good Hope, and had brought back to Lisbon treasure sufficient to pay the cost of the voyage sixty times over. The rulers of Spain, hearing of this, turned on Columbus. His queen supporter was old and feeble, and soon she passed away and then two years later, 1504, Columbus, ill, broken in spirit and burdened with wounds of his critics, passed to the great beyond without knowing of the results of his labors.

The Demarkation Line. Portugal, fearing an intrusion of Spain on her territory, asked the Spanish Pope, Alexander VI, in 1493, to lay out the line so that Spain would not bother her discoveries. After much discussion, a line three hundred and seventy leagues (1,500 miles) west of the Cape Verde Islands was agreed upon at a place called Tordesillas, in 1494.

Spain, by this treaty, got all of North America, and Portugal got Brazil.

America Named. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine merchant, who had helped to fit out Columbus' expedition, made a voyage of discovery in 1501 with Hojeda, while in the service of the King of Portugal. He struck the coast of Brazil, and then the ice-clad Island of Georgia. From there, he traveled four thousand miles to Africa. He wrote letters about the New World. A German professor, Waldseemuller, teaching at St. Die, a French college, published some of these letters in 1507. He suggested that the New World be named "America." As things would be, this appeared before Columbus' journal was published in Latin.

Explorers of the New World. King Henry VII of England did not recognize the agreement between

Spain and Portugal, and in 1496, granted a patent to John Cabot, who explored the coast of Newfoundland and the mainland of North America. England used this as a pretext to claim its rights in America. It was not until the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603) that England directed her energies to settle the New World.

The king of Spain built up a large empire in America and became the strongest ruler of Europe. The French, English and Dutch began to fear that the Spanish king might become so powerful that he would extend his rule over their kingdoms.

Spanish Discoverers and Explorers. The reign of Isabella and Ferdinand (Catholic rulers) brought about the foundation of the Spanish Empire across the sea. With the reign of the Catholic king and queen the period of discovery was just in its beginning in America, and the island colonies of the West Indies were in a weak condition. By the end of their reign much improvement and territorial additions had taken place from the Strait of Magellan to Central Mexico. Spain was situated in the proper location (between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean) to learn of the exploration in the Western Hemisphere. Therefore, during the first half of the Sixteenth century, Spain maintained a strict monopoly in regard to maritime exploits. Ferdinand and Isabella were supposed to have been opposed to the slave trade, but as early as 1501, we have the first incidents mentioned of Negroes going to America and there was a declaration that "Negro slaves" born in the power of Christians were to be allowed to pass to the Indies, and the officers of the royal revenue were to receive the money paid for their permits.

"The first Negroes were Christians and personal servants of the masters who had acquired them in

Spain. Soon afterwards, by order of Bishop Las Casas, under the reign of Charles V, he drew up a plan to assist migration to America, and asked in 1517 the right of immigrants to import (12) Negro slaves, in return for which the Indians were to be alleviated." By the close of the second decade of the sixteenth century, no inconsiderable numbers had been brought over, and a perusal of the early accounts of the exploits of the Conquistadors will reveal the fact that the Negroes participated in the exploration and occupation of nearly every important region from New Mexico to Chile.

Balboa, 1513. When Balboa set out for Darien (now Panama) on the tour of exploration which resulted in the discovery of the South Sea at least one Negro, Nuffo de Olano, was numbered in his party. Three years later when the timber for the four boats, with which he extended his exploration of the Pacific Ocean, had been prepared, thirty Negroes were among those who carried them piece by piece over mountains and jungles from Acla to San Miguel. Moreover, when Balboa's successor constructed the first highway from ocean to ocean, he made use of Negro labor along with that of the Indians.

Cortez Conquers Mexico, 1519-1521. In 1519, Hernando Cortez set out from Cuba in search of a country to the west that was reported to be rich in precious metals. That country was Mexico. Cortez invaded it with more than five hundred Spaniards and Negroes, and nearly three hundred Indians. The party had sixteen horses, and rice and wheat. The Negro servants planted these grains, and it is believed that this was the beginning of raising wheat in America.

Magellan Sails Around the Globe, 1519-1522. Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese navigator, sailed from Spain in 1519, with five ships and a crew of two

hundred and thirty-seven men of "many nationalities and varying degrees of rascality." Losing a ship at the extreme south end of South America, he named the place "Strait of Magellan." The placid waters caused them to call it the "Pacific Ocean." For a hundred days, he sailed westward across the ocean. Hunger grew to starvation, thirst to madness. When their moldy, maggoty biscuits were consumed, the sailors ate rats, sawdust, and even the leather of the ship's rigging. When they landed on the Philippine Islands, Magellan was killed in a fight with the natives, and one ship was abandoned with only eighteen men left. They landed at the port from which they started after three years of troublesome time. This was the first time that man circumnavigated the globe.

Ponce de Leon, 1513. One of the adventurers was Ponce de Leon, who was the first Spanish governor of Puerto Rico, and became very rich by robbing and oppressing the natives of the island. Looking for a fountain of youth, he landed near the site called St. Augustine, Florida, on the day after Easter (Pascua Florida). This discovery gave to the Spanish King the excuse to claim all of the country north of the Gulf of Mexico.

Negroes with Other Explorers. Negroes assisted in the exploration of Guatemala and the conquest of Chile, Peru, and Venezuela. Negroes accompanied Dayllon in 1526 in his expedition from Florida Peninsula northward, and figured in the establishment of the settlement of Jan Miquel, near what is now Jamestown, Virginia. They accompanied Narvaez on his ill-fated expedition in 1527, and continued with Cabeva de Vaca, his successor, through what is now the southwestern part of the United States. They were with Alarcon and Coronado in the Conquest of New Mexico. By 1540, a Negro in Quivira, Mexico, had attained the

Catholic priesthood. At Guamanga, in 1542, Negroes constituted a brotherhood of True Cross of Spaniards. Negroes were ordered to be imported by De Soto, the explorer who discovered the Mississippi, in 1541.

Estèvan—Little Stephen. To be one of four survivors of six hundred men who had left Spain (June, 1527) after one of the most incompetent managements had just about come to an end, was the lot of Little Stephen (Estèvan), a Negro of whom they told things which were narrated in the *Journal of Cabeva de Vaca.* Two of them, Dorantes and Estevanio, were captured, and for a considerable length of time all four were forced to stay among the Indians. They became well known for administering to the sick, and great throngs followed them from place to place, showing them by gifts that their presence and service were appreciated. To him (Estèvan) belongs the credit of the discovery of the Zuni Indians and New Mexico.

The news of his discovery was to be disclosed by sending back wooden crosses. If the news was only of fair importance, he was to send back a cross the size of the palm of his hand; if the news was better, the cross might be larger. Four days later, an Indian came into camp with a cross as tall as a man. With him was another Indian, who told the friar of seven larger cities with houses of stone and lime, and some of them four stories in height. Instead of awaiting the coming of his chief at the appointed distance, Estevanio pushed on to the wonderful city, where he was murdered immediately. These people had traveled more than four thousand miles, crossing desert plains, and climbing rugged mountains, and following deep canyons—always looking westward. They had seen the mouth of the Mississippi where it pours its flood of waters into the Gulf; they had been the first white men to land on the shores of Texas; and the first to

traverse the great plains of the Southwest. They have been called the first pathfinders across the North American continent. Estevanio was the first European to discover New Mexico and Arizona.

Negroes in the New World. As early as 1528, there were about 10,000 Negroes in the New World. We hear of one sent as an agent of the Spanish to burn a native village in Hondurus. In 1539, they accompanied De Soto, and one of them stayed among the Indians in Alabama and became the first settler from the Old World. In 1555, in Santiago de Chile, a free Negro owned land in the town. Menendez had a company of trained Negro artisans and agriculturists when he founded St. Augustine in 1565. In 1570, Negroes founded the town of Santiago del Principe.

Negroes with French. The first explorer to sail under the French flag for the New World was Verrazano, a native of Florence, Italy. He sailed along the shore of North Carolina to Nova Scotia. Ten years later, Francis I, the King of France, sent out Jacques Cartier with two small ships and a crew of thirty-six men. He returned home. In 1562, Jean Ribaut came to explore the coast of Florida and to find a place for the French Huguenots. Later, a place was established at Port Royal, South Carolina, but the men were seeking gold, and, consequently, were not prepared for the winter. Subsequently, a place at Jacksonville, Florida, was settled, but the Spanish annihilated them. In 1608, a Jesuit missionary, Champlain, founded Quebec, Canada, the first permanent French settlement in America. They finally found their way down the Mississippi River and came in conflict with the Spanish. Negroes appeared with the Jesuits in Canada and the Mississippi Valley. In 1673, Marquette and Joliet, descended the Fox River and came south to Arkansas.

Negroes and the English. Portugal and Spain,

having demonstrated that Negro slave trade was profitable, caused England to become interested to engage in the traffic; and, as early as 1530, William Hawkins, a merchant of Plymouth, visited the Guinea Coast and took away a few slaves. England really entered the field, however, with the voyage in 1562 of Captain John Hawkins, son of William, who, in October of this year, also went to the Guinea Coast. He had a fleet of three ships, one hundred men, and partly by the sword and partly by other means, he took three hundred or more Negroes to San Domingo and sold them very profitably. He was richly laden going homeward, and some of his stores were seized by Spanish vessels.

Hawkins made two other voyages, one in 1564, and another with Sir Francis Drake in 1567. On his second voyage, he had four armed ships, the largest being the "Jesus," a vessel of seven hundred tons, and a force of one hundred and seventy men. In the latter part of 1564 and early part of 1565, he spent a great amount of time in picking up freight, and because of sickness and fights with the Negroes he lost many of his men. Later, January, 1565, he set out for the West Indies, arriving there in March. He sold his cargo and returned home with goods from the islands. The third voyage was made with five ships, the "Jesus," "Judith," "Menion," "Golden Hind," and one other. He got together over five hundred Negroes and such raw material as molasses. They could secure a slave in Africa for about one hundred or one hundred and twenty gallons of rum, valued at about fifty or sixty dollars. They could sell them in the West Indies for one hundred to two hundred dollars worth of molasses. Then molasses was sometimes brought to American ports in the North, and then made into rum which was finally taken to England. Newport, Rhode Island, had as

many as twenty-one distilleries to take care of the trade.

It is singular that in all Hawkins and Drake did—freebooting, robbing, stealing, and even murdering—they had no sense of cruelty or wrong. They held religious services in the mornings and evenings, and in the spirit of the Puritans they enjoined upon their men to "serve God daily, love one another, preserve their victuals, beware of fire, and keep good company." Queen Elizabeth recognized the achievement of these men as noteworthy, for after Hawkins concluded his second voyage she made him a knight, giving him for a crest the device of a Negro's head and bust with the arms securely bound.

It is interesting to note that Elizabeth, herself, went down the Thames and knighted Francis Drake on the quarterdeck of his vessel.

Negro Slave Trade Expands. France joined in the slave trade in 1624. The Portuguese remained strong in the slave trade until it was broken by the Dutch in 1637. Holland, Denmark, and the American colonies followed in the order named. England assumed a commanding position, and the essence of the Navigation Ordinance of 1651 said, "No goods produced in Asia, Africa or America, including the colonies, should be brought into any British port in any but England owned and manned ships, and that no goods should go to any English possessions in any but English Ships."

The English trade began with the granting of rights to special companies; to one in 1618, to another in 1631, and in 1662 to the "Company of Royal Adventurers," rechartered in 1672 as the "Royal African Colony," to which in 1687 was given the exclusive right to trade between the Gold Coast and the British Colonies in America. James, Duke of York, was in-

terested in the Royal African Company, and it agreed to supply the West Indies with three thousand Negroes, annually. When the law was interpreted to mean any vessel carrying a British flag, New England immediately got in the trade. It grew so that in 1726 the three cities, London, Bristol, and Liverpool, alone, had 171 ships engaged in Negro slave traffic.

The Dutch Slave Trade. The Dutch seem to have commenced the slave trade on the American continent. John Rolfe related that the last of August, 1619, there came to Virginia "A Dutch man of Warre that sold us twenty Negars." This was probably one of the ships of the numerous private Dutch trading companies which early entered into and developed the lucrative African slave trade. Through the enterprise of one of these trading companies, the settlement of New Amsterdam was begun in 1614. In 1621, the private trading companies in the West were all merged into the Dutch West India Company, and given a monopoly of American trade. This company was very active, sending in four years 15,430 Negroes to Brazil, carrying on war with Spain, and supplying the English plantations.

The Ordinance of 1651 was a threat of the English at this Dutch trade, while the defeat of the Spanish Armada of 1588 settled the dispute of the English with the Spanish sea power, and gave the English advantage in colonization of America.

A Glimpse at a Slave-Ship. The bringing of Negroes to the Western Hemisphere was called the "Middle Passage." The ships were wooden, poorly lighted, and only the rudiments of sanitation and cleanliness prevailed. One writer says, "So much wretchedness was never condensed in so little room as in the slave ship." The Negroes, to use words of Sir William Dolbin, "were chained to each other hand

and foot, and stowed so close that they were not allowed more than a foot and a half for each in breadth. Thus, crammed together like herrings in a barrel, they contracted putrid and fatal disorders; so that those who came to inspect them in the morning had occasionally to pick dead slaves out of their rows, and to unchain their carcases from the bodies of their wretched fellow-sufferers to whom they had been fastened." Numbers of the sailors employed in the traffic, suffered and perished from the contagion thus created. Owing to this cause, and to the brutal character of some of the captains of slave-ships, more seamen died in that trade in one year than in the two years of remaining trade of England, exclusive of slaves who died before they sailed from Africa. Twelve and one-half per cent were lost during their passage to the West Indies. At Jamaica, four and one-half per cent died while in the harbors or before they were sold, and one-third more in the seasoning. Thus, out of every lot of one hundred slaves shipped from Africa, seventeen died in about nine weeks, and not more than fifty lived to be effective laborers in the West Indies.

A Glimpse of a Slave's First Days in the Western Hemisphere. Sometimes, the Negroes in the West Indies learned to read and write two or three modern languages, and were considered intelligent. In a short time these same trained Negroes were carried in small numbers to the United States. These learned Negroes were discontented with the severe labor, under unfavorable conditions in the United States, so the slave holders concluded it unwise to deal with the West Indies, but to use ignorant natives of Africa, instead.

The slaves in the West Indies were treated more like beasts of burden than like people. They had hard duties assigned to them in order that they might be broken-in. This caused them to become sullen and

bitter, because it was so different from their care-free life in Africa. They were grouped by families in separate quarters. Their food consisted of vegetables that could be raised on small tracts of land assigned to them. Other commodities, such as dried fish, molasses, salt, and rum, were issued to them from plantation commissaries. Their clothing was scanty and usually made of denim or cotton cloth. They worked in fields, cultivating sugar cane, while some worked at various crafts, and some in the making of molasses and rum. A few were domestic servants. The hard life of working with no modern tools except a hoe, caused overworked bodies. Medical care was poor, thereby causing a high death rate. Unfavorable living conditions and dissatisfaction, to the point of uprisings or running away, were not infrequent.

CHAPTER III

SLAVE LIFE DURING THE EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION PERIOD

The Negroes who were brought from Africa to America, were brought here to work, and to work under rules and regulations. However, they were not the first people brought here for this purpose. One finds that the Indians, who were already here, were first used, but due to their acquaintance with the country and their mode of life, they proved to be unsatisfactory and the European settlers turned to others to do their work. The origin of the system, known as servitude or indenture, goes back to the social conditions in England and in other countries of Europe. Here, we find that a social system consisting of three groups had emerged during the Middle Ages: the clergy or ecclesiastical group, the aristocracy and, at the bottom, the peasant or the low class.

The dominating motives back of the early explorers and colonizers were based upon gold, glory and gospel, i. e., they came to get gold, or for the glory of adventure, or to convert the heathen. With these incentives in mind, let us take up each of the thirteen original colonies and see how they treated the Negro as he came to our shores.

Virginia. More than three hundred and thirty years ago, a group of English landed on the soil of the present state of Virginia and began one of the greatest experiments in the field of English colonization. This was the first permanent English settlement in the New World. The first years were hard and trying, filled

with privations, sickness, starvation and experiments in a form of government which was a commercial enterprise, undertaken by private individuals, for the purpose of enlarging the trade of the English Kingdom for a profit to both the settlers and those who invested with them.

The experiences of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh demonstrated to the English people that colonization was too great a task for individuals to attempt alone. Raleigh's settlement was made on Roanoke Island, now a part of North Carolina. Their supply ship did not visit the place again; the colony had disappeared.

Queen Elizabeth, seventy years old, was senile with age and bad temper. Her face was drawn and wrinkled. For days she lay upon the floor, propped up with a pillow, held a sword by her side, sucked her fingers and fought imagined spirits. She passed away in 1603. At this time the population of England consisted of a host of poor people, a growing compact class of wealthy landowners and capitalists and the remnants of a declining social order of ancient nobility.

James Stuart, King of Scotland, a relative of Queen Elizabeth, after thirty-two days royal journey to London, was crowned king. James was a sallow, bumpy-faced, awkward man. He believed, ardently, in the divine right of kings and made many ludicrous statements on the subject. For example, he said: "Kings are not only God's Lieutenants upon earth and sit on God's throne, but even by God, himself, are called Gods." He declared that the Puritans had republican tendencies and traitorous designs. He declared at a conference: "If this be all they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse."

When the parchment charter of the London Company, with its dangling seals came to James for his approval, he signed "James R." on it with a great flourish, and was pleased. The company received an enormous grant of land—all of Virginia and more, in fact everything westward to the edge of "the South Sea—or Pacific Ocean."

In the latter part of December, 1606, the London Company set sail from London in three ships—"The Goodspeed (Godspeed), the Discovery (Discoverer), and the Sarah Constant (or Susan Constant)." Captain Newport, a sailor of experience, was the sea commander of the expedition. Newport News bears his name. On April 26, 1607, the three ships entered Hampton Roads. Fifteen men of the one hundred and twenty died on the trip. The survivors landed, built a store house, a church, and a number of log huts for homes. Due to the opinion of some of the men on the voyage, Captain John Smith had been accused of fault-finding and causing dissension. Therefore, he was fastened by a chain to one of the beams in the hold. A sea voyage was a trial of endurance that only the brawniest people could stand. The ships at that time, with few exceptions, consisted simply of a hold covered over by a deck. The hold was partly filled with sand ballast to keep the ship steady. The sand made a floor, and on this ballast a fireplace was built, the chimney of which ran up through the deck. Around the fireplace was a clutter of pots and pans. The passengers did their own cooking, such as it was, and the place was continuously filled with smoke. The hold was merely a large room, as long and as wide as the ship. It was as dark as pitch, except for a few swinging lanterns. The food was bad. Fruit and vegetables could not be kept, so the standard diet was moldy bread, alive with weevils,

and salt meat which was always maggoty and sometimes rotten.

Captain John Smith. When Captain John Smith came to Virginia, he had had many experiences in war, adventure and privations, and was soon made the leader. His policy was, if you did not work you could not eat. The story about Pocahontas is probably a mere yarn, a piece of fiction invented long after Smith departed from Virginia. John Rolfe did marry Pocahontas, and they had some children but this took place long after Captain John Smith was dead.

Indenture and Servitude. John Rolfe, husband of Pocahontas, experimented with tobacco as early as 1612. Tobacco had been known in England a long time. It came from the Spanish colonies. Englishmen, even in Virginia, refused to smoke the native product. Indian tobacco was bitter. Rolfe grew better tobacco and practiced a method of curing it which made it acceptable to Englishmen.

About the year 1620, tobacco growing was becoming an important industry in Virginia. It was the only ready money crop. As a result of over-production, the price fell, and the Virginia tobacco growers got into debt to merchants of London. As the years passed, the indebtedness was handed down from generation to generation, and was one of the causes of discontent that led to the American Revolution.

The discontented Englishmen demanded new ways of handling things in the colonies. Rolfe, therefore, sent stern overseers and help from England. Hundreds were too poor to pay for their transportation, and, accordingly, sold themselves into servitude for a number of years to pay for their transfer. Other hundreds were brought hither by involuntary means. Political offenders, vagrants, and criminals were thus sent to the colonies. Especially, boys and girls were

kidnapped in the streets of London and "spirited" away. Indentured servants were purchased by the planters in the colonies, either from kidnappers or from the Government, the terms of servitude being generally five or seven years. In the laws made for the regulation of their conduct, may be found the germ of all slave codes of the colonies. By having the status of apprentice, the servant could sue in court, and was even allowed "Freedom dues" at the expiration of his term. He could not vote, could not bear arms, and, of course, he could not hold office. So, the tobacco plant unfolding its broad leaves in the moist air and hot sun of Virginia, gave a direction to economy that was large with fate.

Negroes in Virginia. The Dutch commenced the slave-trade in the American colonies. John Rolfe stated that near the last part of August, 1619, there came to Virginia, "a Dutch man of Warre who sold us twenty Negars." One writer said that, with the landing of these Negroes, "we pick up the first end of the black thread which has run through our destiny." The Negroes must have proven to be good servants, because, though it was six years after the first Negroes were brought to the colonies, there were only twenty-three Negroes in Virginia. In 1639, there were three hundred; in 1683, three thousand; in 1708, 12,000; in 1715, 23,000; in 1756, 120,156; and in 1774, 200,000. In 1715, there were, in all the colonies, about 58,850. These represented a little over 14 per cent of the total population. When the census was taken in 1790, there were 293,427 Negroes in Virginia.

Status of the Negro. As the first slaves were taken by pirates, the right of ownership could not legally be given to those who purchased them. Hence, Negro slavery by custom preceded slavery by statute. Little by little the whites drifted into the sterner system.

Negro slavery did not get legal sanction until 1661. At that time, the Negro was held to the permanent service of his master, "incapable of making satisfaction for the time lost in running away, by addition of time." In 1662, a Negro mother's child was to take the status of the mother. This meant that regardless of the racial identity of the father, the child was a slave. In 1705, there was a law enacted in Virginia that a slave might be inventoried as real estate. This last act paved the way for slave families to be separated. Slave codes, permits and strict rules of movement had to be enforced, because the value of a slave as property had increased and to lose one meant a great loss to the owner.

The records show that four years after the first Negroes landed, they became church members of the white church. For thirty years (1649), there were free Negroes in the colony. Anthony Johnson, a Negro, was accused of holding a Negro as an indenture slave "longer than he should or ought." Johnson claimed that he had a right to his servant for life, and proved it by winning a counter suit against a white man in the case. This occurrence confirms, beyond a doubt, that life servitude was practiced in the colony legally. A free Negro was given a gun or tools, and, perhaps, fifty acres of land. He took his place in the colony. As his color and previous conditions in life were always apparent, it became easy for the customs and laws of the time to evolve conditions which made it difficult for him to be absorbed into the political body.

Plantation Life. Snatched away from hundreds of years of carefree habits; cowed and huddled in squalor on a slave ship; detached from all previous traditions and customs; forced against his will into a strait jacket of action with rules and regulations; spoken to and ordered in a strange tongue which was

backed up by an unwillingness to teach, but a willingness to drive—these things and conditions most assuredly would have something to do with the actions and thoughts of the Negro. They would make him a drab, droneful and listless person.

Planted in a log cabin, two rooms or more, poorly furnished, with bad lights, and held to a routine with other slaves, he had nothing else to do but work and obey. These cabins were not far from the mansion of the master. It was in this relationship that one finds the sympathy and love for master and servant take form. In many cases the opposite was true. In a certain sense, this life not only gave the Negro a security, but also a kind of education. In it, he learned the basic habits of routine, work, order and the general ways of living in American culture.

When he was sick, he was provided for; when he was old, he was cared for; and, when he was faithful, he was rewarded. All in all, his life was monotonous and stultifying, but out of it came the basic principles upon which he took his place in our civilization.

His food consisted of the products raised on the soil, which were principally vegetables, fruits, fat meat, meal and fowls. His clothing was calico or denim, and his fuel came from the plantation. Because some were treated better than others, jealousy and contempt were prevalent. This has demonstrated that this life on the plantation was only the proving ground for the Negro, and for the life that is good to live now.

Negroes in Massachusetts. Negroes were brought to Massachusetts, from the West Indies, about 1636. *John Winthrop's Journal* speaks of their coming in his time. In 1641, a law was passed, being the first act on the subject of slavery: "There shall never be any bond slavery, villeinage, nor captivity among us, unless it be lawful captives, taken in just wars, and such strang-

ers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us, and these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel requires." One can see that while slavery was sanctioned no person could legally be born a slave in Massachusetts. The early objections to slavery, itself, were directed against its common abuses, harsh treatment of the Negro, and the neglect of his spiritual welfare.

John Eliot, in 1675, spoke out against the selling of Indians into slavery in the West Indies. Cotton Mather was as much concerned as John Eliot, that the Negroes were treated as domestic animals and "that so little care was taken of their precious immortal souls."

The Pilgrims, in 1620, having acquired permission from the London Company to settle in the New World, landed at Plymouth on December 21. Before they went on shore, the men gathered in a cabin of the *Mayflower* and signed a compact binding themselves to obey such laws as would be enacted by the government they were about to set up. The people of the Plymouth colony, therefore, had self-government from the very beginning.

Charles I was more severe than his father James I. When he came to the throne, the non-conformists thought it best to leave; so, in 1628, John Endicott brought about forty colonists to America and settled with them at a place on Massachusetts Bay, which he called Salem. In a few years, there were 21,000 people in the colony. Strict religious rules were followed, and this was the basis for their attitude toward Negro slavery.

Justice Sewell made a strong appeal in his book called *The Selling of Joseph.* This pamphlet was bitterly opposed to slavery. Slave trading was the profitable business of Massachusetts. Anti-slave-trading laws were passed, but they were not legally en-

forced until 1787-1788. The penalty was fifty pounds for every share and two hundred pounds for every ship engaged.

Slavery in New York. The Dutch started slavery in New York. They claimed the territory because Henry Hudson discovered the Hudson River in 1609. They named it New Netherlands, and in 1613, built a trading post on the present site of New York City. These people were interested in fur trading with the Indians. They purchased Manhattan Island for twenty-four dollars.

To get settlers, they started the "Patroon" system, which was the granting of large tracts of land to those who would bring to the colony fifty settlers. The settlers had to rent land from the owners for ten years. This, one can see, was a form of indenture service brought over from Holland.

Negroes were brought to this colony by the Dutch West India Company in 1650. The slaves belonged to the company, although after years of labor under the indenture system, some of the most trustworthy were allowed to have small farms. From the produce which they made on the farms, they furnished returns to the company. Their children, however, continued as slaves. In 1664, the New Netherlands became New York. This change was brought about because it had become an English possession. The biblical prohibition of slavery and the slave-trade, copied from New England codes into the Duke of York's laws, had no practical application and the trade continued to be encouraged on the governor's instructions. In 1709, a duty of three pounds was laid on Negroes from elsewhere than Africa. This was aimed at those who dealt in West India slaves, and was prohibitive. After many other restricted rules, it was definitely settled, in 1785, that the sale of slaves in the state of New York was forbidden.

The chief element of restriction in this colony appears to have been the shrewd business sense of the traders, who never flooded the market, but kept a supply sufficient for the slowly growing demand.

Between 1701 and 1726, just about 2,375 slaves were imported; and, in 1774, the total slave population amounted to 21,149. No restriction was ever placed on New York for participation in the trade outside of the colony; and, in spite of national laws, New York merchants continued to engage in this traffic, even until the time of the Civil War.

Slavery in Maryland. George Calvert, the first Lord of Baltimore, a Catholic nobleman of England, wanted to establish an asylum in America where all Christians might live without being persecuted for their religious belief. In 1634, he became sole owner or proprietor of the asylum. He soon died, and his son, Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, inherited the Charter and sent people to America, who settled in the state and named it Maryland, after King James' wife, Queen Mary.

Virginia claimed the same land, which claim caused much trouble. The Indians, after teaching the colonists many things, also caused them much trouble. Thus, in 1649, the Toleration Act was passed. This prohibited any Christians from being molested. As a result, many persecuted Christians came to Maryland, thus causing the state to prosper.

Negroes in Maryland. Negroes came to Maryland earlier than 1663-64, although the legislature had passed its first enactment on the subject of slavery. It declared: "All Negroes and other slaves within this province, and all Negroes and other slaves to be hereinafter imported into this province, shall serve during life; and all children born of any Negro or other slave shall be slaves as their fathers were, for the term of

their lives." The Negroes were subjected to the aristocratic caste system which had its roots in Europe. It was not until the impulse of the Asiento had been felt in America, that Maryland made any attempt to restrain the trade from which she had long enjoyed a comfortable revenue. Maryland passed an Act in 1717, laying a duty of forty shillings, as a mild restriction measure. The duties were gradually increased until 1783, when all importation of slaves by sea was stopped, and illegally imported Negroes were freed.

The Quakers had emancipated practically all of their slaves by 1788. At one of their monthly meetings, thirteen persons were disciplined for slave-holding, and some who had sold their slaves were required to redeem them and give them their liberty.

Slaves in New Jersey and Delaware. In 1664, when England took New Netherlands from the Dutch, the English king granted the territory, which now comprises the State of New Jersey, to his brother, the Duke of York. The Duke transferred the region to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. They called it New Jersey in Carteret's honor, as he was once governor of the Island of Jersey in the English Channel. They set up a proprietary government, which was quite liberal. Complete religious liberty and a popular assembly were perfected. Later William Penn bought West Jersey; and, in 1682, the Quakers bought East Jersey, thus establishing a Quaker Colony. In 1702, it was made a Royal Colony under New York, but, in 1738, it was separated from New York.

Negroes came to New Jersey as early as 1664 through the efforts of the Dutch. The condition of the Negroes was much better here than it was in most colonies. The attitude of the Quakers shows their opposition to slavery, and as early as 1676, an Act was passed which stated, "All and every person, and persons inhabiting

the said province, shall, as far as in us lies, be free from oppression and slavery." Duties were imposed to prohibit slavery but the prohibition of the importation of slaves was finally achieved in 1786.

Delaware and Slavery. In 1638, the Swedes tried to found a New Sweden in America. The Dutch claimed the territory and forced the settlers (Swedes) to surrender and come under their rule. The Dutch were soon forced to yield to the rule of the English. Charles II, King of England, was induced by William Penn, in 1684, to give Delaware to him in order that he might have a seaport. This was done over the protest of the Calverts. Penn held it as a proprietary colony until the Revolutionary War. The dispute between Penn and Maryland over boundary lines was not settled until 1767, when Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon completed the survey of a boundary line that was accepted, and has been known ever since as the "Mason & Dixon Line." It later became famous as the line separating the Northern states from the slave states.

Negro slavery was prohibited in the original Swedish settlement. The Dutch, however, soon opened up the slave-trade. After the English gained control, legislation was passed in 1775, in which they tried to prohibit the importation of slaves, but the Governor vetoed the bill. Finally, in 1776, by the Constitution, and in 1787 by statutory law, importation and exportation of slaves were both prohibited.

Slavery in Pennsylvania. William Penn was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, a sea-fighter of distinction. Young Penn attended Oxford University, where he met a Quaker minister who converted him. He stuck to his faith over the protest of his father and his friends. In the course of time his father died.

The Crown owed him sixteen thousand pounds, money which he had advanced the king. The king could not pay this debt, so young Penn, being dissatisfied with the way in which the Quakers were treated in America, accepted land west of Delaware in payment of the debt. The king wrote the name "Penn" before the word "sylvania," and the land was known thereafter as Pennsylvania in honor of Penn's father. Penn came over to America in 1682 with one hundred settlers, all of whom were Quakers. He purchased land from the Indians, whom he treated well, and, as a result the Quakers lived at peace with them for years.

The system of slavery was opposed by the Quakers from the first. An early act on the subject was largely restrictive. The first historical mention of slavery in Pennsylvania was in 1688, when a memorial against the system was drawn up by Francis Daniel Pastorius, for the Germantown Quakers. In 1700, the legislature forbade the selling of slaves out of the province without their consent, and the importation of slaves from Carolina was prohibited in 1705 on the ground that it made trouble with the Indians near their home.

Repeated acts of restriction almost stopped the slave-trade. The manumission of Negroes by their friends decreased the number of slaves in the province. The rising spirit of independence enabled the colony, in 1773, to restore the prohibitive duty of twenty pounds and make it perpetual. After the Revolution, unpaid duties on slaves were collected and the slaves registered. In 1780, an "act for the gradual abolition of slavery" was passed. As there was probably at no time before the war more than 11,000 slaves in Pennsylvania, the task thus accomplished was not so difficult as it was in many other states. Slave-trade outside the colony was not prohibited until 1788.

Slavery in Connecticut. Connecticut was founded

by men from Massachusetts, who were dissatisfied with their government. Hearing of fertile land to the west, Reverend Thomas Hooker, in 1636, with his church congregation, settled in Hartford. In 1639, the three towns, Windsor, Wethersfield and Hartford, adopted a constitution. These people were the first ones to draw up a constitution for their colony. It was called the "Fundamental Order of Connecticut." All free men voted at first, but later a property qualification was required for suffrage. No religious qualifications were necessary, but attendance at church was compulsory.

The Pequot Indians, a ferocious tribe, harassed the settlers but by fire and sword they were practically annihilated, and then the colony grew. The laws that were soon passed, were hard on the Indians. Slavery was officially recognized in Connecticut in 1650. The code of laws compiled stated that certain Indians, who incurred the displeasure of the colony, might be made to serve the person injured by them or "be shipped out and exchanged for Negroes." In 1680, the Governor of the colony informed the Board of Trade that "as for blacks, there came sometimes three or four in a year from Barbados and they are usually sold at the rate of twenty-two pounds apiece." These people were looked upon as servants and not slaves. The regulations were mainly to prevent their running away.

In 1774, the further importation of slaves into Connecticut was prohibited, because "the increase of slaves in this colony is injurious to the poor and inconvenient." The law prohibited importation under any pretext, and the penalty for violation of this law was one hundred pounds per slave. In 1788, participation in the trade was forbidden, and the penalty placed was fifty pounds for each slave and five hundred pounds for each ship engaged.

Slavery in Rhode Island. Roger Williams was ex-

pelled from Massachusetts, and, thereby, founded the colony of Rhode Island (1643). Williams, a Separatist, was different from the others. He not only separated from the Church of England, but he also believed in complete religious liberty. He did not care if people were Agnostics, Mohammedans, Jews or Pagans.

Anne Hutchinson, teaching a "convent of grace," was tried by the church and convicted. The penalty imposed was to leave the colony. In 1637, she joined Roger Williams. Soon afterwards, many people came to Providence, and Rhode Island was established and flourishing.

Negro slavery, as well as any other slavery, was prohibited by a law in 1652. After serving ten years, in 1708, a slave-trade was indirectly legalized by being taxed. In the course of time, Rhode Island became the greatest slave-trader in the country, becoming a sort of clearing house for the other colonies.

Newport had, by far, the greatest share in Negro traffic of any place in the United States. This trade in human species was, in one period, the wheel of commerce in Newport, on which every other movement in business chiefly depended. That town was built up, and flourished in time past, at the expense of the blood, the liberty and happiness of poor Africans. The inhabitants lived on this traffic, and by it secured most of their wealth and riches.

Reaction, however, finally set in, and, in 1787, an act was passed imposing a penalty of one thousand pounds for every vessel engaged in the slave-trade.

Slavery in New Hampshire. Immigrants from England first settled in New Hampshire in 1623. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason were granted the charter. When it was divided, Mason took

the part known as New Hampshire, while Gorges took the part known as Maine.

The colony, following the lead of Massachusetts, discouraged slavery from the beginning. There were so few Negroes in the colony that their presence was negligible. However, in 1714, a law was passed to regulate the conduct of slaves, and, in 1718, another was passed to regulate the conduct of masters. Importation of slaves was never prohibited by law, but was eventually declared contrary to the constitution in 1784.

Slavery in North Carolina—1663. Eight of the friends of the king, Charles II, who helped him to get his throne back, were, in 1663, granted the country south of Virginia. In the grant, the territory was called Carolina, and extended to the Pacific Ocean to the west and as far south as Florida.

John Locke, an English philosopher, was asked to write the constitution, which was called the "Grand Model." It provided for distinct classes of people, such as nobles, great landowners, and "Leetmen." The last ones named were the laborers.

The northern part was settled in 1653 by pioneers from Virginia on Albemarle Sound. In 1670, settlers from England landed on the Ashley River, which place was known as Charlestown. Quarrels between these two groups, caused King George I to separate them in 1729. They were known thereafter as North Carolina and South Carolina.

Negro slaves were not so plentiful in the early days, due to friction between North Carolina and South Carolina. Later, the slave-trade was increased. An effort to regulate it was declared in 1786, as follows: "The importation of slaves into this state is productive of evil consequences and highly impolite," and a prohibitive duty was laid on them.

Slavery in South Carolina. As rice, indigo and tobacco were the main crops in this colony, and marshy land was coupled with hot weather, the presence of the Negro was deemed a necessary as well as an evil institution. Negroes were imported from Barbados. The status of the Negro in South Carolina was officially stated in 1682.

Twelve-thousand Negroes were in this colony by 1720, while the whites numbered only 9,000. By 1698, such was the fear inspired by the presence of so large a number of Negroes that a special act was passed to encourage the immigration of white people. Legislation for the better handling of slaves was passed in 1690, and, in 1712, the first regular slave law was enacted. The colonists pleaded with the king by saying, "we must, therefore, beg leave to inform your majesty, that, amidst our perilous circumstances, we are subject to many intestine dangers from the great number of Negroes that are now among us, who amount to at least twenty-two thousand persons, and are three to one of your Majesty's white subjects in this province."

Insurrection against the colonists had been attempted. In 1740, an insurrection under a slave, Cato, at Stono, caused such widespread alarm that a prohibitive duty of one hundred pounds was immediately laid. The Negroes from Barbados were already broken-in, and had, on many occasions, attempted insurrection before coming to America. The Revolutionary War was damaging to slave property. The British, by plunder, murder and enticing them to run away, had caused a loss of twenty-five thousand Negroes.

The importing of slaves improved after the Revolutionary War, but an act was passed in 1787, stating that the slave-trade was totally prohibited.

Slavery in Georgia. James Edward Oglethorpe was the head of the Royal African Company, the great

slave-catching and slave-trading English corporation of the day. Virginia had been settled one hundred and twenty-six years before Oglethorpe made his settlement at Savannah in 1733.

In his young manhood, Oglethorpe was a dashing, fearless adventurer and fighter. He fought with the Duke of Marlborough in a war in Flanders, France. After much experience he turned out to be a humanitarian. That sounds astonishing, the head of the Great English slave-trading company being interested in the sorrows of people. But, let us keep in mind the fact that Negroes were classed as the lowest order of beings, and, besides, the slave-trader was convinced that he was doing a moral service in bringing Negroes to civilization and Christianity.

In England, at that time, a debtor who owed a little could be put in prison by his creditors and kept for life if he did not pay. Oglethorpe saw this injustice, and, being moved by the fate of these wretched people, thought of a plan for settling them in America. The poor debtors—he paid their passage—began to come in 1732. Slavery in the colony was forbidden. This edict came from the principal slave-trader in the English world. There, also, was to be no traffic in rum.

Both of these laws against slavery and rum respectively broke down. Slaves were hired for life from South Carolina, and rum was consumed in large quantities. The colony grew slowly. There were only about six thousand whites in Georgia in 1760.

In 1753, Oglethorpe was sixty-seven years of age, world-weary and no longer in his shining armor, although he lived almost a century. At sixty-seven he was tired of Georgia Colony's whining and complaining, and he decided to give it up. He surrendered his

charter and Georgia changed from a proprietary colony to a crown colony.

Negroes were finally brought in with the acquiescence of the trustees in 1749. In 1755, the legislature passed an act to regulate the conduct of slaves and, in 1765, a more regular slave code was adopted. It is interesting to note the attitude of the colonists toward Negroes coming to Georgia. Their English agents said they insisted that "in spite of all endeavors to disguise this point, it is clear as light, itself, that Negroes are as essentially necessary to the cultivation of Georgia, as axes, hoes, or any other utensil of agriculture." They were so persistent in their desires that slavery was permitted down to the time of the Revolution.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEGRO DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD—1733-1783

In 1733, the thirteen English colonies had possession of the Atlantic Coastal land, from Maine to Georgia. In this section, territory did not extend westward over one hundred miles. Much progress had been made since the settlers arrived at Jamestown. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the population had grown until there were over a million people in the colonies. They had subdued the pangs of hunger, quieted the Indians, built substantial homes, established churches, and worked out a temporary plan for making a living.

Geographical Divisions. Three groups of colonies had emerged, a fact which was due to geographical conditions—climate and soil. They were, (1) the New England colonies, (2) the Middle colonies, (3) the Southern colonies. These groups were unlike in many respects. The differences in climate and fertility of the soil brought about different methods of making a living and different ways of life. Another reason for their lack of similarity is the fact that the sections had been settled by groups with different religious beliefs, and by people from different parts of Europe. The farm, the forest, and the sea furnished the means of support for the great majority of the colonists. In New England, where the soil was rocky and the rivers mostly unnavigable, men took to the sea for a living. The forests provided splendid material for ship building, which became one of the chief industries of the section. The inexhaustible fishing banks off the New-

foundland coast attracted thousands of New England sailors every year. In the Middle and Southern colonies, small farms were not lacking, especially in the frontier regions, but large estates and plantations were more common.

Colonial Life. People, at the present time, think of their wants in terms of money. They go to the stores and shops to procure the necessities and luxuries of life, and they call the electrician, plumber, paper hanger or blacksmith for service. We do not provide directly for our wants. Many are unable to fix a curtain, paint a wall, make a box or darn a stocking, but most of our colonial people had to take care of themselves and their families. They clipped, carded, spun and wove the wool for their clothing, and, also, made much of their furniture and tools for farm use. They made their candles of tallow or bayberry, built and painted their barns and homes. The "quality folks" who displayed their costly garments and jewels rode to balls and routs in gilded coaches. One visitor, on the eve of the Revolution, saw "little difference in the manner of the wealthy colonial and a wealthy Briton."

Colonial Commerce and Communication. The social map of the colonies differed from the political map, by showing patches of population separated by long stretches of forests, marsh and waste land. Later, a partial linkage of the settlements was developed. The roads were poor, winding and rough. Most of the rivers were not bridged, and the inns were few and uncomfortable. People could travel only on horseback or by walking. It was late in the eighteenth century that the stage coach was a regular means of transportation. A postal system was organized in 1710, but it took weeks for a letter to travel from the Carolinas to New England in the saddle-bags of the post-riders. The sea rather than the land was the colonial

highway. There was a spirited trade up and down the coast, employing hundreds of schooners, sloops and shallops. The Southern colonies, with their ample crops of tobacco, rice, and indigo; their furs and naval stores found their market in England, and, under strict navigation acts, in other parts of Europe. The New England and Middle colonies, with their fish, lumber, live stock, and wheat, were in competition with the commerce of the Old World, and, consequently, found their best markets in the West Indies which yielded sugar, molasses and rum.

Colonial Currency. Like all pioneers going to a new land the early colonists carried with them plenty of energy and courage, but very little cash. A few shining trinkets, cheap beads, a bit of bright cloth, or a gallon of fire-water, would be enticing enough to make the Indians part with furs of many times the value of the trinkets received. The furs were exchanged for a great variety of manufactured goods that were sent over from the Mother Country. The balance of trade was against the colonies, which means that they owed more money to Europe than their exports were worth. By the middle of the eighteenth century, they were becoming indebted to England at the rate of 200,000 pounds a year. Much of the money in the colonies was Spanish, Portuguese, French or Dutch. When the colonies attempted to print paper, or to establish banks, which issued money on farm mortgages, Parliament stepped in and forbade the practice. To get around this, in Virginia, the clergy was regularly paid in tobacco. In Pennsylvania, wheat certificates were sometimes used for money. The country boys paid their tuition at Harvard College in farm products, and in some states a standard test of commodities was certified for the payment of taxes.

Colonial Education. The idea of educating the people was in the minds of the colonists from the beginning. The first college in America was the "College of Henrico," located in Virginia. It was destroyed by the Indians in 1622. The church took the lead in education for the free whites. In 1642, Massachusetts took note that parents were neglecting the education of their children.

Consequently, the small children were sent to neighbor women or "Dame" schools to learn to read.

In 1635, the Boston Latin School was established, which taught classical languages, especially Latin. Soon, other colleges developed: Harvard College (1636), William and Mary (1693), Yale (1701), Princeton (1746), University of Pennsylvania (1749), King's College, now Columbia University (1756), Brown University (1764), and Dartmouth (1769). In the South pauper schools were established, and indentured white servants, usually, were employed to teach. Many of the wealthy class were sent to England to be educated. Few books, most of them imported, were used. Few newspapers and the Bible, with Catechism, comprised the bulk of their stored knowledge.

Colonial Government. By an old principle in English law, all land in the kingdom, not otherwise granted, belonged to the crown. Under it the king created fiefs at will and gave the grantees authority to establish local governments. When the American continent was added to the English domain, it fell under this rule. Its land became king's lands. It was, therefore, the crown and not Parliament which created the American colonies and gave them their form of government. Having created the colonies, the crown, acting through the Privy Council, provided the rules under which they continued to exist, and supervised them in such ways as were compatible with the char-

ters. The restoration of Charles II to the English throne, 1660, marked the beginning of a real colonial policy in America.

After 1660, rules and regulations were made to control the trade of the colonies. It was in these rules that we find seeds of the American Revolution.

Negroes in the Colonies. The number of Negroes and their station in life in the colonies has been related in Chapter III. Here, we shall look at the contribution of the Negro. The primary reason for the presence of the Negro in America was, of course, his labor. He furnished the original great labor force of the New World, and differed from modern labor only in the wages received, the political and civil rights enjoyed, and the cultural surroundings from which he was taken.

Negroes were the pioneers in the hard physical work. They felled the forests, dug the ditches, built the ships and performed all manner of menial work. This not only gave them employment, but freed the whites to do creative work in all enterprises. One hardly realizes that the mere transporting of Negro slaves stimulated and became the basic service in commerce. Negroes supplied one of the three commodities which led to the Revolution: rum, slaves, naval stores. After the Negroes were located, they were thrown into the production of four great crops: tobacco, sugar, rice, and cotton. Scarcity of tools, wet, soggy land, hot, burning sun, and scarcity of labor put them at the base of the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As a consequence of large-scale production, more of these products were put on the market and, consequently, the influence of the Negro is traced to the inventions of steam, looms, shuttles, the use of steel, the cotton gin, and to all other inventions used to take care of the enormous output.

The Negroes worked as farm hands and present pro-

prietors, as laborers, artisans, inventors, and servants in the home, and without them, America, as we know it, would have been impossible. The only way by which we can prove the importance of the Negro in America's economic development is by recording the rapid growth of the number of Negroes. It is estimated that approximately 25,000 Negroes arrived in America, each year, between 1698 and 1707. After 1713, this number increased to 30,000 annually, and by 1775, there were over 40,000 per year. One estimate is that a million Negroes came in the sixteenth century, three million in the seventeenth, seven million in the eighteenth, and four million in the nineteenth, or fifteen million in all. Certainly ten million came, and this meant that sixty million were killed and stolen in Africa, because of the methods of capture and the horror of the middle passage. This, with the Asiatic trade, cost Africa one hundred million souls. Bancroft places the total slave population of the continental colonies at 59,000 in 1714, 78,000 in 1727, and 293,000 in 1754.

Vessels from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and to a less extent from New Hampshire, were early and largely engaged in the transportation of Negro slaves. Newport, Rhode Island, was the mart for slaves, where they were offered for sale in the North and a point of reshipment of all slaves throughout America. It was slave-trade which made Newport the leading commercial center of the eighteenth century. Connecticut, too, was an important slave-trading center, selling large numbers of horses and other commodities to the West Indies in exchange for slaves, and selling the slaves in other colonies. One could see slaves carried to South Carolina and the vessels return with naval stores for ship-building; or carried to the West Indies by vessels that brought home molasses;

or to other colonies, from which hogsheads were brought home. The molasses was made into rum which was shipped to Africa for more slaves. In 1619, 20,000 pounds of tobacco went from Virginia to England. Just before the Revolutionary war, one hundred million pounds of tobacco, yearly, were being sent, and at the beginning of the twentieth century, eight hundred million pounds were raised in the United States, alone. Sugar, cotton, rice, indigo, all increased in proportion. England consumed 13,000 bales of cotton in 1781; 572,000 in 1820; and 4,000,000 in 1860.

The tremendous increase in crops which formed a large part of modern commerce was primarily due to Negro labor. And what is our estimate of such toil? In an ideal society it would be highly paid work, because of its unpleasantness and necessity; and even today, no matter what we might say of the individual worker of the laboring class, we know that the foundation of America is built on the backs of manual labor.

What the Negro Received. Any statement that told only of the work which the Negro did and did not tell what he received, would present a sad picture for one to remember and, also, one that would not be true. We have by-products which one gets indirectly from any task performed, which are intangible, yet, valuable. Life, for the Negro, was strict and strait-laced in many ways. However, the times were somewhat the same for others. For instance, a white man was fined twenty pounds of tobacco for taking a voyage on the Sabbath. One was forbidden to fire a gun on Sunday. Buying or selling futures, called "forestalling," was strictly prohibited. Swearing was punished by a fine of one shilling for each oath. The prices on all liquors were strictly set forth. Flirting was punishable by whipping in public.

The Negro, coming from a different economy and

cultural pattern, had to unstrip himself of all vestiges of his past patterns and take on the new, whether he liked to do so or not, because at the time these changes were going on with him, he had to be profitable to the owner. The Negro had to be disciplined. This brought on much conflict, but recognizing the cruelties imposed and the hardships endured, he has benefited by being disciplined for the American way of life. Where the Negro has learned the lesson of self-control, and the necessity of respecting the rights of others, he is ready to take his rightful place in American society, because our economy is based upon punctuality, honesty, faithfulness and confidence.

How the Negro Got His Religion. The Negro, in the Revolutionary period, besides acquiring those controls necessary to make him economically profitable, walked, worked and associated with the whites in such intimate relations that the result was a relationship of friendship. The white people, generally, respected a fidelity and loyalty between the Negroes and themselves that was beyond human understanding. The Negroes became proud of their "white folks" and the whites showed unusual regard for "their Negroes." The whites usually took a personal interest in their slaves, who were frequently united in marriage in the big house, and were cared for when they were sick. And when a trusted slave died, his funeral was conducted at the mansion, and his humble shroud was followed to the grave by whites and Negroes, alike. At Christmas and at "laying-by-crop" time all Negroes had a wonderful time. No pains were spared to give them all the joy of which they were capable.

Religion entered deeply into the life of whites and Negroes, alike, on the old plantations. The whites never forgot the religious convictions and persecutions of the old country. It was, and is still, one of the

most effective means of discipline. All people were required to attend church on Sunday, and places were provided in the churches for the Negroes. In most cases, it was in the gallery, and this location has remained throughout the South as the suitable place for Negroes down to the present time. A traveler in the South, during this period, said, "The service was very solemn; and my Puritanic objections to praying from a prayer-book have been wholly removed by this day's experience. The singing was remarkable. The African women all sing well, having naturally soft voices; with the organ, and fully fifty fine voices swelling in harmony with it, the effect was very fine. Is it possible, I ask myself, that these are Negro slaves? Is it possible that this rich voice which leads in such manly tones is their master's? Is it possible that the fair girl who unites, by an accompaniment upon the organ, her praise with theirs, is one of the haughty daughters of the South?"

The Negro had to displace his heathen God of Africa for our God of Christianity. Many mistakes and misgivings have taken place. The Christian religion, which the Negro has accepted in full, was then, and still is, the spear-head which eventually mellowed the hearts of the whites and spread to such an extent that abolition followed.

How the Negro Received an Education. Throughout the colonial period, education and religion were closely identified. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that in the Sabbath schools for Negroes, slaves and free, the pupils not only received religious instructions, but also, except when such attention was forbidden, were taught to read and sometimes to write and cipher. Whatever education the Negroes received was in a large measure made available to them in the Sabbath school, which often was the only means of

education open to the free Negro, as well as to the slave.

Certain clergymen of the Church of England were commissioned to spread the gospel among the heathen of the New World. While this activity was limited to relatively few places, there were real achievements. Elias Neau was reported to have taught fourteen hundred Indians and Negro slaves in New York; and Samuel Thomas, in a ten-year period, brought under instruction one thousand South Carolina Negro slaves, many of whom learned to read the Bible. Some years later, a school for training Negro teachers was opened in Charleston and was put under the direction of Harry and Andrew, two Negroes, who had been trained for the purpose. It was planned to have other slaves "all instructed in religion and capable of reading their Bibles to carry home and diffuse the same knowledge to their fellow slaves." The school had a good attendance. The Quakers did their most effective work among the free Negroes in the towns, since they soon ceased to hold slaves of their own and had little access to the plantations. Outstanding contributions were made by such men as John Woolman and Anthony Benezet, who taught the Negroes and did much toward persuading individual owners to educate and emancipate their slaves.

Negro Folklore and Music. The subjection of the Negro to toil and regulations did not uproot all of his native customs; he brought his folklore and music. They have been retained and refined until they are recognized as a distinct gift to American culture. The "Uncle Remus" stories about "Brer Rabbit" and the "wolf" are only adaptations of native African folk stories of the gazelle and the lion. They are the moral fabric of the Negro's African life.

The Negro's native musical gift is universally recog-

nized. In America this gift early began to express itself in the development of the spirituals. These folk songs tell in music the inner strivings and drives of the suppressed souls of the Negroes. They were sparks of faith, hope and love, flying from the anvil of servitude. They were composed in the days of slavery as expressions of the heartache of drudgery and yet no trace of bitterness or revenge can be found in them. They are the Negro's Christian sentiments beating a way out of the unnatural mode of life.

Revolutionary Clouds. It should not be understood that the Negro was the only disturbing and perplexing problem for the colonists, for there were many causes of discontent among the colonists that eventually led to the Revolution in 1776. From 1661, we find a general unrest caused by several factors, such as: The great expansion of unclaimed wilderness land was alluring to the colonists, and created within them a spirit of adventure and greed. The upper classes were trying to gain control of the life of the colonists for their own personal gain. The less fortunate, the indentured, poor group, were trying to improve their living conditions against the struggle of class supremacy. The rapid increase of wealth among a few made it much harder on the masses who did not have capital to aid them in their attempt to rise in the social scale. Business methods were also formulated at a disadvantage to the poorer classes. All these conditions led to class struggles. Another great issue was the religious life of the colonists. Some of the colonists were wholly concerned in worshipping God and forgot their obligations of loyalty to the mother counry. The Puritans established a government in America that the common law of England did not warrant. Aside from the desire for more land, or the desire for religious tolerance, we might give one other great cause of con-

flict, which was the desire for liberation from the iron band rule of the mother country. This was evident in the inefficiency of English administration; in the constant demands for money in order that the mother country might engage in wars, fighting for commercial supremacy; and in the failure of the home governments to provide sufficient salaries for the royal officials in the colonies.

Indian Troubles. From the very beginning of the colonization on this continent, there has always been evidence of a tendency toward expansion. In the course of time not only had settlements grown up in new spots along the coasts, but pioneers were continually passing to higher reaches or to rivers or plunging boldly through forests. The settlers were determined to secure more land and the Indians opposed such attempts. Some European settlers were determined to hold on to the Indian's land; therefore, there was continuous clashing and many raids by Indians. The greatest of these in New England was King Philip's War, 1675-1676. The Pokanoket Indians had Chief King Philip as their leader. He staged many bloody battles, in which many whites and Indians lost their lives, and many villages were destroyed. Indians were captured and many were sold as slaves in the West Indies. One might ask, "Where were the Negroes when the whites were fighting the Indians?" In the earliest times of fighting, the Negro appears with the whites against the Indians, and sometimes with the Indians against the whites. Throughout the history of the West Indies and Central America, as well as in the United States, we find here and there groups of Negroes fighting. When the Choctaw Indians and the fierce Banbara Negroes threatened the settlers in 1729, Governor Perier armed a band of slaves and sent them against the Indians. He says, "The Negroes executed

their mission with as much promptitude as secrecy." Later, in 1730, the governor sent twenty white men and six Negroes to carry ammunition to the Illinois settlement up the Mississippi River. Perier says, "Fifteen Negroes, in whose hands we had put weapons, performed prodigies of valor. If the blacks did not cost so much, and if their labor was not so necessary to the colony, it would be better to turn them into soldiers and to dismiss those whom we have, who are so bad and so cowardly that they seem to have been manufactured purposely for this colony." This bravery caused the Indians to seek an alliance with the Negroes, and, in 1730, the Natchez Indians and the Chickasaws conspired with the Negroes to revolt.

In 1733, when Governor Bienville returned to power, he had an army consisting of 544 white men and 45 Negroes, the latter with free Negro officers.

Other fragmentary evidence shows that the Negroes fought, as early as 1652, a law in Massachusetts, as to the militia required, which shows that "Negroes, Scotchmen, and Indians" were enrolled in the militia. Negroes often acted as sentinels at meeting-house doors. At other times, slaves ran away and enlisted as soldiers or as sailors; thus, often gaining their liberty.

Second Colonial War. King William III declared war on France, and this struggle lasted in America from 1689-1697. However, in Europe, it ran on for seventy-five years. England, Austria, Holland, Spain, and Sweden were allied against France. In America, there were French and Indian raids against settlers in New York, New Hampshire and Maine. After these raids, the war ended in 1697, with the Peace of Ryswick, by which Port Royal and Acadia were returned to France.

The Third Colonial War. Within five years, 1702,

another war, Queen Anne's War, broke out, which lasted until 1713, and was settled with no gains by the Treaty of Utrecht.

The Fourth Colonial War. King George's War, 1744-1748, was caused by a conflict between Spain and Great Britain. It broadened into the war of the Austrian Succession, in which France entered on the side of Spain. The Treaty of Aix La Chapelle closed the war with neither France nor Great Britain gaining.

The Fifth Colonial War. The French and Indian War was waged from 1756 to 1763. A conflict of interest in Nova Scotia, down the Ohio valley and in the valley of the Mississippi, caused the trouble. At this time George Washington makes his first appearance, going from Virginia to the West. He returned, after looking the situation over, and was soon ordered to go back West with soldiers and build Fort Necessity. Braddock had been sent over to the scene, but was soon outclassed. Washington saved the day. Here is where we get the Albany Plan of Union, 1754. Later, as the war was declared and fought, and England was victorious, Montcalm, commander of the French, and Wolfe, the commander of the English, met on the Plains of Abraham. The English won, and the Articles of Peace were signed at Paris in 1763. England got control of America, and the French were subdued and scattered. America, east of the Mississippi, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean, was in the hands of the English.

The Revolutionary War. The war experiences, which the colonists had passed through, were nothing more than a tempering and training for a greater struggle which was to follow. Great Britain faced a very different body of colonists from those who had confronted her in the early parts of the century. They had grown in number; were strengthened in self-gov-

ernment and in wealth; and they balked at the imposed taxes and the denial of representative government. Benjamin Franklin had used his best talents to get an amicable settlement, but trouble brewed. During the year 1763, the British ministry resolved to adopt a more vigorous policy for colonial control. Under the leadership of Charles Townsend, it was proposed: (1) rigorously to enforce the acts of navigation and trade; (2) to raise a revenue from the colonies by direct and indirect taxation; (3) to use the revenue for the support of a standing army in America.

The colonists were to be taxed to pay the soldiers to be in readiness to raise arms against them, if they resented being taxed.

George Greenville was appointed to see that the rule of the crown in the colonies was in effect. Greenville was displeased with Pitt and drove him out of office. Greenville's first duty was a strict enforcement of the Navigation and Customs laws. Ships were sent to patrol American coasts, and in order to annihilate the trade, duties were made heavy on the chief articles received in New England, in return for her lumber, fish and furs. The second measure for raising revenue was by the Stamp Act, which was a symbol of tyranny and aroused the entire colonial legislators and every colonial agent in London. A Boston town-meeting declared, "There is no room for further delay."

In July, 1764, James Otis published in Boston a paper called, "Rights of British Colonists Asserted and Proved," which aroused the colonists to the point of taking arms. Opposition did not prevent the Stamp Act from passing in 1765. Patrick Henry came forward as an opposer of the act and took his place as a leader in the South, as Otis did in the North. Parties were formed, such as, "Sons of Liberty," to bring about the repeal of the Stamp Act. It was repealed in 1766.

As soon as it was repealed, the minds of the colonists were centered on the taxes Townsend had put on commodities, such as, tea, glass and paper. The colonists were keenly affected by trade restrictions, especially those of Massachusetts, where a shipment of wine made without paying duties on it caused the British to send 1,000 troops to Boston.

The Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770. In 1750, William Brown of Framingham, Massachusetts, advertised three times for "a molatto fellow, about 27 years of age, named Crispus, 6 feet, 2 inches in height and short curl'd hair." This runaway slave was the same Crispus Attucks who in 1770 led a mob on March 5 against the British soldiers in the celebrated "Boston Massacre."

The scene was horrible. The populace advanced to the points of the British bayonets, and the soldiers appeared like statues. The howlings and the violent ringing of bells, still sounding the alarm, increased the confusion and the horrors of those moments. At length, Attucks and twelve of his companions, pressing forward, surrounded the soldiers, striking their muskets with their clubs and cried to the multitude, "Be not afraid, they dare not fire. Why do you hesitate? Why do you not kill them? Why not crush them at once?"

Rushing on, Attucks had lifted his arm against Captain Preston and fell a victim of the mortal fire. Three were killed and five were severely wounded. The cry of bloodshed spread like wildfire. The services for Attucks' burial were held in Faneuil Hall with great honor. His patriotism was the declaration of war; it meant liberty to the oppressed, and opened the way to modern civilization and independence.

Crispus Attucks. The result of Attucks' actions at the Boston Massacre can best be summed up by a

letter written by John Adams: "This was the declaration of war, and it was fulfilled. The world had heard from him, and more, the English-speaking world will never forget the noble daring, the excusable rashness of Attucks in the holy cause of liberty. Eighteen centuries before he was saluted by death and kissed by immortality, another Negro bore the cross of Christ to Calvary for him. When the colonists were struggling wearily under their cross of woe, a Negro came to the front and bore that cross to the victory of glorious martyrdom."

Colonists Fight On. Soon after this affair, the colonists organized Committees of Correspondence. Samuel Adams agitated and put the committees to work in 1772. Soon the tea tax was levied and then, in 1773, the Boston "Tea Party" took place. Here is where the patriots disguised themselves as Indians, went aboard a ship and dumped eighteen thousand pounds of tea in the water. As a result of this action, Great Britain passed a number of intolerable acts: the Boston Port Bill, which closed the port of Boston; the Quebec Act, which provided a new government for the French territory; the Massachusetts Government Act, changing the charter of Massachusetts; the Quartering Act, which allowed the quartering and billing of British soldiers; and an act to punish British offenders in England.

Many British sympathized with the colonists, such as Charles James Fox, Edmond Burke and Thomas Paine, who wrote *Common Sense.* The first Continental Congress met at Philadelphia in September, 1774. However, before this, George Washington journeyed to the State Convention of Virginia which was summoned to meet in Williamsburg on August 1, 1774. He carried with him the Fairfax Resolves, as the recommendations of his country. The seventeenth

resolution of the "Fairfax Resolves" reads: "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this meeting, that during our present difficulties and distress, no slaves ought to be imported into any British colonies on this continent; and we take this opportunity to declare our most earnest wishes to see an entire stop forever to such a wicked, cruel and unnatural trade." The convention came to a unanimous vote that "after the first day of November, next, we will neither ourselves import or purchase any slave or slaves imported by any person, either from Africa, the West Indies or any other place." Patrick Henry and other delegates to the Congress in Philadelphia, in 1774, agreed upon these suggestions that had been submitted by Thomas Jefferson on slavery.

Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775. Not long after the first Continental Congress had adjourned, the British started war. The Continental Congress reconvened and Washington was made Commander-in-Chief of the Continental army. On July 21, 1775, Washington and Charles Lee started out, but on hearing of the news of the Battle of Bunker Hill, Washington asked: "Did the militia fight?" Being told that they did fight, he exclaimed: "Then the liberties of the country are safe."

Negroes at Bunker Hill. One of the most important battles of the war was that of Bunker Hill, which took place June 17, 1775. Negro soldiers were in action and they nobly did their duty. The outstanding soldier of this battle was a Negro, named Peter Salem. He was born a slave in Framingham, Massachusetts, and was held a slave, probably, until he joined the army, whereby, if not before, he became free. Peter Salem was a private in Colonel Nixon's regiment. Major Pitcairn of the British marines suddenly appeared, and led an attack on the Continental army.

The men were startled by his sudden attack, and, during the tense moment, Peter Salem stepped forward, aimed his musket at the Major's bosom and killed him, thus being the first in this battle to open fire on the enemy of the colonies.

Negroes Fought On. At the Battle of Charleston, another distinguished soldier, a private in Colonel Frye's regiment, received honors. Fourteen American officers commended to Congress his bravery.

The relation of the Negro to the Revolutionary War was peculiar. If his services were used by the colonists, they feared that the British would bid for them. At first, the Negroes went into military service. Then, Congress hesitated and ordered that no Negroes be enlisted. Immediately, there appeared the determination of the Negroes to give their services to the side which promised their freedom and decent treatment. Therefore, when Governor Dunmore of Virginia and English generals, such as Cornwallis and Clinton, made a bid for the services of Negroes, coupled with promises of freedom, they got a large number. In a case of Dunmore's, one Negro unit fought against the colonists. The Continental Congress took up the question of Negroes in the army in September, 1775. A committee consisting of Lynch and Lee drafted a letter to Washington. Rutledge of South Carolina moved that Washington be instructed to discharge all Negroes, whether slave or free, from the army, but this motion was defeated. October 8, Washington and other generals, in council of war, agreed unanimously that slaves should be rejected, and a large majority declared that free Negroes should be refused. On October 18, the question came up before the committee consisting of Benjamin Franklin, Washington, certain deputies, governors and others. This council agreed that

Negroes should be rejected and Washington issued orders to this effect, November 12, 1775.

In the meantime, however, Dunmore's proclamation came, and his later success in raising a Negro regiment greatly disturbed Washington. In July, 1776, the British had 200 Negro soldiers on Long Island, and, later, two regiments of Negroes were with the British in North Carolina. The South lost thousands of Negroes through the actions of the British. In Georgia, a corps of fugitives calling themselves the "King of England Soldiers," continued to attack on both sides of the Savannah River, even after the Revolution. Many feared a general insurrection of slaves.

The colonists soon began to change their attitude. Late in 1775, Washington reversed his decision and ordered his recruiting officers to accept free Negroes, who had already served in the army, and laid the matter before the Continental Congress. The committee recommended that these Negroes be re-enlisted, but no others. Various leaders, including John Laurens of South Carolina, tried to make the South accept the proposition. Thus Negroes again were received into the American army, and from that time on, they played important roles.

They afterwards fought desperately in Long Island and at the Battle of Monmouth. Foreign travelers continuously noted the presence of Negroes in the American army.

Less known, however, is the help which the black Republic of Haiti offered to the struggling colonists. In December, 1778, Savannah was captured by the British, and the Americans were in despair until the French fleet appeared on the coast of Georgia in September, 1779. The fleet offered to recapture Savannah. It had 1900 French troops on board, of whom 800 were black Haitian volunteers. Among these volunteers

were Christophe, afterwards King of Haiti, Rigand, André, Lambert and others.

Some idea of the number of Negro soldiers in the Revolutionary War can be had by reference to documents mentioning the action of states. Rhode Island raised a regiment of slaves, and Governor Cooke said it was generally thought that at least three hundred would enlist. Most of the 629 slaves of New Hampshire enlisted, and many of the 15,000 slaves in New York. Connecticut had Negroes in her regiment and also a regiment of colored soldiers. Maryland sought in 1781 to raise 750 troops. It is safe to say that at least 4,000 Negro soldiers were scattered throughout the Continental army.

Despite the opposition, the Negro troops continued to win the confidence and praise of their white officers and fellow soldiers. Gallantly, side by side with the white soldiers, they fought for American independence. From Bunker Hill to Brandywine, from Valley Forge to Monmouth, and during the first three years of the war, Negroes were in ten of the fourteen brigades of the main army.

Negroes Rewarded. Free Negroes enlisted in Virginia, and so many slaves deserted their masters for the army that the state enacted, in 1777, a law providing that no Negro should be enlisted unless he had a certificate of freedom. Later, many Virginia slaves, with the promise of freedom, were sent to the army as substitutes for freedom. To prevent masters from reenslaving them, the state passed an act of emancipation, proclaiming freedom to all who had enlisted and served their term faithfully, and empowered them to sue (*forma pauperis*), should they thereafter be unlawfully held.

A Negro slave of South Carolina rendered such valuable service to Governor Rutledge in the war that his

wife and children were liberated by an Act of Legislature in 1783. Austin Dabney showed such valor in many battles or skirmishes in the South that the people and State of Georgia honored him. The State of Georgia gave him a tract of land, and the United States government gave him a pension. He became a highly respected owner of extensive lands and buildings.

Charles Pinckney of South Carolina said: "Negroes then were, as they still are, as valuable part of our population to the Union as any other equal number of inhabitants. They were, in numerous instances, the pioneers, and, in all, the laborers of our armies. To their hands, we owe the erection of the greatest part of the fortifications raised for the protection of our country; some of which, particularly Fort Moultrie, showed, at that early period of inexperience, and untried valor of our citizens, immortality to American arms; and in the Northern states, numerous bodies of them were enrolled into the army and fought side by side with the whites, the battles of the Revolution."

CHAPTER V

THE NEGRO DURING THE CRITICAL PERIOD—1783-1789

The critical period was the dawn before the day when the greatest instrument of government was ever struck from the mind of man. The Constitution was an outgrowth of the thinking of this period. It would be well for us to relate a few facts which lay at the root of the time when this great government was in the making. On July 15, 1775, George Washington was promoted to the rank of general and made commander-in-chief of the Continental army by the Second Continental Congress.

Henry Knox was a book-seller in Boston. He rose from this humble job to fight for liberty, and became the first secretary of war in our new government. Benedict Arnold was a patriotic soldier who had fought in Canada. In February, the King of England sent over a hired army of Germans from Hesse-Cassel. They cost thirty-five dollars each, and the prince, who furnished them, received $55,000 each year they fought. Thirty thousand were sent over but only about 10,000 actually fought. The rest deserted.

In the colonies there were about 2,500,000 white people and 500,000 Negroes. Of the whites, 1,200,000 were Tories who fought and sympathized with the British. Washington never had over 30,000 men in his army. The Americans never had a navy in the true sense. Therefore, the British could land troops from their navy at any time. Privateering was prevalent and profitable. It was estimated that 30,000 were

engaged in this practice. The soldiers of the Americans received six and two-thirds dollars a month each, which, in 1779, was worth about six cents in buying power. Congress met this deficiency by raising the pay of the officers, and giving grants of Western land to both officers and men. Paper money was issued in large amounts, but prices went sky high and the value of the money became less and less. Violence and hatred were evident on every hand. The Tories' property was seized and confiscated. Washington called them "Abominable Pests of Society." Thousands were driven from their homes and treated as traitors. The French had made loans to the American government and finally came in on our side to fight. France gave us a free gift of $1,500,000 and loaned us $5,200,000.

Robert Morris was appointed financier of the Continental Congress in 1780. He borrowed, juggled, and made bargains to keep the army supplied. Morris' tenure lasted for a while and then Stephen Girard took his place. Girard used forged papers and many other means to keep the treasury in funds and even resorted to smuggling in trade from the West Indies. Later, in 1793, yellow fever broke out in Philadelphia. Out of 44,000 inhabitants, 4,000 died within two months. Most of the doctors and all of the nurses refused to go near the pest houses. The sick were cared for by ignorant Negroes who were forced to do the work. A majority of inhabitants left the place, and the streets, with their shuttered houses, were as silent as cemeteries. Amid the universal gloom, the miserly Girard played a heroic part. He volunteered to serve those who were stricken. He gave up his business affairs, and was at the pest house daily, at all hours, taking care of the sick. He fed them and washed them with his own hands. When they died, he followed

them to their graves and saw that they were decently buried. In the dearth of competent nurses, he trained the Negroes. When he died, he left his money to charity. He left money to establish Girard College, an institution for orphan boys.

A plan of the British was that General John Burgoyne should march his army through the country from Canada to New York, while General Howe was to take Philadelphia—the capital of the American Confederacy. This scheme, however, was ill-timed and fruitless. Burgoyne surrendered on October 17, 1777, to General Gates and this result brought the French into the picture in February, 1778, under the agreement that no peace was to be decided without the knowledge and consent of both parties. However, Gates, becoming jealous of Washington, listened to an Irish adventurer, Thomas Conway, who plotted to displace Washington and put Gates in command. Congress listened, established a Board of War, and put General Gates in the position of general manager of the war, and Washington's superior. This scheme is known as the Conway Cabal. It was soon discredited and Washington was restored to his rightful place and Conway was killed in a duel. Dashing on without bitterness, Washington experienced untold hardships at Valley Forge with 9,000 men half clad, and poorly fed, and mass desertions, until his army dwindled to 2,500 men, while Howe, in Philadelphia, had 20,000 men. Howe's indifference and stupidity caused him to be displaced by Clinton. During the transfer, John André, destined to be executed later as a spy, made his appearance.

The American Revolution was sinking under the weight of worthless money, loose colonial organization, domestic quarrels, lack of supplies, Toryism, treachery and general lack of enthusiasm. While the neighbor-

ing Pennsylvania farmers sold their wheat and beef to the British, Washington, single-handed, kept alive the waning flame of the Revolution by his personality. Then came the French navy defeating the English on the water.

Lafayette. Marquis de Lafayette, a tall, blue-eyed, blond, wealthy, courteous, and well-bred young Frenchman, heard of the American Revolution. When threatened with imprisonment, he ran away in disguise, purchased his own ship and departed for America with a group of companions. He was promised by Silas Deane, our representative in France, a commission in the Revolutionary army. He landed in 1777 off the coast of South Carolina, and was guided by Negroes to the plantation of Major Benjamin Huger. Here in the plantation home, Negroes lighted the candles, prepared his bed, and extended courtesies to him in Southern hospitable fashion. After going to Philadelphia, he was notified that he was not wanted in the army. He then asked to serve as a volunteer and without pay. On July 31, 1777, he was finally commissioned as a general, through the influence of Benjamin Franklin.

Other Aid. Baron de Kalb, after a similar experience, was commissioned a general and fell a hero in the American cause at Camden, South Carolina, on August 16, 1780. Comte D' Estaing was rebuffed and much trouble was brewing, because his intentions and exertions for aiding the Americans were so excessive. Lafayette, however, returned to France and straightened out the matter. After returning to America and showing his courage and patriotism, Lafayette became ragged and in need of money. Congress could not supply it, so he purchased two thousand outfits for his soldiers and himself on his own personal credit.

Later, Congress voted him $200,000 and 23,000 acres of land in Florida.

In Washington's rounds he learned of Benedict Arnold's treacherous activities. Arnold had become jealous of the aid of the French soldiers and began to sell out to the British Tories. John André showed up and with the help of others secured some secrets of the Americans through Benedict Arnold. It was at West Point that Benedict Arnold gave André the secrets of the Americans. On leaving with them, André was caught and returned to the Americans. For this act André was hanged October 2, 1780. Arnold was made a brigadier general in the British army and was paid about six thousand pounds.

The French became active after this and Admiral de Grasse blockaded Yorktown which was besieged by Washington. It was not long until Cornwallis, the British commander at Yorktown, had to surrender, October 19, 1781. However, it was not until September 3, 1783, that the treaty of peace was signed at Paris, France.

Negroes in the Treaty of Paris, 1783. The Negro became an issue in the Treaty of Paris because, during the Revolutionary War, many slaves were promised their freedom, if they would aid the English forces. Some Negroes were made the same offer if they would aid the Continental army. During the conflict many Negro slaves were taken captive by the English forces. The Negro was mentioned in the Treaty of Paris in Article VII, which is as follows: "There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic Majesty and the said states, and between subjects of the one and the citizens of the other, wherefore all hostilities, both sea and land, shall from henceforth cease; all prisoners on both sides be set at liberty; and his Britannic Majesty shall with all convenient

speed, and without causing any destruction or carrying away any Negroes or other property of American inhabitants, withdraw all his arms, garrisons and fleets from the said United States, and from every port, place and harbor within same."

Later, diplomatic relations between the United States and Great Britain were strained, with regard to the great number of Negroes, who had been taken to England from the United States during the Revolutionary War. Jay's Treaty of 1794 was made as a result. The War of 1812 also was affected by this practice of the British. The Somerset Case caused Great Britain to guarantee every man freedom the minute he set foot on British soil. During the Revolutionary War, Lord Dunmore, the deposed governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation of freedom to all Negroes who would fight for the king. Others followed his example and many Negroes took advantage of these offers.

Time of Great Danger. When the American colonies broke their ties with the "Mother Country," England, the problem arose as to how to make the colonies into states with state government. "At the very same time that the state governments were in the process of making a central government, a government for the entire United States was also coming into being." The Articles of Confederation were agreed upon by the Continental Congress, but they had to be ratified by each state. Some of the states were slow to give their consent. On the eleventh of June, 1776, the same day on which the committee for preparing the Declaration of Independence was appointed, Congress resolved that a committee be appointed to prepare and digest the form of a confederation to be entered into by the colonies, and, on the next day, a committee

was accordingly appointed, consisting of a member from each colony.

Articles of the Confederation and the Negroes. The Negro was not mentioned in the Articles of Confederation. However, in Article IV, the following statement is made: "To better secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in the Union, the free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; and the people of each state shall have free ingress, to and from any other state and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively provided, that such restrictions shall not extend as far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any state; to any other state of which the owner is an inhabitant." Some states refused to give their consent to the ratification of the Articles of Confederation until some decision could be reached concerning the land known as the Western territory. Another reason why the Congress of the Confederation did not wish to interfere, was the question of state's rights. Hence it had little to do with slavery.

Ordinance of 1787. "March 1, 1784, the Virginia delegates in Congress, in pursuance of an Act of the General Assembly of the state, passed December 20, 1783, executed a deed of cession to the United States of the Northwest territory claimed by Virginia." On July 11, 1787, a committee, of which Nathan Dane of Massachusetts was chairman, presented an ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States, northwest of the Ohio River. On the 12th a clause forbidding slavery in the territory was added

as an amendment; and on the 13th the bill became a law. Article VI of this bill is as follows: "There shall be neither slavery or involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states, such fugitives may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or services as aforesaid." Aside from (1) the regulation of fugitive slaves, the Congress of 1787 considered (2) the appointment of representation, and (3) the prohibition of slave-trade. Very little attention was given to the third issue. Ellsworth of Connecticut and Gerry of Massachusetts thought it should be decided by the separate states. The South wanted the Negroes counted on a population basis for larger representation in the Congress but not in the apportioning of the Federal taxes. The North objected, and a compromise was made by allowing two senators to each state and apportioning the members of the House of Representatives on the population of each state. This apportionment was arrived at by counting the whole white population and then adding to it three-fifths of the Negro population. This, you see, made the Negro count at a discount by taking five Negroes to make three whites in political strength.

Another compromise was made in providing for the continuance of the slave-trade until 1808, when it should be prohibited, and for more stringent fugitive slave laws to secure slaveholders in the possession of their peculiar property.

During the eighteenth century, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia had forbidden the importation of slaves. In some states

movements were started to emancipate the slaves. In 1793, Congress passed a fugitive slave law which remained in force 57 years. By the terms of this law, a master, or his agent, might recover a slave by taking him before a Federal jury, or a local magistrate, who, without a jury trial, could determine the question of ownership.

Negroes in the Critical Period. When peace came in 1783, there were in the United States some 600,000 Negroes, or about 20 per cent of the total population. As one historian said, "Thomas Jefferson, in the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, included among the grievances against King George, a scathing indictment of his encouragement of 'this execrable commerce.'" Jefferson suppressed the clause, however, out of deference to the feelings of the delegates from South Carolina and Georgia. The economic advantages of slavery in the lower South already outweighed humanitarian consideration, leaving the more noble-minded masters in a state of reluctant acquiescence.

The South wanted a larger number of slaves to meet its labor demands. The North was opposed to such increase, and, out of this conflict, they compromised by not allowing Congress to interfere with slave importation for twenty years. The morality and wisdom of slavery were considerations belonging to the states themselves and the compromise was nothing more or less than a bargain between the sections. The slaves were great in numbers, but voiceless, and they found very few who would lift voices in their behalf toward emancipation or better conditions. The Revolutionary War was more than a war on England. "It was in truth an economic, social and intellectual transformation of prime significance, and opened a new era in human relationship." The Massachusetts Constitu-

tion of 1780 abolished slavery by implications and Pennsylvania, in the same year, made provisions for gradual emancipation. In 1787, the Congress prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory, by the memorable ordinance for government and liberty.

There were Southerners who considered slavery a waste of labor. The growth of trade and increase in the number of free white farmers in Delaware and Maryland lessened the need of slavery. In Virginia, white farmers on farms in the western part, clashed politically with owners of large plantations on the eastern part of the state. Slaves and slavery became a debatable issue. Most of the Virginians encouraged freedom, because of economical reasons. However, Jefferson said, "O I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just: That His justice cannot sleep forever."

The Negro and slavery gave form to the Southern class struggle. It fastened the plantation on the South as the ideal productive system. It helped fix a staple crop of agriculture in the South on a one-crop basis, because little training was required of slaves to manage and work it. The price of land and the price of slaves advanced together. The richer class bought more holdings and this caused the rise of class struggle.

Steps Toward Emancipation. The fight for the emancipation of Negroes was checked after 1783 in most of the new states. In the colonies where only a few Negroes lived, their emancipation came without much opposition and they became citizens of the state, but in the colonies where Negroes were more numerous, there followed such a reaction against the elevation of the race to citizenship, that much of the work proposed to promote their welfare and to provide for the manumission was undone.

Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina

favored the prohibition of slavery from an economic reason. The attitude of these states was somewhat similar to the Germantown protest against slavery made in the year 1688 and followed logically in order with it. This was the first formal action ever taken against the barter in human flesh within the boundaries of the United States.

During the Revolutionary War, the Quakers were forced to suspend their anti-slavery activities, but in 1784 the work was resumed and men of other denominations joined with the Quakers in great numbers. In 1787, the society was formally reorganized as "The Pennsylvania society for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of Negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African race." Benjamin Franklin was elected president of it and there was adopted a constitution which was more and more to serve as a model for similar societies in neighboring states.

In New York, in 1785, the Manumission Society was organized with John Jay as president. The aims of this group were to promote manumission and protection to Negroes who had been manumitted. In 1784, Connecticut and Rhode Island enacted provisions forbidding the further introduction of slavery into the states, and gave freedom to all persons born in those states thereafter. In 1783, Massachusetts' bill of rights said that all men were born free and equal and Massachusetts prohibited slavery. In 1783, New Hampshire incorporated in her constitution an article prohibiting slavery. In 1787, the Constitution of the United States was written when all of this sentiment was being exhibited in behalf of the Negro in the upper part of the United States.

In the South, in North Carolina, which had a large Quaker population, and in which state were small

farms often cultivated by free labor, we find that the pro-slavery feeling was never so strong as in the Southernmost states. In Virginia, all the foremost statesmen, Washington, Jefferson, Lee, Randolph, Henry, Madison and Mason, were opposed to the continuation of slavery, and their opinions were shared by many of the largest plantation owners.

Probably this attitude was due to tobacco culture which did not seem so favorable to slave labor as did that of rice and indigo. However, North Carolina did show her disapproval of slavery extension by putting a duty of 25 pounds (about $125.00) on all Negroes imported after 1786.

New Jersey followed the example of Maryland and Virginia, and Pennsylvania provided in her constitution that no more slaves should be brought in, and that all children of slaves, born after 1780, should be free. New York went farther still. In 1785, this state enacted that all children of slaves thereafter born should not only be free, but should be admitted to vote on the same conditions as applied to other free men. In 1788, Virginia, which contained many free Negroes, enacted that any person convicted of kidnapping or selling into slavery any free person, should suffer death on the gallows. Within two years after the Declaration of Independence, North Carolina discouraged the importation of slaves. Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and New Jersey stopped importation of slaves and removed all restraint upon emancipation. Massachusetts went further and "became in the full sense of the word, a free commonwealth."

Lafayette and the Negro. Lafayette said, "I would never have drawn my sword in the cause of America, could I have conceived that thereby I was founding a land of slavery." We are acquainted with the devotion with which Lafayette supported the

rights of men of color belonging to the French in the colonies, in 1791, in the National Assembly. He demanded and obtained for men of color the permanent decree of the rights of citizens. He conferred with Washington, his former commander-in-chief, with regard to buying an estate on which to place free Negroes as an experiment. Later, in 1824, Congress voted him $200,000 in cash and 23,000 acres of land in Florida, which he soon lost. He set aside 100,000 francs and an estate in the colony of Cayenne to help Negroes. Washington commended Lafayette and said that he showed a noble and generous spirit of humanity, but he thought the emancipation of slaves should be by legislative acts and by degrees; that to set them afloat at once would cause much mischief and inconvenience. Lafayette was in prison in France when the Cayenne project was young, but he wrote, "I hope Madame de Lafayette will take care that the Negroes who cultivate it shall preserve their liberty." The National Convention confiscated all his property and sold both land and Negroes.

Patrick Henry and the Negro. In writing to a Quaker friend in 1775, he said, "That every thinking, honest man rejects it (slavery) in speculation, but how few in practice—would anyone believe that I am master of slaves of my own purchase? I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living without them. I will not, I cannot justify it. However culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my devoir to virtue as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and lament my want to conformity to them."

George Washington on Slavery. A provision in Washington's will reads: "Upon the decease of my wife it is my will that all the slaves which I hold in my own right shall receive their freedom—to emancipate them during her life would, earnestly wished by

me, be attended with such unsuperable difficulties, on account of their inter-mixture of marriage with Dower Negroes as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences from the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor, it not being in my power under the tenure by which the Dower Negroes are held to manumit them —and whereas among these who will receive freedom according to this devise there may be some who from old age, or bodily infirmities and others who on account of their infancy, that will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire that all who come under the first and second descriptions shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or if living are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years. The Negroes thus bound are (by their masters and mistresses) to be taught to read and to write and be brought up to some useful occupation."

At another time, Washington said: "Slavery is neither a crime nor an absurdity. When we propose as our fundamental principle, that liberty is the inalienable right of every man, we do not include madmen or idiots; liberty in their hands would become a scourge. Till the mind of the slaves has become educated to perceive what are the obligations of a state of freedom, and not confound a man's with a treatise the gift would insure its abuse. We might as well be asked to pull down our old warehouses before trade has increased to demand enlarged new ones. Both horses and slaves are bequeathed to us by Europeans, and time alone can change them; an event which, you may believe me, no man desires more heartily than I do. Not only do I pray for it on the score of human

dignity but I can clearly foresee that nothing but the rooting out of slavery can perpetuate the existence of our Union by consolidating it in a common bond of Principle."

John Randolph and the Negro. In his will Randolph wrote: "I give my slaves their freedom, to which my conscience tells me they are justly entitled. It has long been a matter of the deepest regret to me, that the circumstances under which I inherited them, and the obstacles thrown in the way by the laws of the land, have prevented my emancipating them in my life time, which it is my full intention to do, in case I can accomplish it." He died in May, 1833, and by his will, three hundred and eighty-six Negroes were taken to Ohio in Randolph County and Drake County. Thirty thousand dollars was set aside to defray the expenses of traveling to Ohio and for the purchase of lands upon which to settle. The colony soon diminished in number, but a few remaining descendants of those Negroes are still carrying on to this present day.

Benjamin Franklin's Views on Slavery. Franklin first became interested in slavery from a purely economic standpoint. In 1751, he showed that Negro slaves could never compete with free labor in industry. In 1760, we find him serving as trustee for a British friend to convert Negroes on British plantations to Christianity. This society was not interested in freeing them. In 1772, he branded the slave-trade as a "detestable commerce." In a letter to Anthony Benezet he added that he was "glad to hear that the disposition against keeping Negroes grows more general in North America." He also expressed in the same letter a view which Washington likewise held: "I hope in this time it (slavery) will be suppressed by the legislature." It was the Pennsylvania Abolition Society that first made Franklin really aware of the injustice

of slavery. As its president, he began to take a very active interest in abolition. In his "An Address to the Public," he called slavery an "Atrocious debasement of human nature." His last public act was to pen a memorial to Congress for the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, "for promoting the abolition of slavery, and for the relief of those unlawfully held in bondage." The last paper, as far as is known, that Franklin ever wrote, was a parody upon the argument which the Southern legislators had used to defend the institution of slavery.

Negro Awakening. The thirst for liberty and independence had come to the forefront in Central America, South America, and the islands near the United States. The Negro fared somewhat better in these places than he did in the United States, for he shared equally the benefits of the liberty gained. Many of the Negroes who had participated in the troubles in Haiti and Santo Domingo came to the United States and the results of their coming caused much alarm. Many of them later started insurrection in the United States.

Marooned Negroes. In the West Indies, Negroes were used in great numbers and, on the sugar plantations, it was necessary for the overseers to produce the most that they could in order to satisfy the absentee landowners. As a result of faithful and conscientious labor, many Negroes were allowed to own land, hogs and cattle and to buy and sell as others did. This privilege caused the Negroes to get a training which was basic in establishing in their minds the rudiments of democracy and a thirst for freedom which was later used as a basis for insurrections and rebellions. In order to "break in" the Negro, it was necessary to be stern and rigid. A few of the recruits fresh from Africa were scattered among the trained Negroes until they could catch on to the "way of doing things." One

finds that this sudden change worked many hardships and privations upon the Negroes from Africa. They often caught the tropical diseases and died. It was hard to prevent lockjaw, yaws, guinea worms, smallpox, leprosy, hereditary afflictions, venereal diseases and ulcers. The change of food, mode of living and work, together with rum and the lack of medical care, caused the masters much concern to prevent the great loss from death of the slaves. The English people were somewhat more harsh than were the Portuguese, Spanish and French colonists. Much intermixing was prevalent and provisions were made for the offspring to be lifted in culture and mutual respect. Many were manumitted for meritorious service and thereafter had the status of free men.

In Guatemala, in the seventeenth century, a freedman who had accumulated much wealth by raising cattle, sheep, goats and trading in produce, caused much concern to the Spanish people.

Diaguillo. The story is told of a mulatto, Diaguillo, a native of Havana, who because of mistreatment, swam to a Dutch ship near by, told his sad story, was taken in and ultimately became captain of a Dutch vessel under the command of Pie de Palo. He stopped the vessel of Commander Gage, went aboard, and took four thousand pesos' worth of jewelry and pearls and personal belongings.

Francis Williams. Another Negro, Francis Williams of the West Indies, was liberated in 1708. The Duke of Montague had Francis instructed in an elementary school to prepare for Cambridge University. He finished Cambridge and returned to Jamaica about 1748. This experiment proved beyond a doubt that the mentality of Negroes was the same as that of any other race, if they were given a chance. The duke tried to get him a seat in the Jamaica Council but local

prejudice denied him the privilege of serving. However, a Negro detachment to the army was trained and used. Later, Williams opened up a classical school and taught his race. His training and experiences made him restless and many of his race misunderstood him, but the experience proved to all concerned that the Negroes were capable of being educated.

Problems of Tropical America. Thousands of Negroes asserted themselves and escaped to the uninhabited districts. There they gave full expression to their African freedom and the meager training which they had received. Their greatest undertaking was in Brazil. There they united into a forceful group called a Negro Numanti.

Negro Numanti. This undertaking was similar to the Roman problems in ancient times against hostile groups within her borders. It was reported that upwards of twenty thousand were included in this place. Palmaree was the capital and it was surrounded by a wooden wall made from the trunks of trees.

The Zombe was the ruler who had absolute authority. He had a fighting force and brave men and they maintained themselves by savage force. They cleared the land and made their living by agriculture and trade with the Portuguese until seven thousand troops finally conquered them after ferocious fighting.

The Coming Struggle. Before and after the Revolutionary War, Negroes undertook to stir up insurrections to free themselves. As early as 1711, Negroes tried to free themselves in South Carolina. In New York, in 1712 and 1714, insurrections of slaves developed to such an extent that the city was threatened to be burned. A similar action of Negroes was recorded in Virginia when it was rumored that Governor Spotswood had issued an order that all Negroes who had been baptized should be freed. In Savannah,

Georgia, Negroes rose against their masters, but were soon quieted.

Increase of Negroes. It is interesting to note, that as the population of Negroes increased, troubles multiplied. In 1770, there were 697,624 slaves in the thirteen colonies. Of these 3,763 were in New England; 36,323 in the middle colonies, 656,538 in the South. The Northern colonies were not so much interested in Negroes as workers, but trafficked in them for the profit to be gained by selling them farther south.

Negroes' War Record. There were 4,000 Negroes who fought in the Revolutionary War. Washington, while he was suffering at Valley Forge, was induced by General Varnum to enlist a battalion of Negroes in Rhode Island to help fill his dwindling ranks. Connecticut undertook to raise a Negro regiment. New York followed the same example. In 1781, Maryland raised 750 Negroes for the war. Massachusetts wanted a separate battalion. On July 9, 1777, a Negro soldier under the command of Colonel Barton at Newport, captured Major General Prescott of the British army. Bancroft said: "Nor may history omit the record that of the revolutionary patriots who on that day offered their lives for their country more than 700 black men fought side by side with the whites." He was speaking of the Battle of Monmouth, fought on July 23, 1778. Negro troops sacrificed themselves to the last man in defending Colonel Green when he was killed at Points Bridge, New York, on May 14, 1781. South Carolina's legislature, in 1783, gave a brave Negro soldier's wife and family their freedom by special enactment.

Austin Dabney was honored by the State of Georgia. The state legislature gave him a tract of land and the Federal government pensioned him. As a result of these

acts of valor, the Continental Congress prohibited the importation of slaves.

Negroes and Their Friends. On the crest of this wave of patriotic fervor, many friends of the Negroes came to the front. Anti-slavery societies were organized. Among those in America were The New York Manumission Society, of which John Jay and Alexander Hamilton served respectively as president and secretary in 1785. The Pennsylvania Society for the abolition of slavery, with Benjamin Franklin as president, was organized in 1775. Thomas Clarkson, William Wilberforce, Granville Sharp and Zachary Macaulay of England organized a society for the abolition of the slave traffic in 1787. In France, Mirabeau, Lafayette, Condorcet, Jean Pierre and many others organized a society of the friends of the blacks. Vermont, New Hampshire and Massachusetts exterminated slavery by constitutional amendment.

A Negro school was organized in South Carolina in 1744. This was twenty-eight years after the whites had such a school in the same state. Benjamin Fawcett and Samuel Davis were teaching Negroes in Virginia as early as 1695. Hugh Beill and William Sturgeon in Pennsylvania, Elias Neau in New York City, and Anthony Benezet in Philadelphia, also taught Negroes in their respective states.

Somerset Case. In 1772, Lord Mansfield handed down a decision in England which had great effect upon such efforts. He said: "Since slavery was so odious that it could exist in England only by positive law," therefore slavery was impossible in England.

Religious Denominations. Quakers, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Catholics all took a hand in the cause of the Negro. Benjamin Franklin stands as a symbol for the Quakers. John Wesley said that if the Negroes were dull, their stupidity was due to the

inhuman masters who gave them no opportunity for improving their understanding; "for the Africans are in no way remarkable for their stupidity while they remained in their own country." Bishop Francis Asbury was a liberal white of the Methodist Church. He ordained Richard Allen, a Negro deacon, in 1799. Reverend Abraham Marshall (white) of Savannah, Georgia, organized a Baptist Church in Savannah, Georgia, in 1788. However, the first Negro Baptist Church was organized in 1773, at Silver Bluff, across the Savannah River, from Augusta, Georgia, by a Mr. Palmer. Father Augustus Tolton was the first colored priest of the Catholic Church in America. He was ordained in 1781 at Rome. However, the only Negro saint in the Roman Catholic Church is Benedict the Moor (1526-89).

Richard Allen. In 1793, a plague of yellow fever swept the city of Philadelphia. Thirteen years before this, 1780, Richard Allen was born. The Pennsylvania Society for the promotion of the abolition of slavery cautioned the Negroes to behave. Allen was sold in slavery to a farmer near Dover, Delaware. While here, he was converted and his religious fervor converted his master. By cutting wood, working in a brick yard, and serving as a helper in the Revolutionary War, he was able to purchase his freedom. Later, Bishop Asbury permitted him to preach at St. George Methodist Episcopal Church. Attracting many Negroes to the church, Allen, along with Absalom Jones and William White, who were pulled from their knees, while praying, and ordered to the gallery, withdrew and organized the free African Society. This was the beginning of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, April 12, 1787. Daniel Coker was later elected the first bishop, but he resigned and Richard Allen was duly ordained the first bishop of the African

Methodist Church in 1816. Absalom Jones became the first priest of the St. Thomas Episcopal Church.

George Liele. The Baptists had a great leader in the person of George Liele, who, in 1783, became a licensed preacher. He organized a Baptist Church near Savannah, Georgia, in 1788. Andrew Bryan succeeded him as minister of this church, even though he was whipped for preaching to Negroes. Liele went to Jamaica with some British people and carried the gospel to the West Indies in 1784.

Prince Hall, Negro, was born September 12, 1746, at Bridgetown, Barbados, British West Indies, of a mixture of English and French blood. Early, he was appointed as a leather worker. He came to America in 1765 at the age of seventeen, worked in the day time at common labor and studied at night. He soon purchased property, joined the Methodist Church, observed the working of free masonry during the Revolutionary War and applied for his full masonic rights, which were granted September 12, 1784.

Peter Ogden. As an outgrowth of the Masons, the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows was granted a charter from England March 1, 1843, through the efforts of Peter Ogden.

Benjamin Banneker. Strange as it may seem, when a cow kicked over a pail of milk, Molly Welsh was accused of stealing the milk and, consequently, she was sold as an indentured servant. With the money she earned, she purchased two Africans, one of them Banaky, a prince of Africa. She later liberated both of them and married Banaky. Of this marriage four children were born. One of them, Benjamin, was born November 9, 1731. Later he was described as "a large man of noble appearance with venerable hair, wearing a coat of superfine drab broadcloth, black complexion, medium stature, of uncommon soft and gen-

tlemanly manners and of pleasing colloquial powers." He never joined a church but attended meetings of the society of friends. Many Quakers were his neighbors. His father died and left him a farm of one hundred and twenty acres. Benjamin attended a local school. So thoroughly did Banneker master the books that he was soon able to point out errors and discrepancies in them. He was interested in mathematics, astronomy and surveying and invented a striking clock. In 1789, he was a member of the commission which surveyed the Federal territory, now known as the District of Columbia. In 1791, he published an almanac which was issued regularly to 1802. In 1791, Thomas Jefferson received from him a communication in which he said: "Your knowledge of the situation of my brethren is too extensive to need recital, neither shall I presume to prescribe methods by which they may be relieved, otherwise than by recommending to you all others, to wean yourselves from those narrow prejudices, which you have imbibed with respect to them." Another important idea of his was, "A plan of peace —office for the United States," appearing in the Almanac in 1793. He passed away October 9, 1806. This great American will never be forgotten for the contribution he made to the American scene during his life. The example of whites and Negroes living friendly side by side is the best example of American citizenship. Banneker had the mental capacity to think. His white friends, especially George Eliot, had the breadth of soul and the largeness of heart to encourage Banneker to blossom as a lily in the valley.

James Derham. Warriors, farmers, preachers and social leaders in this early period have been written about to prove the worthiness of Negroes in various fields of endeavor. Here we have a Negro doctor. He was born in 1762 at Philadelphia. His employer

allowed him to compound medicine, and to assist him with his patients. Later, he was sold as a slave to Dr. George West, during which time he became more proficient in the medical profession. Later, after the Revolutionary War, he was sold to Dr. Robert Dove, of New Orleans, where he obtained his freedom. He soon had a practice which gave him an income of several thousands of dollars per year. Dr. Benjamin Rush says: "I have conversed with him (Derham) upon most of the current and epidemic diseases of the county—I find him perfectly well acquainted with all of them."

Lemuel Haynes. Lemuel Haynes was a mulatto, born in 1753. Transferred to one David Rose to hide the shame of his mother, he was placed in school, where he was soon noticed for his brilliancy in his studies, taking special interest in the religious subjects. He fought in the Revolutionary War and later was called upon, on Saturday mornings, to read from collections of sermons to sober the minds of his listeners for the Sabbath day worship on the estate.

Phillis Wheatley. The Negro woman had her part in the early beginnings of America as well as did the Negro man. Besides laboring in the fields and homes and doing the washing and ironing, and playing the role of the "black mammy," some did more difficult tasks so well that even George Washington and other prominent early Americans complimented her. Phillis Wheatley's coming to America in 1761, at the age of seven, would make her birthdate about 1754. She came to America from Senegal, Africa, landed in Boston, and her bright eyes attracted Susannah Wheatley, the wife of a tailor, John Wheatley. Mrs. Wheatley's daughter, Mary, taught Phillis to read. At an early age she was composing verses after the manner of Alexander Pope.

In the summer of 1773, at the age of nineteen years, she was in England as the guest of the Countess of Huntingdon. She was neat in appearance and bright in conversation. Her illness caused her to go to England and the illness of Mrs. Wheatley caused her return. In 1773, her *Poems of Various Subjects* was printed for A. Bell, Bookseller, Aldgate, London. A valued possession of hers, "1770 Glasgow folio edition of Paradise Lost," was given her by the Lord Mayor of London. It is now in the library of Harvard University. She married John Peters, after the death of John Wheatley. He did not make her happy, so they separated after the birth of three children. Her pride kept her from appealing to the Wheatley family. She worked in a cheap lodging house. At last, her frail frame weakened under this double burden and she died December 5, 1784.

Paul Cuffe. On the Cuttyhunk, a part of the Elizabeth Islands not far from New Bedford, Massachusetts, Paul Cuffe was born January 17, 1759. His father was an African and his mother an Indian. His father died when he was only sixteen years old. He persuaded his brother to change the family name to Cuffee. It should have been Slocum. He then became a sailor on a Wheatley vessel. After much effort, overcoming many obstacles, he had a sixty-nine-ton vessel, the Ranger, and many more small boats. He used an all-Negro-crew, going with them to points in the South and West Indies, then crossing the Atlantic to England.

In 1783, he raised the question of paying taxes in Massachusetts and not having the right to vote. Later marrying and having children, he built a schoolhouse on his own land. In 1808, he joined the Society of Friends (Quakers). As early as 1788 he had thought of colonization in Sierra Leone, Africa, where the Li-

berian Colony had been founded in 1787. In 1811, January 1, he sailed his brig (the *Traveller*) from West Port for Sierra Leone, arriving without mishap. There he organized a society called, "The Friendly Society of Sierra Leone." Cuffe then sailed for England, where he was cordially received by William Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay. Here he got permission from the Board of Managers of the African Institution to take American Negroes of good character to instruct the Africans in agriculture and the mechanical arts. Later, he made trips and on December, 1816, there was organized in Washington, the "American Society in the Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States." The President was a Southern man, twelve of the seventeen vice-presidents were Southerners and all of the twelve managers were slaveholders.

Prominent Negroes, including James Forten and Richard Allen, protested. This dampened the ardor of the movement. Paul Cuffe died September 9, 1817, leaving an estate of twenty thousand dollars. Reverend Samuel Hopkins of Newport, Rhode Island, aided him in his enterprise and, before his death, about 400 Negroes and 60 whites went to Africa.

Religion and Education of Negroes. The first opportunity of Negroes to learn or become enlightened was through the efforts of clergymen, who became interested in the spreading of the gospel among the heathen of the New World. Among the colonists, the French Jesuit missionaries considered it their duty to lead the few Negroes among them to God. The English feared the influence that the Quakers might have on the Negroes, so that a law was passed in Virginia to prevent them from attending meetings in which the Quakers might interest them. So the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts was organized in London in 1701. The missionaries found that

this unit did work among the Negroes in the English colonies in America.

Separate Schools. A separate school for colored children was established in Boston in 1796, and was held in the house by a reputable colored man named Primus Hall. The teacher was one Elisha Sylvester, whose salary was paid by the parents of the children whom he taught.

In 1700, Anthony Benezet established a school in Georgia, and taught himself without money and without price. He was a Quaker. However, Georgia passed a law in 1770, imposing a fine of twenty pounds for teaching a Negro to read or write.

In 1794, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society established a school for the children of people of color during this brief era of ferment and uncertainty. America was launching the greatest experiment in democratic government that has ever been struck from the mind of man. The Constitution, the supreme law of the land. had been put in operation. We shall see how sectionalism and compromise were used to get it started. In the entire existence of our glorious past, the Negro has been a source of consideration. His presence in America has caused much concern, but without him, our land would not have been as free and forceful and prosperous as it is. Our government would not have been based upon justice and fair play. Our America would not have enjoyed the songs and quaint humor of the Negro. The Negro is ever present. He is loved and discussed from the capitol to the most humble shack in the backwoods. Let us now recount the story of the Negro as we launch our great democratic nation.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEGRO FROM WASHINGTON TO LINCOLN—1789-1860

Foundation of States. As soon as the Declaration of Independence was given to the world, most of the colonies took steps necessary to adopt state constitutions. Virginia was the first. Other states followed, and by the end of the Revolution all of the states, except Connecticut and Rhode Island, which had such liberal charters, used them as framework for their state governments.

The Articles of Confederation. The Continental Congress authorized a committee to draw up a plan for a central government. They drew up the Articles of Confederation, which became the central government during the period from the close of the Revolutionary War until Washington took office in 1789. This was not the first attempt at a centralized governmental project, for in 1643, the New England Confederation, a union of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, was formed for the purpose of protection against the Indians and the Dutch. In 1754, the Albany Plan was attempted by seven colonies. Again in 1765, the Stamp Act Congress was tried as a measure to resist the taxing program of the Mother Country. In 1775, the First Continental Congress met, but refused Galloway's plan of union. Then, in 1776, the Second Continental Congress convened and for six years served the colonies as a framework of union. Maryland refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation, because of the claims of other states to Western

lands. As soon as New York, in 1781, made cession of its western lands, to the general government, Maryland ratified the Articles and they became a basis for the central government.

The Articles of Confederation declared that the government should be a confederacy, or league of friendship, in which each state retained its "Sovereignty, Freedom and Independence." The government was to be responsible to the states. The absence of an executive, a judiciary, centralized taxing machinery and the requirement for a unanimous vote of all states to make decisions rendered it weak and almost helpless.

Seven of the thirteen states owned outside or western lands, and it took several years until all had given up such lands to the general government. All but one had ceded their share of these lands by 1790; Georgia held out until 1802.

Western Land. In 1786, a group of Revolutionary officers, headed by Reverend Manassah Cutler of Ipswich and Boston, Massachusetts, acquired western lands as pay for war services and, in addition, purchased 5,000,000 acres. Virginia and Connecticut held much of their western land for some time. The so-called Western Reserve Lands, in Ohio, were held by Connecticut for a while and a part of them were used to satisfy the claims of those whose property was destroyed by the British raids. The Ordinance of 1787, which was passed by the Second Continental Congress, served as a basis for statehood for all territories.

Other Problems. Opening up the West, securing outlets for products through the Mississippi and the Ohio Rivers, dealing with Spain, France and the Indians caused much concern for the early Americans. Sweden, Russia, France and Holland soon made satisfactory treaties for commerce, but Britain was harder to please. The financial problem was bad, because a

national debt of $45,000,000 was standing, of which $8,000,000 was owed to foreign countries. Many states were still grinding out paper money. Shays' Rebellion in Massachusetts, in 1787, caused some anxiety and aroused the desire for a more perfect union.

Constitutional Convention at Work. The dispute between Virginia and Maryland caused the Annapolis Convention to be called in 1786. No agreement being reached, another convention was called to meet at Philadelphia, May 25, 1787. Out of sixty-five delegates, fifty-five attended and, after the Constitution was agreed upon, only thirty-nine signed it.

The Negro and the Great Compromise. Selfishness and sectional interest caused much confusion. The Virginia Plan suggested more power for the states, and provided that they should have equal representation. Finally, the delegates agreed to have two houses in Congress—the lower house, or House of Representatives, in which the states are represented in proportion to their population, and the upper house or Senate, in which the states are represented equally by two members. To satisfy all states concerned, the Southern states asked that the Negro slaves be counted in determining the number of representatives. It was finally agreed that, in apportioning both representation and direct taxes to the states according to population, only three-fifths of the Negro slaves should be included.

Navigation was a serious problem, and, to settle it, they agreed that Congress should regulate commerce, but should not prohibit the importation of Negro slaves for a period of twenty years. In this agreement one can clearly see that the South got more representation in the lower house because of the Negro, and the North could make more money, because it was engaged in importing Negro slaves, which business would not be

prohibited for twenty years. The Negro was at the center of the great compromise.

Form of Government. The framers of the Constitution felt that some method should be provided whereby the central government should have more authority than it had under the articles. The Constitution says: "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the Supreme Law of the Land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." The essence of this statement seems to convey the idea that the Federal government is only partly sovereign because many powers not mentioned in the Constitution are reserved to the states. The national government consists of legislative, executive, and judicial departments. The problem of electing a president was finally decided by having him elected by electors; each state was to choose as many presidential electors as it had members in Congress—counting both senators and representatives. The other departments, with the executive, act as checks and balances. This is the very essence of representative government in America.

George Washington. Our first president was born on February 22, 1732, at Wakefield on the Potomac, about sixty miles below Mt. Vernon. His parents were known for industry and intelligence. His grandfather served in the Virginia House of Burgesses and, on occasion, fought the Indians. His father died when he was only eleven years old, so his early training was left to his mother and a half-brother, Lawrence Washington. His mother taught him the homely virtues of obedience, honesty, punctuality and loyalty. To her, too, he owed the advantage of being early entrusted with responsibility and taught to square his shoulders

to sustain the load. Lawrence Washington afforded opportunities for young George to meet Lord Fairfax and many other early American leaders. Lord Fairfax employed George as a surveyor, and, in this occupation, he learned about the vast wilderness to the west. At the age of twenty, he was fighting the Indians and settling disputes with the French in the West. He fought in the French and Indian War, called in Europe the Seven Years War, learning from the British the art of warfare which later he used for the cause of America's freedom from Britain. Later he married Mrs. Martha Dandridge Custis, a widow of seven years standing, who had two children, ample charm and equally ample property in land and slaves. The Virginia House of Burgesses had given him 20,000 acres of land in the West. The will of Lawrence Washington provided a big estate for him, and later he was known as one of the wealthy leaders of America. His estate amounted to 60,000 acres of land before he died. He had 124 slaves in his own right, 153 Dower Negroes, and 40 leased from a Mrs. French. This makes a total of 317 Negro slaves.

Slaves of Washington. Washington, having grown up in a world where, so far as he knew, slavery had always existed, and being of slaveholders of long standing, accepted the slave system as people of today accept the automobile. He had been taught that he needed slaves at his beck and call. Not having modern machinery to depend upon to run his plantation, he gave much attention to the care and management of his slaves, especially to safeguarding their health. One can see from his diary that he ordered "coarse jeans and strong coarse thread fit for Negro servants." In 1795, he hired John Askew, a joiner, for one year, with the understanding that he "use his best endeavors to instruct in the art of his trade any Negro or Negroes

which shall work with him during the year. Caleb Stone was hired to instruct Negroes in the art and mystery of the trade of a carpenter. On another occasion, he told his manager to be "particularly attentive to my Negroes in their sickness."

Being trained as a soldier, he laid down strict rules of discipline to his slaves. He went about personally and timed them at their various duties, and many times reprimanded them—sometimes punishing them for their slothful ways. Nothing escaped his notice, neither time out for breakfast, the length of the day, nor the kind of wood used in work. He was always able to tell his slaves how much work should be accomplished in a stated time. If, perchance, a slave would not respond favorably to his rules, he would sell him to the West Indies Islands. The record shows that he always gave a minute picture of the slave especially telling of his good work habits and the obvious defects in his character, with rules to be observed in his further training.

Many of his foremen were Negroes. On February 25, 1771, he hired Benjamin Buckler, a Negro carpenter, to work with other slaves and teach them the art of the trade. Brick-layers, coopers, plasterers, blacksmiths, launderers, farmers, butchers, wine-makers—in fact, all of his productive goods were made through the art and skill of his Negro slaves. Summing it all up, Washington made profit off his Negro slaves and, in turn, the Negro acquired the basic principles of our American citizenship. It seems that the Negro was the victor in this great struggle, because Washington had changed so much at heart that he provided in his will that his slaves should always be treated with kindness and held together, because he was afraid that some other owners might fail to carry out his wishes.

Washington and the Abolition of Slave-Trade. When South Carolina refused to pass an act to end the slave-trade, he (Washington) wrote to a friend in that state: "I must say that I lament the decision of your legislature upon the question of importing slaves after March, 1793. I was in hopes that motives of policy, as well as other good reasons supported by the direful effects of slavery which at this moment are presented, would have operated to produce a total prohibition of the importation of slaves wherever the question came to be agitated in any state that might be interested in the measures." For his own state, he wrote saying that it was his "wish from my soul that the legislature of the State could see the policy of a gradual abolition of slavery: It would prevent much mischief." To the State of Pennsylvania, he wrote, "I hope it will not be conceived from these observations, that it is my wish to hold the unhappy people who are the subject of this letter in slavery. I can only say that there is not a man living, who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of them, but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority and so far as my suffrage will go, it shall not go wanting."

At the time of his death, Washington owned 124 slaves. In his will, he wrote that upon the death of his wife he wished his slaves to be free. "Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire that all the slaves which I holden in my right shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life would, though earnestly wished by me, be attempted with such insuperable difficulties on account of their mixture by marriage with the dower Negroes, as to excite the most painful sensation, if not disagreeable consequences, from the latter, while both descriptions are

in the occupancy of the same proprietor; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower Negroes are held, to manumit them."

Washington, the First President. George Washington was unanimously elected the first president of the United States. He took office on April 30, 1789, in a building on Wall Street, New York City, New York. He appointed Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State, Henry Knox as Secretary of War, Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, and Edmund Randolph as Attorney-General. John Adams was elected Vice-President. The Judiciary Act of 1789 created the Supreme Court with five justices. John Jay was the first Chief Justice. The capital remained at New York until 1790, when it was removed to Philadelphia, where it remained until 1800, when it was transferred to its present site, Washington, D. C.

Issues Facing Washington. Washington became the executive of 3,200,000 white people, 697,624 slaves, and 59,557 free Negroes scattered along the seaboard from New England to Georgia. Philadelphia had a population of 42,000; New York, 32,000; Boston, Charleston and Baltimore had passed 10,000 in population. By 1790, 109,000 people had followed John Sevier and Daniel Boone over the Alleghenies into Tennessee and Kentucky. The first big issue was to grapple with the credit of the United States. The United States owed $54,000,000; the states had debts of $21,500,000. Hamilton proposed the plan for the United States to assume the state debts and, to get the Southern representatives to vote for it, he had to promise to let the capital remain at Philadelphia for ten years, after which it would be moved to the Potomac River, its present site.

Another issue was social. The state constitutions excluded five-sixths of the free whites from the suf-

frage, and office-holding was limited by religious and property qualifications. The Negro was counted out with the exception of the three-fifths compromise in the Constitution. The Free Negro could vote in many instances, but that was as far as he could go politically.

The tariff laws, national bank charters, internal revenue taxes, census taking, opening the Northwest Territory, Indian Wars, adjusting commercial treaties with Spain, England and other countries, and fighting off foreign entangling alliances constituted the bulk of the issues of Washington's administration.

Negroes' Status Changed. The Negro was at the very heart of each of these issues. One must keep in mind that the Industrial Revolution which had been started in England by Richard Arkwright, Kay, Hargreaves, Crompton, Newcomer, Watt and others, had its effect in America. Samuel Slater, the father of the American factory system, had worked in one of the Arkwright factories, and then secretly came to America in 1789. He met Moses Brown who induced him to go to Rhode Island. There, with the aid of a local carpenter, he duplicated the inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright. In December, 1790, in partnership with Brown, who backed him financially, he opened the first successful cotton factory in the United States and operated it almost wholly with child labor. In 1794, Arthur and John Scholfield set up machinery at Byfield, Massachusetts, for carding wool. By 1807, no less than $11,000,000 worth of cotton goods were unloaded in the ports of the United States. This was soon changed, however, by (1) the invention of the cotton gin, (2) the discovery that short-staple cotton would thrive in the Southern uplands, and (3) the introduction of sugar culture in the delta lands of Southwestern Louisiana.

Eli Whitney and the Negro. Eli Whitney, a twenty-eight-year-old graduate of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, came to Georgia looking for a job as a school teacher in 1793. He stayed with Mrs. Nathanael Greene for a while, and, during his stay there, he listened to the problems of the planters about separating the cotton from its seed. Whitney said "the principle of the cotton gin came into his mind at a flash. The idea came in full bloom and perfect at its birth. It was spontaneous." He was too shy and unassuming to say anything about the conception of it at this time, but he went to work, and, in ten days, displayed a rude machine, turned by hand, and about the size of a clothes wringer. It did the work of a dozen Negro slaves. Within a few years the whole South blazed with the energy of new lands and new fortunes. Cotton fields appeared everywhere; cotton became "King." It put fresh life into the slave system; it perpetuated slavery, which in all probability would have passed away in one or two more generations.

The Southern emancipation movement died hard. As late as 1826, there were one hundred and three emancipation societies in the South. In spite of the humanitarian spirit hanging on, we find that the amount of cotton produced in the South increased from 2,000,000 pounds in 1791, and 40,000,000 pounds in 1801, to 80,000,000 pounds in 1811, and 177,000,000 pounds in 1821. Cotton sold for forty-six cents a pound in 1791 and never fell below sixteen cents. In 1818, it rose to thirty-four cents a pound. The price of slaves went up. In 1820, a good working slave brought anywhere from $700 to $1,000; land cost about $10 per acre and in many instances, nothing. The small planter disappeared rapidly, and soon the great plantations came into existence with thousands of acres and hun-

dreds of slaves. It was estimated that in 1842 it was common to have a $10,000 plantation with slaves valued at $50,000 to work it. In later years it was estimated that slaves valued at $60,000,000 were employed on land valued at $45,000,000.

Tariff Law of 1789. According to the Constitution, no duties could be laid upon exported goods, but a revenue might be created by a tax on imports. Therefore, a tax was placed on several foreign articles. New England and Pennsylvania secured, after a long debate, a light protective tariff for some goods they were beginning to manufacture, and the Southern states were favored by a tariff on cotton and coal. The labor of the Negroes in the fields of the South was at the very center of the desire of the South for this protection.

Constitution Amended 1791. Fearing a recurrence of power such as that of their former English king, the new Congress was presented with twelve amendments, but only ten were adopted. These are known as the "Bill of Rights" of the Constitution. Since the Negro was not a citizen, he was not benefited at this time, but later he has found many champions of his cause referring to these liberties. They apply to the Negro now the same as they do to all other American citizens.

Fugitive Slave Act of 1793. Immediately after the Revolutionary War, there had to be a replacing of the slaves in the South by the number of Negroes who were taken by the British and the Loyalists. "Nothing was said about payment for the Negroes which had been carried away." Although Article VII of the Peace Treaty of 1783 stated that "with all convenient speed and without causing any destruction or carrying away any Negroes or any other property of the American inhabitants to withdraw all his armies," one Sir Guy Carleton, commander of the British forces at New York, refused to surrender the Negroes who had en-

tered the British lines. These Negroes had been promised their freedom; the British declared they were free, and not property of Americans or of any one else. The situation was alarming. George Washington appointed John Jay, who was Chief Justice of the United States, to go to Great Britain to prevent war. Great Britain sent some of these free Negroes to British territory, and not one was given up. Since Britain would not give up the slaves, America would accept the value of the Negroes in money. Great Britain refused to consider Jay's claim concerning the slaves. Virginia and South Carolina, in particular, had felt the effects of this ravage of war. The use of the cotton gin increased the demand for slave labor and made slavery an institution despite the opposition that was being raised. This opposition, however, was not from Congress, but from a few abolition societies. Certain Negroes at this period were given their liberty by some Quakers in North Carolina, but they were returned to slavery. The only step that Congress took was to pass the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793.

Congress also refused to aid in preventing the enslavement of free Negroes. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 provided that the master or his agent could take a fugitive before a local magistrate or a Federal judge without a jury and by oral testimony could reclaim him. This contributed to the kidnapping of free Negroes in the North, where they (the free Negroes) had no rights in a trial for their freedom, since they were classed as fugitives. This act was supported by the cooperation of state courts and officials who would willingly return fugitives, and many unhappy Negroes were dragged back into slavery. The cruel treatment of slaves, ever increasing, created serious problems of runaways. Indeed, servants frequently ran away whether they had been abused or not. The legislative

and customary measures designed to curb the practice of running off foreshadowed, and perhaps provided, the actual models for later fugitive slave acts.

Political Parties Emerge. Hamilton's financial policy not only strengthened the credit of the country, but undoubtedly helped to divide the cabinet, Congress and the country into two well-defined parties; one led by himself—the Federalist—the other by Jefferson—the Democratic-Republican Party. The Federalist Party represented the wealthy class of the North, and the Jeffersonian Democrats-Republicans held sway in the South. The party strife showed up at the second election. Washington and John Adams were elected, but the Democrats elected a majority of the House of Representatives to serve in the third Congress (1793-1795). Out of the growing liberalism for the common man was laid the basis for future action beneficial to the Negro.

Foreign Entanglements. The French people accomplished a great reform in the years of 1789-1791, sweeping away many oppressive privileges and age-long abuses by the nobles and clergy. The French Revolution threatened all of the thrones of Europe. In 1793, France was at war with Prussia, Austria, England, and several minor kingdoms of Europe. Napoleon Bonaparte resorted to many far-reaching methods to conquer Europe. France had aided us during the American Revolution, and our alliance with her in 1778 pledged us to aid France in defense of her possessions in the West Indies. On April 22, 1793, Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality, which declared that it was the policy of the United States to keep aloof from the complicated hostilities of Europe. "Citizen" Edmond Genet arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, as minister of the French Republic to the United States. Ignoring Washington and his plan of neutrality, he

went about raising troops, scolding the president, capturing British ships and bringing them to our ports, and even threatening to appeal to the people over the president's head. He finally was dismissed by France and settled in New York, where he married later and lived a very quiet life.

England was in possession of the Fur Port on the Great Lakes and in virtual command of the Indians of the Northwest Territory, who were hostile to the American settlers. Americans were shipping foodstuff to the French West Indies. Great Britain claimed the right to seize our ships, to impress the sailors, with the claim that many of her sailors had deserted the British vessels and were now employed by Americans.

The Jay Treaty. John Jay went to England and negotiated a treaty. The essence of it was: (1) England agreed to evacuate the fur posts by the first of June, 1796; (2) England agreed to arbitration on the question of disputed boundaries; (3) England agreed to arbitrate the damage to American shipping; (4) England agreed to arbitrate debts due to British merchants; but (5) England refused to settle the dispute over trade with the West Indies and the forcible arrest and search of vessels for the impressment of seamen; and (6) the British had carried away many thousands of Negro slaves during the war, and Jay had been instructed to demand their return, in default of which, an adequate compensation was desired. However, no provision covering this point was made in the treaty.

Western Relief. "Mad Anthony" Wayne, a hero of the American Revolution, who had not forgotten the valor of Pompey, a Negro, worked out the plan for the capture of Stony Point in 1779. Wayne was appointed to succeed St. Clair in the Western Garrison. He defeated "Little Turtle" and Tecumseh at the Bat-

tle of the Fallen Timbers. The treaty of Greenville, Ohio, signed in 1795, opened up most of Ohio.

Spanish Treaty. Spain, fearing that an alliance might exist between the United States and Great Britain by the terms of the Jay Treaty, readily signed the Treaty of San Lorenzo on October 27, 1795. Its provisions were: (1) the free navigation of the Mississippi; (2) permission for New Orleans to be used as a place of deposit; and (3) concession of the American claim to the parallel of 31 degrees, north latitude, as the Southern boundary of the United States. This treaty caused the attention of Americans to turn westward, and soon afterwards one could see planters and their Negro slaves blazing the way to uncultivated lands to the west.

The Negro and the New States. Vermont was admitted to statehood March 4, 1791. Her constitution, originally adopted in 1777, declared positively against slavery. Therefore, it was the first state to prohibit and abolish Negro slavery. In 1779, New York provided for gradual emancipation. Those who were slaves were to remain so; children born after July 4, 1789, were to be free but to remain as apprentices with the owner of the mother—the males until they were twenty-eight, and the women until they were twenty-five. New Jersey declared for gradual emancipation in 1804. Ohio was admitted as a free state in 1803. Kentucky, in 1792, and Tennessee, in 1796, were admitted as slave states. Georgia, in 1802, ceded to the United States the territory now comprising Alabama and Mississippi. In the controversy between the United States and Georgia over lands, John Randolph opposed the idea of the Federal government's being involved, but in 1814, the dispute was settled by the Federal government paying the Yazoo Land Company's claim of $8,000,000. In fact, all that Georgia received

at first was $500,000, but Northern speculators had to be satisfied, and it is believed that much of this money was used to sway Congressmen to a peaceful settlement. The Negro was pushed into this new territory, because Article Six of the Ordinance of 1787, on slaves, was not to apply to this territory. Alabama was admitted as a slave state in 1819, and Mississippi as a slave state, also, in 1817. Louisiana, a slave state, was admitted in 1812. Illinois in 1818, and Indiana, in 1816, were admitted as free states. It will be observed that slave states and free states were equal in number, being eleven each. With this parity the history of slavery started on a new era, one destined to split the country into two camps and later into the Civil War.

Toussaint L'Ouverture and Haitian Revolution. About eight hundred miles off the coast of Florida, is the island of San Domingo. The eastern end of this island was Spanish, and the western, French. In the French portion, 50,000 Creoles (persons of French or Spanish descent mixed with Negro blood born in a colonial or remote region), an equal number of mulattoes (off-spring of Caucasians and Negroes), and about a half million Negroes of pure African blood. All elements desired the equality guaranteed to French citizens by the General Assembly of the French Revolution. The whites precipitated a revolution to stop this surge of liberality. The slaves struck for freedom on August 23, 1791. France tried to stop this insurrection by abrogating the order and upholding the ideals of the French king. Santhonax and Polverel, sent from France, promised freedom to all who would stay with the French Republic.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, an experienced Negro warrior, forty-nine years old, had been fighting with the Royalist troops. He abandoned the Royalists in 1794 to serve the French Republic. In 1796, he was pro-

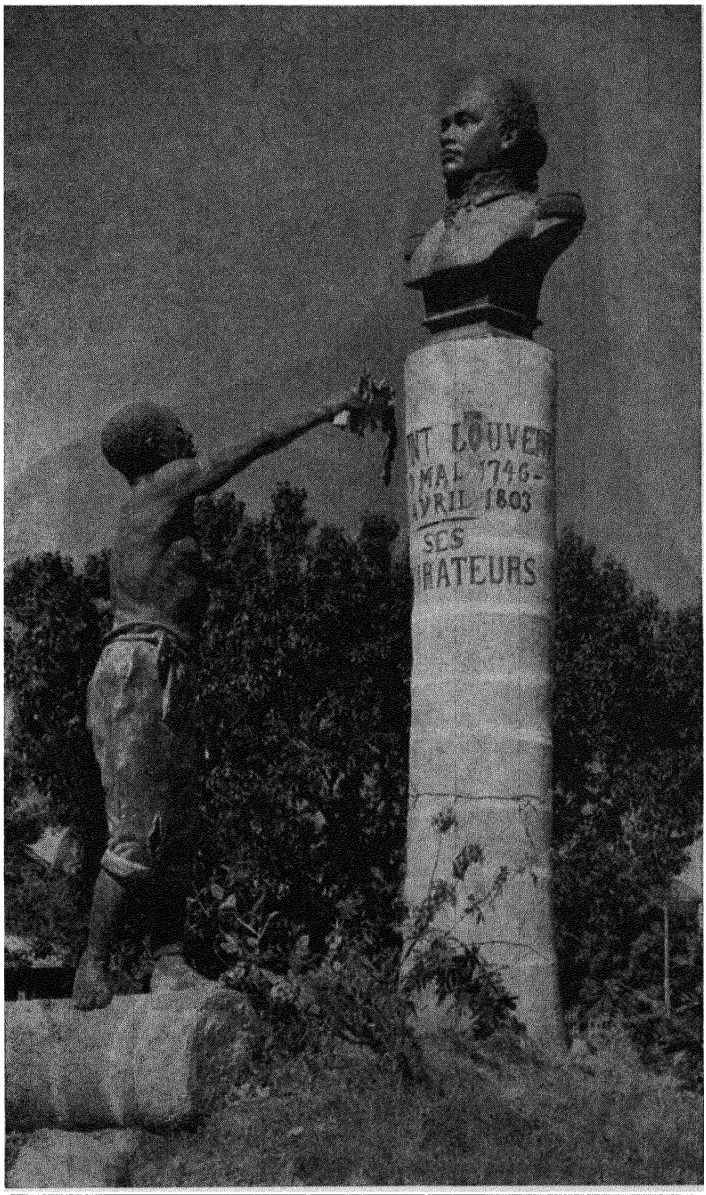


Photo from Ewing Galloway

***Statue** of Toussaint L'Ouverture, Liberator of **Haiti**, 1793*

moted to be a general in charge of a brigade. After much fighting and with aid from the United States, he routed his rival, Regaud, from the country. After subduing the Spanish part of the island, he proclaimed a constitution granting him power for life, and the right of naming his successor. This constitution of L'Ouverture was more autocratic than that of Napoleon. Le Clerc, a representative of Napoleon, who came upon the scene in Haiti in 1802, betrayed Toussaint L'Ouverture on a French vessel, on which he was transported to France, only to die of neglect in the prison of Joux. Since April 27, 1803, things in Haiti had gone from bad to worse. In 1800, Napoleon induced Spain to give back the Louisiana territory to France. Le Clerc and his army could not resist the thirst for liberty and many of them died in guerrilla warfare and with fever.

Henry Christophe. Born of slave parents on October 6, 1767, at Grenada, Henry Christophe was brought from the west coast of Africa, probably the Sudan. He had no schooling, no teaching and no family background. At an early age he was apprenticed to a Negro who followed the trade of mason on a Frenchman's plantation. After five years at this work, he ran away at the age of twelve. Soon afterwards he was sold to a French captain, who was called upon to aid in the American Revolution. Fifteen hundred blacks, mulattoes and whites sailed with 2,200 fellow-volunteers from Guadeloupe and Martinique. Upon his return from the Revolution, Christophe was sold to a free Negro, as the French general had no further need for him. His new master was an innkeeper named Coidovic, and in his service Christophe became a stable-boy for the horses of the guests of the inn. He later was a waiter and a billiard marker. He made enough money at these jobs to purchase his freedom. While at the hotel, he could hear sordid stories of mulatto children

and of cruelty to Negro women. The population was composed of 40,000 whites, 24,000 free mulattoes, and 500,000 slaves; each class hated all the others. The mulatto freedmen were hated more than the other two. It is reported that the mulatto slave owner was more cruel than any others and feared the most.

One night a planter slapped Christophe, and twenty years later he was singled out by Christophe and killed. Toussaint and Christophe were together at the burial of Oge and Chavannes. They did not mingle much, but knew that each had something in common with the other. Later Toussaint made Christophe a sergeant and placed him over a small band of men. These slaves had been brought in chains to a new and hateful world. Through two long centuries, they had been disregarded, afflicted by cruelty, weariness and homesickness almost below the level of humanity. Strangely, out of this condition came Toussaint who conquered the armies of Spain, drove the English into the sea, and rose through the ranks to Governor-General of Saint Dominique for life, with the privilege of choosing his successor; came, also, Jean Jacques Dessalenes, the African Negro slave of a black, ferocious, unlettered person, who achieved the rank of governor of a province; and furthermore came Henry Christophe, a black slave boy and stable hand, who climbed to the office of military governor of Cape Francois.

Napoleon entrusted the two sons of Toussaint in France to General Charles Victor Emmanuel Le Clerc who piloted them to Saint Dominique. While Henry Christophe was trying to save his province, the tutor and Toussaint's two sons had reached Madame Toussaint and filled her heart and mind with the ideas of Napoleon and his love for the Negro. Henry Christophe fought on, after amassing a personal fortune of millions and ruling his kingdom with an iron hand.

He later took his life with a golden bullet he himself had moulded years before. He was truly the Black Emperor of Haiti. In his last days, he said, "Toussaint, the tiger and I. . . . We dreamt so much and we have done so little." Again he said, "To be great, Duncan, is to be lonely. To be magnificent is to have men to hate you."

Washington's Farewell Address, 1796. Toward the close of his second term, Washington decided to retire after eight years of the presidency. This act set a precedent which was followed until 1912. In his farewell address of September, 1796, he cautioned his countrymen to avoid sectional jealousies, partisan strife, and foreign entanglements and alliances. His retirement opened wide the door of the opposition. In those days there were no nominating conventions. The members of Congress who belonged to a party assembled in a caucus and—with outside advice, on occasion—selected the party's candidates. Then the information was disseminated by press and by correspondence to the people. Those who adhered to the party voted for electors who stood for the party's candidates. Before the adoption of the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution in 1804, the presidential electors voted for two presidents, one as the first choice, and, on the line below, they gave the second choice. Whoever got the majority of votes was declared president; the candidate who came next was vice-president.

John Adams, Second President, 1797-1801. Alexander Hamilton did not like John Adams. Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, was the second choice of the Federalists. The Republican candidates were Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. When the votes were counted, Adams had seventy-one, Jefferson sixty-eight, Pinckney fifty-nine and Burr thirty. John

Adams, a farmer's son born in Braintree, Massachusetts, was our new president. Thomas Jefferson said of him that he was "vain, irritable, untactful, but disinterested, profound, and amiable." He was known as our unhappiest president. He made a great error in retaining Washington's cabinet dominated by Hamilton. There were difficulties with France that had to be settled peacefully. Neutrality had to be maintained, while France and England fought. The passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts brought great protest and criticism of the manner in which they regulated the status of aliens and limited the freedom of the press. The cause of the passage of these laws was that many foreigners, especially Frenchmen and Irishmen, brazenly took part in public affairs, criticizing this and that, and disseminating revolutionary ideas. The Whiskey Rebellion (1794) was started by the Irish. Any foreigner by birth could become a naturalized citizen, if he had lived here five years. The alien law passed in 1798 raised the residence requirement to fourteen years in the United States. The sedition law authorized the president to deport at will such aliens as he considered dangerous or engaged in "treasonable and secret machinations" against the government. Another act gave the president the right to imprison enemy aliens, or send them out of the country in time of war. The fourth act was to suppress free speech. It provided that anyone writing or publishing "Any false, scandalous, and malicious writings against the government, either house of Congress, or the president," or anyone guilty of "exciting against them the hatred of the good people of the United States, to stir up sedition" should be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars or by imprisonment not exceeding two years. These laws were enforced. Ten Republican editors were fined. Nevertheless, all evidence

points to the fact that the passage and enforcement of these laws were not due to opposition to the aliens so much as to a scheme of the Federalists to defeat the Republicans in the approaching election. The Republicans struck back with the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, in which the alien and sedition laws were declared "void and of no force." This was the first time that nullification was used in the United States.

The X. Y. Z. Affair. In 1797, John Marshall, Elbridge Gerry and Charles C. Pinckney were sent to France to settle the political and commercial dispute that arose as an outgrowth of the French Revolution. Talleyrand had some agents to meet them and propose terms of agreement. One was that America pay $250,000 as a bribe. America refused to pay the bribe, and when the affair was published, the letters, X. Y. Z., were substituted for the names of Talleyrand's agents —hence, the X. Y. Z. Affair. Adams' administration drew to a close at a time when the country was splitting into two camps politically; the Federalists on one hand, and the Democrat-Republicans on the other. The Negro was not a dominant issue, because of external affairs and the growth of the common man. However, this period was the time for planting the seeds of a great struggle over the rights of man.

Adams' Views on the Negro. Adams said, in a letter to Robert T. Evans, dated June, 1819, "Every measure of prudence, therefore, ought to be assured for the eventual total extirpation of slavery from the United States. I have, through my whole life, held the practice of slavery in such abhorrence that I have never owned a Negro or any other slave, though I have lived for many years in times when the practice was not disgraceful; when the best men in my community thought it not inconsistent with their character; and when it has cost me thousands of dollars for the labor

and sustenance of free men, which I might have saved by the purchase of Negroes at times when they were very cheap."

Thomas Jefferson, President, 1801-1809. The Federalists nominated John Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney; the Democrat-Republicans nominated Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, and Aaron Burr of New York. The Republicans received seventy-three votes, and the Federalists sixty-five. Jefferson and Burr each receiving seventy-three votes, the contest went to the House of Representatives. It was still a tie, but Hamilton persuaded some Federalist to vote for Jefferson. Thereby, Jefferson was elected president, and Aaron Burr, vice-president. The mutual hatred of Hamilton and Burr caused them to fight a duel in 1804, and Hamilton was mortally wounded. Adams had appointed John Marshall Chief Justice of the Supreme Court before he retired from office, but the Republicans were voted in control and things began to take on a different form.

Thomas Jefferson. Thomas Jefferson was born April 13, 1743, at Shadwell, near Charlottesville, Virginia. He was the eldest of eight children. His father was a vestryman in his church, a justice of the peace, and member of the Virginia House of Burgesses. He also taught mathematics at William and Mary College. His mother was a Randolph, and died when he was about thirteen; his father passing when he was fourteen. Of his early life, he never had much to say, though he was fond of telling how a Negro slave put him on a pillow and carried him about on horseback. He entered William and Mary College at the age of seventeen and was a brilliant student. He grew up to be tall, slender, sandy-haired, snub-nosed and freckle-faced. He studied law five years, and after hearing Patrick Henry make a speech, he was so im-

pressed that he became a prosperous lawyer. The early home place was secured by patents, but he soon increased it from 1,900 acres to 5,000 acres and 400 Negro slaves. In spite of the fact that he had more slaves than most Virginians possessed, he labored earnestly for a law that would permit a man to free his Negroes, if he chose. The act was overwhelmingly defeated. At the age of twenty-nine, he married Mrs. Martha Skelton. She brought him a splendid dowry of forty thousand acres of land, and a hundred and thirty-five slaves. He built a beautiful home called "Monticello" on his place, where one could see all of the fashionable people coming and going. He was always in great demand about state affairs. On his return trip from France, his Negro slaves met him two miles from the house. They were dressed in their best, and, in a moment, the horses had been unhitched, and the Negro slaves were pushing and pulling their beloved master's carriage up the mountain to the mansion. Then, Jefferson was lifted high on the shoulders of his servants and borne in triumph to the doorstep. Nothing could more accurately indicate the man's capacity for friendship with the high and low alike. He was known as the "Sage of Monticello." One day as he was riding with one of his grandsons, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, the boy failed to return the salutation of a Negro slave, and Jefferson merely asked, "Will you allow an old Negro slave to be more polite than you are?" At one time, his estate was valued at $200,000, but when he left the White House, he was $20,000 in debt. His estate was sold at a price of from three to ten dollars per acre. He had to sell his library of 13,000 volumes for $23,950. The legislatures of South Carolina and Louisiana each gave him $10,000. This saved his daughter, Martha, from need.

Jefferson and the Negro. Unlike his contemporary,

Washington, he (Jefferson) was not merely content with expressing dissatisfaction with slavery, but also took direct action against it upon more than one occasion. In 1769, he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses. He says, "I made one effort in that body (The House of Burgesses) for the permission of the emancipation of slaves, which was rejected." In 1794, Virginia elected deputies to meet . . . to appoint delegates to a general Congress . . . Jefferson was taken ill . . . and was unable to proceed. He sent on . . . two copies of his draft. It was printed in pamphlet form, under the title of "A Summary View of the Rights of British Americans." In this remarkable pamphlet, Jefferson's first printed work, we find him pointing out to his majesty, George III, the "deviations from the line of duty" with regard to the abolition of domestic slavery and the slave-trade—"The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state." It is not hard to understand why the document failed to arouse the unanimous approval of all the delegates when we consider that the majority were slave owners. In the Declaration of Independence, we find Jefferson taking a decidedly defensive view of the revolution in compliance with the legislative ideas of the time. Writing again about this slavery, a paragraph which was stricken out of the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson says that the measure was disapproved "by some Southern gentlemen, whose reflections were not yet matured to the full abhorrence of that traffic." The deleted part reads: "He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty on the persons of a distant people who never offended him; captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to

incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce."

Jefferson was born into a slave-holding family in a colony where the institution was looked upon as being both proper and necessary. It can be truthfully said that none of the later abolitionists who lived between Jefferson's time and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, ever did more than he towards the cause of freeing the slaves. He believed that the slaves should be sent out of the country, and declared "a free and independent people." He wanted "a total emancipation . . . with the consent of the masters;" and he realized that the evil of slavery was not only bad for the Negro, but also "bad for the morals of the (white) people." He advanced the suspicion that "the blacks are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind." He was careful to point out that "whatever be their degree of talent, it is no measure of their rights." He was a friend "to the rights of human nature, be they black or white," for he had "sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." He wrote in 1809, "You know that nobody wishes more ardently to see an abolition, not only of the slave-trade, but of the condition of slavery; and certainly nobody will be more willing to encounter every sacrifice for that object."

In the Virginia legislature, when he was battling for human rights, he introduced a bill on slavery which was a mere digest of the existing laws, without any intimation of a plan for a future and general eman-

cipation. It was thought better that this should be kept back, and attempted only by way of an amendment, whenever the bill should be brought on. The principles of the amendment normally were agreed upon; that is to say, the freedom of all Negroes born after a certain day, and deportation at a proper age. But it was found that the public would not hear the proposition. Jefferson said, "Yet the time is not far distant when it must hear and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people (Negroes) are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation, peacefully, and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the project held up. We should in vain look for an example in the Spanish deportation and deletion of the Moors. This precedent would fall far short of our case."

In music, Jefferson considered the blacks were more generally gifted than whites with acute ears for tune and time. "In memory," he said, "they are equal to the whites." His Negroes were clothed and treated as well as white servants could be . . . every article was made on his farm. His Negroes were cabinet makers, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, smiths, etc. The Negro children were employed in a nail factory, which yielded a considerable profit. The young and old Negroes spun the clothing for themselves and the rest of the slaves. He animated them by rewards and distinction.

Further proof of his attitude toward Negroes may be gleaned from excerpts of his will. It reads: "I give to my good, affectionate, and faithful servant, Burwell, his freedom, and the sum of three hundred dollars, to buy necessaries to commence his trade of glazier or to use otherwise as he pleases. I give also to my good servants, John Hemings and Joe Fosset, their freedom at the end of one year after my death, and to each of them respectively all tools of their respective shops or callings. Also it is my will that a comfortable log-house be built for each of the three servants emancipated, on some part of my lands convenient to them with respect to the residence of their wives, and to Charlottesville and the university where they will be mostly employed. I give to John Hemings the service of his two apprentices, Madison and Eston Hemings."

Jefferson's Administration. The new president called himself a Democratic-Republican, or, as we should say today, a Democrat. He prided himself on taking his stand with the people. In dress, manners, and ideas, he was quite different from the Federalist presidents, Washington and Adams.

Cessions of land on the Potomac by Maryland and Virginia were the beginnings of the District of Columbia. At Washington, the Federal Capitol, and public forts, arsenals and dockyards were built. The District of Columbia was placed by the Constitution under the exclusive control of Congress.

Thomas Jefferson was the first president inaugurated at Washington, then a straggling village in the woods. Congress repealed many of the Federalist laws. It reduced the army and navy, abolished the tax on personal property, and steadily diminished the public debt. Many things occurred to add glory to Jefferson's administration. The victories of the Ameri-

can Navy over the Barbary powers created enthusiasm. Morocco, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, all in Northern Africa, were Mohammedan countries, which, since the time of Columbus, had preyed upon the commerce of Christians. To prevent these pirates from seizing cargoes, selling sailors, and holding captains for ransom, the nations of Europe paid tribute; and the United States had already paid nearly two millions of dollars. When the Dey of Algiers compelled the American captain to carry dispatches for him, Jefferson sent a fleet. Lieutenant Decatur boldly entered the harbor of Tripoli, burned an American vessel which had been seized, and bombarded the town from the harbor, while a land expedition attacked it from the east. In the end, the bashaw was willing enough to make peace, and leave tribute out of the bargain. John Adams was known as "the Father of the American Navy," but Jefferson was the first president to use it. Other nations gladly followed the example of the United States, and the Mediterranean became free for commerce. War was brewing in Europe, and America became prosperous by the carrying trade. The French and Spanish merchants in the West Indies brought their wares to American ports where they paid customs and reshipped in American vessels. Import duties came in so fast that the public debt was soon nearly paid off.

Louisiana Purchase, 1803. The Haitian Revolution was felt throughout Europe and America. It was due to Toussaint L'Ouverture's frustration of the plans of Napoleon that the United States got the opportunity to purchase Louisiana. After the death of L'Ouverture, the Decree of 1794 that gave freedom to the slaves in Santo Domingo was annulled, and Napoleon planned another expedition; and then the war broke out again in Europe. Napoleon needed money and

was disgusted with his failures in Santo Domingo. He was ready to close the negotiations when Monroe went to France, and, on April 30, 1803, Louisiana was purchased for $15,000,000. By this purchase the area of the United States was more than doubled, and disputes over the navigation of the Mississippi River were settled. In this transaction one can see that the Negroes directly added to the territorial spread of America, but this purchase and subsequent events changed the conditions for the Negro. This will be shown later.

Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806. Jefferson sent Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, with forty-three men, soldiers and others (including Negroes) to go as far as the Pacific Ocean. Another explorer was Lieutenant Zebulon Pike. In 1805, he explored the head-waters of the Mississippi, later landed in Texas, and still later in Louisiana. These explorations opened up the West. Negroes who were taken along helped with the hardest tasks. Jefferson was re-elected in 1804, but George Clinton of New York was elected vice-president instead of Aaron Burr, who ran for governor of New York State and lost, after which he challenged Hamilton to a duel and Hamilton died from the wound he received. The embittered Burr fled from New York to the West. He planned to make a conquest in Texas and to unite with Spain the states west of the Alleghanies to form an empire. Men were armed, boats built, and messengers employed to further the plans. Jefferson heard that the West was slipping from the United States. Burr was arrested and tried for treason in the House of Burgesses at Richmond, Virginia. John Randolph, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, William Wirt and many others participated in the case. Chief Justice John Marshall presided at the trial. Burr was not convicted. He

later wandered in foreign lands and, many years later, returned to New York to die in poverty and neglect.

In his second term, Jefferson had to settle matters with France and England over restricted trade and impressment of American sailors. Great Britain continued to claim the right to board a ship belonging to any nation and impress its sailors as British subjects, with the motto of Great Britain, "once a subject, always a subject." Many American sailors were impressed and compelled to fight France. Sometimes a whole crew was taken, and the vessel left to float away. Congress passed the Non-Importation Act, prohibiting the importation of a few articles of British make which might instead be manufactured in the United States. Finally the American frigate, *Chesapeake,* fired upon by the British, *Leopard,* came into Norfolk harbor with her dead. There was a great uproar. Jefferson asked Congress to pass the Embargo Act of 1807, forbidding American vessels to leave port for a foreign country. Great riots broke out. The Federalists talked of seceding from the Union and went so far as to organize a conspiracy to form a confederacy of New England. In 1809, the Non-Intercourse Act was passed, allowing trade to all countries except France and Great Britain.

African Slave-Trade Act of 1807. The cession of Louisiana brought before Congress the question of the status of slavery and the slave-trade in the territories. By the Ordinance of 1787, both slavery and the slave-trade were excluded from the Northwest Territory. In 1790, Congress accepted the cession of North Carolina's back lands (now Tennessee) on the express condition that slavery there be undisturbed. The same exception was stipulated by South Carolina in 1787. In 1798, when Mississippi made a cession, the anti-slavery clause of 1787 was not to be

included. However, they did not know how slaves could be prevented from being introduced by way of New Orleans by persons who were not citizens of the United States. Such a stream of slaves now poured into the new territory that the situation became alarming. Between 1803 and 1807, 39,075 Negroes were imported into Charleston, most of whom went into the territories. This brought about the passage on March 2, 1807, of the act prohibiting African slave-trade. Three main questions were to be settled by this bill: first, and most important, that of the disposal of illegally imported African Negroes; second, that of the punishment of those concerned in the importation; and third, that of the proper limitation of interstate traffic by water. As to the settlement of question one, Section 4 of the act says, "and neither the importer, nor any person or persons claiming, from or under him, shall hold any right or title whatsoever to any Negro, mulatto, or person of color, nor to the service or labor thereof, who may be imported or brought within the United States, or territories thereof, in violation of this law, but the same shall remain subject to any regulations not contravening the provisions of this act, which the legislatures of the several states or territories at any time hereafter may make, for disposing of any such Negro, mulatto, or person of color. In the settlement of question two, the act says: "For equipping a slaver, a fine of $20,000 and forfeiture of the ship. For transporting Negroes, a fine of $5,000 and forfeiture of the ship and Negroes. For transporting and selling Negroes, a fine of $1,000 to $10,000, imprisonment from five to ten years, and forfeiture of the ship and Negroes. For knowingly buying illegally imported Negroes, a fine of $800 for each Negro and forfeiture." The settlement of question three was provided for

by "forbidding the coastwise trade for purposes of sale in vessels under forty tons."

Jefferson Abolishes Slave-Trade, January 1, 1808. President Jefferson was in favor of the abolition of the African slave-trade. In his sixth annual message on December 2, 1806, he said: "I congratulate you, fellow-citizens on the approaching of the period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally, to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in these violations of human rights which have been so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country, have long been eager to prescribe. Although no law you may pass can take prohibitory effect till the first day of the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, yet the intervening period is not too long to prevent, by timely notice, expeditions which cannot be completed before that day." On March 2, 1807, President Jefferson approved the Act of 1807, which became the "act to prohibit the importation of slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, from and after the first day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and eight."

Anti-Slavery Movements. The anti-slavery efforts were in two movements, "one against the foreign slave-trade, by which that source of slavery was at length cut off from the whole country; and the other for the actual extinction of slavery, by which all the North and Northwest states except Delaware were made free territory." The first Continental Congress attacked the slave-trade, and the Seven Years War cut off importations and, although the exact effect of the restrictions is not known, importations almost entirely ceased for a while up to 1783. Some states passed

laws against foreign slave-trade. Virginia and Maryland in 1778, North Carolina in 1786, and South Carolina in 1787 declared absolute prohibition. The Haitian insurrection caused stricter laws to be passed by South Carolina. North Carolina and Georgia (1798) declared against absolute prohibition. By invoking the power of state rights, they changed their laws at will. Some wanted the national government to control the laws, others believed in state rights; particularly, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. A compromise was made in order that these states might have "an opportunity to acquire the desired stock of Negroes before the trade was forbidden by national statutes." For the other movement, actual extinction by emancipation, it was not hard to find supporters in the North because slavery was unprofitable and not widespread. The Quakers were firm in the belief of their religious duty to dispense with slavery. There were three means of emancipation: (1) Constitutional enactment, (2) laws for immediate emancipation and (3) laws for gradual emancipation. Vermont was the first state where slavery was forbidden, when the people declared the colony a state in 1777. New Hampshire intimated emancipation in her state constitution by entering therein, "all men are born free and equal;" so slavery was abolished there. Massachusetts became free through the attacks made by the anti-slavers on the clause, "all men are born free and equal." Since Maine was under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts at the time, both states became free states in 1783. New York State successfully effected emancipation in 1827. New Jersey did so in 1804. Virginia was the most outstanding Southern state for anti-slavery. However, this attitude was mostly in theory.

Value of Negro Slaves Rises. The fight for abolition

was making progress, and then the invention of the cotton gin showed the slaveholder the profit in slavery through the production of cotton. Farms became plantations; slaves increased in numbers from "approximately 698,000 in 1790 to almost 4,000,000 in 1860," and the price on slaves advanced from $300 before the invention of the cotton gin to $800 in 1830, $1,200 in 1850, and $1,400 to $2,000 in 1860. These factors lessened the desire of the South toward abolition. As the demand for slaves increased, the law prohibiting the slave-trade was openly violated. Slavery displaced all the lower forms of hired labor in the South and, at its best, was hardly more than three-fourths as efficient as white labor, because the "new Negroes" directly from Africa were not accustomed to the new type of work. Commerce that is necessary to business was small in the South. As many commodities as possible were made by slaves and supplied by individual planters. Local trade was replaced by large orders filled in distant places, making retail trade abnormally small. During this time, outstanding men differed as to the party to which they should belong. Slavery had come to be a social and economic matter. These economic issues crystallized the commercial North into one group and the slave-holding South into the other. The West was the region which both the North and the South viewed with lustful eyes for control and exploitation. The western movement created a new slave problem; part of the territory was free and part was slave-holding. In Missouri, the fate of the territory rested with the new settlers as to whether or not they would contend for the same civil rights, privileges and policies that they had experienced in their former homes. The nation's first great domestic crisis was upon it. Forty years later, when agitation, passionate discussion and

legislative temporizing had lamentably failed to bring peace, this same West, transformed economically, socially and politically, was to be the decisive make-weight in the salvation of the Union.

James Madison, Fourth President, 1809-1817. James Madison, fourth president of the United States, was born on March 16, 1751, at Montpelier, Virginia. The child who was to grow into the man known as "the father of the Constitution" was the eldest of seven children of a well-to-do-planter whose ancestors had been among the earliest settlers of Virginia. Madison was early educated by tutors and later attended Princeton University in New Jersey. Aaron Burr made him acquainted with Mrs. Dolly Payne Todd, and they were married. No children were born to them, but he was quite sympathetic with her son by a former marriage. He was known as a planter and slaveholder. He studied law and was amply fitted both by mind and experience to be a good politician, the value of which aptitude later showed in his handling of national and domestic problems, including the war with Tecumseh and the second war with Great Britain, during which there was great concern in this country over the defeat in the Northwest, and the burning of the public buildings at Washington, but joy over the naval victories and relief over the Treaty of Ghent which antedated the Battle of New Orleans. The Non-Intercourse Act of 1809 was designed to open up trade with all countries except Great Britain and France. It caused trade to increase. Russia joined France, and Spain and Portugal were now free to do as they pleased. American vessels were captured and searched. Madison would not listen to the schemes of the British, but they withdrew their orders in council. Madison then suspended the application of the Non-Intercourse Act with Great Britain. In May, 1810, Congress substi-

tuted for the non-intercourse policy a bill known as Mason's Bill No. 2, from the name of the member who introduced it.

War of 1812. "The war between England and France gave to the American merchant marine interest an impetus that increased the number of vessels threefold in a few years. It also gave command of the carrying trade of the West Indies, from which Napoleon's frigate debarred the English merchantmen. In consequence, England sought and used every opportunity to cripple American commerce and shipping. One plan was to deprive American ships of the service of English seamen. Her war vessels claimed and exercised the right of searching for English seamen on board American vessels." The American frigate, *Chesapeake,* was searched and four men taken off—three Negroes and one white man. The Negroes were William Ware, Daniel Martin and John Strachen. The English claimed these men and impressed them into the service of the English frigate, *Leopard.* The white man, John Wilson, was an English subject, and his impressment caused no contention, but the matter of the three Negroes was the bone of contention which later caused great concern in America.

In the gathering gloom of May, the American frigate, *President,* and the British sloop of war, *Little Belt,* encountered each other. Both fired, and the *Little Belt* was badly crippled.

Another cause for war was the ill-feeling over the ever recurring Indian troubles of the West, some of which were plainly traceable to British intrigues. The Shawnee leader, Tecumseh, and his twin brother, "The Prophet," resented the encroachments of the frontiersmen. On November 7, 1811, Tecumseh went to the South to stir up the Creeks and Cherokees to join the Indian Confederacy. William Henry Harrison, gover-

nor of Indiana Territory, struck the Indians and defeated them at the Battle of Tippecanoe, Indiana. The "war hawks"—Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina—with others, raised a war cry. Soon Oliver Hazard Perry, of Rhode Island, with nine small American vessels built from the forests along the shores of Lake Erie by the aid of Negro labor, met the British men-of-war. Perry defeated the British and sent this message, "We have met the enemy, and they are ours—two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop!" A dispute arose over the troop of men. Commodore Chauncey replied, "I regret that you are displeased with the men sent you . . . to my knowledge a part of them are not surpassed by any seamen we have in the fleet; and I have yet to learn that the color of the skin, or the cut and trimmings of the coat can affect a man's qualifications or usefulness. I have nearly fifty black men on board of this ship, and many of them are among my best men." Jacob Brown and Winfield Scott won at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. In the South, the British and Spaniards had been inciting the Creeks against American settlements. Andrew Jackson, with his Tennessee troops, forced the Creeks to sue for peace.

Washington City Burned. Before the American troops could be collected to meet the British, they landed and a detachment marched to Washington. President Madison, his cabinet and citizens fled from the capital to Maryland. The capitol and other public buildings were burned. Francis Scott Key, an American prisoner on board a British ship, witnessed the attack on the American fort and wrote the "Star-Spangled Banner," which long afterwards became the national anthem.

Hartford Convention. The people of New England now demanded peace at any price. There had been no

commerce for more than two years, and even the fishing trade was ruined. A convention, held at Hartford with closed doors, demanded, among other things, that the states of New England collect the revenues at their ports, in order to defend their commerce better than the Federal government seemed to be able to do.

Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814. The treaty negotiated provided that all ports captured by either side were to be given up, and a commission was to settle the boundary disputes between the United States and Canada. Nothing was said about impressments or the right of search.

Jackson's Victory at New Orleans, January 8, 1815. Before the news of the Treaty of Ghent reached Washington, Andrew Jackson had mobilized about 6,000 soldiers. Of this number two battalions consisted of 500 free Negroes and were commanded by Major La Coste and Major Savoy. They helped to break the hold of the British before New Orleans. In his proclamation to the Negroes, September 21, 1814, Jackson said: "Through a mistaken policy, you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for national rights in which our country is engaged. This no longer shall exist. As sons of freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most inestimable blessing. As Americans, your country looks with confidence to her adopted children for a valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable government. As fathers, husbands and brothers, you are summoned to rally around the standard of the Eagle, to defend all which is dear in existence. Your country, although calling for your exertions, does not wish you to engage in her cause without amply remunerating you for the services rendered. Your intelligent minds are not to be led away by false representations. Your love

of honor would cause you to despise the man who would attempt to deceive you. In the sincerity of a soldier and the language of truth, I address you. To every noble-hearted, generous freeman of color volunteering to serve during the present contest with Great Britain, and no longer, there will be paid the same bounty, in money and lands, now received by the white soldiers of the United States, viz., one hundred and twenty-four dollars in money, and one hundred and sixty acres of land. Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen and soldiers—you will not, by being associated with white men in the same corps, be exposed to improper comparisons or unjust sarcasm. . . ." On January 8th, the short, but terrible, struggle took place which not only taxed the energies and displayed the great courage of both forces, but made the engagement one of historic interest. In the short space of twenty-five minutes, seven hundred of the British were killed. Fourteen hundred were wounded and four hundred were taken prisoners. The American army was so well protected that only four were killed and thirteen wounded. (In his report Jackson said seven were killed and six wounded.) It was in this great battle that the two battalions of Negroes participated, and helped to save the city, the coveted prize, from the British. Great Britain also had her Negro soldiers there—a regiment from the West Indies which headed the attacking column against Jackson's right—leading her troops in the battle. After the battle, General Jackson sent this message: "TO THE MEN OF COLOR—Soldiers! From the shores of Mobile I collected you to arms. I invited you to share in the perils and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you, for I was not uninformed of those qualities which must render you so formidable to an invading foe. I knew you could endure hunger and thirst and

all the hardships of war. I knew that you loved the land of your nativity, and that, like ourselves, you had to defend all that is most dear to man. But you surpass my hopes. I have found in you, united to these qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds. Soldiers! The President of the United States shall be informed of your conduct on the present occasion; and the voice of the representatives of the American nation shall applaud your valor, as your General now praises your ardor. The enemy is near. His sails cover the lakes, but the brave are united and, if he finds us contending among ourselves, it will be for the prize of the valor, and fame, its noblest reward." One of the Negro men who distinguished himself during this war was Major Jeffreys. Jeffreys mounted a horse and rallied the retreating troops to victory against the British, when the white commanders were forced to retire, and defeat seemed certain. General Jackson gave him the title of major which he wore until his untimely death caused by an altercation with a white ruffian. He struck the ruffian and was given "nine and thirty lashes with a raw hide." This act was the cause of his death at Nashville, Tennessee, when he was over seventy years old. Another Negro who made himself famous was Jordon Noble. He was the drummer of the First Regiment Louisiana Volunteers in the Mexican War of 1846, and led the attack against the British in the battle of New Orleans under Jackson in 1815. He was known as the "Matchless Drummer."

The news of Jackson's victory did not reach Washington City until February, at which time bonfires were lighted and wild enthusiasm expressed. Madison ordered tar barrels to be put on top of the mast of the merchant ships. These were known as "Madison's Night-caps." As this war left the country in debt to

the extent of a hundred million dollars, it was thought necessary to charter a national bank (1816). For twenty years thereafter tariffs were increased, direct taxes were levied, and other financial measures taken to relieve the burden of this indebtedness. The Americans, however, had learned to manufacture things for themselves, and soon states were aiding many infant manufacturing concerns. People even wore homespun clothes. A tariff bill was passed to protect home-made goods. When the second administration of James Madison drew to a close, James Monroe, of Virginia, secretary of state, was elected the fifth president by the Democratic-Republicans.

James Monroe, Fifth President, 1817-1825. James Monroe was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, April 28, 1758. Little of importance is known about his family. He was reared like other children of his time. His folks had slaves and he enjoyed the usual advantages of education. At eighteen, he was a raw-boned, healthy, awkward, six-foot country boy, leaving William and Mary College, the alma mater of Jefferson, to enlist in the Continental army under George Washington. Participating in Virginia politics, he was three times a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, later a United States Congressman, four times governor of Virginia, three and a half years a United States senator, secretary of state, and president for two terms. His administration as president, the period of which was called the "Era of Good Feeling," was concerned with the development of the West, the Missouri Compromise, the purchase of Florida from Spain, Indian wars, and the "Monroe Doctrine." Monroe made a tour through New England. He wore the almost forgotten cocked hat, blue coat, buff collar, long hose, and short hose of an officer of the Revolution, and wherever he went, he made friends. Boston was

the largest city. There were common schools in every hamlet in the North, and the colleges of Harvard, Yale and William and Mary were famous even in Europe. The Middle West was filling up with a restless, mixed population of Germans, Dutch, Irish, Swiss, French, Swedes, Scotch and English. The Southern states abounded with hospitable mansions surrounded by plantations. Their daughters and sons were educated at home by a tutor or sent to William and Mary College, generally, or went abroad to study. The aristocratic South boasted of its high culture, social graces and leadership in politics. The "poor whites" still lived apart, loafing and quarreling; and the Negroes toiled in the fields of tobacco, cotton and rice.

Internal Changes. The cotton states had sent many settlers to the Mississippi territory. When Georgia ceded her western lands to the government, they were added to that territory. Louisiana was admitted into the Union, as the eighteenth state, in 1812. Indiana was admitted in 1816. Farmers, mechanics, carpenters, weavers, masons and blacksmiths turned their faces toward America because the returning British troops had told them of the wonderful opportunities in America for a man to become a freeholder. In one week, fifteen hundred foreigners landed at American ports. It was not a hard matter to take goods from the East to the West, but, to get goods from the West to the East cost about as much as getting them from England to America. Robert Fulton had perfected a steamboat which made transportation by water very much cheaper and quicker. He called his boat the *Clermont.* He perfected the steamboat in 1807 and, by 1817, his models were running on the Ohio River, the Mississippi River other points to the west. The Cumberland Road, between Cumberland in Maryland and Wheeling, West Virginia, was aided by a National

appropriation, and soon all the states appropriated money for turnpikes. Mississippi was admitted in 1817, Illinois in 1818, and Alabama in 1819. This expansion program ran into a snag in Florida.

First Seminole War, 1818. The Seminole Indians were hard to subdue. Many of them had gone from Georgia and united with runaway Negroes. They frequently attacked the Georgia planters, burning homes, murdering families and carrying off property. It was no easy matter to fight the Indians and Negroes in the swamps and thickets of Florida. Andrew Jackson took charge of the situation and, within three months, had subdued the Indians. The Spanish government found its troubles were likely to break out again, and wisely decided to sell Florida to us. We obtained the entire territory, about 60,000 square miles, for $5,000,000.

Second Seminole Indian War, 1835. A few years after the first conflict with the Seminoles, a second conflict broke out. This time it was brought about by the actions of the whites. For many years, the Negro slaves had been going over to the Indians in large numbers; in fact, they did so up to 1838-39 when the national government settled its dispute with the Cherokee Indians by moving them west. These Negroes had inter-married with the Indians and merged into their tribal life. The Seminoles, being anxious to be relieved from the repeated vexatious demands for slaves and other property, agreed to liquidate claims for cash payment. In the meantime, Osceola urged the Indians to fight.

Osceola, Indian Warrior. Osceola was the child of an Indian chief and a woman of Negro blood. He had married a daughter of a fugitive mulatto slave-woman. A certain kidnapper had carried his wife back to captivity. This was more than Osceola could stand. He rallied the Indians and Negroes to their cause and

fought desperately. The Indians were finally subdued and made to remove west of the Mississippi River. This eliminated one of the best hide-outs for the Negro slaves, and soon the whites settled down to peaceful development because they could hold their slaves without the fear that they might easily run away.

James Monroe's Second Term, 1821-1825. The administration of President Monroe was in such high favor that he was re-elected with only one vote against him. Trouble was brewing over the sectional differences with Negro slavery at the core. Maine and Missouri became applicants for admission to the Union. However, before we discuss this controversy, it will be best to gather up the threads and show how things have been shaped over the contentions about the Negro. You may recall that some Negroes were free. The slave-trade was flourishing. Abolitionists were getting active, and proposals had been made to deport slaves. Negroes, also, had attempted to free themselves.

Negro Insurrections. Until now, the Negro had been a silent part, in most instances, of what had been going on. In other instances, he had been freed for valorous services. In still other situations, he had purchased his freedom. Hundreds ran away. Now, we shall relate some instances in which the Negro struck back for his freedom. It is necessary to say only that the Negro lost in each instance more than he gained, because many insurrectionists met an untimely death, and those who were not killed were punished severely. Consequently the whole aggregation of Negroes felt the bonds of slavery drawn tighter and tighter. The "Black Codes" was the answer in all of the Southern states. However, these efforts show only that the Negro was essentially human and had the same desires as all others.

While many instances of running away and insur-

rection are recorded before the rise of Toussaint L'Ouverture, yet the greatest anxiety was shown over the attitude of the Negro slaves after many of the Negroes who aided him in Haiti had come to America.

Gabriel Prosser, 1800. The first uprising of importance was Gabriel Prosser's insurrection in Richmond, Virginia, in 1800. The plan was to march on the city in September, seize the arsenal, kill the whites and liberate all the slaves. A terrible storm aroused the superstition of a faithful slave, and he told his master. The whites got the start on the Gabriel mob and Gabriel and thirty-five of his aides were executed. The excitement from this affair was felt in Petersburg, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and many other places. Over 1,000 Negroes in Henrico county participated in this affair.

Denmark Vesey, 1822. Another and a better planned effort was tried by Denmark Vesey, an educated Negro, who had come from San Domingo in 1800. By frugality and luck at lottery, he had in his possession $1,500. He purchased his freedom for $600 and, working as a carpenter, made money and friends. He married and had several children. The conditions of the Negro slaves disturbed his mind so much that he talked rebellion and discontent to the slaves. He secured several followers, and waited until July, because many of the wealthier whites were then at the seashore. He would have caused great harm to the whites, had it not been for a Negro slave who worked at the "big house." This Negro obtained the secret of the plan and told it to his master. Denmark Vesey and thirty-five others were condemned and executed; thirty-seven were banished. Although this attempt failed, its results were felt throughout the whole coast-line.

Nat Turner, 1831. The other important insurrection was that of Nat Turner. He was born in South Hamp-

ton, Virginia, in 1800. He was unusually bright, having learned to read and write with skill at an early age. The people regarded him as a prodigy. Turner devoted himself to the study of the scriptures and the condition of his people. He believed that it was his lot to set them free. He said that he had visions of white and black spirits fighting in battle. He imagined that a voice spoke to him thus in a vision: "Such is your luck; such you are called to see; and let it come rough or smooth you must bear it." He thought, while laboring in the fields, "he discovered drops of blood on the corn, as though it were dew from heaven," and he thought he saw on the leaves of trees, pictures of men written in blood. He planned his project in February, 1831. Nat, together with four of his friends, Sam Edwards, Henry Porter, Nelson Williams and Hark Travis, held a secret meeting and set the plans straight with each other. In August, 1831, he armed the slaves with axes and knives, and they killed fifty-seven white persons before they were killed or captured. Several artillery companies from Richmond, Petersburg, Norfolk and Portsmouth, with one cavalry company, were ordered out to take Nat and his followers. He was hanged on the gallows, but kept up his courage to the last. This uprising created much confusion among the whites, and the lines of strife were becoming more marked and delicate.

"The Amistad Captives," 1839. Once, while fifty-four Negro slaves aboard the Spanish slave-schooner, *Amistad,* were headed toward Porto Principe, Cuba, one of the number organized a revolt and took possession of the vessel, carrying it to Nassau, an English port, where the authorities refused to surrender the Negroes. These fifty-four Negroes were from Lemboko, their native land in Africa. Joseph Cinquez, an African prince, who had become enraged at the cruel treat-

ment given him and his fellow slaves, incited the revolt and took possession of the vessel. They saved the lives of two Spanish men whom they compelled to steer the ship, presumably to Africa. Finally they landed at New London, Connecticut, where they were tried in the Federal courts, and finally freed, because they resisted the attempt to enslave them. The abolitionists educated them and taught them the art of gardening. They were finally sent back to Sierra Leone, West Africa, in company with five sainted missionaries. Great Britain sent them to the Lemboko, Africa, and they were never heard of again.

The Creole Case, 1841. The meeting of the Negro slaves numbering one hundred and thirty-five, on board the ship, *Creole,* en route from Richmond, Virginia, to New Orleans, gave rise to another Congressional inquiry. When the boat was eight days out, Madison Washington organized the slaves, made an onslaught on the officers, took possession of the boat and carried it to Nassau, West Indies, a British possession. England refused to surrender them as "murderers and mutineers to perish on Southern gibbets." Charles Sumner insisted that the slaves became free when taken, by the voluntary action of their owners, beyond the jurisdiction of the slave states. On the other hand. Daniel Webster, then secretary of state, contended that inasmuch as slaves were recognized by the Constitution of the United States as property, where slavery existed, their presence on the high seas did not effect a change in their status. The matter was finally settled in 1853 by arbitration. The British government paid an indemnity of $110,000 for allowing these Negroes to go free.

Dismal Swamp. Dismal Swamp constituted a hiding place, similar to the maroons in Haiti. It extended from Norfolk, Virginia, into North Carolina. It was

fifty miles long and several miles wide. The restless slaves used this as a hide-out and it was estimated that over one million and a half dollars worth of slaves were in this place. They carried on a secret trade with those merchants who wanted only to make money. Neither North Carolina nor Virginia attempted to capture those slaves because it was very difficult to go into the swamps after them. This Dismal Swamp Colony of Negroes continued from generation to generation, defying and outwitting the slave-owners right in the midst of one of the strongest slave-holding communities in the South.

American Colonization Society, 1816. From the beginning of the "Ideal of American Democracy," it had been suggested that Negroes should be liberated, but returned to Africa. Negroes had been sent by England in 1787 as a result of the agitation of Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, and William Wilberforce. In 1805, the Virginia assembly memorialized the national government to the effect that the slaves should be settled in some portion of the Louisiana Territory. Rumors of the same thing were heard in Kentucky in 1812 and 1815. Paul Cuffe, a New England Negro, had gone to England and later at his own expense, to Africa where he had settled thirty-eight Negroes in 1815. In 1774, two educated Negroes were sent out by Ezra Stiles, president of Yale University, and Reverend Samuel Hopkins. In 1787, about four hundred were taken by the English to land purchased from the King of Sierra Leone, and five years later, twelve hundred, who had escaped from the United States to Canada, were also removed to Africa. England cared with wisdom for the Negroes, giving them a daily allowance for the first six months, then assigning land to them and giving them religious instruction.

Organization and Men. When the society met in

Washington, December 31, 1816, such men as Samuel J. Mills, a student at William and Mary College; Hezekiah Niles, editor of the *Niles' Weekly Register;* Elijah J. Mills, Congressman of Massachusetts; Henry Clay; Francis Scott Key, the author of the "Star-Spangled Banner;" John Randolph, senator from Virginia; and Judge Bushrod Washington, a brother of George Washington, and many others, were in attendance. They elected Bushrod Washington as president of the national body. The system provided for a representative of the national society from each state. State officials were informed that they could get rid of their free Negroes by supporting this organization. *The African Repository* was the official publication used to disseminate information. Each state or locality was to provide transportation for the Negroes returning to Africa. They were not to take the contented slaves but the free Negroes, or those of whom they wanted to get rid. In 1819, the United States government appropriated $100,000 toward the effort. Soon eighty-eight Negroes were sent to Liberia. Among them was Daniel Coker, first bishop of the African Methodist Church. In 1821, twenty-one more were sent, but found conditions hard. Elijah Johnson and Lott Cary, a Negro Baptist preacher from Virginia, aided materially. Cary was killed in 1828. In 1822, Jedudi Ashmun, from Vermont, landed with fifty-five immigrants. After much difficulty, he did a good job of teaching efficiency and order, but had to fight the natives, the French and the English. In 1823, Dr. Eli Ayers came with relief. Then, in 1824, R. R. Gurley came and established a constitution for these settlers. There was to be in charge an agent of the American Colonization Society. Under him all other officers were to serve one year. Later Professor Greenleaf, of Harvard University, drew up a constitution similar to that of the United

States. Through concessions and purchase, other land was acquired until Liberia possessed 43,000 square miles of land. The colony, Maryland, was the last parcel to come into the great combine. James Hall, a white man, and later, John B. Russwurm, a Negro, were the last rulers of this colony.

Liberia—Independent, 1847. The first governor of the combine was Thomas H. Buchanan, a white man. He began in 1838 and ruled until 1847, when Joseph Jenkins Roberts, a Negro, was elected president. They have had Negro presidents ever since. Monrovia is the capital. It was named after President Monroe. The American Negro looked with disfavor on the project. Frederick Douglass, an uncompromising enemy of colonization, criticized this step as uncalled for, unwise, unfortunate and premature. In 1853, a national council of leading Negroes, from twelve states, met. Among those present was Martin R. Delaney, who wished to go to Niger Valley, Africa; James M. Whitfield, who wished to go to Central America; and Theodore Holly, who showed a preference for Haiti. Two thousand Negroes had gone to Haiti by 1861. The records show that from 1820 to 1833, only 2,855 Negroes went to Liberia of whom 2,700 were freed on the condition that they go. Seven thousand eight hundred thirty-six Negroes were sent out by 1852. Of this number, one thousand forty-four were liberated Africans sent out by the United States government.

Free Negroes. In 1820, there were 1,771,656 Negroes in the United States. Of this number, 13.2 per cent, or 233,634 were free. One can readily see that these free Negroes would be a disturbing factor to the slaveholders. However, most of them were in the North and it is among this group that the abolitionists did most of their work. The Free Negro was circumscribed in many ways—political, social, and religious. He was

despised by the slave-owner, hated by the slave and feared by the law. Later, we shall pick up the thread of the free Negro and see what he accomplished by 1860.

Missouri Compromise, 1820. When, in 1818, Missouri applied for entrance to the Union as a slave state, Maine also applied. The admission of Missouri would have made one more slave than free states because Alabama, admitted in 1819, had equalized the number of slave and free states—eleven each. When the bill for permission to form a state constitution was presented in the House, Talmadge, of New York, offered an amendment to it, which provided, "That the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall be duly convicted; and that all children of slaves born within the said states, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free, but may be held to service until the age of twenty-five years." This was passed by the House but stricken out by the Senate. Thomas, of Illinois, proposed, and Henry Clay zealously advocated, the following provisions called the Missouri Compromise:

(1) Maine was to be admitted as a free state. (2) In Missouri there was to be no prohibition of slavery, but (3) slavery was to be prohibited in other states that might be formed out of the Louisiana Purchase, north of the line of 36° 30′.

This compromise was passed and slavery was now the great issue in the race for national representation. Mason and Dixon's line was really only the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland along the parallel of 39° 43′ 26.3″, the line of which was run in 1763-67 by two English surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, to settle a dispute between the Pennsylvania and Baltimore families. This line was ex-

tended westward to follow the Ohio River, and then, with the exception of Missouri, to follow the line of 36° 30′ westward.

Growth of Democracy, 1815. Not only did the growth of human rights take place in America, but we also find that the Spanish colonies of Mexico and South America plunged into revolution and that Monroe acknowledged their independence in 1822. In Europe, Russia, Prussia and Austria united in a "Holy Alliance" to maintain despotism in Europe. The kingdoms of Europe had been unstable since the revolutions in America and in France. Out of this situation, Monroe announced his famous Doctrine.

Monroe Doctrine, 1823. The issuance of his Doctrine, as expressed in his message to Congress, was that the United States were resolved not to meddle with the affairs of the nations of Europe; and that we should consider an attempt on the part of those nations to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety; and that the two American continents, by the free and independent condition which they had assumed and maintained, should henceforth not be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

Era of Good Feeling. The upper house of Congress had grown in number and the lower had increased with the population. The number of justices of the Supreme Court had increased to seven and famous lawyers such as Thomas Pinckney, William Wirt, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster argued questions of national law before them. Pensions granted by Congress to survivors of the Revolutionary War caused good feeling in 1818. Trumbull's painting of the Declaration of Independence, exhibited in the different cities, increased the reverence for the founders of our Republic, and the arrival of General Lafayette aroused the spirit

of patriotism to the highest pitch. Lafayette was now seventy years old, and still limping a little from the wound, it was said, which he received at Brandywine. The distinguished nobleman was moved to tears when he saw in the United States the fulfilment of his hopes. He had seen the Republic of France established and lost. He had seen Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe preside with dignity over our New Republic. He traveled throughout the United States and was received with great applause and enthusiasm.

John Quincy Adams, Sixth President, 1825-1829. From a long list of candidates—John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; Henry Clay, of Kentucky; and William H. Crawford, of Georgia—votes were cast for president. In the election, Jackson and Adams received the highest number of electoral votes, with Crawford third on the list. Since the Twelfth Amendment was in force, the House of Representatives chose John Quincy Adams president and the Senate elected John C. Calhoun as vice-president. John Quincy Adams was born at Braintree, Mass., July 11, 1767. He was the son of John Adams. This is the first case of father and son being president. He was educated abroad as well as at home. Neither he nor his father ever owned any slaves. He was not an agitator on the slavery question himself, but he did feel in duty bound to present to the House any petition that might be forwarded to him. Petitions came so thick and fast, when he was elected to Congress after his term as president expired, that in two months, in 1838, he presented five hundred such pleas, and, in 1840, more than five hundred in one day. "The Gag Rule" caused them all to be tabled. However, one can

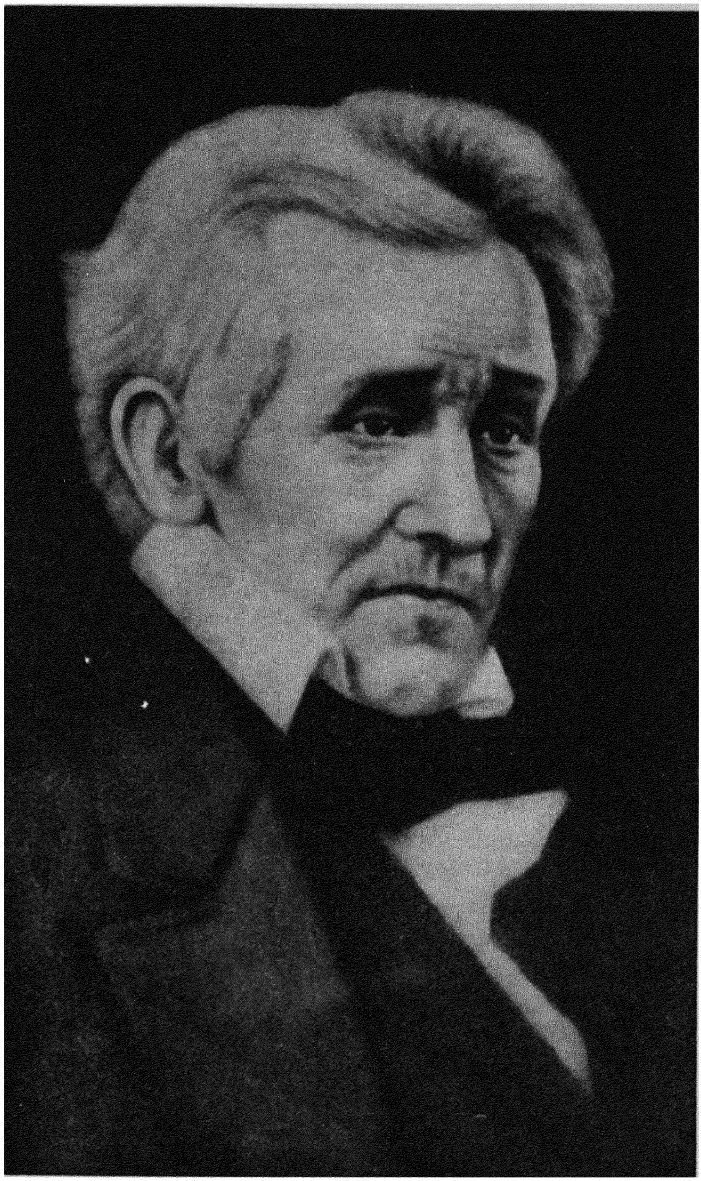
see by these petitions that Negro slavery was a burning issue.

Internal Improvements, 1825. "The Era of Good Feeling" soon passed, but the Americans were going forward with developments of all kinds. In 1825, New York State had just completed the Erie Canal, called in derision "Clinton's Ditch." This canal reduced the cost to the West by way of the Great Lakes. Soon afterwards roads were built to the West, bridges spanned rivers, harbors were improved, and many other things were done that tended to draw the American people together. Out of this expansion, came the new political party called the National-Republican party, which believed that the Federal government should aid in making internal improvements. The Democratic-Republicans were opposed to this doctrine. They believed that those should be private enterprises and individual problems of the states. The Nationalists wanted a high tariff; the Democrats demanded a low tariff, one for revenue only. The entire South had argued that the Negro slaves possessed neither the skill nor the patience to become operatives in the mills. This argument was used to express the opposition of the South to the tariff measure. The tariff law passed in 1828 provided for a high protective tariff upon cotton and woolen goods, and some other articles. Much money was raised and spent on roads, canals, harbors and other internal improvements.

Foreign Affairs, 1825-1829. The British West Indies had been closed to American trade and America had been invited to a congress of all the American Republics, which met at Panama. Simon Bolivar, the South American patriot, had extended the invitation. America, wishing to carry out the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, accepted the invitation. Among the American states invited to be present at the Congress was

the Negro Republic, Haiti. The slave-owners dreaded the example of the Black Republic on their slaves. They disliked the idea of sitting at a table on equal terms with free Negroes of Haiti; and they were alarmed lest the Panama Congress should adopt resolutions hostile to Negro slavery. After considerable delay, Congress voted the funds necessary to enable the United States to be represented at Panama. Its representative in fact did not get there until after the Congress had adjourned, and the whole affair ended in a ridiculous failure.

Andrew Jackson, Seventh President, 1829-1837. Andrew Jackson was born March 15, 1767, of poor Irish immigrant parents, near the border of North and South Carolina, in the Waxhaw Settlement. His father died while he was young, and his mother passed before he was fourteen years old. He was a large boy before he learned to read and write. At an early age, he studied law with a friend and was admitted to the bar in North Carolina. Soon afterwards he came to Tennessee where he was prosecutor and, later, an Indian fighter. After holding several positions, such as judge, congressman and senator, he made a national reputation for himself at New Orleans and in the first Seminole Indian War in Florida. John Quincy Adams defeated him for president in 1824; but in 1828, Jackson and John C. Calhoun were elected president and vice-president respectively. During his administration he was confronted with abolition movements, with the effort to transfer the Indians to the West, with the Spoils System, the Nullification Doctrine, bank troubles, tariff compromises and a change in the social order. He was president for two terms. After his second term expired in 1837, he returned to his 1,100 acre plantation, the Hermitage, eleven miles from Nashville, Tennessee, where he had seventy Negro slaves. He lived a tur-



Andrew Jackson, "Old Hickory," Seventh President, 1829-1837
To his Negro soldiers Jackson said: "I have found in you . . .
that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds."

bulent life. He was very kind to his friends, but always tried to punish his enemies. During his last days, he said, "I have now said all that I can, and all that is necessary. I entreat you all, white and black, to be prepared to join me in heaven—all, black and white." Near his grave at the Hermitage is the grave of "Uncle Alfred," his faithful Negro body servant. On one occasion "Uncle Alfred" was asked if he thought that General Jackson went to heaven. He answered: "Yes, suh, I knows he did." His questioner persisted, "But Uncle Alfred, how do you know?" Alfred drew himself up and his eyes flashed as he said, "Well, suh, he said he was goin' there, and when General Jackson say he was goin' any place he sho went there."

Jackson in Action. Among the first things Jackson did as president was to turn out of office hundreds of employees of the government. This act set a precedent in the method of "rotation in office," and the theory that "to the victor belong the spoils." These dismissals caused much social and political trouble for Jackson, but he relentlessly went forward with the Jeffersonian ideals of democracy. He denounced the national banking system by declaring it unconstitutional and asserted that state banks should transact the business of the country. These state banks were known as "pet banks." The Haynes and Webster debate over nullification brought out the true character of Jackson. Robert Haynes said that the United States Government was only a compact between the states, and that a state might nullify, or declare null and void, any act of Congress which its own legislature decided was unconstitutional. Webster maintained that the Continental Congress had been a compact between the states, but the United States was a government of the people, by the people and for the peo-

ple. To protect itself from any unconstitutional laws, "the whole people" had organized a Supreme Court as the sole tribunal to decide in cases of dispute between the Federal government and the states. A state, being only a part of the United States, had no right to prevent the execution of a law of the United States, and he declared that any resistance to the Federal laws by a part of the people was treason and rebellion. John C. Calhoun argued for the right of secession from the Union. Webster said there could be no secession. This opinion of Webster later was known as the doctrine of "Federal Sovereignty." At a Jefferson Day banquet, Jackson proposed this toast, "Our Federal Union,—it must be preserved." This attitude was later carried into action by Jackson, when he dispatched troops to South Carolina to execute the law of the Federal government. In 1832, Jackson and Martin Van Buren were easily elected as president and vice-president respectively. After their inauguration, the first thing they did was to struggle over a compromise tariff bill of gradual reduction, which was passed in 1833. The next important thing that Jackson did was to veto the national bank bill and to remove to state banks ten million dollars of treasury deposits in the Bank of the United States. The National-Democrats were so incensed at Jackson's actions that they organized the Whig party to oppose him and his followers. Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and William Henry Harrison were the leaders of the Whigs.

The Negro in Jackson's Administration. While the white population was slightly under thirteen million, the Negro population was about two million with three hundred thousand of them free Negroes at the time Jackson became president. These free Negroes were an anomaly in the social order because the South as a whole did not want them to associate with the slaves

who would be made restive. Besides, the free Negro was always suspected of causing mischief generally, except by the slave-owner who knew him. The fact is, that the free Negro was out of the bonds of slavery and yet did not enjoy all of the rights and privileges of the whites. In the North, the free Negro was used as the spear-head for the abolition movement. He (the free Negro) was the best trained, the most energetic and the constant worry of the Northern whites. They wanted to send him out of the country. They solicited him to join the anti-slavery movements, and the abolitionists. He started out independently in churches, schools, and businesses. The cause of these independent efforts was due to the peculiar regard in which he found himself. He could vote to some extent, but could not hold office. He could read and write, but could not attend white schools. He could go into business, but could not compete with the whites. Out of this peculiar situation came the problems which led to the Civil War.

The Abolitionists. The abolitionists were the people who were opposed to slavery on the ground that it was wrong for one man to own another man—just as he owned a house, a cow or a mule. They advocated the extinction of slavery by any means whatsoever and without compensation to slave-owners. Those ideas had been gathering for a long time, but had just now pricked the consciences of those who would come out in the open to fight for what they believed to be right. England had abolished her slave-trade in 1807. The United States followed in 1808; the Netherlands in 1814; France in 1818; Spain in 1820; Portugal in 1830. In 1833, the British Parliament abolished slavery in the British West Indies, appropriating $100,000,000 as compensation to the slave-owners. Previous to this time there had been over one hundred and thirty

abolition societies. By 1840, they grew in number to over two hundred with a membership over 200,000. Most of the anti-slavery societies, prior to this time, were in the South and manned by Southern slaveholders. One can readily conclude that many Southern slaveholders were growing tired of the whole thing and were attempting a solution.

Southern White Abolitionists. One of the first men to throw his influence into the abolition movement was a slaveholder of Tennessee, Elihu Embree, a brother of Elijah Embree. They were pioneer manufacturers of iron in East Tennessee. He joined the Quakers in 1812, and soon afterwards made provisions for his slaves to be emancipated. His influence was felt through the Manumission Society of Tennessee. To get his news before the people, in 1819, he published at Jonesboro, Tennessee, the *Manumission Intelligencer,* a weekly newspaper which, in 1820, was changed to *The Emancipator,* a monthly paper. These were the first periodicals in the United States that advocated the abolition of slavery. The idea he tried to get over to the people was universal and equal liberty for all men. Another idea of Embree was that when one knew what was right, he should do it regardless of consequences. This noble character passed on in 1820, but Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker, caught his vision and carried on his ideas. He published a paper called *The Genius of Universal Emancipation.* It is reported that this Southern, deaf, infirm and hungry man walked over sixteen hundred miles to spread his ideas; in fact, he gave all the resources of a strong and sweet nature to the service of the friendless and unhappy. Other Southerners who waged a relentless attack on slavery were: James G. Birney, John G. Fee and Cassius M. Clay—all of Kentucky. In 1855, they started Berea College in Kentucky. Here Negroes and

whites were educated for years in the same school. Carter Godwin Woodson, the father of "Negro History," studied at Berea College for two years beginning in 1897. Daniel R. Goodloe raised his voice in North Carolina. Theodore Weld taught Negro children in Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1821, Sarah Grimke, a daughter of a South Carolina judge, wrote *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South.* Her sister joined with her and they poured out of their pure souls all they had for human liberty. Many more anti-slavery sympathizers could be mentioned, but these will suffice to show that the Negro had his friends right at home with him.

Northern White Abolitionists. While the Northerners' attitude in regard to abolition goes back to the Quakers, yet many diverse groups from time to time raised their voices against slavery. The story of the contention of these groups is too well known to need relation here. William Lloyd Garrison, who had come under the influence of Benjamin Lundy in Baltimore, is one of the best known of them all. He started his work in Baltimore, Maryland, with Lundy, and, on January 1, 1831, set the type for his widely read periodical, *The Liberator.* Nat Turner's Insurrection was the spark which set him on fire. From this beginning, until the time of the Civil War, Garrison was always on the firing line. His famous statement based upon the twenty-eighth chapter and fifteenth verse of Isaiah follows: "Because ye have said, we have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us: For we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves." He said concerning the provisions in regard to slavery in the constitution: "It is a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." The headline of

The Liberator carried the following caption: "I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think or speak or write with moderation—I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard!" Garrison advocated the immediate abolition of slavery, without compensation to the owners. Some Northern friends of Negroes disagreed with his thesis, which disagreement was well expressed by another abolitionist, William Ellery Channing. He said: "We consider slavery as your calamity, not your crime; we will share with you the burden of putting an end to it." He further advocated that public lands be sold and the proceeds applied to the purchase and enfranchisement of slaves from their owners. In 1833, Prudence Crandall, who admitted a colored girl to her school at Canterbury, Connecticut, was arrested and imprisoned, and the state legislature passed a law prohibiting the establishment of schools for Negroes or their admission to schools already established, without the consent of the local authorities. Elijah P. Lovejoy was dragged from his press in Alton, Illinois, and mobbed to death while his press was completely demolished. The abolitionists counted in their ranks writers who wielded their pens powerfully in behalf of the freedom of the Negro. Among them were John Greenleaf Whittier, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, Arthur Tappan, Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, Lydia Maria Child, who wrote, in 1833, the first anti-slavery book, *Appeal for That Class of Americans Called Africans,* Eli Wright, Maria Weston Chapman, who held anti-slavery bazaars to raise funds, Samuel May, Jr., who was general secretary of the movement, Lucretia Mott, Abby Kelly Foster and her husband, Stephen S. Foster, Susan B. Anthony, known for her fight for woman's rights, Sena-

tor John P. Hale, Gerritt Smith, who experimented with the plan of settling Negroes on a farm in New York State, and hundreds of others who risked all they had for the beliefs they held on this great issue.

Negro Abolitionists. The Negro did not remain silent while the whites, both North and South, pleaded for his cause. Many Negroes, such as Charles L. Redmond, were among the first who spoke and wrote in behalf of the Negro's cause. William C. Nell, who wrote a book entitled, *Colored Patriots of the American Revolution;* William Wells Brown, who wrote *Three Years in Europe, The Negro in the Rebellion, The Rising Son, Sketches of Places and People Abroad* and was a contributor to the leading magazines and papers of his day; John B. Russwurm, a graduate of Bowdoin College, in 1826, with a Bachelor of Arts degree, who soon published the first Negro newspaper, *The Freedom's Journal;* Charles Bennett Ray, a Congregational minister, who was very active in the abolition movement and published *The Colored American.* J. W. C. Pennington, a manumitted slave from Maryland, lectured and spoke in many parts of the North and then, while he was in Europe, received the Doctor of Divinity degree at Heidelberg University in Germany. Henry Highland Garnett, with William G. Allen, published the *National Watchman.* Martin R. Delaney published *The Mystery.* Samuel R. Ward preached regularly in a white Presbyterian church and was regarded as a great orator. Lunsford Lane gave freely of his talents. Sojourner Truth, who was tall and lanky, possessing a low, rich voice and having a mind which enabled her to capture the emotions of her audience, was regarded as a "miracle woman" of her day. She lived and labored through these troubled times and was finally one of the first to urge Lincoln to arm the free Negroes

for the defense of the Union. Hundreds of others could be mentioned, but the person who is regarded as the leader and symbol of the Negroes of this era was Frederick Douglass.

Frederick Douglass, 1817–1895. Frederick Douglass was born, probably, February 9, 1817, in Talbot County, Maryland. He lived with his grandmother until he was five years old, during which time he saw his mother but a few times. He never knew his father. He was first taken to Colonel Lloyd's plantation about two miles from his birthplace. Here, along with the other children, he was placed in the care of Aunt Katy, whom Douglass regarded as a cruel and ill-natured woman. At the age of ten, he was sent to Baltimore to live with Hugh Auld, whose wife, Sophia Auld, was his first teacher, and she continued her instructions, until objections were made to it by her husband. Douglass continued learning by the aid of his white playmates. At the age of thirteen, he purchased a book entitled *Columbian Orator,* with money earned by blacking boots. From this book he got his early impressions of the cruelty of the system of slavery. Father Lawson inspired him in his search for knowledge by the assurance, "The Lord has a great work for you to do, and you must prepare yourself for it." It was soon after his acquaintance with this good man that he learned to write by copying letters with chalk on fences and pavements. Using a barrel-head as a table, high up in his loft over the kitchen, while other people were asleep, he worked out lessons from the Bible and the Methodist hymn book. The death of his owner made him the property of Thomas Auld, in whose service he was cruelly treated, having the coarsest food, and not enough to satisfy his hunger. For discipline, Mr. Auld sent Frederick to Covey, a notorious "Negro-breaker," who lived in the vicinity.

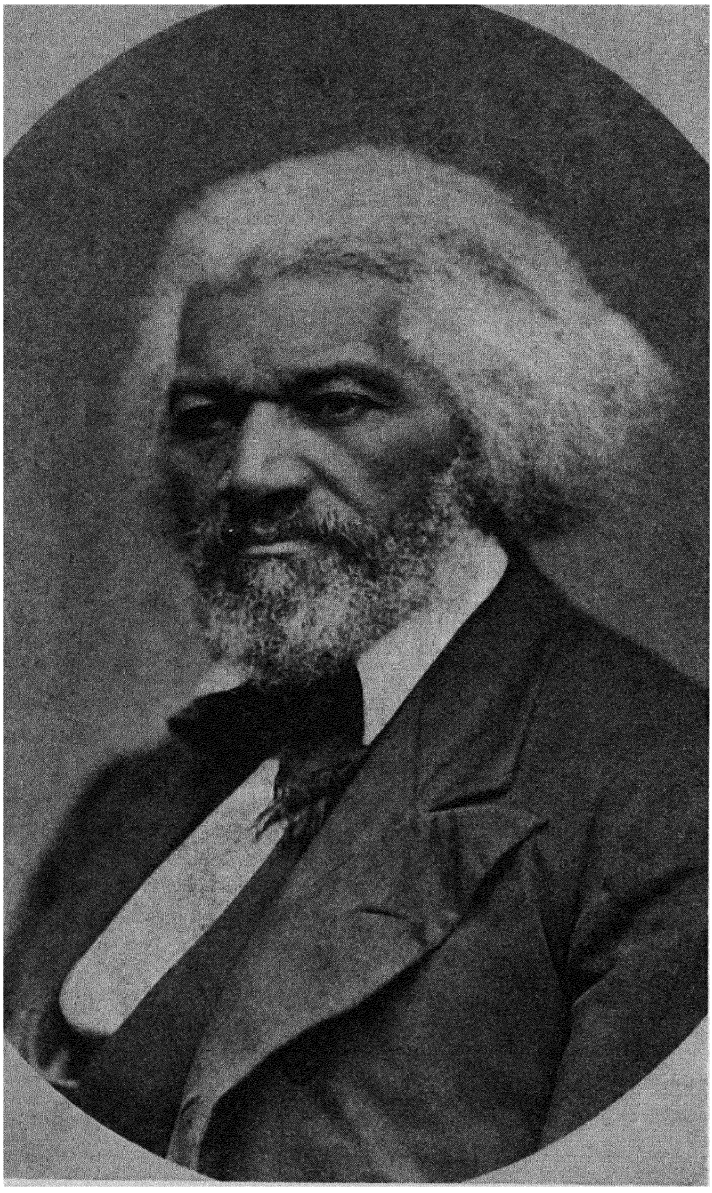


Photo from Ewing Galloway

Frederick Douglass, born February 9, 1817, died February 20, 1895; noted Abolitionist, Journalist, Diplomat and Orator

Covey soon subjected him to rigorous tasks. One experience was that he was sent on a cold January morning to get an ox-load of wood. He was tied to one end of the rope which was fastened to the oxen, and the oxen ran in every direction possible. It was a wonder that he was not killed. Covey whipped him severely, until one day he became defiant, after which he was whipped no more. Leaving Covey in January, 1834, Frederick went to live with Mr. William Freeland, whom he found to be a very good man. While with him, he taught in Sabbath school, at which time he taught the slave to read. A trusted slave revealed a plan of escape in which Frederick was implicated and, as a result, Frederick was placed in Easton jail. After this, he was moved to Baltimore with Hugh Auld. Here he was hired out to a shipbuilder and learned the calker trade. His second attempt at freedom was aided by a "sailor's protection" paper which he used to pass the guards. Disguised as a sailor, he left Baltimore, September 3, 1838. Now, twenty-one years old, he made his way to New York, where he came in contact with Mr. Ruggles, secretary of the New York Vigilance Committee. As soon as he could, he sent for the woman who became his wife, Anna, and they were married by Reverend J. W. C. Pennington. Later, he went to Boston and stayed with a Negro named Nathan Johnson. In slavery, Frederick's name was Frederick Augustus Bailey. At the suggestion of Johnson, his name was changed to Frederick Douglass. He worked at putting away coal, sawing wood, moving rubbish, and in a brass foundry. While here, he became a reader of *The Liberator,* edited by Garrison. Douglass said this paper was "second only to the Bible." Soon he heard Garrison speak, and became a devout admirer of him and his cause of the abolition of human slavery. After being taught by Garrison, he launched

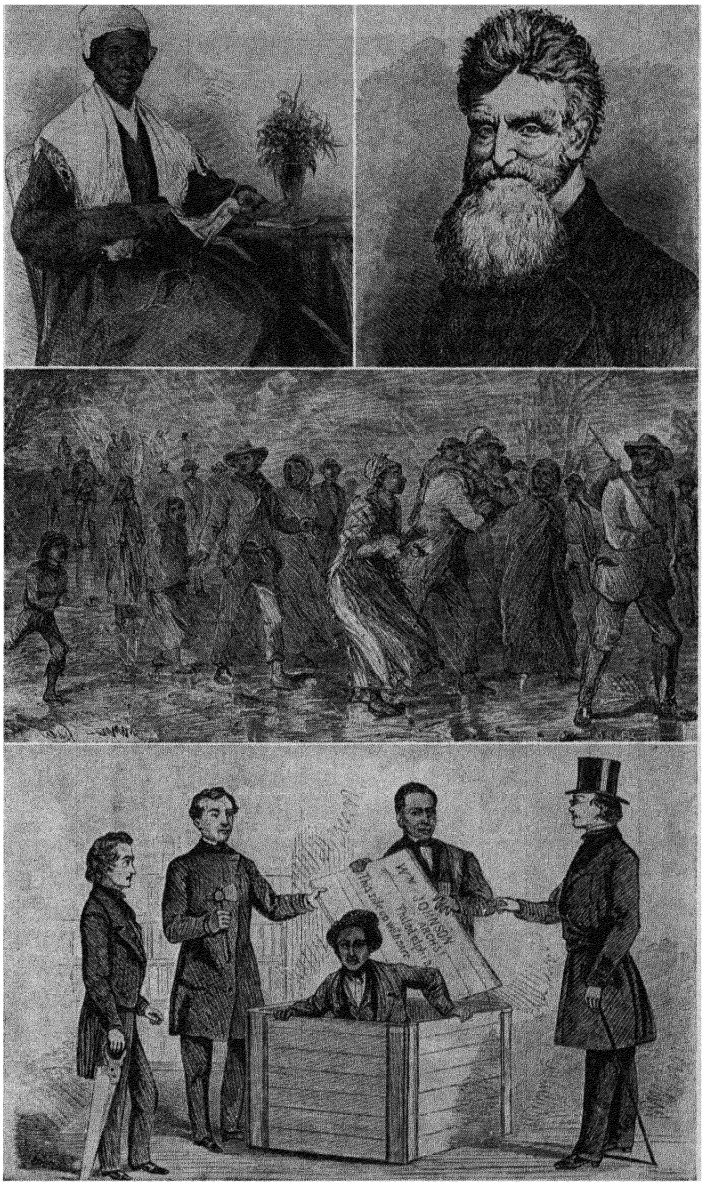
out on an anti-slavery speaking crusade. In 1845, he went to England for two years. He thought emancipation was not only a physical freedom, but also an economic and spiritual opportunity. England gave him $750, with which he purchased his freedom, after he returned to the United States. In 1847, he started in Rochester, New York, a weekly paper called *The North Star,* the name of which was later changed to *Frederick Douglass' Paper.* He met John Brown in Springfield, where he lived, and was later accused of aiding in John Brown's raid. He had to go to Canada to escape the Fugitive Slave Law. Later, he went to England for the second time. For his efforts in the anti-slavery cause he received an annual salary of $450. After the Civil War, he established the *New National Era* newspaper in Washington, D. C. He was elected president of the Freedmen's Bank at Washington. It soon failed, and President U. S. Grant sent him as a commissioner to Haiti. Later, he was appointed counsel of the District of Columbia; then United States marshal and, later, minister to Haiti. His sons, Charles, Lewis and Frederick, Jr., were hard workers for the advancement of the Negro. His daughter, Rosetta, was born in 1839. He had his children educated by a Quakeress, Phoebe Thayer, in the home, until 1850, when the schools of Rochester were opened to them. In the Civil War, his sons joined the 54th Infantry of Massachusetts and rendered great service to their country. Later, he purchased a home called "Anacostia," three miles from Washington, D. C. This place is a beautiful sight, with a hill overlooking the city by the banks of the Potomac River. During the Reconstruction Period and down to February 20, 1895, he was a favorite lecturer on the American platform. By nature, he was cast in a great mold, physically, intellectually and morally.

He was tall, erect, massive, and yet moved with the grace and agility of an Apollo. He possessed a mind of remarkable acuteness and penetration, and of a great philosophical grasp. He was lofty in sentiment, pure in thought, and exalted in character. He said, "What I ask for the Negro is not benevolence, not pity, not sympathy, but simple justice. . . . If the Negro cannot stand on his own legs, let him fall. All I ask, give him a chance to stand on his own legs! Let him alone! If you see him on his way to school, let him alone! If you see him going to the ballot-box, let him alone! If you see him going into a workshop, let him alone! If you will only untie his hands, and give him a chance, I think he will live." He passed away February 20, 1895, at his homeplace, Anacostia, Maryland. Now his home is regarded as a national shrine. This anti-slavery agitation originated a method of escape for the Negro to freedom and at the same time a system of checking this escape. The "Black Codes," Fugitive Slave Laws, Personal Liberty Laws and the Underground Railroad were all in operation at the same time.

The "Black Codes." The Louisiana Civil Code, (Article 35) thus defines a slave: "One who is in the power of a master, to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry and his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything but what must belong to his master." In some states the constitution forbade the passing of acts to emancipate slaves without the consent of their owners or to prevent immigrants from bringing their slaves into the states. There were also provisions in some of the states for the punishment of the wilful and deliberate murder of a slave. Education of slaves was strictly forbidden, although the provision was frequently evaded or disobeyed in individual cases. The

pass system was in full vigor everywhere. Slaves were always subject to being stopped and examined. Some free states, where many Negroes lived, had repressive laws. Ohio, in 1803, forbade a Negro to settle in the state, without recording a certificate of freedom. In 1807, Ohio passed an act denying to Negroes the privilege of testifying in cases in which a white man was interested on either side. She prohibited Negroes attending public schools. In many instances, the Northern states required Negroes to give bond for their good behavior.

Underground Railroad. The Underground Railroad was a planned route over which Negro slaves were guided to places in the North where they were free. They even went as far as Canada for safety. This system was one of the means that the abolitionists used to uproot slavery. Negroes came from all parts of the South to hiding places or stations as they were called. There they were kept in hiding until word came that the way was clear to the next station. It would continue like this, until they were regarded as out of danger. The agents of the company disguised themselves as slave-owners, overseers, officers of the law, preachers, or in any other way by which they could evade the law. The slaves secured fake passes, men dressed like women, women dressed like men, and sometimes, they were shipped in boxes labelled as other goods to get to free land. Among the many leaders in this traffic for freedom were: Arthur Tappan, Ruth Shore, Levi Coffin, Calvin Fairbank, John Brown, Thomas Garrett and hundreds of other white people. The most outstanding Negroes were: Harriett Tubman, Josiah Henson and Hillery Chavis of Spartanburg, Indiana. The main route was from Kentucky through Indiana and Ohio, or from Virginia and Maryland through Pennsylvania. They as-



Top Photos from T. F. Healy Collection. Bottom Photo by Culver Service

Top, Left—Sojourner Truth. Right—John Brown. Middle—Scenes of the underground railroad. Bottom—Resurrection of Henry Box Brown

sisted thousands of Negroes in this way. Calvin Fairbank served seventeen years in the penitentiary for his work. Ruth Shore paid over $3,000 in fines for her work, and Thomas Garrett paid over $8,000 in fines for his work. It must have been a blow to the slaveholders for they had 3,211 agents, station keepers and conductors in the service. Harriett Tubman, a Negro woman, made as many as nineteen journeys back to the South after escaping herself, and aided her brothers and their wives together with 300 more slaves. Josiah Henson, after escaping from his master in Kentucky, made his way to Canada. He aided in the escape of nearly two hundred slaves. Harriet Beecher Stowe has preserved him as Uncle Tom in her novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* He later preached and started business adventures in Canada, and now is probably the best known type of the old slave.

Fugitive Slave Laws. The North had fugitive slave laws to aid the South. Ohio, in 1839, passed a fugitive slave law more drastic than the one passed by the government in 1793. However, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 shows very clearly that there was a great concern over the efficiency of the Underground Railroad. This law was designed in the interests of the planters. It vested the Federal government with almost unlimited powers for the apprehension and return of runaway slaves. The alleged fugitive was denied trial by jury, could not summon witnesses or testify in his own behalf, and was liable to capture even though he might have escaped years before the statute was enacted. Moreover, any Federal officer charged with the apprehension and return of fugitive slaves might, if he feared a rescue, summon the aid of any person. Heavy penalties were to be inflicted on any official who failed to perform his duty and on those who harbored or aided in the escape of a fugi-

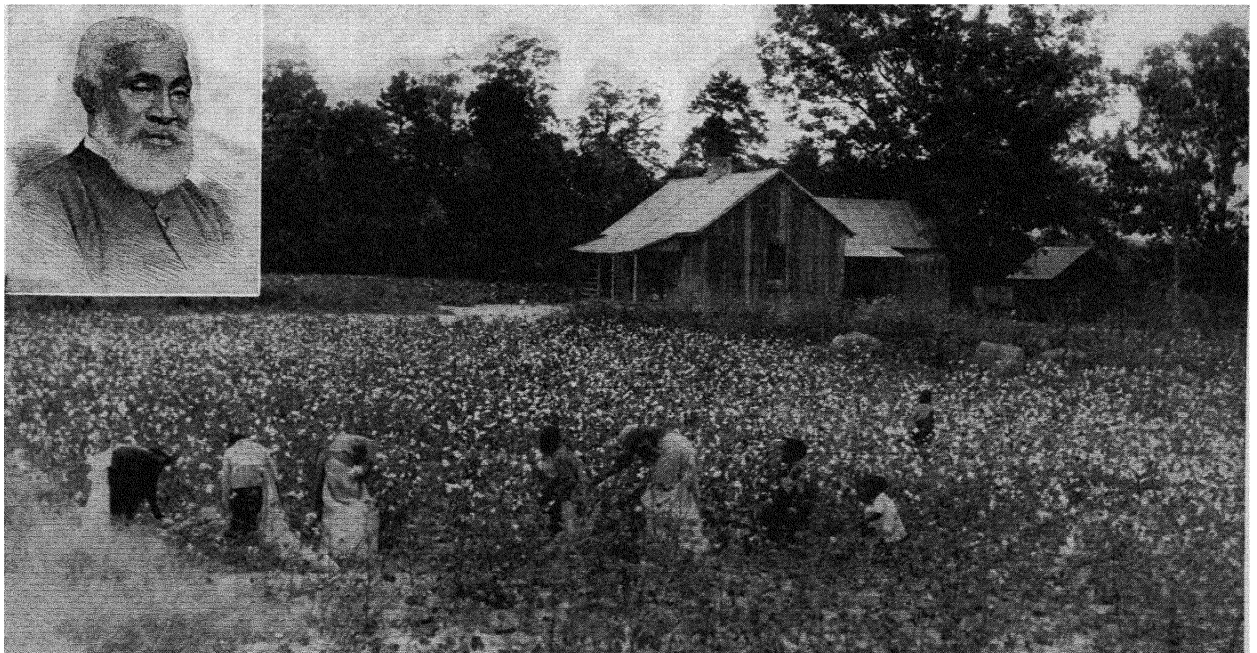


Photo by Philip P. Gendreau, N. Y. *T. F. Healy Collection*

A plantation scene in South Carolina. Inset—The Rev. Josiah Henson, the original of "Uncle Tom"

tive. This law caused still further separation between the North and the South. There were constant threats of a disruption in the Union.

Personal Liberty Laws. The North tended to widen the gap between the two sections (1851-1860) by the passage of personal liberty laws by ten of the Northern states. These laws were an answer to the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. The essence of these laws was to safeguard state officers for not enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law. The fugitive slave could secure counsel; he was to have the benefit of *habeas corpus;* of *trial by jury;* the use of jails for the holding of runaway Negroes was prohibited, and a heavy fine or penalty was imposed for the seizure of any free person.

Jackson's Administration Closes. It was necessary to carry a connected story of the impact of the slave issue a little beyond Jackson's administration, before going on with the history of America, because of the influence of these acts on one another. However, Andrew Jackson's regime was the beginning of many things which have been beneficial to America. During his administration occurred the following named remarkable events: the first railway which was built at Baltimore in 1830; John Ericsson's screw propeller displaced the paddles of the steamboat; Fairbanks invented the platform scales; McCormick's reaper was patented; the *New York Sun* and *Herald* newspapers sold for a penny apiece; Poe, Bryant and Whittier, the poets, attained great fame; Bancroft and Prescott, the historians, began to be read by educated people; Noah Webster's dictionary supplanted Dr. Samuel Johnson's dictionary of 1755; painting and other forms of art were becoming generally known. No wonder that Jackson said, near the close of his

terms, "I leave this great people prosperous and happy."

Martin Van Buren, Eighth President, 1837-1841. The Democrats pushed on, as Andrew Jackson let the mantle of the presidential toga fall upon the shoulders of the "Little Magician." Martin Van Buren was born on a farm at Kinderhook, New York, December 5, 1782. Reared and educated in the schools of his community, he took to law and began practicing in New York City. Allying himself with Jackson and possessing an uncanny political foresight and a quiet way of doing things, he proved himself to be a valuable friend of Jackson. He became Jackson's secretary of state. In this position, he helped Jackson out of many of his personal and political troubles. In 1837, Martin Van Buren easily defeated William H. Harrison, the Whig Candidate for president. Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, was elected vice-president. Aside from the slave issue, which was Van Buren's undoing, he was confronted by a great panic. Trade was stopped. stores closed, workers were in distress and breadlines formed throughout the country. Out of this distressed time, the Independent Treasury was established in 1840. Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont, while living in New York, declared that an angel from heaven gave him a number of golden plates on which a new scripture was written. He believed that the Bible was the word of God and urged every good Mormon, as his followers were called, to marry more than one wife. He was killed in 1844 in Illinois. Brigham Young, of Vermont, led them from Illinois to the outskirts of the United States, later known as Utah. They finally were forced to give up their plural marriages and Utah entered the Union in 1896. Another happening which affected American life was the potato famine in Ireland. As a result of this calamity, thou-

sands of Irish came to America. It is reported that 33,000,000 immigrants have come to America since 1820. These people came because of the famine and good transportation facilities on the ocean.

William Henry Harrison and John Tyler, Ninth and Tenth Presidents, 1841-1845. William Henry Harrison was born in Virginia, February 9, 1773. He attended school at Hampden-Sidney College and then studied medicine at Philadelphia. George Washington appointed him ensign. He soon went to North Bend, Ohio, where he later settled on a farm of two thousand acres. He was appointed governor of the Indiana Territory and here is where he got his nickname, "Tippecanoe and a log cabin." He was elected president at the age of sixty-eight and, persisting in riding bareheaded to his inaugural, contracted a cold, and died April 4, 1841. It was peculiar that *John Tyler,* the vice-president, born March 29, 1790, was from the same state, Virginia. He attended William and Mary College. At an early age he was elected to the legislature of Virginia. Later he became a member of the United States Congress, and then went back to his farm in Virginia. When Harrison died, Tyler had to borrow money to go to take the office of president. His wife soon died and he married a lady thirty years younger than himself.

Webster-Ashburton Treaty, 1842. Daniel Webster, representing the United States, and Lord Ashburton, representing England, ironed out the boundary line between Canada and the United States. The line was fixed between the Lake of the Woods, Minnesota, and the Rocky Mountains at the 49th parallel. Another provision was that the two governments agreed to maintain independent squadrons on the American coast to act in conjunction with each other; to prohibit the search of our ships for Negro slaves. As

the price of Negro slaves rose, it was difficult to enforce the slave-trade law.

Electric Telegraph, 1844. As a further step in advancement, Samuel F. B. Morse, of Massachusetts, who was then teaching in the University of New York, had wires stretched from Baltimore to Washington. On the morning of May 24, 1844, Morse sent the following message, found in the Bible, Numbers, 22nd Chapter, 23rd verse: "What hath God wrought?" This was the beginning of our great telegraph system. In 1892, Marconi, an Italian, perfected the "wireless telegraph." While this was going on, Dr. W. T. G. Morton, of Boston, produced artificial sleep by having patients breathe the vapor of ether. His tombstone says that "before that discovery, surgery was agony; . . . since, science has controlled pain."

Annexation of Texas, 1845. The third step in our expansion program was completed in Tyler's administration. Louisiana was purchased in 1803, Florida in 1819, and now Texas was annexed in 1845. While Texas was still a part of Mexico, Stephen F. Austin, General Sam Houston, and other Americans had settled in that territory. They finally made it an independent republic, 1836-45. The South wanted it annexed because from it new states could be created to over-balance their power in Congress. The North was opposed, but Congress decided to annex it. Texas was admitted to the Union, because Webster was no longer secretary of state, and John C. Calhoun and Tyler, both slave-owners, threw the weight of their influence in behalf of the measure.

James Knox Polk, Eleventh President, 1845-1849. The Democrats marched on, in spite of the Whigs, who nominated Henry Clay for president or the abolitionists who formed the Liberty Party and nominated James G. Birney of Ohio. The Liberty Party split

the vote, and James K. Polk, of Tennessee, and G. M. Dallas were elected president and vice-president, respectively. James K. Polk, the eleventh president, was born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, on November 2, 1795. His father, mother and ten children soon moved to Middle Tennessee. He went to school at the Murfreesboro Academy, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, after which he attended the University of North Carolina. He studied law and practiced in Columbia, Tennessee. He was elected to the House of Representatives of Tennessee, and was made governor of the state (1839-1841), and a representative in the United States Congress. Polk favored the annexation of Texas, and won the presidency in 1844. During Polk's term, Andrew Johnson was a Congressman as was Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. The annexation of Texas was the first important act which occurred in his administration. Then the Oregon question came up. Russia, Great Britain and the United States established the line between Alaska and Oregon at 54° 40′. Later a treaty was negotiated with Great Britain by which the region was divided at a parallel of 49° north. Before this was settled, Rev. Marcus Whitman, some Negroes and H. J. Kelly had taken many people to Oregon. It is interesting to note that the Negro was responsible for the split in the Methodist and the Baptist churches, at this time. In 1844, they separated into the respective churches of the North and of the South. The Presbyterians did likewise in 1845. The Wesleyan Methodists, the Disciples of Christ and the Episcopalians never separated.

Mexican War, 1846-48. A dispute arose over the boundary line between Texas and Mexico. Texas insisted that the line was at the Rio Grande River. Mexico denied this, saying that it was on the Nueces River which was about a hundred miles north. Gen-

eral Zachary Taylor was ordered to seize the territory. The Mexicans fired and blood was shed. Congress declared war, March 13, 1846. General Taylor, General Scott and many others made a quick job of it. We won all the battles, and peace was declared February 2, 1848, at Guadalupe Hidalgo. The terms were that the United States should pay fifteen million dollars direct to Mexico, and some three millions more to American citizens who held claims against Mexico; that Mexico relinquish all territory north of the Rio Grande and the Gila Rivers. This comprised New Mexico, California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. In all, it was about a million square miles of territory. A few years later, we bought from Mexico a strip of land now included in southern Arizona and New Mexico, and known as the "Gadsden Purchase." The purchase price was $10,000,000.

California and Gold. In the meantime, John C. Frémont, the "Pathfinder" in the far West, crossed the Sierra Nevada Mountains and came to the land where Cortez had imported 300 Negro slaves. While Mexico freed her slaves in 1829, many people held their slaves until 1870. Hundreds of Negro miners came to California in '49. William Alexander Leidsdorff was a distinguished Negro pioneer in San Francisco. Commodore Stockton, who was then military governor, was entertained at Leidsdorff's home in San Francisco. It was reported that he had the largest home and was one of the most wealthy men there. He made his money in the shipping business between New York and the coast. Other Negroes early in California were: William Hart, a miner; John A. Barber, a contractor; and Isaac Jackson, a rancher. Many other Negroes also helped blaze the way to the Golden West.

The Thirtieth Congress. Among the new members of the Thirtieth Congress were: Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, in the House, and Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, in the Senate. Both of these men were born in Kentucky. Davis was an aristocrat, whose gallant conduct during the Mexican War, and marriage to General Taylor's daughter, had given him high social honors. Lincoln was from the "poor whites" and attracted little attention at Washington. Davis claimed that slavery was a benefit both to master and slave, and wanted to continue the war with Mexico to the end that the whole country might be annexed as slave territory. Lincoln abhorred the slave traffic, which had made his people outcasts on their own soil and opposed the war with Mexico, because he suspected it to be for conquest. The Republic of Mexico had prohibited slavery, and thus the newly acquired territory was nominally free soil.

Wilmot Proviso, 1846. David Wilmot a Democratic member of Congress from Pennsylvania, had proposed that slavery should be forever prohibited in all the new territory. This provision failed to pass both houses of Congress, but Texas was the last state admitted with Negro slaves. When Wisconsin was admitted as a free state in 1848, a new party came into existence known as the "Free-Soilers." It was composed of the abolitionists, some Whigs and Democrats who had supported the Wilmot Proviso. They nominated Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams. While they did not win, they helped to defeat Lewis Cass and William O. Butler, the Democratic nominees. The Whig nominees, General Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, were elected.

Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore, Twelfth and Thirteenth Presidents, 1849-1853. Zachary Taylor

was born in Orange County, Virginia, on November 24, 1784. Starting young in life to be a soldier, he never attended any school. Soon his people moved to Kentucky, and from here he became an Indian fighter. He fought about forty-five years of his life: first against the Indians; then in the Mexican War; in the Seminole War and in all parts of the frontier in the West. He settled on a large plantation at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, where he had several hundred Negro slaves. His wife was opposed to his running for president, but the Whigs capitalized on the "Old Rough and Ready" nickname he got during his fighting and easily defeated the other candidates. Millard Fillmore, his running mate, was born January 7, 1880, at Summer Hill, Cayuga County, New York. He was much like Taylor in that he never attended a school. He was apprenticed to a wool carder and, to be released from this service, he paid thirty dollars. He studied law in the office of Judge Wood and was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-three. He taught school and then entered state politics. He was elected to the New York state assembly, then to Congress. He was then elected comptroller of New York, from which position he went to the vice-presidency. It is peculiar that Taylor never belonged to any party. He was a large slaveholder, but did not favor the extension of slavery to the new territory for which he fought. The Wilmot Proviso, the Compromise of 1850, the Fugitive Slave Law, and the publishing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were the great issues in their administration.

Gold and the West. When gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill, near Sacramento, California, in 1848, the gold fever broke out and, from all sections of the country, people swarmed to the gold fields. Negroes in great numbers were taken to California. Soon California

applied for statehood and that is what brought into prominence the Great Compromise of 1850 and other issues involving the Negroes. Most of the nations of the earth had liberated their slaves; yet the republic of the United States still held men in bondage. "Liberty is wearing a chain!" cried Victor Hugo from France. "The United States must renounce slavery, or they must renounce liberty!"

Henry Clay and the Compromise of 1850. At this time, William H. Seward, of New York, Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio; Sam Houston of Texas; Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, all were in Congress with Henry Clay, who owned Negro slaves, John C. Calhoun, a slave-owner, and Daniel Webster, who was soon to fall. The Compromise of 1850 provided for:

(1) California to be admitted as a slave state.
(2) No mention of slavery in the remainder of the Mexican cession lands when organized into territories.
(3) Slave-trade to be prohibited in the District of Columbia.
(4) A more stringent fugitive slave law to be enacted.
(5) Texas to get $10,000,000 for her claim to a portion of New Mexico.

While the debate on this bill was raging, President Taylor died on July 9, 1850. Then Fillmore came on the scene as president. The Compromise passed in the fall of 1850. We have already told of the Fugitive Slave Law, the Personal Liberty Laws, and the Underground Railroad. It is only necessary here to say that the dividing line between the North and the South was becoming wider and more dangerous.

Uncle Tom's Cabin. This feeling of division was

more intensified by the publication, in 1852, of Harriet Beecher Stowe's, *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Mrs. Stowe's purpose was to show what the life of the Negro slave really was—to show its bright and happy side as well as its dark and cruel side. People were absorbed in the stories of "Topsy," "Eva," and "Uncle Tom," but the world shuddered at Simon Legree and his cruelty. The story interwove the life of Josiah Henson and Lewis Clarke. It was read throughout the country and Lincoln once said, when he met Mrs. Stowe, that he was happy to meet the woman who started the Civil War.

The Impending Crisis, 1857. Hinton Rowan Helper, representing the Southern, slave-holding people from North Carolina, wrote *The Impending Crisis.* In this book, he told the story of the "poor whites," showing that slavery and slave labor were unfavorable to a good, sound, economic basis. This book was used by the Republicans as campaign material for the election of Lincoln.

Woman's Rights Advocated. At this time many reforms were attempted. Temperance societies were organized to reform drunkards; benevolent societies found work for the unemployed; and the first "Woman's Rights" convention, under the leadership of Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, was held at Rochester, New York.

In 1852, the Whigs nominated General Winfield Scott for president. The Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire. The Free-Soilers nominated John Parker Hale, also of New Hampshire; Franklin Pierce was elected president and William R. King, of Alabama, vice-president.

Franklin Pierce, Fourteenth President, 1853-1857. Franklin Pierce was born in New Hampshire in 1804. He was a Congressman and a brigadier general in the

Mexican War. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College, in Maine. He was a life-long friend of Nathaniel Hawthorne, and, when he was president, sent him to England as consul. His administration began with the opening of the World's Fair in the Crystal Palace in New York City. At this time a peculiar situation was started by the "filibusters" in Cuba. The slaveholders in and about New Orleans interested about five hundred Americans to fight and take Cuba and annex her to the United States, so that the South would have more territory for Negro slavery. They further argued that, if Spain freed her slaves, such action would cause a revolution among the Negroes of the South. Out of this controversy came the "Ostend Manifesto." This was a resolution, drawn up at Ostend, Belgium, by the ministers of America in England, France and Spain, and stated that the United States should have Cuba either by purchase or conquest. Spain answered that she would not sell, and threatened to arm her Negro slaves against invaders.

Japan Visited, 1851. Commodore M. C. Perry, the brother of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, of Lake Erie fame, sailed into one of the ports of Japan with the first fleet of steamers that had ever entered a harbor of that island. A treaty was concluded after this, and the United States began to trade with Japan.

Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 1854. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, "The Little Giant," proposed a law to cut the Nebraska country into two parts, the southern part of which was to be called Kansas; and it left the settlers of these two territories to decide whether they would have slave labor or not. Congress passed the bill, and thus repealed the Missouri Compromise. This law caused all opponents of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the extension of slavery in the West

to unite. Out of this union came the birth of the Republican Party.

Squatter Sovereignty, 1854. Since the Kansas-Nebraska Bill ended the Missouri Compromise and its provision for no slaves north of the line of 36° 30′, and substituted for it the theory of "Popular Sovereignty" or Squatter Sovereignty, the people from both sections of the country flocked to Kansas. The North became somewhat enraged at the outcome and settled down to start a fight about the whole matter. The pro-slavery people, through fraud, got control of the legislature and put through a pro-slavery constitution. A law was enacted to make it a penitentiary offence to prohibit one from holding Negro slaves in the state. Atchison was settled by the Southerners and the New England Aid Society of Boston, with Amos A. Lawrence, treasurer, settled at Lawrence. The "Free-State" men made their headquarters at Topeka and Lawrence. The "Slave-State" men made theirs at Leavenworth and Lecompton. From 1854 to 1859, the territory was a battle field of war and plunder. The "Free-State men were accused of using rifles shipped to them in boxes labelled Bibles. The rumors went far and wide that these rifles were "Beecher's Bibles."

John Brown and Charles Sumner. The "Slave-State" men attacked Lawrence, plundered the town and destroyed much property. It was on this occasion that the spirit of John Brown started his movements among men. He was a descendant of Peter Brown, who came over in the *Mayflower* in 1620. When a boy, he chanced to see a Negro slave being cruelly beaten by his master, and he then and there vowed "eternal war with slavery." He started in 1848 to aid runaway slaves on the Underground Railroad through New York to Canada. He went out to Ossawattomie, Kansas, in 1855, to take a part in making that territory a

free state, and to strike at slavery. In his raid in Kansas, he killed five men and destroyed a considerable quantity of property, while freeing eleven Negroes. During the heated debate in Congress over the trouble in Kansas, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts made a speech called "The Crime Against Kansas." It was so furious in its exposure of the conditions in Kansas that Representative Preston Brooks of South Carolina struck him down with his cane. Sumner was not able to work for five years thereafter.

The Know-Nothing Party Organized, 1855. Many people left the two parties and formed a native American party. It was a secret organization, having several degrees of membership, and was called Know-Nothing, because only members of the high degrees knew the secrets. They were hostile to foreigners, who were accused of hurting the native Americans in their work, and in other ways. All of the anti-slavery Democrats, anti-slavery Whigs, Free-Soilers and Know-Nothings united under the name of the National Republican Party on February 22, 1856. The name "Black Republicans" was attached to them because they favored the rights of Negroes.

James Buchanan, Fifteenth President, 1857-1861. The Democrats selected James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for their candidates for president and vice-president, respectively. The Republicans nominated for president John C. Frémont, a Georgian who went to California, while the American or "Know-Nothing" party nominated Millard Fillmore for president. The people elected James Buchanan. He was born at Stoney Batter, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, on April 23, 1791. His people, who had recently come from Europe, settled down to a frugal life and since James was one of eleven children, he had to practice the virtues that

pertain to such a life. He attended Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He read law and was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one. He was elected to the state legislature, then to the national Congress as a representative. Later Jackson appointed him ambassador to Russia. When he returned, he was elected to the United States Senate. He held that Negro slavery was not an issue that could be satisfactorily or constitutionally legislated upon. He voted to deny anti-slavery literature admission to the mails. It was only two days after his inauguration that Chief Justice Roger B. Taney announced his decision in the Dred Scott Case.

Dred Scott Case, 1857. The facts in this case are concerned with Dr. John Emerson, a surgeon in the United States Army who owned Dred Scott, a Negro slave, who could neither read nor write. In 1834, Dr. Emerson was transferred by the war department from Missouri, a slave state, to a post in Rock Island, Illinois, where he stayed until May, 1836. This place was in free territory. In 1836, Dr. Emerson was moved to Fort Snelling in the Wisconsin territory, where he held Dred Scott until 1838. This place was also free territory. In 1835, Harriet, a Negro woman, was the slave of Major Taliaferro who belonged to the army of the United States stationed at Fort Snelling. In 1836, Harriet was sold to Dr. Emerson, and in 1838, he agreed to the marriage of Dred Scott and Harriet. They lived as husband and wife, and two children, Eliza Scott and Lizzie Scott, seven years later, were born to them. Eliza was born on the Mississippi River in free territory, and Lizzie was born in Missouri in slave territory. In 1838, Dr. Emerson removed Dred and his family to Missouri, and in 1844, Dr. Emerson died, leaving his property in trust to his daughter. One of the executors of the trust was John F. A. Sanford

of New York State, who was Dr. Emerson's brother-in-law. Mrs. Emerson did not wish to keep Dred and his family, but, under the terms of the trust, she could not sell or emancipate them. Mrs. Emerson moved to Massachusetts and left Dred and his family with a friend. It was during this time that Dred Scott and his family came to the attention of some abolitionists, and they decided to make a test case of the matter. Suit was brought in the state circuit court of St. Louis, Missouri, where a judgment was rendered in favor of Dred. On a writ of error the case was brought before the supreme court of the state, where it was reversed, and the case remanded to the circuit court. Dred declared that Sanford had assaulted him, his wife, Harriet, Eliza and Lizzie. Exceptions were taken and the record was transferred to the Supreme Court of the United States. Here Sanford denied the allegations and Chief Justice Roger B. Taney handed down his famous decision. On the bench were nine justices, five of whom were Southerners. The decision was seven for Taney's views and two dissenting. The three issues settled were: (1) Is Dred Scott a citizen of the United States? (2) Can a Negro be a citizen? (3) Is the Missouri Compromise of 1820 in accordance with the Constitution? Justice Taney said on March 6, 1857, (1) that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States do not include or refer to Negroes otherwise than as property; (2) that they (Negroes) cannot become citizens of the United States, nor sue in the federal courts; that Dred Scott's claim of freedom, by reason of his residence in Illinois, was a Missouri question, which Missouri law had decided against him; that the Constitution of the United States recognized slaves as property, and pledged the Federal government to protect it; and (3) that the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 and like prohibitory laws are

unconstitutional; and the circuit court of the United States had no jurisdiction in the case, could give no judgment in it, and must be directed to dismiss the suit. These three questions were answered in such terms that no one could fail to understand what Justice Taney was talking about. Dred Scott was not a citizen and had no right to sue in a federal court, therefore, the case was thrown out. The ownership of Dred Scott and his family passed by inheritance to the family of a Massachusetts Republican member of Congress, and they were emancipated by Taylor Blow on May 26, 1857.

Results of the Dred Scott Case. It is hard for one to evaluate the case of this poor, ignorant Negro and his family on the whole life at this time. But the consequences must be evaluated in the light of the facts as they happened. The North protested loudly and indignantly at this cold and pitiless historical explanation of the bondage, ignorance, and degradation of the unfortunate, kidnapped African and his descendants in a bygone century. The people and press of that section seized upon the salient phase of the statement, "A Negro has no rights which a white man is bound to respect." This was certainly a distortion of his exact words and meaning. In five of the thirteen original states Negro people then possessed the elective franchise, and were among those by whom the Constitution was framed and established. They had been freed, educated and were participating in many ways in the development of America. Mass meetings were held throughout the North. Democrats in numbers turned to the Republican Party and rumors of a conspiracy to spread Negro slavery to every part of the Union were heard. A fraudulent constitution was passed in Kansas—the Lecompton Constitution. It was finally rejected by Congress in 1861 and Kansas was

admitted as a free state. At first the decision was a great victory for the South. It was confirmation of the principles of Calhoun. The South could be accused on moral and religious grounds, but not on legal grounds.

Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1858. Stephen A. Douglas, wishing to be re-elected senator from Illinois, opposed Abraham Lincoln, who was running for that office on the Republican ticket. They met in many joint debates on the issues of the time. Among them were: technical points on the Constitution; acts of Congress; Fugitive Slave Law; the Dred Scott Decision; the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and Popular Sovereignty. When the Republicans nominated Lincoln in 1860, he said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided." Douglas seized upon this statement to declare that Lincoln was urging war between the sections. Lincoln retorted by asking Douglas whether the people of a territory of the United States could lawfully exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution. Douglas answered that though the Supreme Court decided that slavery was lawful in a territory, the institution "could not exist anywhere for a day or an hour" without the support of "local police regulation." Lincoln said, in reply, "Then a thing may be legally driven away from a place where it has a legal right to be." The result was that Douglas won his senatorship by vote of the legislature of Illinois, but Lincoln received the approval of the people and became the most popular man in the Republican party.

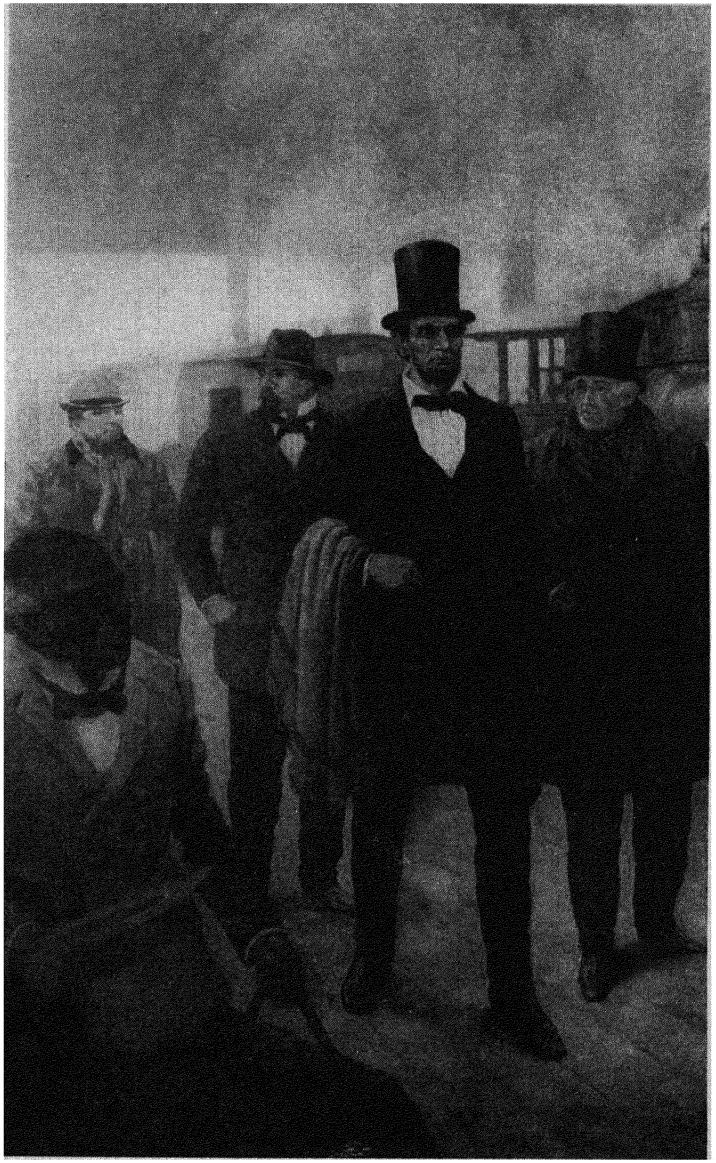
More Clouds Gather. The slaveholders again de-

sired to purchase Cuba. It was reported that American slave ships were bringing in cargoes of Negroes to Southern ports in open defiance of the laws making slave-trade a piracy and no juries could be found to indict the captains or owners. It cost the planters about fifteen hundred dollars or more for a slave from Virginia or Kentucky, but they could get one from the Guinea Coast for three hundred to five hundred dollars. There were no less than fifteen thousand slaves landed in Southern ports in the year of 1859. A bill to build the Pacific Railroad failed. The Homestead Bill was defeated. A great financial house in Cincinnati failed. Banks closed and people could not meet their bills. The cause of this panic was a result of the discovery of gold in California. Soon silver was discovered in Nevada, Colorado and Utah, and E. L. Drake bored the first oil well in Pennsylvania. Soon natural gas was found. These discoveries set the stage for the greatest industrial expansion in the world. It had to wait, however, until after the Civil War.

John Brown's Raid, October 17, 1859. After having participated in the massacre in Kansas and having lived through all those years of slavery controversy, John Brown conceived a plan to seize the arsenal at Harper's Ferry and free the slaves. On October 16, 1859, with nineteen assistants, five of whom were Negroes, he surprised and captured the arsenal. He freed about thirty slaves before he was captured. A detachment of United States troops, under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee, soon rounded them up, killed several of his men, and captured Brown with six other survivors. They were tried for treason and hanged December 2, 1859. The governor of Virginia said, "He inspired me with great trust in his integrity as a man of truth . . . they are mistaken who take Brown for a madman. He is a bundle of the best nerves I

ever saw . . . cool, collected, indomitable." On the day of his execution, he handed to one of his guards a paper reading, "I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood. I had, as I now think, vainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed, it might be done." Within a year and a half from this date, the great War Between the States started.

Nomination and Election of Abraham Lincoln, Sixteenth President, 1861-1865. When the thirty-sixth Congress opened, there were eighteen free states and fifteen slave states. The Republican convention met in Chicago. Abraham Lincoln was nominated over a group of strong men—William H. Seward of New York; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, and Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio. Lincoln had made himself famous by his speeches in the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and his Cooper Union speech in New York. The Democrats met at Charleston, South Carolina. It is said that many delegates from the North saw there, for the first time, the auction block for slaves, and that the sight of it had a serious effect on their political views. They could not agree, but adjourned to meet at Baltimore. They split in two factions at Baltimore. The majority nominated Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois. The minority-Democrats nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. Another new party, composed of former "Know-Nothings" and "Whigs," came into existence and called itself, "The Constitutional Union Party." It nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for president and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for vice-president. The main issues were "protective tariff and freedom in the territories" on the side of the Republicans. The Democratic slogan was "free trade and popular sovereignty." The Constitutional Union Party advocated the enforcement of the Constitution



Courtesy Public Relations Department, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Baltimore, Md.

Abraham Lincoln arriving in Washington for his first inauguration on the B. & O. at the B. & O. Station, February 23, 1861. His Negro servant is carrying his bag

with no mention of slaves. The popular vote for Lincoln was, in round figures, 1,860,000 against 1,291,000 for Douglas, and 850,000 for Breckinridge. Bell received 589,000. The combined vote for the two Democratic candidates exceeded the vote cast for Lincoln by more than 280,000 votes. This fact shows that Lincoln was a minority president by about forty per cent of the popular vote. The reaction to this election was soon reflected in the act of South Carolina. On December 20, 1860, in a state convention, she declared herself out of the Union. Before March 4, 1861, the five states of Georgia, January 19; Alabama, January 11; Mississippi, January 9; Louisiana, January 26; and Florida, January 10, had followed the example of the Palmetto State. On the same day of Alabama's secession, a convention at Montgomery, Alabama, created "The Confederate States of America," adopted a provisional constitution—subject to ratification—and chose Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, as president, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, as vice-president. Texas seceded February 1, 1861; Virginia, April 17; Arkansas, May 6; Tennessee, May 7; and North Carolina, May 20. Eleven states in all seceded. Lincoln became president of only twenty-three states, but the American flag carried thirty-four stars.

Abraham Lincoln. The sixteenth president of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, Republican, was born February 12, 1809, near Hodgenville, Hardin County, Kentucky. His father, Thomas Lincoln, and his mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, were poor people who had been encouraged to come to the West by Daniel Boone, the pioneer. Soon they moved to Spencer County, Indiana, and in a short time, his mother died. It was only a year until his father married Mrs. Sarah Bush Johnson. This step-mother was very kind to Abraham, and aided him in every way she could.

Though Lincoln went to school less than a whole year altogether, he early learned to read and write, and soon devoured all the books he could get his hands on. When he was nineteen, Abraham Lincoln helped build a flatboat and floated down the Mississippi River to New Orleans to sell produce. On this trip, doubtless, he gained his first impression of slavery, and his first personal dislike of the institution. As he grew to manhood, he was tall, lanky, a good jumper, runner and all-round athlete. He was known for his ability to split rails. He always bore the name of being honest, faithful and a great reader of the Bible. He studied law, fought in the Black Hawk War, was elected to the state legislature, to the United States Congress, and was later president. He married Mary Todd, and to them were born four sons. They all passed in youth except Robert Todd Lincoln. Lincoln's wife was of Southern people, but she was sympathetic with her husband's career. On April 14, 1865, he was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth at Ford's Theatre, Washington, D. C.

Jefferson Davis. The President of "the Confederacy of the United States of America," was born in Christian County, Kentucky, June 3, 1809. It is a coincidence that Lincoln and Davis were born about one hundred miles apart and that there was little difference in the dates of their births. Davis was from a rich, slave-holding ancestry. He was educated at Transylvania University, a Christian college, one of the oldest colleges west of the Alleghenies, graduated at West Point in 1828, and distinguished himself in the Mexican War. He was United States senator from Mississippi, secretary of war under President Pierce, and was again senator from Mississippi, when he withdrew from the U. S. Senate, January 21, 1861, to become president of the Confederacy. He served

during the life of the Confederacy, was captured May 10, 1865, and was imprisoned two years at Fortress Monroe, Virginia. Later he was released, and the last years of his life were spent quietly on his plantation Beauvois, in Mississippi. He died December 6, 1889.

A glimpse into the lives of these two men shows that they were sons of the same soil. The training of Jefferson Davis and his experience, were far better than those of Abraham Lincoln. Nevertheless, the world has taken note of Lincoln and claimed him as one of the immortals, whereas, Davis and his works are less well known. Those two sons of the South now belong to the ages. We still study and ponder over the wisdom they both showed for the ideals by which they lived. Davis was a great patriot; Lincoln a great soul.

CHAPTER VII

THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION —1860-1880

Resources of the South. Before one can enter without prejudice upon a discussion of this great conflict, it is necessary to endeavor to weigh the facts on both sides. Much has been written concerning the Civil War and the fact that many have tried to make out a case for or against either side, has caused many people to become biased about the whole situation. It is not our intention to take sides; we will merely try to present the facts and the student may draw his own conclusions. At first, we shall look at the South—the eleven states of the Confederacy. It comprised 560,000 square miles of territory with a population of about 8,099,760 whites and 4,215,614 Negroes, and of this number 261,918 were free Negroes. The general impression is that all whites of the South owned slaves. That impression is far from being the truth, because, in 1860, there were only 384,753 slave-owners in the entire section. Of this number in 1860, 7,929 owners had more than fifty slaves each; 174,503 owned less than five; and 165,093 owned between five and fifty. In ten Southern states, fifty-six planters owned between three hundred and five hundred slaves each. In Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, nine planters owned between five hundred and one thousand each, and only two owned over one thousand slaves. The taxable wealth of the South was about five billion dollars and, of this amount, one and a half billion was in slave property. Looking at the number of slave-owners, one can see that the greater part of the wealth

of the South was in the hands of a few planters. The railroads were very few—only two good lines. There was no adequate place in which to make firearms or war material. The South had the world's cotton market and an overwhelmingly agricultural way of life. The best trained generals such as Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston, Joseph E. Johnston, and others were used to handling men and had been in all parts of the country. They knew how and where to fight. Of the total Southern population only 1,500,000 men were available for military duty.

Resources of the North. With an area about five times as large as the South and a population of about 22,000,000 and only 226,052 free Negroes, the North had 4,600,000 men available for military duty. It had about eleven billion dollars worth of wealth to draw upon. All of the best railroads, manufacturing plants and materials, except cotton, were accessible. Another advantage was that the North took the offensive and soon was in the Southern territory. This action allowed it to work harmoniously behind its lines.

Causes of the Civil War. The answers to the questions as to what caused the Civil War would vary as much as the questions themselves. However, it is better to look at the whole scene and then tell our causes. The great causes were: (1) the struggle between the capitalism of the North and the agrarianism of the South; (2) the struggle over the control of newly acquired Western lands; (3) the dispute over the moral, religious and political issues of slavery; (4) the preservation of the Union vs. the theory of secession; (5) the fear that Lincoln and the Republicans would interfere with what had been done in regard to the plans already developed legally. Beneath all lay the question of slavery, though after war began that sank beneath the issue of secession.

Crittenden's Compromise. Before the war actually started, an attempt at a compromise was proposed. The sentiment in regard to secession was nowhere unanimous—not even in the South. Senator Crittenden proposed: (1) that the line of the Missouri Compromise (36° 30′) should be extended to the Pacific and would be the northern boundary line of slave territory; (2) that the United States should guarantee to pay for fugitive slaves that might be in the North; (3) that the United States should not interfere with slavery in the states. This plan failed signally, and the South seized most of the Federal arms, forts, post-offices, and customs houses that lay within its borders.

Civil War Begins, April 12, 1861. On a little island in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, stood Fort Sumter. In this Federal fort, Major Robert Anderson and some men were garrisoned. Food was running short, and the vessel called *The Star of the West,* tried to supply them. The South Carolinians fired on it, and it turned back. Lincoln was determined to send provisions to the garrison; but, before relief could arrive, Major Anderson had surrendered and the South had captured the fort without bloodshed. This act of war took place in the face of the fact that Lincoln, in his first inaugural address, had said: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no intention to do so." In his reference to state rights, he said: "That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to the balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any

state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes." About fugitive slaves he said: "No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered upon claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." He further held out the hope of gradual emancipation upon which subject he said: "Resolved that the United States ought to co-operate with any state which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such state pecuniary aid, to be used by such state, in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system."

Call to Arms. In a brief space of time extending from March into April, 1861, Lincoln was making another plea. This time it was a rejoinder to the South's answer to his inaugural address by attacking Fort Sumter. He called for 75,000 volunteers. The strength of the United States Army was only 17,113 officers and men, and he felt that it was not strong enough to hold out against powerful opposition. Pennsylvania was the first to send troops and they were soon followed by the 6th and 7th regiments of Massachusetts. In all, he had 310,000 men in the field by July 1, 1861. The South called for 100,000 men and they leaped to the gray colors. The Northern slogan was "On to Richmond!" The answer from the South was "On to Washington!"

Plans of the War. The North had four objectives: (1) the blockading of all Southern ports; (2) partitioning of the Confederacy by establishing complete control of the Mississippi; (3) partitioning of the Confederacy a second time in a drive through Georgia to

the sea; and (4) the taking of the Confederate capital, Richmond.

So far as the Southern military forces were able to take the offensive, they aimed at Washington. The South felt that the fall of the Union capital would have a most depressing effect upon the North. It was their purpose, also, to threaten Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York; and, if necessary, it was their business to defend their own territories against the attacks of the North. They planned to seize and hold all forts, navy yards and posts in the Southern states.

War Begins April 19, 1861. The Sixth Massachusetts Regiment was passing through Baltimore en route to Washington, when a crowd of Secessionists attacked the regiment, which fired upon and killed some of them. This occurrence in Baltimore marked the first loss of lives in the Civil War, April 19, 1861. The first battle took place about thirty-five miles from Washington at Bull Run, (Manassas) Virginia. It was fought on July 21, 1861. The commander of the Northern troops was General Irwin McDowell. Another prominent officer in the Northern Army was General George B. McClellan, who was to watch General Beauregard near Manassas Junction. Another force under General Robert Patterson stood guard near Harper's Ferry, to prevent Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston from joining his forces with those of Beauregard. After fighting courageously for many hours, the Northern Army retreated in confusion, and the South won the day. General Thomas J. Jackson, of the South, stood out so bravely against the assaults of the Union troops that he won for himself the sobriquet of "Stonewall," by which nickname he was ever afterwards known.

General George B. McClellan. Soon after the defeat at Bull Run, General McClellan began to drill the

Northern troops in earnest at Washington. In May, 1862, his army was within a few miles of Richmond. They met the Southern troops (June 26-July 2, 1862) in the battles around Richmond, and McClellan was forced back. A little later, the Northern troops, under General Pope, were again beaten in a second battle of Bull Run and driven back to Washington.

Battles of Antietam and Fredericksburg, 1862. General McClellan was confronted by General Robert E. Lee, as he was pushing into Maryland. McClellan won the victory at Antietam, but, due to the lack of harmony, he was replaced by General Burnside. Lee fell back at Antietam, but was successful at Fredericksburg, and Burnside, after having sacrificed thousands of men hopelessly, retreated. General Joseph Hooker took his place, but could accomplish little. The outlook for the North on the Eastern front was quite discouraging. In the West the outcome was different.

The Battles in the West: Fort Donelson and Fort Henry Captured. In the western section the North had two generals of undoubted talent, Ulysses Simpson Grant and George H. Thomas, both graduates of West Point, who had been under fire in the Mexican War. They were holding the border state, Kentucky, safely in the Union. On February 6, 1862, General Grant, with Commodore Foote and his fleet, captured Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and, on February 16, captured Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. This success opened the way South through Tennessee.

The Fight for Missouri and Arkansas. Missouri had thousands of people on each side. The Southern Army, reinforced by Arkansas troops, defeated the North at Wilson's Creek, Missouri, in August, 1861. The North recaptured southern Missouri in the Battle of Pea Ridge, in March, 1862. This success put the North

in a position to hold the area west of the Mississippi River.

Capture of New Orleans. Battles of Shiloh and Murfreesboro. In April, 1862, the good news came to the North that Admiral Farragut had entered the Mississippi River, bombarded the Confederate forts, destroyed the Southern fleet, and captured the city of New Orleans. In the meantime, the Union troops had won at Shiloh (Pittsburg Landing), and at Murfreesboro. These victories gave the North control in northern Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. By this time, too, the Pea Ridge victory had encouraged the North to go further south to the Arkansas River.

Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. The discouraging encounters of the Northern troops in the East, and the dominant courage of the South along all lines of battle, caused Lincoln to use whatever strategy he could muster to stem the tide. Millions of Negro slaves were peacefully working the plantations, caring for the folks back home and supplying the food and clothing for the South. Thousands of free Negroes had entered the Southern side as soldiers. Other thousands had gone to the front to build barriers, the bridges and breastworks for the troops. The slave-owners and army officers were cared for by thousands of Negro slaves as bodyguards and personal servants. Most of the cooks and attendants in the Southern camps were Negro slaves. To strike a blow at this situation, Lincoln "vowed to God" that if General McClellan was successful at Antietam, he would issue a proclamation.

Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation Announced, September 22, 1862. The preliminary proclamation, really a notification to the world that certain slaves would be freed, was issued on September 22, 1862. The Emancipation Proclamation itself was made on Janu-

ary 1, 1863. Its importance was so great and its effects so far-reaching, that it is given here in full as follows:

"Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States containing among other things, the following, to wit:

'That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and navy authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them in any effort they may make for their actual freedom.

'That the Executive will, on the first day of January, aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States, and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.'

"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and Government of the United

States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for repressing said rebellion, do, on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

"Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemine, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, (including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued;

"And, by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States, are and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons. And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

"And I further declare and make known that such

persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

"And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

"In testimony thereof, I have hereunto set my name and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the (L. S.) year of our Lord 1863, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

"By the President: "Abraham Lincoln."
William H. Seward, Secretary of State."

Contraband Negroes. In Virginia, after the first few encounters, thousands of Negroes fell into the hands of the Union troops. General Benjamin F. Butler held these Negro slaves as contraband of war; that is, they were regarded as useful property to the enemy, and, to prevent them from being used, they were held by the North. Later, General Wood, who succeeded General Butler, did the same thing. General Banks knew that the South was arming the Negroes about New Orleans, so he held what Negroes he could as contraband. General John C. Frémont also held the Negroes who came into his camp. The acceptance of Negroes by the North caused great apprehension among the leaders. It was an unusual sight to see 30,000 half-clad, ignorant, destitute, hungry Negroes of all ages and both sexes, come streaming into the Northern camps. They held most of them at Fortress Monroe, Virginia; Hampton, Virginia; Yorktown, Virginia; Port Royal, South Carolina, and Grand Junction, Ten-

nessee. As the war went on, the number increased to over 100,000.

Deportation of Negroes Tried. Lincoln had suggested in one of his remarks that the Negroes and whites could never live side by side peacefully because their physical differences would cause great troubles for both races. With this in mind, Lincoln instructed Secretary of State Seward to correspond with Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, the countries of South America, Liberia, Haiti and France with regard to the deportation of them. The responses showed that Liberia and Haiti were willing to accept the Negroes. The other countries did not accede to the proposition, and, as a result, Bernard Koch secured a contract to furnish transportation for Negroes to the Island of Vache, a part of Haiti. He speculated with New York businessmen in the deal and as a result only a few Negroes were sent in 1862. Unfavorable circumstances, coupled with the lack of training, caused much dissatisfaction, and the government sent for the Negroes and returned them to the United States. The deportation scheme was not satisfactory, so the North had to work out a program of salvaging the Negro which will be described later. It will be noted that the Emancipation Proclamation was a war measure and affected only that part of the country which was in rebellion at the time when it became effective. Slaves in the states who were fighting with the North were undisturbed. The Proclamation did not abolish slavery; it merely emancipated, or freed, the slaves in that part of the country which was fighting against the North.

Foreign Countries' Attitude. The Emancipation changed the course of the war. The English upper class was in sympathy with the North. It was the laborers of England who prevented the South from

getting aid. Napoleon III, Emperor of France, leaned toward the South, because he wished to build a great empire in Mexico.

Trent Affair, 1861. A Northern ship stopped the English mailer, *Trent*, and took as prisoners, James M. Mason and John Slidell, Confederate commissioners who had boarded the *Trent* at Havana. England retaliated by sending troops to Canada. Lincoln caused Mason and Slidell to be released. Vessels built in British shipyards and used by the Confederates to capture the commerce of the North were causing much concern, and a great dispute arose between the United States and England. The North asked for damages done. The so-called "Alabama Claims" nearly caused war. These claims were finally settled by arbitration at the Treaty of Washington in 1871. The United States received $15,500,000 as compensation.

Russia was more friendly to the North than was any other country. Czar Alexander II had by decrees (1858-1861) freed the Russian serfs. Russia refused to ally herself with France in her schemes to embarrass the North. She sent fleets to New York and to San Francisco as token of friendship. As a result of this attitude Seward negotiated the purchase of Alaska in 1867 for $7,200,000. This territory was called "Seward's Ice Box," and "Seward's Folly."

Copperheads—Peace Democrats. To show the trouble brewing in the North it may be said that there had been formed a group of Peace-Democrats, who wore a copper penny in the lapels of their coats as identification. They were much disturbed over Lincoln's curbing of their liberties. He had suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, had authorized arbitrary arrests, and had abridged freedom of speech and of writing. In Maryland, hundreds of them had been arrested in 1861, because of their sympathy for the South. Far-

ther North, Clement L. Vallandigham, of Ohio, leader of the Copperheads, was arrested and thousands of others were put in jail. The reason for such actions was that they declared the war was a failure and asserted that "Humanity, liberty and the public welfare demanded that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities." Vallandigham was arrested by General Burnside and court-martialed for treason. Lincoln punished him by sending him into the lines of the Confederacy. To show the position of such people as Vallandigham, Edward Everett Hale wrote, *The Man Without a Country.*

Bottling up the South. If cotton could be kept from being exported and sold, the North would bottle up the South and starve her out. In 1860, the South produced 4,700,000 bales of cotton, most of which were sold to England. If this commerce could continue, the South would have the means of getting war supplies. The North had only twenty-six vessels. To blockade the South from Virginia to Texas was a great task. The English "Blockade Runners" kept getting through, although they lost vessels until the North finally had captured 15,000 ships. The *Alabama,* whose career was most spectacular, on June 19, 1864, was finally sunk by the *Kearsage* outside the harbor of Cherbourg, France. The Confederates hit upon the idea of making an iron clad ram of the vessel known as the *Merrimac.* The North met this threat with John Ericsson's *Monitor.* They fought March 9, 1862, at Hampton Roads, and, after fierce fighting, both left the scene thinking they had victory. This was a new method in sea warfare.

Back to the East, 1863. At Chancellorsville, Virginia, in May, 1863, General Hooker encountered General Lee, and was badly beaten. Lee's victory was costly, as "Stonewall" Jackson was critically wounded

and died. After this, Lee struck for the North. He swept through the Shenandoah Valley, across the Potomac, into Pennsylvania, and, in a few weeks, was within four miles of Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, and well to the rear of Washington. Lincoln became alarmed and replaced Hooker with General George Meade.

The Battle of Gettysburg, July 1-3, 1863. This, the mightiest battle of them all, saw 70,000 Southern men under Lee and 90,000 men under Meade face each other in a death struggle during which General George E. Pickett, with 15,000 men majestically swept over the crest and made an attack in the very heart of the Northern Army. They could not, however, maintain their position, and soon began to crumble. At the close of this battle, nearly 40,000 men lay dead and wounded. Lee had to retreat. This victory gave the North new courage.

The Fall of Vicksburg, July 4, 1863. As news of Gettysburg began to filter through the lines, other good news came from the West. General U. S. Grant had defeated General Pemberton at Vicksburg, Mississippi. The suffering in that city under siege was horrible. People had lived in cellars and hideouts. The food supply steadily became less and less until they were forced to eat the flesh of horses and mules. Pemberton surrendered on July 4, 1863. Gradually misery, starvation, filth and terrible horror prevailed everywhere. The South was forced to give up from exhaustion. Port Hudson, in the wake of the onward march of the North, gave way, and, within a few days, ships were moving on "the Father of Waters again unvexed to the sea."

Battle above the Clouds, 1863. Nothing succeeds like success. Orders were given to General Rosecrans to strike the South in Tennessee. General Braxton

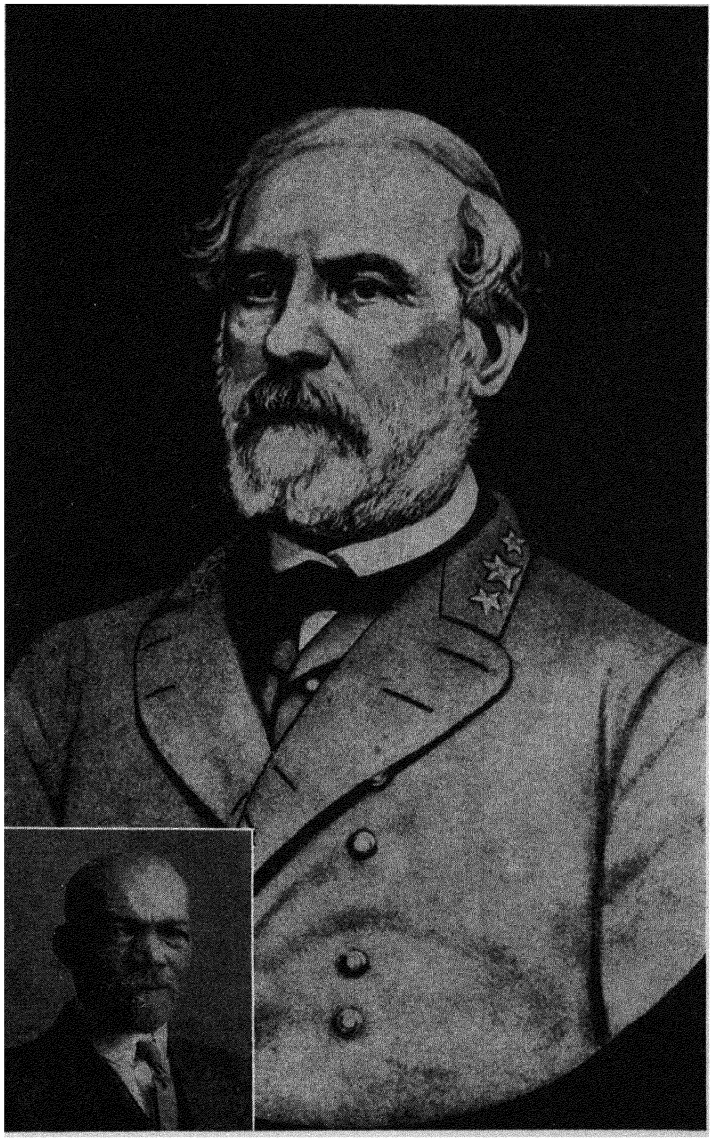
Bragg opposed and defeated him at Chickamauga, where General Thomas saved Rosecrans' army, soon after which Grant was in command at Chattanooga. Then the Battles of Lookout Mountain, ("above the Clouds") and Missionary Ridge were fought and the Southern Army, defeated, was on its way south. The North had also pushed the Southerners farther down in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia.

Closing Battles, 1864-1865. There were but two strong armies left of the South, one under General Lee, defending Richmond, and the other under General Joseph E. Johnston, defending Georgia. As a result of his victories in the West, General Grant was called to take command of all the Union troops with the title of lieutenant-general of all the armies of the United States. Grant came east and General W. T. Sherman was ordered to drive his way through Georgia. President Davis replaced Johnston with General Hood. Sherman swung into action on his famous march "from Atlanta to the Sea." Destroying bridges, railroads and all forms of property along a belt of sixty miles width, Sherman swept through Georgia with thousands of Negroes following him, and, on Christmas eve, 1864, telegraphed President Lincoln, "Christmas Gift. The City of Savannah with one hundred fifty heavy guns and plenty of ammunition; also about 25,000 bales of cotton." This devastating march did more to the destruction of property and the subsequent widening of the breach of good feeling between the North and the South than all the other encounters and disasters of the war combined.

Grant in Command. Grant's slogan was "On to Richmond!" and his objective was that city. Striking through the thickets and underbrush toward Richmond, Grant was attacked by Lee in the Battle of the Wilderness. Here they fought for four days, and

Grant, shifting his attack, swept on to *Cold Harbor* where desperate fighting went on. This was in sight of Richmond. In these struggles, Lee lost 19,000 men and Grant nearly 54,000. Since Grant had the manpower, he pushed on at any cost, and Lee began to retreat. Lee ordered General Early to skirt the Shenandoah Valley and attack Washington. Grant sent Sheridan to head off Early whom he defeated at Winchester and proceeded to destroy everything in sight. The news of Sheridan's victory greatly encouraged Grant. In desperation, the South sent Vice-President Stephens to meet President Lincoln and Secretary Seward on board a warship in Hampton Roads to discuss terms of peace. They met with no success. Lincoln called for the disarming of the Southern Army, the return of the seceding states, and the abolition of slavery. The South answered this proposal by continuing the war.

Lee Surrenders at Appomattox Court House, April 9, 1865. Early in May, 1865, Grant marshalled one hundred thousand men and burst through Lee's breastworks. Lee retreated westward during the night. Petersburg and Richmond were taken. Jefferson Davis and his cabinet fled from Richmond, and escaped to North Carolina. General Lee accepted defeat, and, on April 9, surrendered the shattered remnant of his army, numbering 26,765 men. Grant jotted down the terms of surrender. They were liberal and fair: The army was to lay down its arms, but the officers were to keep their horses and side arms, and even the artillerymen and cavalrymen were to be allowed to keep their horses. Grant said, "They will need them for the spring plowing." As Lee rode back to his army after the conference with Grant, the soldiers crowded around him, blessing him. Tears came to his eyes as he made his farewell address: "We have fought



Courtesy Public Relations Department, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Baltimore, Md. *Ewing Galloway, N. Y.*

General Robert E. Lee. Inset—Joseph Preston Norris, trusted body-servant of General Lee during his life. Afterwards he became messenger for eight B. & O. presidents, having died about the fifth year of President Willard's regime

through the war together. I have done the best I could for you. My heart is too full to say more." Grant's men fired a salute. He stopped it and said, "The war is over; the rebels are our countrymen again." Then he issued 25,000 rations for the Confederate Army.

What the Negro Did in the War. At the very beginning the Confederates used all the slaves to work on the plantations, and at the front as cooks, personal servants, drum corps men, to dig intrenchments and to throw up breastworks. Much of the hard work entailed by the military activities of the Confederacy was performed by Negro slaves. The Negro slave had to do the menial work because this type of work had been done by the whites to only a limited extent. In 1862, the Confederate Congress passed an act authorizing four Negro cooks to each company. Their owners were to receive fifteen dollars a month and clothing. In some instances, the soldiers contributed one dollar each so that they could get a colored cook. The quartermaster's department used Negroes as teamsters. The statement was made that one Negro was worth two conscripts. General Forrest used Negroes from his own plantation to drive the wagons attached to his command. Slaves and free Negroes were employed as hospital attendants, ambulance drivers, and stretcher bearers, for cleaning of the wards, cooking, serving, and attending patients. In 1864, Negroes were paid $400 per year for hospital work. Negroes were employed on the railroads, replacing rails, repairing bridges and restoring roadbeds. When they could not hire a sufficient number of Negroes, impressments were made. Negroes were also used in the manufacture of powder and arms. In 1865, 310 of the 400 workmen employed at the naval works at Selma, Alabama, were Negroes. In 1864, there were 4,301 Negroes and only

2,518 whites employed in the iron mills east of the Mississippi.

To get these slaves, the Confederacy had to enter into a contract with the owners for use of the slaves' labor. In 1862, most of the Confederate states passed laws clothing their respective governors with authority to impress Negroes in numbers for the adequate defense of those states. Under this system, the chief engineer at Charleston made a requisition for an average of 2,500 slaves a month from November, 1862 to February, 1863. In March, 1863, the Confederate Congress passed a general impressment law in accordance with state laws. It authorized the secretary of war to impress slaves up to the number of 20,000 when conditions should require. However, slaves were to be impressed only after the number of free Negroes had been exhausted. This law caused great confusion between the state authority and the Confederate government, and President Davis suggested, in 1864, that the Confederacy buy 40,000 slaves and train them as teamsters and pioneers, and retain them as a labor battalion. He also suggested that they be freed if they rendered loyal service to the end of the war.

Many Negro body servants acted as musicians for their units. "Joseph Blake, a servant of General John B. Gordon, said that he and two other servants provided the music to which Gordon's regiment marched, one played the fife and two the drums."

Confederate Negro Soldiers. The Tennessee legislature passed an act in June, 1861, authorizing the governor to receive into military service of the state all male free persons of color between the ages of 15 and 50. In April, 1861, the free Negroes held a meeting and resolved to offer their services to the governor for the defense of the state. They were permitted to organize. A regiment of 1,400 paraded with the white

soldiers in November, 1862. A regiment of free Negroes, known as the "Native Guards" of Louisiana, retained their organization and the Union forces accepted them in 1862.

The Negroes in the North. On May 22, 1861, General Benjamin F. Butler assumed command of Fortress Monroe. The next day, he took 900 Negroes as contraband of war. They were soon put to work to throw up breastworks and make embankments. On November 7, 1861, Commodore Dupont captured forts at Hilton Head and Bay Point. The fleeing slaveholders left thousands of slaves and a good growing cotton crop. Edward L. Pierce was sent to take charge of the Negroes and the crop. He appealed for assistance, and in February, 1862, the "Freedmen's Aid" societies were organized in Boston, New York and Philadelphia. These organizations collected money, clothing and books and forwarded them to the South. Teachers were sent and a program, made out for the rehabilitation of the Negroes, was put in progress. This organization grew to 93 helpers—teachers and superintendents—and they had under their charge 3,800 slaves at steady work on 15,000 acres of corn, potatoes and cotton. In 1862, General Rufus Saxton took charge and carried out the same plan as before. In the West—Kentucky, Tennessee and Louisiana—there was a more difficult situation. Here the slaveowners took the oath of loyalty and expected the slaves to be protected by the North. The Negroes did not hold to this view and flocked in great numbers to the Federal camps. General Halleck believed that Negroes were carrying secrets back to the Confederates, and therefore ordered them out of camp. The Emancipation Proclamation changed all of this misunderstanding and then in October, 1862, General Grant was placed in command. He used Negroes to throw up

fortifications, unload boats, and to do such other work as was required. Thousands of Negroes kept coming, until Grant was forced to appoint Chaplain John Eaton to take charge of the refugees. Eaton established a camp for the Negroes at Grand Junction, Tennessee. Here they picked cotton, ginned it and raised food. Later, they were transferred to a bluff, two miles from Memphis, and put under the direction of Chaplain A. S. Fiske. Land was leased and the Negroes were put to work for wages. The men received seven dollars per month and the women five dollars. There was much dissatisfaction about this arrangement, but General John C. Frémont on August 30, 1861, declared all the slaves free. Lincoln revoked the order. General Hunter did likewise and Lincoln revoked his order, too. Things went on in a confused way until Adjutant-General Lorenzo Thomas, acting under the authority of the war department, issued a series of orders calculated to remedy this situation. He made Eaton a colonel of a Negro regiment. These troops were used to discipline the freedmen in the camps and to protect them on the plantations against Southern raids. Eaton appointed three assistants—one for property, one for medicines, and one for education. This subdivision and organization extended from Cairo, Illinois, to Milliken's Bend, Louisiana, and was populated by 770,000 Negroes. In July, 1864, Eaton reported 113,650 freedmen under his supervision. Of these, 41,150 were in military service as soldiers, laundresses, cooks, officers' servants and laborers in various staff departments. Those working in towns and on plantations as planters, mechanics, barbers, draymen, hackmen, conducting enterprises on their own responsibility, or working as hired laborers, numbered 62,300. These were all self-supporting. The remaining 10,200 received subsistence from the government. Of this remainder 3,000

were members of families whose heads were cultivating plantations on which some 4,000 acres of cotton were planted. From their first sale of cotton they were to pay the government for supporting them. The other 7,200 were paupers—those too old or too young to work, the crippled or sick, who had no self-supporting near relatives to provide for them. Most of these were cared for in contraband camps. At Natchez and Vidalia, the plantations of Joe Davis, Jefferson Davis and Turner were confiscated and set aside for the exclusive benefit of the Negroes. In 1864, this group had under cultivation 500 acres of corn, 790 acres of vegetables, and 1,500 acres of cotton, besides working at wood-chopping and other pursuits. Seven thousand acres of cotton were cultivated by Negro lessees in 1864, some of them managing as many as three hundred or four hundred acres. Most of this cotton was marketed for them by H. B. Spelman, father-in-law of John D. Rockefeller and president of the Cleveland Freedmen's Aid Commission. The freedmen's aid societies and the Western Sanitary Commission helped much by supplying clothes from dead soldiers to destitute Negroes. The Negroes paid a tax from their wages to aid in this work.

Negroes in Arms. Jacob Dodson, a Negro, who had been three times across the Rocky Mountains, was employed in the United States Senate Chamber in 1861. He asked Secretary of War Cameron to let him enlist three hundred Negroes to protect Washington. Cameron refused. Doctor G. P. Miller, a Negro physician of Battle Creek, Michigan, inquired about enrolling Negro soldiers. The reply was that no Negroes were being enrolled. Later, Adjutant-General Thomas told the soldiers of the Department of the Gulf at Lake Providence, Louisiana, April 8, 1863, that "the administration has determined to take from the rebels

this source of supply—to take their Negroes and compel them to send back a portion of their whites to cultivate their deserted plantations." The first federal authorization for recruiting Negro soldiers was given on August 25, 1862, to General Saxton, commander of the South. He was authorized to enlist laborers not exceeding fifty thousand and soldiers not exceeding five thousand. During the war, five Negro regiments were organized in South Carolina and Florida, the last being formed at Hilton Head in April, 1865. On August 22, 1862, Butler received the free Negroes of Louisiana including those who had served under the Confederacy. Within two weeks, he had mustered in one thousand Negroes, known as the First Regiment, Louisiana Native Guards. Before the end of the war, two more regiments were mustered in by Butler. Vigorous efforts were put forward under orders from Lincoln. Andew Johnson was encouraged by Lincoln to raise an army. Lincoln said, "The bare sight of 50,000 armed and drilled Black Soldiers upon the banks of the Mississippi would end the rebellion at once." "Bounty jumpers" used Negroes all over the North. It was reported that 5,052 Negroes were used as "bounty jumpers."

Milliken's Bend Battle. This battle, fought on June 7, 1863, was the first engagement in which the Negro troops, consisting of 800 Negroes, and the whites with 300, had participated. The Confederates had 1,500 men, but the Negroes held their ground until aid came. They fought furiously and were commended for their stand.

As a rule, the commissioned officers of Negro regiments were white. There were some colored men commissioned by the State of Massachusetts. Two regiments of the Corps D'Afrique, raised by Butler in Louisiana, were almost entirely officered by blacks.

The roster of United States Colored Troops classified some companies as artillery, others as engineers, and still others as cavalry. At Chattanooga, members of the Fourteenth Colored Infantry worked six to seven hours every day on fortifications.

Port Huron Battle, May 27, 1863. Fifteen miles above Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the Confederate forces were so situated that the Federal boats could not get through. General Banks with 13,000 men, and, among them, the First and Third Louisiana Native Guards, made an attack. The First Louisiana Guard was made up of free Negroes, and the Third made up of freedmen. Banks placed the Native Guards, consisting of 1,080 Negroes, on the right of the white regiments directly in front of two large forts. They fought from ten in the morning until four in the afternoon. The Negroes made six charges over difficult ground. They received special commendation from General Banks.

Negroes at Petersburg, July 30, 1864. General Burnside selected the fourth division of his corps to open the attack. This division was composed of eight Negro regiments, three from Maryland, one from Virginia, and the 54th and 55th regiments of Massachusetts. The Negroes cut through the Confederate line, taking two stands of colors and some two hundred prisoners. Altogether they killed and wounded 1,986 men in this encounter.

Negroes at Nashville, Tennessee, December 15-16, 1864. The colored troops in the Battle of Nashville were under Colonel Thomas J. Morgan. They were composed of the Fourteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Forty-fourth Regiments, United States Colored Troops, and the second brigade under Colonel C. R. Thompson, consisting of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and the One Hundredth Regiments. The brigades which they formed were attached to the command of General

J. B. Steedman. Most of the troops composing them were from the country around Nashville. The Negroes were called into action first. They showed a marked degree of success. The Confederates were driven back along the entire front. The Thirteenth Regiment, operating almost independently of the others, advanced to a point near the Confederate works. Some of the men mounted the parapet; but being unable to hold this advance position in the face of the murderous fire poured upon them, they fell back.

It has been estimated that during the Civil War a total of 220,000 Negroes fought on the Union side. The records also show that Negro women by the hundreds were used about camps and hospitals. Colonel T. W. Higginson, General Butler, General Hunter, General O. O. Howard, General Eaton and Colonel Robert Gould Shaw were among the white officers who testify to the valor of the Negro in the Civil War.

Lincoln Re-elected, 1865-1869. Reverses in the war caused the formation of opposition to Lincoln and the nomination of another candidate. Those who wanted "peace at any price" or "immediate cessation of hostilities" and a convention of the "states," nominated General George B. McClellan. The Abolition Republicans, who wanted a more vigorous policy in liberating the slaves, nominated John C. Frémont. The Republicans and Democrats, who were determined to maintain the Union "at any cost," nominated Abraham Lincoln, with Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, a Democrat, as his running mate. The Republican platform stated that no terms of peace would be acceptable except absolute and unconditional surrender; slavery would be abolished; encouragement of immigration which permitted employers of labor, such as railroads and factories, to import laborers under contract for a term of service which made them virtually white

slaves; redemption of the national debt; construction of transcontinental railroad, with the aid of the government. On the day of the announcement of the platform, news came out that Farragut had entered Mobile; four days later, Sherman had taken Atlanta; and then Sheridan had swept through the Shenandoah Valley. No one could doubt the outcome. Lincoln received 212 electoral votes; McClellan 21. Frémont had withdrawn. At the inaugural, March 4, 1865, Lincoln said, "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

Lincoln Assassinated, April 14, 1865. In another part of his inaugural address, Lincoln said, "One-eighth of the whole population was colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the government claims no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it." From this statement it seems that Lincoln was depending upon the slow growth of public opinion to abolish slavery. The rejoicing over the close of the war was turned into deepest grief five days after the surrender of Lee. While President Lincoln, Mrs. Lincoln, their son, Tad, Major Rathbone and his fiancee—a Miss Harris—were sitting in a box-seat at Ford's Theatre, Washington, D. C., John Wilkes Booth,

an actor, came up behind the President and shot him in the head. Lincoln was taken across the street to a hotel but soon died. Booth, after shooting Lincoln, jumped to the stage and made his escape. Two weeks later, April 28, he was found hiding in a Virginia barn. He refused to surrender, the barn was burned, and Boston Corbett, an army sergeant, shot and killed Booth. This tragic affair caused the heart of all America to grieve and the Southern people, except a few fanatics, to join the North in sorrow. Lincoln, a poor man of Southern birth, a man of the people, one who knew the great principles of democracy, was sent to the great beyond by the hand of one who comparatively meant so little. Lincoln saved the Union. He will never be forgotten by the people of the North, or those of the South. Booth made him a martyr, and his career made him an immortal.

Cost of the Civil War, 1861-1865. Let us take stock of what was spent and what was accomplished by the Civil War. About 1,882 battles and skirmishes were fought. Of these 112 were major engagements. To fight their battles, the North used 2,760,000 men, of whom 464,000 whites and 82,474 Negroes came from the South, and 137,526 Negroes from the North.

The South armed 615,000 white men and used all of the more than 3,000,000 Negro slaves. The North spent over three billion dollars, while the South spent nearly five billion. In human life the cost is more difficult to estimate. The North lost 360,000 by death. Of this number, 110,000 died in action and 250,000 died of wounds and disease. The records of the Confederate armies were not kept; but they mustered out only 175,000, and (from this figure) it is estimated that they lost as many men as did the North or perhaps more. The North had 199,105 deserters while the South had 104,124. The prisoners of the North

held by the South numbered 270,000. The prisoners of the South held by the North numbered 220,000. The total cost of the war to the South, counting in the value of slaves and real property damage, with the war debts, which have never been paid, amounted to over $25,000,000,000. This is eight times as much as the value of the slaves at the time of the outbreak of the Civil War.

What the War Settled. There was no formal peace treaty. The war settled three things:

(1) It made the Union supreme. It extinguished secession. There came out of the conflict an "indestructible Union of indestructible States."
(2) The war made the Negro free and that result was an advantage to both North and South. Free labor only is intelligent and profitable. And the South was under a moral bondage so long as it held the Negro in bondage.
(3) The sections at length came to a better understanding of each other. Mutual respect gradually took the place of mutual prejudice. Lee's words will suffice. He said, "Remember that we are one country now. Do not bring up your children in hostility to the government of the United States. Bring them up to be Americans!"

Women of the Civil War. Too much cannot be said for the great deeds that women performed during this period. The story has never been told about the Southern women who had been protected and shielded all of their lives and then, for the sake of loyalty, took off their gowns of culture and went to the fields and factories and worked with Negro slaves to keep the home fires burning. They exposed them-

selves to all sorts of danger and harm without one complaint. They fed and clothed the men at the front and at the same time managed, disciplined and trained the Negroes back home. In the North, Louisa Lee Schuyler stands along with Clara Barton. Miss Schuyler started the United States Sanitary Commission. Miss Barton is the founder of the Red Cross. Sojourner Truth, a Negro woman, worked as a spy and lookout for the Federal troops. She had the honor of presenting to President Lincoln a Bible, which is now in the Fisk University library, as a token of the esteem of the Negroes of Baltimore, for the work of Lincoln.

Andrew Johnson, Seventeenth President, 1865-1869. The passing of Lincoln brought into the presidency another Southern man. No other president had as much to undergo as had President Johnson. He was the son of a hotel porter and hotel maid and was born December 28, 1808, at Raleigh, North Carolina. While his parents were poor, yet they had habits of thrift and character. His father died when he was four years old. Poverty kept him from attending school a single day. He became virtually an indentured slave, as an apprentice to a tailor. After two years of this apprenticeship he ran away, but later returned and straightened up the agreement. His mother married again and with all their belongings in a wagon pulled by a blind pony, with the family walking, they landed at Greeneville, Tennessee. Soon afterwards, Andrew married, hung up his sign and began business for himself as a tailor. He liked history and orations, and, after paying fifty cents a day for a man to read to him during the day, while he was working, and having his wife read to him at night, he learned how to read for himself. Entering politics, he was first an alderman and later mayor of Greene-

ville, Tennessee. Then he was successively elected to the general assembly of Tennessee, to the senate of Tennessee, to the United States Congress and then to the governorship of Tennessee. He was next elected to the Senate of the United States, and, when the war came, was appointed military governor of Tennessee and served in this capacity from March 3, 1862, until March 4, 1865, when he was sworn in as vice-president. During this time, he had accumulated some money and owned eight Negro slaves. He was a strict unionist, a conviction which caused him much trouble, but Lincoln chose him to be his running mate on the National Union ticket and he was elected vice-president. When Lincoln died, he was automatically called to fill the unexpired term. While he was military governor, he had lost all his property and all his slaves by confiscation. He entered the White House a poor man. It is striking that a man with his experience should succeed Lincoln.

Johnson at Work. The problems confronting Johnson were: (1) There were eleven Southern states with no government of their own, and the authority of the federal government in those states was supported by military force; (2) the disbanding of the federal army, and the finding of places for 1,250,000 soldiers returning home; (3) the Southern men went to their homes, without capital, without labor supply, without currency, and without hope; (4) the 3,500,000 Negroes, who had been in slavery, but who were now as newborn babes in their untried freedom. They did not know the American way of life. They were uneducated. They had to start from scratch without anything.

Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction. On December 8, 1863, Lincoln had announced his plan of reconstruction (1) He agreed that when 10 per cent of

the votes of 1860, in any of the seceded states, should form a legal government and accept the legislation of Congress and the proclamations of the president on the subject of slavery, he would recognize the government as legal; (2) he excluded all persons who had participated in a leading way in the secession, and all persons who had left the civil and military service of the United States and had gone to the Confederacy; (3) he made no provisions for Negroes to vote. Under this plan, Tennessee, Louisiana and Arkansas had organized and were ready to come back to the Union. Congress objected to this plan and a bill was introduced—the Wade-Davis Bill—which required that 50 per cent of the voters must take the oath of allegiance. Lincoln withheld his signature, and Congress adjourned within ten days. The Wade-Davis Bill failed to become a law.

Thirteenth Amendment, December 18, 1865. While the Emancipation Proclamation announced the liberation of the 3,500,000 slaves, it did not set them free. For fear that they would be enslaved again, an amendment to the Constitution was proposed which said, "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." This amendment passed Congress January 31, 1865, and, having been duly ratified by three-fourths of the states (including eight of the seceded states), was proclaimed part of the Constitution on December 18, 1865.

Johnson's Plan of Reconstruction. Johnson held very nearly to Lincoln's views regarding reconstruction, and followed his predecessor's plan. He recognized what Lincoln had done and did not disturb the states which had been approved. The other Southern

states accepted temporary governors, appointed by Johnson, and proceeded to organize under his consent and advice. Nearly all the states had ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. The President had issued proclamations declaring that all hostilities had ceased and that civil governments conforming to the laws of the United States had been restored in every part of the country. (This plan did not permit Negroes to vote. Congress met in December, 1865, and senators and representatives from all the Southern states were waiting to be seated.) Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Thaddeus Stephens, in the House, led a revolt against admitting the Southern representatives, and they were not seated.

Why Congress Objected. The Johnson governments of the Southern states had excluded the Negro and had put in power the same people who had seceded from the Union. Johnson's plan had stated that all that the states had to do was: (1) to hold a constitutional convention; (2) to repeal the ordinance of secession; (3) to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment; (4) to repudiate the Confederate war debt; and (5) to provide for the election of Congressmen. To offset the Southern secessionists and to protect the freedmen, Congress called a halt and started to work out a plan of its own.

Vagrancy Laws. The Southern states passed laws to aid Congress in handling the Negro. These laws provided that if Negroes would not work, they should be fined; if they failed to pay the fine, they were to be hired out and work sufficient time to settle the price of the fine. In many instances, they were beaten and ill treated. In some cases, the Negro had to show that he was working for someone at the wages he desired to pay. They were sometimes chained with heavy weights and made to work on the public roads.

Black Codes. The laws known as the "Black Codes" were passed for social control of the Negro. Freedmen could be married and their children had the right to inherit their property. Negroes could own property. They could sue and be sued in a court. They would testify against other Negroes in court. They could not serve in the militia, the army or in some peace duty jobs. They could not serve on a jury; they could not vote or hold office of any kind. They could not go from one place to another without previously appearing before the representatives of the law and making bond for good behavior. They could not assemble without proper permit.

Freedmen's Bureau. Before the close of the war, Congress had established on March 3, 1865, a Freedmen's Bureau in the War Department, whose duty it was to look after the interests of the emancipated Negroes, securing for them labor contracts, settling their disputes, aiding them in building cottages, and carrying on a general educational program. In 1866, Congress passed over Johnson's veto a bill to extend the time of the Freedmen's Bureau. This was the occasion when Congress first got the upper hand of Johnson.

Civil Rights Bill, 1866. Soon after the Freedmen's Bureau Bill was passed, Congress enacted a Civil Rights Bill (1866) giving the Negro the same rights to property and the same standing before the law that all other citizens had. But this bill was not intended to give the Negro the right to vote or to hold office. It provided for *civil,* not *political,* rights. President Johnson vetoed the bill on the ground that it was unconstitutional. Congress then passed it over his veto; but to make sure that civil rights of freedmen might not be taken away, Congress proposed the Fourteenth Amendment.

District of Columbia Bill, 1866. This was a bill to give the Negro the right to vote in the District of Columbia. A group of Negroes, headed by John F. Cook, presented a petition asking that Negroes be allowed to vote. The white people rose up in alarm and demanded that this right be denied. Much debate and delay ensued, but the bill was passed in 1866 and became a law in 1867.

Fourteenth Amendment Adopted, July 28, 1868. Instead of the Negroes having the right to vote only in the District of Columbia, some thought it would be better to have the matter settled throughout the nation. As a result, Congress proposed the Fourteenth Amendment. The bill provided: (1) That all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. (2) Any state depriving any of its citizens of the right to vote (except for crime) shall have its representation in the House of Representatives decreased. (3) The amendment also provided that men who had been United States or state officials and later served the Confederacy should (until Congress voted otherwise) be excluded from holding office under the United States or any state. (4) It forbade payment of the Confederate war debt. This amendment met with great opposition in the South. In the meantime, Tennessee ratified it on July 19, 1866, and she was promptly restored to her full privileges in the Union. All the other Southern states rejected it.

Congressional Reconstruction, March 2, 1867. The radicals, gathering courage from the laws which had been passed over Johnson's veto and angered by the South's rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment, proposed the *Reconstruction Act.* This Act provided:

(1) That the Southern states (except Tennessee) be divided into five military districts, each under the command of a major-general of the Union Army. He was to have enough troops to enforce the rule of Congress.
(2) State governments were then established within the military districts.
(3) All male citizens, white and black, over twenty-one years of age, were given the right to vote, except those who were excluded by the terms of the Fourteenth Amendment.

It took 20,000 troops at 134 points to put this act into effect. This measure reached only about 600,000 qualified whites and some 3,000,000 Negroes. As the work proceeded, Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana and Florida soon accepted the conditions laid down by Congress, forming new governments under military supervision, permitting Negroes to vote, and ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment. They were re-admitted to the Union in 1868. Virginia, Mississippi, Texas and Georgia held back and were not restored to statehood until 1870.

Carpet-bag Rule, 1868. Since the Congressional plan of reconstruction allowed the right of suffrage to Negroes and a minority of white men who could qualify, many Northern adventurers poured into the South. They were called "Carpet-baggers" because all of their belongings were brought in a valise made from a material like carpet. Many Southern whites

who were sympathetic with the rights of Negroes were called "Scalawags."

Negro Office-Holders. It is a sudden jump from the cotton fields to the halls of Congress. It requires a great deal of training to be a statesman. The case of the Negro office-holders can be no better presented than by the words of one who lived through it. Beverly Nash, an ex-slave and member of the constitutional convention of South Carolina, said, "I believe, my friends and fellow citizens, we are not prepared for this suffrage. But we can learn. Give a man tools and let him commence to use them, and in time he will learn a trade. So it is with voting. We may not understand it at the start, but in time we shall learn to do our duty. . . . We recognize the Southern white man as the true friend of the black man. You see upon that banner, 'United we stand, divided we fall' and if you could see the scroll of that society that banner represents, you would see the white man and the black man standing with their arms locked together, as the type of friendship and the Union we desire. It is not our desire to be a discordant element in the community, or to unite the poor with the rich . . . the white man has the land. the black man has the labor, and labor is worth nothing without capital. We must help create capital by restoring confidence, and we can only secure confidence by selecting proper men to fill our public offices." These words show the attitude of most Negroes who were enticed to participate in politics. Nevertheless, at the point of the bayonet and with the ill-advice of people in power, the Negro launched out and, for so doing, caused the coals of fire to be heaped upon his head and produced suffering and intimidation even to the present day. Negroes were elected to many positions. To the seven states that were under con-

trol of the Congressional Plan we have to go to get our best examples. Of the seven governors, four were carpet-baggers, also ten of the fourteen senators, and twenty of the thirty-five representatives in Congress. In the legislature of South Carolina, there were ninety-eight Negroes and fifty-seven whites. Most of these were not educated and did not own any property. In Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, North Carolina, Georgia and Florida the situation was no better. The legislatures of these states resorted to any means to fill their pockets, rob the treasury and plunge the state into deep debt. Some Negroes held offices of great trust: Jonathan O. Gibbs, Superintendent of Instruction of Florida; J. C. Corbin, State Superintendent of Arkansas; F. L. Cardozo, State Treasurer of South Carolina; J. T. White, Commissioner of Public Works of Arkansas; P. B. S. Pinchback, Lieutenant-Governor of Louisiana; Lieutenant-Governor Dunn presided over the state senate of Louisiana. The holding of office under the protection of the Carpet-baggers and Scalawags caused a great reaction to set in. Both sides organized, and as a result, the Union League was opposed by the Ku Klux Klan.

The Union League. The Negroes had been suddenly torn from their moorings and had not yet found themselves. The government agents in the South were largely appointed from among those who had sent substitutes to the war, and they were joined and supplemented by swarms of adventurous rapscallions who looked upon the South as a fair field of pillage. The Negroes had votes and they were herded to the polls and made to elect their pseudo-friends to further power. Incidentally, the blacks were lied to, petted and flattered to such an extent that many lost all ideas of making an honest living themselves. The

Union League Club of New York took a hand in Southern reconstruction. In 1867, the club sent emissaries into the black belt of the Southern states to form secret societies among the Negroes. The president of the club announced that the organization of Negro Loyal Leagues was a part of the Republican campaign for the next year. The Union Loyal Leagues held night meetings, persuaded people in the cotton fields and bar-rooms, and made personal solicitations to Negroes in their cabins. The ceremonies for entering the League carried with them an oath of allegiance, passwords and guards. Speakers would tell about the whites' attitude toward the Negro. Sometimes they would arm the Negroes and help them intimidate the Southern whites. As a result of this activity a large part of the Negro race joined the club. Feeling the security which the club offered, the Negroes, in some instances, tended to strike back at the Southern whites. This caused strained relations to arise between the two races. In North Carolina, they had a membership of eighty thousand; in Louisiana, a membership of twenty-five thousand. One can see that this type of human relations would soon cause the oppressed to rise. To curb this action of the Union League, the Southern people established the Ku Klux Klan.

The Ku Klux Klan, 1865. Some young men, who had been to college, were sitting around chatting about their college days and comparing them with the dull drab times they were now having. This was Christmas Eve, 1865, and they met the next evening and hit upon the idea of using a Greek word (Kuklos) meaning circle for the name of their union. The word Klan was added and Kuklos was divided, so the name became Ku Klux Klan. It was organized in May, 1866, at Pulaski, county seat of Giles County, in the

southern part of Tennessee. For some time they went about the community visiting their young lady friends and others at night dressed in white sheets as robes with a tall hood over their heads. They later started to ride white-robed horses and, by going about, they observed that Negroes were especially frightened at the sight of their parading.

One evening the Union League was holding a meeting, and, as the Klan paraded past, the Negroes became frightened and ran to hiding. This gave the Klansmen an idea, and they began to intimidate and scare Negroes who were active in the Union League. It worked so successfully that General Nathan Bedford Forrest became their leader, and soon they perfected an organization which rapidly spread throughout the South.

Klan Organization, 1867. In the old Maxwell House, Nashville, Tennessee, in April, 1867, they perfected the organization. The order was known as the *"Invisible Empire."* The presiding officer was known as the *"Grand Wizard."* His immediate aides were known as the *"Genii."* Each state became a "Realm" under a *"Grand Dragon,"* and his eight *"Hydras;"* each Congressional district a *"Dominion"* under a *"Grand Titan"* and his six *"Furies;"* and each local group was a *"Den"* under a *"Grand Cyclops"* and his two aides called *"Nighthawks."*

Klan Members and Methods. All Protestant white men, who would swear to secrecy with a threat of death, if they divulged anything, composed the Klan. They would ride at night hooded, and after posting an illegible sign, with a cross of death on the face of it, on the door of an offender, they usually gave him a day to recant. If he did not make amends, the results were usually whipping, tar-and-feathering, or punishment by death. This spectacular campaign

struck terror to the heart of the Negroes, and it was not long until they were subdued. Carpet-baggers and Scalawags were forced to give up their hold. As a result of this effort the South was soon in the hands of the Klansmen. This was the beginning of the power of the Democratic Party in the South, and the political statement that this section was the "Solid South."

Klan Results. Speedily now the South came into the hands of the whites, and the Negroes and their allies were driven out of power. The new regime put a stop to extravagance, corruption and misrule. It was the beginning of segregation, "Jim Crow" laws, white supremacy, lynching, mob rule, and deep-seated prejudice. It has taken many years to heal the wounds caused by the Congressional Reconstruction Act. In the present era, however, there is every evidence to convince one that the South is gradually overcoming all of the evils heaped upon her.

Stories of outrages were circulated through the nation, and, as a result, Congress on April 20, 1871, passed an act to investigate the Klan. After this investigation, the old Klan passed out of existence and was heard of no more until after the World War, 1918, when a new Klan was organized.

President Johnson Impeached, May 26, 1868. It is always a stormy time for a president when the current Congress belongs to another party or is opposed to his program. Such was the case with the Republican Congress and President Andrew Johnson, who was a Democrat elected to office with Lincoln on the National Union ticket. In 1866, Johnson made his "Swing around the Circle" tour. It was reported that he was out of sorts and obstinately opposed to the program of Congress. Then, in 1867, when Congress passed the Reconstruction Act, they also passed the Tenure of

Office Act which denied the president the right to remove a cabinet officer without the approval of Congress. Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war, was the target for Johnson. The President asked for his resignation. He refused to resign. The House of Representatives brought charges of "High crimes and misdemeanors" against Johnson. This action constituted impeachment. The Senate sat as a court with the Chief Justice presiding. The case lasted from March to May 26, 1867, at which time thirty-five members voted for removal and nineteen against removal. President Johnson, therefore, was acquitted, as the affirmative vote of two-thirds was necessary for conviction. The results were that President Johnson was not removed, Stanton resigned and Johnson finished his term of office in comparative ease. This was the first and only time a president was ever impeached.

Atlantic Telegraph Cable, 1866. Up to this time, there had been no way by which to get news to and from Europe except by boat. Cyrus W. Fields, of New York, organized a company and laid wires on the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean, connecting Trinity Bay in Newfoundland with the Irish coast. Messages were sent and received within a few minutes. This enterprise brought us in close touch with the whole world.

Alaska Purchased, 1867. America had acquired new territory five times before Secretary of State Seward purchased Alaska from Russia for $7,200,000. It was sometimes called the "Refrigerator of the United States." This purchase enlarged our territory by 590,000 square miles.

Santo Domingo and St. Thomas, 1867. Expansion was in the air. Santo Domingo and St. Thomas Islands were negotiating for the United States to take them, but since America had had such a bitter expe-

rience with the Negro problem in the South, this project failed because it would bring a Negro populated territory under the United States' flag.

Election, 1868. The Republicans met while the impeachment trial of President Johnson was going on and unanimously nominated General Ulysses S. Grant for the presidency. The Democrats nominated Governor Horatio Seymour of New York. In the election Grant received 214 electoral votes and Seymour received only 80. Grant carried all the states in the North except New York and New Jersey, and Oregon in the West, and every state in the South except Georgia and Louisiana. It is reported that the Negroes cast 650,000 votes for him. This result prompted the Radical Republicans to propose the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, so that they might continue to hold the Negro vote.

President Ulysses S. Grant, Eighteenth President, 1869-77. President Grant was born on April 27, 1822, at Point Pleasant, Ohio. His father was a farmer and tanner. His mother was an industrious farm woman. He attended the village schools, and was sent to West Point when he was seventeen years of age. Graduating four years later, he was stationed at St. Louis. He married while here and soon was called to serve his country in the Mexican War. Later he was stationed on the Pacific Coast. Finally returning to St. Louis and trying his hand at farming, he failed and his father aided him by giving him work in his other son's store at Galena, Illinois. Here he was when the Civil War came on. After much effort, he had his first chance to serve by raising volunteers, but rose in rank rapidly. Starting out at Cairo, Illinois, his successes at Fort Donelson, Shiloh, and Chattanooga were so outstanding that he was called to the East. The story of his connection with the closing of

the Civil War has already been related. Grant served as secretary of war after the suspension of Stanton, and was elected president in 1868. Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, was elected vice-president. The two administrations of Grant may be summed up as both extravagant and corrupt. While he was honored as only George Washington had been honored, in being appointed General, yet his terms as president were miserable failures. He later traveled around the world, going to England, Europe, Egypt, India and the Orient. After three years, he returned to the United States with trunks filled with gifts. He passed away July 23, 1885, and is buried in a magnificent tomb on Riverside Drive, New York City.

Grant's Administration. No other president had to face what Grant did. The Congressional program for the restoration of the South allowed many members of the United States Congress to be elected under controlled circumstances. The Industrial Era was taking form. The development of the West was uppermost in the minds of the people. Reforms of many kinds were made as is the case after every war. The telegraph, telephone, steam, electricity, railroads and homesteading were stimulated to the skies. The issues in connection with them called for men of vision and integrity. President Grant could not see these things, and, as a result, as much, or more, extravagance and corruption were uncovered in his administration as there had been in the Carpet-bag Rule of the South.

Negro Senators and Congressmen in Washington, 1868-1889. Hiram K. Revels was United States senator from Mississippi. He served an unexpired term from 1870-71. Blanche K. Bruce was senator from Mississippi, 1875-1881. These two Negroes were well-trained and their years of service before this time and afterwards testify to the fact that they were not tainted

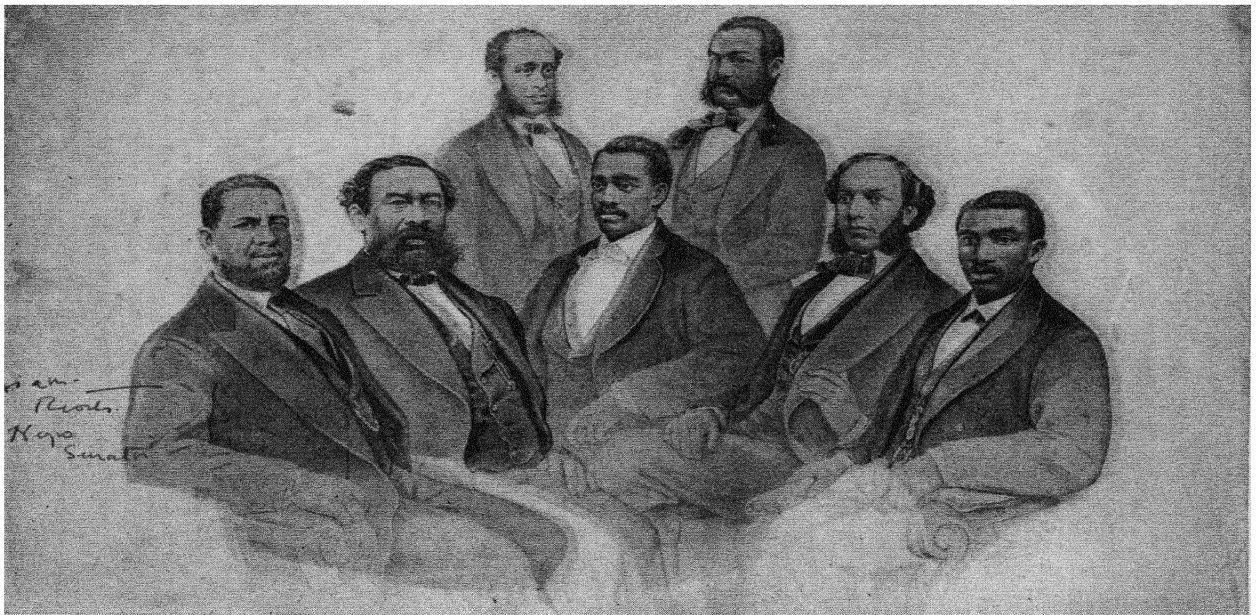


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Copyright National Educational Publishing Co., Inc. ***Hiram Revels and Six Representatives in the 41st and 42nd Congress***

Standing—(1) ***Robert C. DeLarge,*** *M. C., of South Carolina. (2)* ***Jefferson H. Long,*** *M. C., of Georgia. Seated—(3)* ***First Negro U. S. Senator, Hiram R. Revels of Mississippi.*** *(4) Benjamin S. Turner, M. C., of Alabama. (5)* ***Josiah T. Walls,*** *M. C., of Florida. (6) Joseph H. Rainy, M. C., of South Carolina. (7) R. Brown Elliot, M. C., of South Carolina.* ***The first colored senator and representatives,*** *in the 41st and 42nd Congress of the United States*

with corruption. Besides these two senators, there were twenty-one Negroes in the House of Representatives. The following is a list of these Negro Congressmen, giving states and terms served:

State	*Congressmen*	*Term*
1. Alabama	Rapier, A. J.	1875-1877
2. Alabama	Turner, Benjamin S.	1873-1875
3 Alabama	Haralson, Jeremiah	1871-1873
4 Florida	Halls, Josiah T.	1873-1877
5. Georgia	Long, Jefferson P.	1869-1871
6. Louisiana	Nash, Charles E.	1875-1877
7 Louisiana	Nenard, J. W.	40th Congress, 1 year
8. Mississippi	Lynch, John R.	43rd, 44th, and 47th Congress, 6 years
9 No. Carolina	Cheatham, H. P.	51st and 52nd Congress, 4 years
10. No. Carolina	Hyman, John	1875-1877
11. No. Carolina	White, George H	55th and 56th Congress, 4 years
12. No. Carolina	O'Hara, James E.	48th and 49th Congress, 4 years
13. So. Carolina	Cain, Richard H.	1873-1875; 1887-1889
14 So. Carolina	De Large, Robert C.	1871-1873
15. So. Carolina	Elliott, Robert B.	1871-1875
16 So. Carolina	Smalls, Robert	1875-1879; 1881-1887
17 So. Carolina	Rainey, Joseph	1871-1879
18 So. Carolina	Miller, Thomas H.	51st Congress, 2 years
19. So. Carolina	Ransier, Alonzo J.	43rd Congress, 2 years
20. So. Carolina	Murray, George W.	53rd and 54th Congress, 4 years
21. Virginia	Langston, John M.	51st Congress, 2 years

Fifteenth Amendment, 1870. The work of the Ku Klux Klan caused much concern in the South in regard to Negro voters. In February, 1869, Congress added one more safeguard to the Negro's rights as citizens by proposing the Fifteenth Amendment. The Fifteenth Amendment says: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or

abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." This amendment was ratified by enough states to be declared in force, March 30, 1870. The ratification of this amendment, as well as that of the Fourteenth Amendment, was now made a condition of the re-admission to the Union of Virginia, Mississippi, Texas and Georgia. With the admission of these states, all of the seceded states were back in the Union. The work was not finished, however, because Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida were still in control of the reconstruction government. In 1870 and 1871, Congress tried to make the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments effective and to strengthen the carpet-bag governments, by passing, in 1871, what was called the "Force Bill." This law made it a crime, punishable by fine or imprisonment, to hinder Negroes from voting or to fail to count their votes. This force bill was repealed in 1894. In 1872, Congress passed an Amnesty Act which restored full citizenship to all whites of the South, except a few hundred who had been leaders in the Confederacy, and at the same time, the Freedmen's Bureau went out of operation. It was not until the term of Hayes, 1877, that the Federal troops were withdrawn and then all of the Southern states were in the hands of the native whites. From this time until the present, the Negro has had to do what America affords to all—to make himself what he chooses.

New Issues Under Grant. The census of 1870 showed our population to be more than 38,500,000. The population of the city of New York was nearly a million, Chicago was fourth in size when, in 1871, a great fire broke out and swept miles of buildings. The growth of the West was advanced by the discovery of gold and silver. One could see "prairie schooners," mules and horses laden with adventurers on their way

to the West. This movement was occasioned by the million or more men who were staking out homes under the Homestead Act of 1862. This act permitted a family to have from eighty to one hundred and sixty acres, provided they would cultivate them for five years.

It is interesting to note that Henry Adams of Louisiana and Benjamin Singleton of Tennessee stirred the whole Negro population of the South. As a result of their efforts, over 50,000 Negroes went West—some to live on homesteads, some to engage in mining, and others to work as laborers. Frederick Douglass was persuading the Negroes to stay and fight it out, while John M. Langston and Richard T. Greener threw the weight of their influence on the side of migration.

To stimulate the Western movement, railroads were built rapidly. The Central Pacific Railroad, starting from Sacramento, California, met the Union Pacific from Omaha westward. They met at Ogden, Utah, in 1869. Soon afterwards, Chinese and other immigrants came to this country as contract labor. In the foreign world, at Geneva, Switzerland, the Arbitration Board awarded the United States $15,500,000 as reparations for damages in the Civil War. Part of this sum was for Negroes carried out of the country. In 1873, Cuba seized our vessel, the *Virginius*, a carrying privateer, and many of the men were shot. After America protested, Spain stopped her punishment and all was settled.

New Political Parties, 1872. In 1872, President Grant was renominated by the Republicans. Horace Greeley was nominated for president by a faction of Republicans called Liberals (sometimes "mugwumps"), and supported by the Democrats. The Labor Reform Party, which wished the Chinese excluded and opposed land grants to railroads, nominated

Charles O'Connor. Another new party was the Prohibition Party, which wished the Constitution so amended that the sale of liquor would be prohibited. James Black of Pennsylvania was their candidate. General Grant was easily re-elected.

Grant's Second Term, 1873-1877. The "boom" westward and in industry caused a great panic in 1873. Wholesale selling and buying of stocks by states, towns and private corporations, in railroads, mines and manufacturing caused the crash. During the war, the government issued paper money called "greenbacks." These were promissory notes on the treasury of the United States. At times, the value of them would fluctuate from forty cents to par. In September, 1869, Jay Gould and James Fisk tried to corner the gold market. As a result, people frantically bought gold, and it went sky high, only to crash. That day has since been known as "Black Friday." Further trouble came by the way of corruption. Besides wrongdoing in government circles, there was uncovered some shameful robbing by "Boss" Tweed and the Tammany Hall leaders of New York. Another fraudulent deal was the transactions of those interested in the "credit mobilier." They speculated in stocks of the Union Pacific Railroad, and evidence showed that high government officials were bribed.

On March 3, 1873, Congress passed the *Salary Grab Act.* This act raised the salary of the president from $25,000 to $50,000 a year and that of Congressmen from $5,000 to $7,500. It was made retroactive to pay two years' back salary. The whisky ring, composed of distillers of St. Louis and of several federal officers who worked together, defrauded the government of revenue from the sale of liquor. The Secretary of War, W. W. Belknap, was guilty of malfeasance. He was charged with accepting money from the sale of a post-

trader job at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. All of these things show the moral collapse which follows war. Not all of the corruption was in the South. The record shows that it is a general thing following a great crisis.

In 1876, one hundred years of the Independence of the United States was celebrated by a World's Fair at Philadelphia. President Grant opened it on May 10. By the time the Fourth of July rolled around, it was at its height. Displays of all the advancement made in the United States and the world were on exhibit. American people realized more than ever before that they had much to do before they could rank with some other countries, but Bell's telephone and other devices were among the best inventions the world had to offer. The red man, the Negro, and the whites all joined in viewing these marvels.

The mad rush West had raised the ire of the Indians again. The Modocs in Oregon and the Sioux Indians in Iowa and Minnesota were encroached upon, because gold was discovered on their land. Thousands of men, women and children had been killed, before the government sent General George Armstrong Custer to settle the affair. In 1876, General Custer was attacked by the Indians on Little Big Horn River. He and all of the two hundred and sixty-two men of his attachment were killed. Relief came and drove the Indians to Canada.

In 1876, the Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York for president. The Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio. The Prohibition Party nominated Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky. The Independent National Party nominated Peter Cooper, of New York. The principal issues in the campaign were the tariff and civil service reform. As the election returns came in, there arose a dispute over the returns of the electors from South Carolina, Florida,

Louisiana and Oregon. Since there were two sets of returns, the question had to be settled by an electoral commission. This commission was composed of five senators, five representatives and five judges of the Supreme Court. The election was decided by a vote of eight to seven. Rutherford B. Hayes was declared elected. Much evidence points to the fact that a bargain was made to the effect, that, if Hayes was elected president, he would withdraw the troops from South Carolina and Louisiana. The facts are that following his inauguration, the executive order to remove the troops came in April, 1877. This was the last of the rule of Carpet-baggers and the Negroes in the South. The Democratic whites in the South soon seized the reins and the Negro has had to build himself gradually and slowly back into the picture.

Rutherford Birchard Hayes, Nineteenth President, 1877-1881. The state of Ohio gave a second son to the nation as president. Grant and Hayes were both born in the same state in the same year. President Hayes was born October 4, 1822, at Delaware, Ohio. He was from a family of good means and, being a brilliant student, he graduated young from Kenyon College, in Ohio, and later finished a law course at Harvard. He returned to Ohio and practiced law. In 1852, he married, and eight children were born to the union. He served in the Civil War; later was elected to Congress, and favored an educational test to use the ballot in the South. He was elected governor of Ohio three times and then ran for president. His platform was: Reform in Civil Service; Return to Specie Payments; and Pacification of the South. Coming to the presidency under a cloud, he kept a cool head and redeemed all of his pledges. At a secret conference in Wormley's Hotel in Washington, Representative Foster, of Cincinnati, assured the Southerners that Hayes, if elected,

would remove the military forces and give them back their state government. One of his first official acts, therefore, was to remove the troops from the South. He named David M. Key, a Confederate of Tennessee, his postmaster-general. Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, also served as postmaster-general when Key resigned to become United States district judge of East Tennessee and Middle Tennessee.

Negro Presides Over Senate. Blanche K. Bruce, a dignified, capable, honest Negro, who was United States senator from Mississippi, presided over the Senate for a brief time, and was technically next in succession for the presidency at the moment. Hayes served only one term and, after he left the White House, devoted his money and time to the Slater Fund for the Industrial Education of Negroes, the Peabody Educational Board, and the National Prison Reforms. He lived only twelve years after the expiration of his term, passing away January 17, 1893. He was buried at Siegel Grove, Ohio.

Hayes' Administration, 1877-1881. President Hayes started to redeem his platform pledges by removing the federal troops from South Carolina and Louisiana in 1877. The South became solidly Democratic and the days of the Carpet-bagger and Negro power were over. The end was approaching to all of the pent-up vengeance of the reconstruction acts that had broken loose after the war—and the end to a bloody record, for, up to 1868, over 3,500 had been killed by mobs; 1,884 were illegally killed in 1868; and over 1,000 between 1868 and 1877. This record shows what takes place when people are coerced on one hand and misled on the other.

In order to dispel the corruption which existed in his official family, President Hayes dismissed many of the appointees of Grant.

Corporations grew by leaps and bounds. Millions of dollars were pooled together and soon labor had to deal with an invisible, intangible entity called a corporation. As a result of this impersonal relationship, labor followed the example set by the capitalist and combined for their mutual benefit. With this idea in mind the Noble Order of Knights of Labor was organized in 1869, and held a National Congress in 1870.

To combat the labor groups' efforts, corporations kept a "blacklist" of the men who had caused them trouble. Labor retaliated by instituting the "strike." This was a technique used to tie up industry by not working and then preventing others from taking their places.

In 1877, a great strike occurred among the large railroads in the Mid-west. Railroad property was destroyed and many people killed. It virtually stopped everything. President Hayes had to call out the United States troops. The value of property destroyed was over ten million dollars.

In 1878, Congress passed an act providing for the coinage of not less than two million nor more than four million silver dollars a month. This was called "The Bland-Allison Act of 1878." As a result of this act, "greenbacks" became as good as gold and the panic soon passed.

Election of 1880. President Hayes would not run again, so a group of regular Republicans boomed General U. S. Grant for a third term. Senator James G. Blaine, of Maine, and John Sherman of Ohio fought his nomination. After much balloting, James A. Garfield was nominated, with Chester A. Arthur, of New York, as a running mate. The Democrats named General Winfield S. Hancock, of Pennsylvania, and William A. English, of Indiana. The Greenback-Labor Party and the Prohibition Party had candidates, but Garfield and Arthur were easily elected.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEGRO DURING THE INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION—1880-1914

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD AND CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR, TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST PRESIDENTS, 1881-1885

James A. Garfield, March 4, 1881, to September 19, 1881. The last of the "log cabin" men to reach the White House was James A. Garfield, born November 19, 1831, in the northeastern part of Ohio. His father was a poor farmer of fifty acres and his mother was an amiable, hard worker. James was the youngest of four children. His father died when he was two years old. He was a precocious child and yet a hard worker. One could see him chopping wood, working on a canal boat, snatching an education between hours until he finished Williams College. He was a confirmed believer in the Disciples of Christ Church. He became state senator, president of Hiram College and then joined the Union Army and saw service at Shiloh, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga and Lookout Mountain. For seventeen years, he was a member of Congress in which he manifested a dislike for slavery and its problems. He always was in accord with Hayes' policy of pacification and conciliation toward the South. In 1880, he was a "dark horse" for the Republican nomination for president, but was nominated and became the twentieth president. During his brief tenure in the presidential office, he was faced with the problems of civil service

reform, of the tariff, of trusts and of big business. On July 2, 1881, a disappointed office-seeker, Charles J. Guiteau of New York, shot him in the railroad station at Washington. He lingered until September 19, 1881, when he passed away and Chester A. Arthur, the vice-president, succeeded him.

Chester Alan Arthur, Twenty-first President, 1881-1885. Although Arthur was born in Vermont, while he was still young, his people moved to New York, where he was educated and made his career. He was graduated from Union College and was the first president to be a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. He studied law and was admitted to practice at the age of twenty-three. His father was an abolitionist and, before the Civil War, Chester served as an attorney for fugitive Negro slaves. In later years he became interested in a notable case which originated in the removal of a Negro woman from a street car in New York. As a result of this case, Negroes won equal rights on street cars in New York and have had them ever since. Coming up through the ranks, Arthur was a candidate for the nomination for president, and, during the balloting, Blanche K. Bruce, at the time a Negro senator from Mississippi, received eight votes for the vice-presidential nomination, which was later bestowed on Arthur. Arthur was a civil service reformer and carried out the policies of Garfield. He died November 18, 1888, in New York City.

A Changed Nation, 1880-1914. The Civil War had left the South in ruins. Two billion dollars in slaves had vanished. A large part of the white population was killed. The great lesson of wage economy had to be learned by the Negroes. A working agreement between the master and the former slaves had to be worked out. Besides the suffering from non-adjustment of work, a lack of clothes, food and shelter pre-

vailed, with many dying of hunger and disease. Many Negroes thought that work was gone with slavery and, as a result, many slumped to vagrancy and dissipation. The mistaken idea that "forty acres and a mule" would soon come to all caused many to become disillusioned. Nearly 40 per cent of the cotton crop of 1876 was picked by white labor, while in 1860 only 11 per cent was picked by white labor.

Share-cropper and Tenancy in the South. After the break-up of the old plantation system, the new relationship brought share-croppers and tenancy. This was a system in which the landowner broke up his land, furnished everything and rented the land out to Negroes and whites, and, in turn, settled the expenses by dividing the crops.

The Crop-Lien system was also conducive to great social ills because mortgaging the crop before it was produced caused much unjust treatment. By 1874, Negro farmers in Georgia alone had acquired over 300,000 acres of land. The white farmers gobbled up the land from the old plantations and soon the South was leaving the old mansions and evidence of a new life was showing on all hands.

Cotton was the chief crop because that is what the Negro knew best. In 1870, over 3,000,000 bales were raised; some 5,750,000 bales in 1880, and in 1883, over 7,000,000 bales. The small farmer showed conclusively that the wage system was better than slavery because, instead of 172 pounds per acre, as in 1860, they were producing 222 pounds per acre in 1888.

Tobacco production remained about the same. Rice and sugar were not raised on a greater scale, but continued to go up gradually.

Western Advancement, 1880-1914. After 1869, the transcontinental railroads made the West a new frontier to conquer. Cities, towns and the whole area

became thriving. Sixty-five million acres of land was granted to settlers. By an act of 1871, the Indians were bottled up on reservations, and regarded as wards of the United States. From 1872 to 1874, over 3,500,000 bison or American buffaloes were slaughtered; in fact, this animal was almost exterminated. The cowboy and the cattle king became symbols of the "wild West." Thousands of cattle were driven miles to market. By 1871, 600,000 cattle were marketed annually. They were slaughtered and the meat shipped East, fresh and safe in refrigerated cars.

The North, 1880-1916. "Go West" was on the lips of all restless souls. Aliens were coming in by the millions, and they filled up the factories of the East besides going West. The J. F. Appleby twine binder made the Marsh harvester and the McCormick reaper of greater service. Vast wheat fields, with their golden sheaths, beckoned to the great, wide open spaces. Cereals, stockyards, gold, silver and coal mines followed the agriculturists. By 1880, we exported 550,000,000 bushels of wheat annually. The number of farms increased by twofold from 1860 to 1880. There were 4,000,000 farms in 1880 and the average size of them was 200 acres. In 1880, 74 per cent of the owners worked their own farms; 18 per cent were on shares; and one-third of the farmers in the South were tenants.

Industry and Commerce, 1880-1914. The wheels of industry were humming in all sections of the country. The output of pig-iron doubled; that of steel increased one hundredfold; railroad mileage grew to 166,000 with four trunk lines; manufacturing establishments jumped from 140,000 to 252,000. The workers in the factories doubled, while the population increased only 60 per cent. Cotton and all kinds of textile mills doubled and trebled. Foods, such as flour, meat, fish, bread, butter, cheese, confectionery, coffee,

tea, spices, fruits, canned goods, molasses and sugar, all opened up new avenues for trade and commerce, because the city people had to be fed. Great names soon became symbols of good products, such as, Cadwallader C. Washburn, Charles A. Pillsbury and George M. Christian, manufacturers of flour. Standard brands came into vogue—"Gold Medal Flour," "Maxwell House Coffee," "Campbell's Soup." In the meat-packing industry, the operations of such men as Michael Cudahy, who cured meats in the summer, Philip D. Armour, and Gustavus F. Swift, soon put the small butcher on the shelf and fresh meats were delivered daily through the big stores. The same thing happened in the fish industries. Canneries sprang up on all the water fronts, and, with modern means of preservation, fresh fish is at your door daily. The butter and cheese industries took a great part of the home work away from the farmer. In liquors, the United States Brewers' Association, started in 1862, soon cornered the market and, later, Pabst, Schlitz and Anheuser-Busch beers, as well as famous brands of spirituous liquors, were household words. Iron and steel industries were developing along with the rest: the Bethlehem steel works, started in 1873; J. Edgar Thomson steel works, started in Pittsburg in 1875; Andrew Carnegie, in 1879, attained great proportions. In the South, the great steel mills at Birmingham and Bessemer, Alabama, and in Tennessee became notable; in many states, textile mills, printing, electricity and coal made new sections of a new South. Oil and lumber became the most profitable extractive industries. In 1862, over 3,000,000 barrels of oil were produced at ten cents per barrel. In 1880, there were pumped over 40,000,000 barrels of oil worth more than twenty-five million dollars. John D. Rockefeller, Samuel Andrews, and H. M. Flagler started the

Standard Oil Company, which has ever since led the market in this field. Now Texaco, Gulf, Conoco, Shell and numerous other labels are also used; but the pioneers amassed great fortunes and they all employ thousands of laborers.

The lumber industry was so wasteful and extravagant that the Timber Culture Act was passed in 1873, and, in 1876, a forestry agent was established in the Department of Agriculture. By 1870, great lumber mills sprang up at Saginaw, Green Bay and Muskegon, all cities in Michigan. Then the center of this industry moved to Wisconsin and over 6,000,000,000 feet of lumber were produced in one year.

Side by side with production is distribution, in connection with which it is truly astonishing to note the career of the great philanthropist, Julius Rosenwald, of Illinois. He first came to notice as a boy pumping a pipe organ in a little church each Sunday for a few pennies. Later, he peddled wares on the sidewalks of Chicago; and still later he became the head of one of the greatest mail-order houses in the world, the Sears, Roebuck Company of Chicago. Yet, even before he started, A. T. Stewart of New York, John Wanamaker of Philadelphia, Montgomery Ward Company of Chicago, Marshall Field of Chicago, Gimbel Brothers, and R. H. Macy of New York, all had become symbols of this mass system of merchandising which covers America from coast to coast.

Master Minds at Work. Picture a traveler entering a modern dining car in 1868, when they were first used; then proceeding into your drawing room cars, reclining chair cars, your Pullman sleeping cars, with steel rails over steel bridges and riding in comfort from one end of America to the other. Then stop to think how different this luxury of travel from the mule and oxen carts, or the Pony Express of a few years before

and you will realize that this is another world—another age—which requires another type of laborer. This situation is what the Negro had to face with little chance of learning what it was all about.

During this period, George Westinghouse invented the air-brake in 1868, and the automatic air-brake in 1872; J. F. Appleby invented the twine binder in 1878; Thomas A. Edison invented the phonograph in 1877, the incandescent lamp in 1878; George F. Selden perfected a gasoline carriage in 1879; William Kelley of Kentucky and, later, Henry Bessemer, in 1865, proposed to manufacture steel by blowing air upon molten pig-iron; and there were hundreds of other inventors too numerous to mention here.

Negro Inventors. The Negro's mind was put to work and, just as the whites made their contribution, so did the Negro. This fact shows that people generally are products of their environment. In the field of tobacco, John P. Parker invented a screw for tobacco presses and received patents in 1884 and 1885; Elijah McCoy invented automatic lubricators for machinery in 1883; Granville T. Woods, of New York, invented the steam boiler furnace, incubator, automatic air-brakes, and several devices for the telephone and electricity; J. H. Dickerson and his son invented appliances for player pianos; W. P. Purvis of Philadelphia invented a machine for making paper bags; A. P. Albert of Louisiana invented a cotton picker; Shelby J. Davidson invented a tabulating and adding machine; Benjamin F. Jackson of Massachusetts invented a heating apparatus, matrix drying apparatus, gas burner, electrotype furnace, steam boiler, trolley wheel controller, and hydro-carbon burner system; Lewis Howard Latimer helped Alexander Graham Bell on his telephone inventions; Jan E. Matzeliger invented a machine for lasting shoes in 1883. This

patent was purchased by the United Shoe Machinery Company of Boston and the manufacture of lasting machines is one of the leading industries of America. Norbet Rillieux of Louisiana invented a vacuum pan for refining sugar; James Foster of Philadelphia invented a device for handling sails; Benjamin T. Montgomery of Mississippi invented a boat propeller. These and hundreds more, too numerous to mention, made their contributions to the great industrial expansion of America.

Negro Goes to School. When Lewis Tappen, treasurer of the American Missionary Association, wrote to General Butler in the summer of 1861, stating that his organization would be glad to aid in the care of contrabands collected at Hampton and Fortress Monroe, a great system of education was begun. On September 16, 1861, the Reverend L. C. Lockwood, a missionary to Virginia, opened in the home of ex-President Tyler a Sunday School for Negroes. Two days later, he established "The First Day Schools for the Freedmen." The first teacher was Mary S. Peake. a Negro woman. Soon afterwards, the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, The National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York, and the Friends' Association for the Aid and Education of Freedmen joined in this great work. Before 1864, they had 3,000 pupils enrolled with fifty-two teachers.

The Freedmen's Bureau, started in 1865 and running for five years to 1870, established 4,239 schools with 9,307 teachers and 247,333 students. When its work was wound up, the remaining funds were turned over to the American Missionary Association, which was inter-denominational in set-up, until 1881, when they passed into the hands of the Congregational Church. In 1861, they established a school at Hamp-

ton, Virginia. They broadened the plan to go into all of the Southern states, and, as a result of this expansion they established Fisk University at Nashville, Tennessee, Atlanta University at Atlanta, Georgia, Berea College in Kentucky, Straight University in Louisiana, Talladega College in Alabama, Tougaloo University in Mississippi and Tillotson College in Texas. As time passes and new demands are made, changes come: Fisk, Hampton and Atlanta are now independent; Berea has closed its doors to Negroes because of state laws; Straight has been absorbed by Dillard University; Le Moyne College in Memphis has been raised to a senior college; Joseph K. Brick College is closed; Palmer Memorial Institute at Sedalia, North Carolina, is now managed by the Association. In 1862, the American Baptist Home Society started to help educate Negroes. They were especially interested in educating Negro ministers and, as a result, Morehouse College, Virginia Union University, Shaw University, Benedict College, Storer College, Jackson College, Leland College and Bishop College came into existence. Spelman College is one of the best for young Negro women. The Methodist denominations (white) have a Freedmen's Aid Society which aids schools for Negroes. Among these schools are Clark University, Claflin, Bethune-Cookman, New Orleans University, Rust, Wiley, Philander Smith, Gammon Theological and Meharry Medical College.

The Presbyterian Board of Missions also took a hand. Back in 1854, Ashmun Institute now called Lincoln University, was begun in Pennsylvania. Later Johnson C. Smith University, Barber-Scotia, and Swift Memorial Colleges were founded. Another branch started Knoxville College.

The Episcopalians and Catholics have done their part. The Episcopalians started St. Paul Normal and

Industrial School and St. Augustine College, besides many other smaller schools. The Catholics sponsored St. Joseph's Industrial School, St. Augustine's Academy, St. Francis' Academy, and, more recently, Cardinal Gibbons Institute and Xavier University.

The Negro denominations caught the spirit of the times and have tried to do what they could to educate Negro youth. In 1838, in Philadelphia, Negroes had a pay school. In 1835, there was a pay school for Negroes in New Orleans. The African Methodist Episcopal Church took the lead and purchased 120 acres near Xenia, Ohio. In 1856, they started Wilberforce University and, in 1863, Wilberforce came under their sole control. Later Morris Brown University, Allen University, Paul Quinn, Kittrell College—all have been started by the Methodist Negroes. The Methodist Negroes' efforts have extended to Liberia and Africa. Another Negro connection which has started schools is the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. They have schools, such as Livingstone College, North Carolina. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church started Lane College, Jackson, Tennessee; Miles Memorial College, and the Mississippi Industrial College. Paine College is partly supported by the Colored Methodists as well as the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

The Baptists have more members than any of the other denominations and have done a great work for education. They, at one time, had over 120 schools, but they have retrenched considerably and now have Selma University, Arkansas Baptist College, Roger Williams University, Howe Institute and Virginia Theological Seminary. It must be kept in mind that large sums of their money still go through the American Baptist Home Mission Society.

The Disciples of Christ (Christian Church) has two

schools, The Edward Waters Christian Institute, Edwards, Mississippi, and Jarvis Christian College, Hawkins, Texas. Both of these schools emphasize a Christian leadership program.

Educational Aid. The Negro could not have made the progress he has achieved educationally had it not been for the aid which came from people who were sincerely devoted to his cause. A significant factor in the rise of the New South was the rehabilitation of the educational work. This aid came from wealthy people and has been used to help the Negro. In 1867, George Peabody, an American and London banker, gave $3,484,000 to be used at the discretion of a board of trustees "for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, or industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the Southern and Southwestern states of our Union: my purpose being that the benefits intended shall be distributed among the entire population, without other distinction than their needs and the opportunities of usefulness to them." It is interesting to note that, up to 1914, they have spent $3,650,556, most of it on the Negro. A Southern man, Dr. J. L. M. Curry of Alabama, administered this fund with unfailing wisdom.

John F. Slater of Norwich, Connecticut, in the year 1882, founded a fund which bears his name. He said, "I am moved to the establishment of such a fund for the benefit of Negro education by the eminent wisdom and success that has marked the conduct of the Peabody Education Fund in a field of education not remote from that contemplated by this fund." A sum of one million dollars was appropriated for the establishment of the Slater Fund for the general purpose of uplifting the lately emancipated population of the

Southern states and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education.

In 1866, Samuel C. Armstrong came to Hampton as superintendent of the work of the Freedmen's Bureau. One hundred and fifty-nine acres were purchased for $19,000. Armstrong became the principal on June 4, 1870. It has for its purpose the instruction of youth in the various common school, academic and collegiate branches, the best methods of teaching them, and the best mode of practical industry in its application to agriculture and the mechanical arts.

Hampton has maintained a high standard program, and from it has come the Tuskegee program.

Booker Taliaferro Washington, April 5, 1858, to November 14, 1915. But few persons have been found living in such depths of poverty, adversity, squalor and in such a lowly state of existence as was true of Booker T. Washington, and no person has risen higher in the esteem and praiseworthiness of his fellow-men —black or white. These extremes sum up the fifty-seven years of life that were allotted to Booker T. Washington. He was born at Hale's Ford, Franklin County, Virginia, in slavery. Soon his mother, the other children and his step-father moved to Malden, West Virginia. Booker first worked in a salt furnace, going to work at four o'clock in the morning. After two or three years at this labor, he worked in a coal-mine. Here is where he heard of Hampton Institute. Later he was employed in the home of General Lewis Ruffner, owner of the mines. It was while he was working in this home that he learned how to read. In 1872, at the age of sixteen, he started for Hampton. Walking and sleeping under bridges, he arrived penniless. Miss Mary F. Mackie was the first teacher to meet him and try him out to see if he was a fit student for the school. He cleaned a room three times

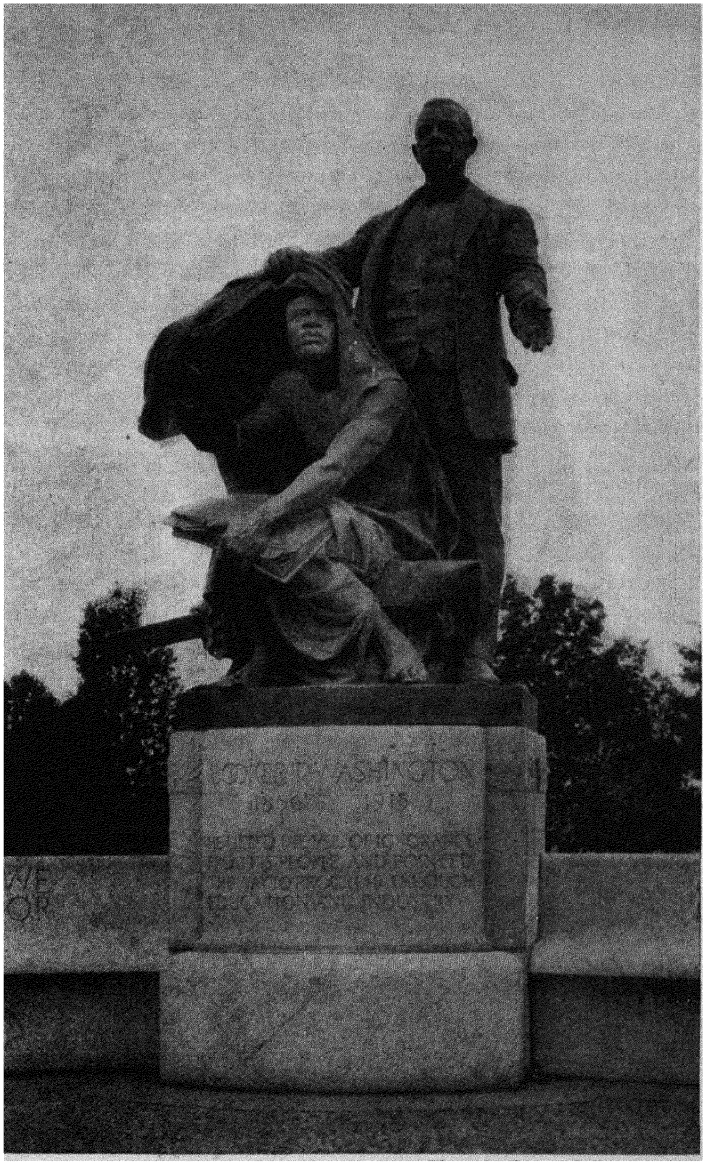


Photo by Ewing Galloway, N. Y.

Booker Taliaferro Washington, born Hale's Ford, Va., April 5, 1865, died November 14, 1915; established Tuskegee Institute July 4, 1881; one of America's greatest educators, orators and leaders

and, when it was inspected, the answer was, "I guess you will do to enter this institution." On entering, he came into contact with General Samuel C. Armstrong. After two years, he returned to Malden, West Virginia, where he started again to work in the furnace. Returning to Hampton in 1875, he completed the course and then came back to Malden and taught school for three years. He then attended Wayland Seminary in Washington for one year, and, in 1879, was appointed an instructor at Hampton.

In 1881, a call came to him from Tuskegee, Alabama. He opened Tuskegee, July 4, 1881, when he was twenty-five years old. After laboring for fourteen years, Booker Washington's fame became national. On September 18, 1895, he was invited to speak at the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia. It was upon this occasion that he said, "Cast down your bucket where you are." They were to cast down their buckets by making friends in every manly way with the people by whom they were surrounded. He further said, "No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top, nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities." He said to the whites, "Cast down your bucket where you are. Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proven treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. . . . In all things that are purely social, we can be as separated as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

The Tuskegee Idea of Education. It has been necessary for the Negro to learn the difference between being worked and working, to learn that being worked

means degradation, while working means civilization; that all forms of labor are honorable, and all forms of idleness, disgraceful. In answer to his critics, Booker Washington said, "By the side of industrial training should go mental and moral training, but pushing of mere abstract knowledge into the head means little. We want more than the mere performance of mental gymnastics. Our knowledge must be harnessed to the things of real life. . . . I would set no limits to the attainments of the Negro in arts, in letters or statesmanship, but I believe the surest way to reach those ends is by laying the foundation in the little things of life that lie immediately about one's door."

William Edward Burghardt DuBois, February 23, 1868. The industrial education philosophy of Booker T. Washington was challenged by W. E. B. DuBois. He was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, February 23, 1868, the son of Alfred and Mary DuBois. After attending the schools of his home, he graduated from Fisk University in 1888, with a bachelor's degree. In 1890, he was graduated from Harvard with a bachelor's degree and in 1891 received his master's degree at Harvard. In 1895, after studying at the University of Berlin, he received his doctor of philosophy degree from Harvard.

With this training, he taught in the South and in the North, and then took up his pen in defense of the experiences he *himself* had had. He felt very keenly that Washington had sacrificed the good of the Negro race for the idea of labor and vigorously advocated the philosophy that culture could come from the "talented tenth" and trickle down to the masses. He said, "I am an earnest advocate of manual training and trade teaching for black boys and for white boys, too. I believe that next to the founding of Negro colleges, the most valuable addition to Negro educa-

tion since the war, has been industrial training for black boys. Nevertheless, I insist that the object of all true education is not to make men carpenters, it is to make carpenters men; there are two means of making the carpenter a man, each equally important. The first is to give the group and community in which he works liberally trained teachers and leaders to teach him and his family what life means; the second is to give him sufficient intelligence and technical skill to make him an efficient workman. The first object demands the Negro college and college-bred men—not a quantity of such colleges, but a few of excellent quality; not too many college-bred men, but enough to leaven the lump, to inspire the masses, to raise the Talented Tenth to leadership; the second object demands a good system of common schools, well-taught, conveniently located and properly equipped."

Captains of Industry and the Negro. As these conflicting views were being clarified, people of great wealth came upon the scene and many of them established foundations under the guidance of experts to aid in the spread of American culture to the masses. Among these were the Vanderbilts, Harknesses, Guggenheims, Du Ponts, Rockefellers, Rosenwalds, Fricks, Dukes, Astors, Baldwins, Woods, Morgans, Hills and many others. Later, more will be told about their work.

Labor Organization and the Negro. As the wheels of industry turned and large factories, mills, mines and trunk lines absorbed the small establishments, wage earners felt that they had something in common in marketing their labor; hence, the Labor Movement came to be a part of the onward march of our civilization. First, the Knights of Labor organized in 1869. It was a secret organization headed by Uriah S. Stevens. In 1886, with a membership of 730,000, it entered upon a series of disastrous strikes. Out of this

struggle came the American Federation of Labor. This organization had its beginning in 1881 with Samuel Gompers as its moving spirit. It was different from the Knights of Labor because it was a confederation of trade and labor unions, each trade being organized separately and the union alone being represented in the national body. It avoided political entanglements and grew to 200,000 members in 1890, and 550,000 in 1900. In 1938, there were over 4,000,000 members. The demands of labor organizations were usually for better working conditions, shorter hours and higher wages. The methods they use to secure these demands are the strike, legislation, collective bargaining and picketing. The employers usually fought back by black lists, lock-outs, injunctions, and hiring scab workers (strike breakers). In 1938, another technique used is the "sit-down strike," which means that the laborers sit down in the plant and do not leave until their demands are met.

On September 13, 1888, a Chinese Exclusion Act was passed prohibiting the importation of Chinese labor into the United States. This act was passed, because thousands of Chinese came to the Pacific Coast and the West. The main objection to their presence was due to the lower standard of living of the Chinese and the small wages they received.

Labor and the Negro. In 1890, the American Federation of Labor, declared in its convention that, "The American Federation of Labor looks with disfavor upon trade unions having provisions in their constitutions excluding from membership persons on account of race and color" and requested that such provisions be expunged. Again, in 1893, the convention proclaimed: "Resolved that we here and now reaffirm as one of the cardinal principles of the labor movement that the working people must unite and organize ir-

respective of creed, color, sex, nationality and politics." The Negro wage-earners of the United States have made great strides under tremendous handicaps for historical causes with which they were not equipped to compete. Yet Negro workers have proved their ability to make a contribution to the world's work and to achieve positions of responsibility and service. As Negro workers have increasingly found their way into the industrial fields, they have come more or less directly into competition with white wage-earners. This competition works against the best interests of both groups. It vanishes only through organizations, directly or indirectly. The pioneers of the organized labor movement were very conscious of this when they drafted into the constitution of the American Federation of Labor the following provision: "Separate charters may be issued to central labor unions, local unions, or federal labor unions, composed exclusively of colored members, wherein the judgment of the executive council deems it advisable and to the best interest of the trade union movement to do so . . . the A. F. of L. stands ready to give the Negro workers the protection of an organized movement . . . the Negro workers owe it to themselves and to us to join in the movement for the advancement of common interests." However, after the National Labor Union fell into the hands of politicians, they went out of existence in 1872, and the International Workingmen's Association came into existence. Reverend Sells Martin, a member of the National Negro Labor Union was appointed as a delegate to the World's Labor Congress, held in September, 1870, in Paris, France.

It was evident that discrimination in labor organization was growing because white men were expelled from local unions, if found working with Negroes.

In 1869, the First State Labor Convention of Ne-

groes was held at Douglas Institute in Baltimore. Later in the same year, they established a Labor Bureau to look after the interest of Negro workers. All of these efforts soon passed. Again the Negro carpenters applied for a charter and got it, but were excluded from the A. F. of L. The trade unions prevented an increase in the number of Negro workers everywhere, and the A. F. of L. in the South virtually drove the Negroes from trades and reduced them to the status of common laborers and helpers. Samuel Gompers advocated separate unions and this prevented Negro union men from selling their labor. Negroes were closed out of plumbing and electrical work. Wholesale houses would not sell them supplies. Hod carriers were often admitted to mixed unions. The greatest handicap of the Negro was due to defective training.

In a convention held in Chicago in 1905, the Industrial Workers of the World made a bid for disappointed laborers. Eugene V. Debs, William Trautman, George Estes and others drew up a comprehensive program, but these liberal leaders could not make much headway, because they found that their socialistic views were not strong enough to affect the program of the A. F. of L. and, therefore, failed.

Effect of Big Business on the Negro. Since the Civil War, the rise of Big Business and the sharply drawn lines of discrimination in labor unions have caused the Negro to be exploited by other methods, among them peonage, in which system the things of life are advanced on a contract and the laborer has to work out the debt. Another system was the contract lease system; that is, vagrancy laws would operate to arrest the Negro for loitering and then he would be hired out to some one to work out his debt or fine. The states of the South used the chain-gang system in which the authorities would chain prisoners together and make

them work on roads and other state projects. In the Share Cropper system, everything is furnished and the tenant receives part of the crop for his labor less the amount which has been advanced him while the crop is growing.

In spite of all of these devices to supplant slavery, Negroes, in 1890, owned 120,738 farms; in 1900, they owned 187,797; and in 1910, they owned 218,972 farms, but the larger part of them were tenants.

These various conditions caused many Negroes to leave the South. During the 1890's and the first decade following, the number of Negroes leaving the South increased rapidly. In 1890, out of 241,855 Negroes in the North, 43,826 came from the South; in 1900, out of 369,651 Negroes in the North, 107,796 came from the South. The result of this hegira was that the Negro problem was brought to the front door of the North, and immediately lynchings, race riots and all sorts of discriminations increased. Between 1882 and 1900 there were fifty strikes against Negro labor. They included strikes against employing Negroes, working with Negroes, against Negro skilled workers and all other excuses that had any connection with Negro labor.

In the South, more stringent laws were passed to prevent Negroes from voting. The right to vote was based upon ownership of property and education in such a way that Negroes who were poor or illiterate were excluded. The "grandfather clause" was adopted in Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia and Georgia. This clause based the right to vote on the fact that the voter's ancestors voted in 1867. The Supreme Court declared this clause unconstitutional.

Jim Crow laws were also passed. Such laws provided for separate railroad coaches, or divisions in the coaches for Negroes and whites; that Negroes have the

rear end in street cars and busses; Negroes could have no Pullmans and no dining cars; separate schools, special windows in banks and appearance at the back door only at homes, were also requirements applied to Negroes. Such discriminations, of course, were disagreeable, but despite all obstacles, there was a marked increase in the number of Negroes in the manufacturing and trade industries. Between 1890 and 1914, the number of Negroes in industry increased from 220,000 to 550,000. The value of land owned by Negroes in the South in 1910 was $272,992,238 which was an increase of ninety per cent in one decade. In 1880, they owned 6,000,000 acres of land; in 1910, they owned 18,000,000 acres, with 220,000 farm owners. The total value of Negro farm wealth in 1910 was $570,000,000.

Growth of Democracy. Not only did changes come concerning the Negro but a more liberal attitude was expressed toward all humanity. In 1880, Susan B. Anthony, Dr. Anna Shaw and Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton were waging a battle for women's rights, prohibition and women's suffrage. Women were voting in school elections in some states and, in 1869, Wyoming had full suffrage for women.

In 1882, the Civil Service Act enabled the President, with the consent of the Senate, to appoint a board of commissioners to examine the fitness of candidates for federal office. Much harm has come out of the functioning of this act because applicants have to submit their photographs with their applications and the board may choose from the three highest. Nevertheless, thousands of Negroes work under this system.

The same year (1882) saw the postage rate of letters reduced to two cents per ounce. The use of railroad time tables, which eliminated much confusion in transportation, also came into being.

America Goes Abroad. In 1850, Henry Grinnell

went toward the North Pole; Lieutenant Greeley explored in the Arctic Ocean and, in 1868, Henry M. Stanley was sent by James Gordon Bennett to Africa in search of David Livingstone. Stanley found Livingstone, and continued to explore "Darkest Africa." He discovered the upper Congo. These explorations were a new penetration into Africa. They did not bring the Negroes out of Africa, but they did inaugurate exploitation of them in their native land. Gold, silver, palm oil, fine wood, feathers, animals of all kinds and many other things were discovered, the native land of Africa was expropriated by other countries, and the native African has been exploited and subdued to such an extent that he is not in possession of any part of his own country. He is forced into preserves or reservations and to work in the mines and on the plantations of the people of other governments.

Election of 1884. The Prohibition Party nominated John B. St. John for president. The Labor Party nominated Benjamin F. Butler; the Republicans nominated the "Plumed Knight," James G. Blaine of Maine, for president and John A. Logan of Illinois for vice-president. The Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland of New York for president, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for vice-president.

Blaine was vigorously opposed by some reform Republicans who worked for Cleveland. They were called "Mugwumps"—an Indian word meaning big chief. Theodore Roosevelt was among those who opposed Blaine. The Milligan Letters and the Rum-Romanism-and-Rebellion speech of Dr. Burchard caused Blaine to lose New York State by 1,149 votes, and Cleveland became our first Democratic president since the Civil War.

Grover Cleveland, Twenty-second President, 1885-1889. A strange combination. Born of Presbyterian

people, in New Jersey, March 18, 1837, Grover Cleveland grew up to be a unique personality. He was the fifth of nine children. His family moved to Fayetteville, New York. His father died and, after attending an academy for a short while, Grover dropped out to help support the family. He first clerked in a country store for fifty dollars a year; next, he taught in a New York city school for the blind; then he worked as a law clerk for four dollars per week. While in this occupation, he read law and was admitted to the bar in 1859. He borrowed money to send a substitute to the war. Later, he was elected assistant district attorney and sheriff of Erie County, New York. In 1881, he was elected mayor of Buffalo, N. Y., where he conducted a great reform program. At the time when Theodore Roosevelt was a member of the state legislature of New York, Cleveland was elected governor, and carried through a further reform program. In 1884, he was elected President of the United States, and one of his first official acts was to give Grant back his commission in the army so that he might draw his army allowance. He called upon the South for his advisors: Lamar of Mississippi was appointed secretary of the interior; A. H. Garland, a native Tennessean, became attorney-general. He proposed giving back to the South the captured battle flags of the Confederacy. A great protest was raised and the flags were not then returned, but eighteen years later Theodore Roosevelt gave them back. Cleveland's two administrations were freighted with momentous problems, but he lived with distinction through them all. He died June 24, 1908.

Grover Cleveland's First Administration, 1885-1889. Cleveland came in on a wave of peace throughout the world, exemplified by the "Statue of Liberty," designed by Bartholdi, given to us by Frenchmen, and unveiled by Cleveland in 1886. Soon, labor troubles

broke loose. A strike took place on the Missouri Pacific Railroad, causing the loss of over one million dollars to labor and over three million dollars to the railroad. A riot of 40,000 workmen in Chicago, with bombs thrown and some lives lost, resulted in the passage by Congress in 1885 of the Contract Labor Bill, which prohibited foreigners from coming to America under contracts to labor.

In 1886, a law stating the line of succession to the presidency was passed. This law was suggested by the trouble in Garfield's administration and the death of Vice-President Hendricks. This law made the succession to the presidency as follows: vice-president, secretary of state and then the other members of the cabinet in the order of the creation of their offices.

In 1887, the centennial of the signing of the Constitution was celebrated. A hundred years of progress and prosperity had wrought changes beyond the fondest imagination of the American people. Great trunk lines were plowing their way across the continent and, in 1887, Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act, to prevent a railroad from charging unfair rates from one state to another. The Nicaragua Canal project was being considered by Congress and the Panama Canal was fostered by Ferdinand De Lesseps of France, but failed after millions had been spent. The United States was much interested in these canals because of the discovery of gold in California and the development of the Western coast. Great Britain and America disputed about fisheries in Canadian waters and Germany and the United States disputed about the Samoa Islands in the Pacific. As a result of these disputes, the Monroe Doctrine which had been announced by President Monroe in 1823 was reaffirmed and large sums of money were appropriated for a navy.

One of the last things in Cleveland's first administra-

tion was the establishment of the Department of Labor in 1888.

Election of 1888. The Democrats re-nominated Cleveland with Allen G. Thurman of Ohio as his running mate. The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, and Levi P. Morton of New York for vice-president. The Prohibition Party and the two labor parties were also in the field. The election campaign issues were protective tariff and free trade. The Republicans stood for a high tariff to keep out the pauper-made goods of Europe. The Democrats split, and Benjamin Harrison was elected.

Benjamin Harrison, Twenty-third President, 1889-1893. No boy in America ever came into the world with a stronger hereditary influence toward public service. Benjamin Harrison was the son of a Congressman, the grandson of a man who had been soldier, Congressman, senator and president; the great-grandson of a man whose name he bore and who had been a member of the Continental Congress and signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was born on a farm at North Bend, Ohio, on August 20, 1833. He was not a child of poverty-stricken parents, but attended the log cabin country school from which he went to Farmer's College near Cincinnati. After having been graduated from Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, he returned to Cincinnati where he studied law in an office and was admitted to the bar. He married and settled in Indianapolis, Indiana. In 1857, he was city attorney, and on the outbreak of hostilities went to fight in the Civil War. Having distinguished himself in the army, he returned to Indianapolis, where he was elected senator in 1881. In 1888, the Republicans nominated him as their candidate for president and he was elected. During his campaign for the presidency, the tariff was the great issue. After he had

served one term as president, he devoted his time to study and lecturing. He died on March 13, 1901.

Harrison's Administration, 1889-1893. The most important measures of Harrison's administration were the McKinley Tariff Act, the Sherman Anti-trust Act, the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, and the Force Bill of 1890.

The McKinley Tariff Act of 1890 increased the amount of protection and at the same time reduced the revenue. Raw sugar was admitted free and a bounty of two cents a pound was granted to the American producer of sugar.

The Sherman Anti-trust Act, passed on July 2, 1890, declared that "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade among the several states or with foreign nations," was illegal. The infringement of this law carried a penalty of $5,000 and one year of imprisonment. This law was ineffective; the trusts grew more rapidly. From the Civil War up to 1890, there had been organized only twenty-four of the great corporations, but in the ten years following, one hundred and fifty-seven were organized.

The Sherman Silver Purchase Act, passed on July 14, 1890, pledged the government to buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month at the market price and issue legal tender treasury notes to the full amount of the silver purchased. The government soon saw the value of silver shrink, a circumstance which caused much concern. This interest in silver was due to the admission into the Union, in 1889, of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington. Another step forward in land expansion was the purchase of Oklahoma territory and opening it up to settlement on April 22, 1889. Oklahoma was admitted into the Union in 1907. New Mexico and Arizona were ad-

mitted in 1912. These admissions made a solid, federated Union of forty-eight states. Our only territories now are Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico.

In 1890, the census showed that we had a population of 62,500,000 people with an aggregate wealth amounting to $65,000,000,000. However, a growing concern over the 4,300,000 wage-earners and the fact that there were only 18,200,000 in the rural districts, with fewer and fewer small factories arose from the fear that trouble was soon to break out over the control of corporations and monopolies.

Cleveland had vetoed the pension bill for Civil War veterans, but it was revived and passed under Harrison. As a result the number of paid pensions rose from 36,000 in 1899, to more than 363,000 in 1891. Speaker T. B. Reed, known as "Czar" Reed, because of his tactics in forcing a quorum, put through these measures.

Negroes' Great Fight for Votes, 1890. The solid Democratic South was a thorn in the side of the Republican Party, and in the campaign of 1888 that party pledged itself to the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. In 1890, a Force Bill, which placed the control of Southern elections in federal hands, passed the House and was championed in the Senate by Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. The South and the West combined and defeated the bill in the Senate. In the meantime, the Populist Party split in the South and it looked as though Negroes would get the balance of power. A method was devised to deprive the Negro of the suffrage. Mississippi led the way. The new state constitution of 1890 prescribed for all voters the payment of a poll tax of two dollars, the ability to read any section of the state constitution or to understand and interpret it when read. It further disqualified from voting all those who had

been convicted of "bribery, burglary, theft, arson, obtaining goods under false pretenses, perjury, embezzlement or bigamy." This included a large part of the Negroes. In 1897, Louisiana adopted the "grandfather clause" which provided that no male person who was entitled to vote on January 1, 1867, and no son or grandson of any such person over twenty-one years of age at the time of the adoption of the new constitution should be denied the right to vote by reason of his failure to possess the necessary educational or property qualifications. This clause restored to the electorate the poor and illiterate whites who would otherwise have been excluded. Most Southern states followed these examples. This practice was not stopped until June 21, 1915, when the Supreme Court of the United States held that exemption from the literacy test of persons who voted in 1867 and their descendants was contrary to the Fifteenth Amendment. Then methods were employed such as white primaries and other tests which virtually obtained the same results.

Negroes Try Colonization, 1895. Again the Negro tried the "fleeing" method. This time, Bishop H. M. Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal Church with the aid of Southern whites, persuaded Negroes to go to Africa. Some went to Mexico, but soon returned. However, in 1895, nearly two hundred sailed to Liberia, Africa. This project proved to be unsuccessful. Many of the most talented Negroes came North and joined forces with the labor party, the Socialists and the I. W. W., but these organizations, having nothing to offer but liberty, forced the Negroes to shift for themselves.

Election of 1892. In 1892, Harrison and Cleveland were again rival candidates for president. James B. Weaver of Iowa was nominated by the Populist Party, whose platform was progressive. Among other

things they advocated the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, a graduated income tax, postal savings banks, and eight-hour working day, restriction of immigration, initiative and referendum and election of senators by direct votes of the people. A strike in the Carnegie steel works at Homestead, Pennsylvania, and other events hurt the Republican cause, and Cleveland was elected.

Cleveland's Administration, 1893-1897, Twenty-fourth President. One of the first acts of Cleveland, on entering his second term, was to touch an electric button which unfurled the flags of all nations at a World's Fair in Chicago, in 1893. The collection of exhibits, showing human progress assembled from all parts of the world, was startling to the human eye and mind. Thomas Edison and Nikola Tesla, his student, took many honors for their work in electricity. While this fair was in progress and for a long time afterwards, the country was plunged into a panic (now called a depression).

Panic of 1893. Shops and factories closed. The Sherman Purchase Act was repealed. Few investments were made in any business. Thousands were thrown out of work and the wages of those who found employment were cut. Strikes broke out, the mails were interfered with, so Cleveland called out Federal troops to insure their passage.

Coxey's army of 10,000 men marched toward Washington, but gradually diminished and the few who continued were arrested along with Coxey himself. Congress passed the Wilson Tariff Act of 1894, which lowered the tariff on some imports and placed several articles on a free list.

Foreign Problems. Hawaii, in the Mid-Pacific Ocean, had harbored American missionaries for years. Queen Liliuokalani resented the American residents'

actions. They deposed her and asked that America annex Hawaii, pay a $2,000,000 debt and give the queen a stipend of $20,000 annually. Cleveland refused this offer and ordered Americans to leave Hawaii; but in due course of time Hawaii became a territory of the United States.

The boundary dispute between Venezuela and the British Colony of Guiana was another sore contention. In this matter Great Britain refused to recognize the Monroe Doctrine. Thereupon, Cleveland asked Congress for $100,000 for the expenses of a commission and ordered troops to settle it, if Britain would not agree. Britain agreed to arbitration and the controversy was concluded in Paris in 1899.

Free Coinage of Silver Issue, 1896. The advocates of free coinage of silver wished the government to buy any amount of silver that anyone might bring to its mints and coin it into legal currency at the ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold. William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, a young Congressman, was the main advocate of it. He spoke at the Democratic National Convention and said: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this wreath of thorns—you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

This speech won for him the nomination for president on the Democratic ticket. Mark Hanna, a wealthy banker and business man of Cleveland, Ohio, successfully groomed William McKinley of Ohio for the Republican nomination for president and the campaign was on.

Election of 1896. This was one of the bitterest political battles of all times. Mark Hanna had about $7,000,000 with which to push the cause of the Republicans. McKinley conducted his front porch campaign in Canton, Ohio. Bryan, with his silver tongue,

aroused the whole nation about the "fifty-cent" dollar. McKinley received 271 electoral votes and Bryan 176. A total popular vote of 13,937,527, the largest in the history of the nation up to that time was cast. This election showed the power of "Big Business."

William McKinley, Twenty-fifth President, 1897-1901. President McKinley was born January 29, 1843, at Niles, Ohio. He was the seventh child of a family of nine children. His father was an iron manufacturer. He attended the rural schools, Union Academy and, later, Allegheny College in Pennsylvania. On account of bad health he left college and taught a rural school. When the Civil War broke out, he was a clerk in the post office. He resigned and enlisted in the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry. He fought at Antietam. After the war, he studied law, first at Youngstown, Ohio, and afterwards at Albany, New York. Admitted to the bar, he practiced in Canton, Ohio, which he afterwards called home. He married and had two children. His wife was always an invalid. After the death of his two daughters, he was elected to Congress and, later, became governor of Ohio. He finally was elected president for two terms. During his second term, while he was attending the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, 1901, he was greeting a long line of people, and among them was Leon F. Czolgosz, an anarchist, who fired two bullets into the President's body. The first person to seize him was a Negro who held him until the police took charge. President McKinley died September 14, 1901, and was buried at Canton, Ohio.

McKinley's First Administration, 1897-1901. The Dingley Tariff Act was passed July 24, 1897. It increased the tariff on many imported articles and put

on the dutiable list many which were free in the Wilson Act.

The Spanish had lost all of their colonial possessions in America except Cuba, Puerto Rico, and some smaller islands in the West Indies. Insurrections had occurred in Cuba, and the Spanish government did not stop them, oppressing the people even more. Spain continued to tax Cuba and spend the money back home. The people had little voice in the government. Few public improvements were made and there was no development of the island.

In 1895, the Cubans once more rose in insurrection. The rural people were accused of supplying the insurgents with food and information. In 1897, Weyler, the Captain-General of Cuba, began to destroy houses and crops and to drive the inhabitants into reconcentration camps in the neighborhood of cities and towns. Men, women and children were herded in these camps, where they were closely guarded by soldiers. Lack of food and medical attention caused a great problem. In 1897, over 300,000 people were in these camps and in a short while over half of them died. Neither side could win and America was asked to intervene.

The Island of Cuba is a little over one hundred miles from Florida. Disease from Cuba was, therefore, infesting the seaports of Florida, too. Commerce between Cuba and the United States was seriously affected. Furthermore, Americans had invested largely in Cuban industries, especially in sugar plantations. Therefore, American property was also being devastated.

America was in sympathy with the Cubans' fight for liberty. Early in 1898, the United States battleship, *Maine,* went on a friendly visit to Havana. On February 15, while lying at anchor in the harbor, the

vessel was blown up and two hundred and sixty-six of its men met death.

Spanish-American War, April 24, 1898. President McKinley tried to avert war, but the cry was "Remember the *Maine*." The President's message of April 20 asked for the trouble to cease, and said that America would aid the Cubans without any intention of annexation. Spain declared war on April 24, 1898. Congress authorized the President to increase the regular army from twenty-eight thousand men to sixty-one thousand. People from all sections flocked to the colors. Ex-Confederate soldiers, Negroes, and people from the West and the East, all came volunteering for the service.

Battle of Manila Bay, May 1, 1898. Admiral Dewey, commanding the far eastern fleet, entered the harbor of Manila, Philippine Islands. In about five hours of firing, he sank all of the Spanish ships and blockaded Manila harbor.

Blockade of Cuba. Rear Admiral William T. Sampson commanded the American fleet which bottled up in the harbor of Santiago the Spanish fleet commanded by Admiral Cervera. The *Merrimac* was sunk by Captain Hobson at the entrance to the harbor to blockade the Spanish fleet. It did not blockade it, however, and when Cervera came out, he was defeated by the American fleet under Commodore Schley.

Land Battle on Santiago, 1898. General Joseph Wheeler, an ex-Confederate soldier, with seven thousand men, landed in Cuba, June 20, 1898. At El Carney on San Juan Hill, the stronghold of the Spanish, an American detachment made an attack.

Negro Soldiers at El Carney and San Juan Hill. The Negro citizens were as enthusiastic to volunteer as were the whites, but our national military set-up provides that the National Guard be mustered in first,

and since only a few states have a Negro National Guard, the Negro was enlisted later. Dispute also arose over the commissioning of colored officers. Colonel Charles Young was the only Negro graduate of West Point and the sentiment was for all officers to be white down to second lieutenant. However, volunteer Negro troops were finally accepted from Alabama, Illinois, Kansas, Ohio and Virginia. The Third North Carolina Volunteer Negro Infantry was called out by Governor Russell and assembled at Camp Russell. James H. Young, a Negro, was the commanding colonel. The Eighth Illinois Negro Regiment was officered by Colonel John R. Marshall, a Negro. This regiment did garrison duty in the province of Santiago for some time after the war. Colonel Marshall acted as governor of San Luis for a time. The Ninth Ohio Battalion was commanded by Brevet Major Charles Young, a Negro lieutenant in the regular army. The Twenty-third Kansas regiment was officered by Negroes with the exception of colonel and lieutenant colonel. Company L of the Sixth Massachusetts Infantry had the distinction of being the only Negro company that was part of a white outfit.

The four Negro regiments were among the first troops ordered to the front. Negro troops took a more conspicuous part in this war than in any previous war of the United States. At the first battle in Cuba, Las Guasimas, the Tenth Cavalry distinguished itself by coming to the rescue of Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders. The Twenty-fifth Infantry took a part in the Battle of El Carney. The Ninth Cavalry, Tenth Cavalry and the Twenty-fourth Infantry, all Negroes, rendered heroic service in the famous Battle of San Juan Hill. The Eighth Illinois formed a part of the army of occupation and distinguished itself in policing and cleaning up Santiago.

The Negro played a most important part in the Spanish-American War. He was the first to move from the West; the first at Camp Thomas; the first at Chickamauga Park, Georgia; the first in the jungle of Cuba; among the first killed in battle; the first in the fight at El Carney and the nearest to the enemy when they surrendered.

Two Negroes were appointed paymasters with the rank of major; ex-Congressman John R. Lynch and Major R. R. Wright of Georgia.

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, with his Rough Riders and General Leonard Wood, General Wheeler, Shafter, Otis, Miles and Merritt together with Dewey, Schley and Sampson on the water, all rendered great service and never lost an encounter.

End of War, 1899. (1) Hawaii was annexed in 1898. It had a population of 153,000, of whom 61,000 were Japanese, 25,000 Chinese, 30,000 Hawaiians and 28,000 whites.

(2) Spain gave up all rights to Cuba.

(3) Spain gave up Puerto Rico with an area of 3,600 square miles. It has a population of nearly one million, composed of whites, Negroes and mulattoes.

(4) Spain gave up Guam with an area of two hundred square miles and a population of 8,661.

(5) Spain gave up the Philippine Islands, composed of four hundred islands, with an aggregate area of 122,000 square miles, and a population of less than 8,000,000, the majority of these are Malays, Chinese and an undersized race of savages. We paid Spain $20,000,000 for her improved public works.

Aguinaldo, a native Filipino, led an independence movement against the Americans. The Filipinos

fought with great courage for two years. In this war, the Americans used hundreds of Negro troops as well as whites, and Aguinaldo was finally captured in 1901.

The Philippines Act of 1902 gave the Filipinos the right to choose the members of the lower house of their Congress. In 1916, the Jones Act empowered them to elect the members of the upper house also. In January, 1933, Congress passed over President Hoover's veto an act providing for the independence of the Philippines in ten years; therefore, they will be free in 1943.

New Lands Added. With the close of the Spanish-American War, we went farther and, in 1904, hired the use of the Panama Canal Zone. In 1917, for $25,000,000, we purchased from Denmark the Island of St. Thomas and two other islands. These are called the Virgin Islands. They are within sight of Puerto Rico.

America Takes Stock Again, 1898. It was fitting for America to take stock of her progress to the West. In 1898, at Omaha, Nebraska, an exposition was held. The Great American Desert had passed. Railroads ran from coast to coast. Homesteads had all been taken up. Millions of bushels of wheat were growing where once buffalo had roamed. Agricultural colleges were established in every state and now people were turning their attention to conservation and scientific progress. The wealth of the country had gone up to one hundred billion dollars.

Libraries were established throughout America. Great gifts were given to museums and hospitals. The cause of education was greatly aided by large gifts. John D. Rockefeller gave $32,000,000 for the promotion of higher education. Mrs. Russell Sage gave $10,000,000 for social service. Andrew Carnegie gave $18,000,000 to the Carnegie Institute.

William McKinley, Twenty-fifth President, and

Theodore Roosevelt, Twenty-sixth President, 1901-1905. In 1900, the Republicans renominated McKinley for president and Theodore Roosevelt for vice-president. The Democrats nominated William J. Bryan for president. The Republicans won and everybody was guaranteed a "full dinner pail."

The Open Door in China; The Hague Treaty. During the period 1898 to 1902, five nations of Europe and Japan obtained control of the most important ports in China. England wished them to be free to the world, but the others did not concur. John Hay, our secretary of state, obtained for every American the same right to trade in China that any citizen of any foreign state possessed. This right is called the principle of the "Open Door." The Hague Peace Conference Treaty was accepted by the United States, and by other nations. The object of this agreement was to maintain a perpetual court of arbitration in the city of The Hague, the capital of Holland. The object of the court is to arbitrate disputes that lead to war.

The Gold Standard Act of 1900; The Panama Canal. The Gold Standard Act was an act which made the gold dollar the sole standard of the measure of value. All other money, including silver, was to be measured by this standard.

Panama Canal rights were secured in 1903 by means of a treaty made with the Republic of Colombia for the right of a waterway across the Isthmus. The people of Panama declared themselves free from Colombia and took the name "Republic of Panama." We paid $10,000,000 for a strip of land ten miles wide across the Isthmus and agreed to pay $250,000 yearly rent for the right to use the canal. After purchasing for $40,000,000 the project that the French had failed to complete, we then started to digging. General George Goethels was our engineer for this project.

When this canal was finished, it shortened by eight thousand miles the route to the West by water.

McKinley at the Pan-American Exposition. In 1901, the Pan-American Exposition was opened at Buffalo, New York. It was designed to show the progress made by the nations of North America, South America and Central America in agriculture, manufactures, and the arts. Furthermore, it was to weld more securely the ties of friendship among the nations of the western hemisphere.

Theodore Roosevelt, Twenty-sixth President, 1901-1905. The large city of New York was the birthplace of our twenty-sixth president. Theodore Roosevelt was born October 27, 1858. He had no hard struggles because his people were wealthy. His father aided in the Union Army, while his mother, of Southern birth, aided the needy in the South. His mother was a Bulloch from Georgia. While young, he was taken on a trip to Europe and Egypt. He attended a private school because he was not a rugged child. In 1880, he was graduated from Harvard with honors, being elected to Phi Beta Kappa Fraternity. In 1882, he was elected to the New York state assembly and served for three terms.

He went West to the Dakotas for his health. Here he liked the outdoor life, and soon regained his health. He was appointed U. S. civil service commissioner, and, in 1895, was made New York police commissioner. Later, he was elected governor of New York, and then ran on the Republican ticket with McKinley and became vice-president in 1901. The assassin's bullet made him president in 1901, and he was elected president in 1905. No other president enjoyed so much popularity as did Roosevelt. It is said that he had thousands of friends among all races, colors, and creeds. He advocated a great Americanism. He was against

all anti-American acts. He knew no prejudice. When he had Booker T. Washington to lunch, he brought down upon himself the wrath of all in America who had anti-Negro prejudices, but he kept right on with his aggressive program of making America the greatest country in the world. He was a great thinker, writer, statesman and patriot. He travelled, hunted, lectured, and defied all interests which he thought were un-American. He died, January 5, 1919, at his home in Oyster Bay, N. Y. By his side was his Negro valet, James. His last words were, "James, please put out that light."

Roosevelt's Administration, 1901-1905. Roosevelt's administration started off with a strike in the hard coal mines of Pennsylvania. Over 140,000 men walked out for higher wages and shorter hours. Roosevelt appointed a commission, and both sides agreed to a three-year contract in which the mines got some consideration. In 1902, the wireless telegraph was completed, and Roosevelt sent his kind wishes to King Edward of England by wireless telegraph.

In April, 1904, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was opened at St. Louis. This was in commemoration of the Louisiana Purchase.

Roosevelt, Re-elected, 1905-1909. In 1904, Theodore Roosevelt was re-elected, with Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana as vice-president. In 1905, he influenced Russia and Japan to end a destructive war by signing a treaty at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. For this service he received the Nobel prize and $40,000.

In his inaugural address, he advocated the theory that we should save that which is good for those who will come after us. He advocated better health,

cleaner streets, better canals, regulation of railroads, more camps and better schools.

In 1907, Congress admitted Oklahoma to the Union. This action made Oklahoma the forty-sixth state in the Union. In 1907, Congress passed the Railway Rate Bill which gave more power to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The Pure Food and Drugs Bill and the Meat Inspection Bill, which required meats to be fresh and uninfested, were passed to protect the health of the people. In 1907, Roosevelt sent a fleet of twenty vessels of war around the world. Visits were made to Hawaii, Manila, Japan, China, Australia and other countries. This was a good will tour which covered 40,000 miles. It was a great boon to peace.

In the election of 1908, the Democrats again nominated William J. Bryan for president, and the Republicans nominated William H. Taft, who was elected.

William Howard Taft, Twenty-seventh President, 1909-1913. William Howard Taft was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 15, 1857. His family was wealthy and he never had to worry about the financial cares of life. He graduated from Woodward High School in Cincinnati and then went to Yale University where he made Phi Beta Kappa Fraternity. He next entered the Cincinnati Law School, graduated and was admitted to the bar. After he was married, his first work was as judge of the superior court of Ohio. He then became Solicitor-General of the United States. From this position he was appointed United States circuit judge. He served as governor of the Philippine Islands and then was groomed for the presidency. After serving one term as president, he taught in the Yale Law School, became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States for nine years, and passed away February 3, 1930.

Taft's Administration, 1909-1913. The first important thing to occur in Taft's administration was the discovery of the North Pole.

Negro at the North Pole, 1909. Commander Robert E. Peary, with five people, one of whom was Matthew Henson, a Negro, placed the stars and stripes on a hitherto unattained spot in an adventure which has not been equalled by anyone else. This Negro was a companion, worker and assistant. Peary, after much privation and physical endurance, stood at last where no civilized man had ever stood before. This Negro, Matthew Henson, was there by his side and helped with all the work.

Payne Tariff Bill, 1909. The Payne Tariff Bill reduced the duties on several hundred classes of imported goods.

Population, 1910. It required 70,000 enumerators to take the census of the United States in 1910. They found our population to be 92,000,000 and, counting the island possessions, it was 100,000,000. Our wealth had increased to $187,000,000,000. Great progress was shown in all lines of endeavor; automobiles were used extensively; steam cars and electric cars were supplanting the horse. On the farms, steam and oil were doing away with "Old Dobbin." The Lincoln Highway had been completed between Washington and San Francisco. The Panama Canal was completed at a cost of $400,000,000, and was opened to commerce and travel.

New Mexico and Arizona were admitted in 1912, and this action apportioned all territory within the borders of the United States among forty-eight states.

The Parcel Post law was passed in 1913. This law permitted parcels to be sent through the mail. Mail-order business was greatly aided by its passage.

In 1913, Congress also passed the Sixteenth Amend-

ment. This was the first amendment passed since those that were necessitated by the results of the Civil War, and provided for the "power to lay and collect taxes on incomes."

In 1912, the Republicans renominated President William Howard Taft. The Democrats nominated Governor Woodrow Wilson, and the Progressives nominated Theodore Roosevelt. Woodrow Wilson was elected.

CHAPTER IX

THE NEGRO DURING THE WORLD WAR —1914-1918

Woodrow Wilson, Twenty-eighth President, 1913-1921. Woodrow Wilson was born in Staunton, Virginia, December 28, 1856. His father was a Presbyterian minister and for that reason, the boy lived at times in eight different states of the Union. His early training was in the schools of the places in which his father happened to live. He later matriculated at Princeton University, New Jersey, where he received his first degree. Still later, he studied law at the University of Virginia, but had to quit on account of his health. Afterwards, he entered Johns Hopkins University from which he received his Doctor of Philosophy degree in 1885. His main interest was in the fields of history and of political science.

He taught at Bryn Mawr, Wesleyan College, and was teacher and then president of Princeton. During this time he wrote histories. His most important writings are: *History of the American People* and *Division and Reunion.*

He was elected governor of New Jersey and in 1912, after having served for two years, received the nomination for the Presidency. He was elected and served two terms. It is interesting to note that the fight for the presidency in 1912 was between Yale, with Taft, Harvard, with Roosevelt, and Princeton, with Wilson.

The first thing he did after his election was to break a precedent by delivering his message to Congress in person. His wife died on August 6, 1914 and he married Mrs. Edith Bolling Galt, on December 18, 1915.

His first administration was concerned with the usual matters handled by most presidents, but was signalized by much reform legislation. The second term was full of international problems. The World War was constantly threatening the United States, and, on April 2, 1917, he delivered a message to Congress which put our country on the side of the allies. The Armistice was signed November 11, 1918. On December 4, 1918, he sailed for France where he remained seven months. While in Europe, he advocated the League of Nations program and the Fourteen Points of Peace. Returning to the United States and presenting his program to Congress, he found to his sorrow that they rejected it.

In the autumn of 1919, he made a transcontinental tour of America in behalf of his views, but without much success. In November, 1919, he was stricken with paralysis and remained an invalid until his death. After retiring from the presidency, he opened a law office, but could not attend to practice. He died February 3, 1924.

There has been no president in the White House who possessed the rare gift of a combination of oratory and cool feelings toward people to such a degree as did Wilson. He was known to be brilliant, aloof, cool, intelligent and dogmatic. He made a progressive program for the people and forced it through with great skill.

Wilson's First Term, 1913-1917. In the first term of Wilson, the tariff was revised; a tariff commission was created; the first Income Tax Law was passed; the system of Federal Reserve Banks was established; the Federal Trade Commission was started; the Clayton Anti-Trust Act passed; about thirty treaties pledging arbitration were signed; the Seamen's Act was passed; the Farm Loan Law was passed; the Panama tolls were discontinued; the Shipping Act was passed;

the Child Labor law was an issue; the Purchase of the Danish West Indies was completed; and Federal aid for roads was started. The Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Amendments to the Constitution were ratified—more amendments than were added to the Constitution under any other president except Washington.

Legislation Enacted. Wilson said, "Free people need no guardians." The American people were equal in intelligence and energy to the task of self-government in politics, and self-direction in industry. With this philosophy expressed, he called an extraordinary session of Congress and the Underwood Tariff Bill was enacted. The provisions of this act were that reductions of the tariff on articles of necessity and comfort should be made. Many articles were put on the free list. This was the first great tariff legislative act since the Civil War. To make up for the losses of revenue by this act, a Progressive Income Tax was levied.

The flexibility of our currency was very noticeable in the operation of our expanding business. Senator Carter Glass of Virginia proposed the Federal Reserve Act in 1913. The provisions of this act were that the United States was to be divided into twelve districts (called regions) and in each district there was to be a Federal Reserve Bank. All of the national banks in each district were required to be members. The regional banks would issue bank notes on collateral and thereby expand or contract the currency as the occasion demanded. A board at Washington was to govern and supervise the affairs of these banks.

The Federal Trade Commission Act provided for a group of five commissioners to have the power to investigate and regulate the behavior of big business. It was established primarily to help big business to obey the laws.

The Clayton Anti-Trust Act was passed October 15, 1914. It provided for the punishment of illegal and tyrannical practices in business. In fact, it clarified all the issues in the Sherman Anti-Trust Law of 1890.

Education was further aided by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. The Morrill Act of 1862 had granted every state 30,000 acres of public land for each of its representatives in Congress. This land could be sold and the proceeds could be used to further education. The Smith-Lever Act provided for an appropriation of $500,000 to be divided equally among the states, and to be increased annually by the same amount until 1923, when it would have reached the sum of $4,500,000 annually. These funds were to be used in close cooperation with the department of agriculture and experiment stations. In 1917, a Federal Board of Vocational Education was established. This board contributed "dollar for dollar" to state appropriations for education in commerce, industry and domestic science, as well as in agriculture. The Negro land grant colleges and public high schools received their quota of these funds and as a result have been much improved.

Laboring people came in for a share of this liberal legislation. The Newlands Act of July, 1913, set up a Board of Mediation and Conciliation to arbitrate labor disputes. The Seamen's Bill liberalized the rules for seamen. They were to get better food, better living quarters on board ship, and better wages. The seaman could leave the crew in any American port and claim half of his wages.

The Panama Canal Tolls Repeal Act caused the number of ships passing through the canal to jump from 2,478 in 1916, to 5,529 in 1931. This canal

facilitated the quick and easy passage from one coast of America to the other.

Negroes in Our Border Troubles. In Mexico, the dictator, Diaz, who had ruled for thirty years was driven from power by Francisco Madero. In 1913, Huerta, a general of Madero, declared himself president because of the weakness of Madero. President Wilson would not recognize Huerta, so Carranza, governor of the state of Coahuila, started to fight for the control of Mexico. We tried to aid Carranza but were prevented from doing so. We found that a German vessel was supplying materials to Huerta and orders were given to take Vera Cruz. After some fighting, we got control of Vera Cruz and General Frederick Funston held the city.

Other nations believed that we were going to take Mexico. Representatives of other countries met with Huerta and our delegates and persuaded Huerta to leave Mexico. Anarchy still prevailed, but Carranza gradually fought his way through to be master of the situation. Villa however, kept up a bandit warfare. President Wilson recognized Carranza as *de facto* president and, after Villa made a raid in America and killed some of our citizens, we were permitted to pursue him until he was captured.

Brigadier General John J. Pershing, in command of a punitive expedition, entered Mexico with two Negro regiments, the Tenth Negro Cavalry and the Twenty-fourth Negro Infantry, together with other soldiers. On June 21, 1916, Troops C and K of the Tenth Cavalry were ambushed at Carrizal by some 700 Mexican soldiers. Although outnumbered by ten to one, these black soldiers dismounted in the face of withering machine gun fire, deployed, charged the Mexicans and killed their commander. This handful of men fought on until two of their commanding officers were killed

and one was badly wounded. Seventeen Negro soldiers were killed and twenty-three were taken as prisoners. One of the many outstanding heroes of this memorable engagement was Peter Bigstaff, who fought to the last beside his commander, Lieutenant Adair.

John Temple Graves of Georgia said: "The black trooper might have faltered and fled a dozen times, saving his own life and leaving Adair to fight alone. But it never occurred to him. He was comrade to the last blow. When Adair's broken revolver fell from his hand, the black trooper pressed another into it, and together shouting in defiance, they thinned the swooping circle of overwhelming odds before them."

It was after this trouble in Mexico that General Pershing received the nickname, "Black Jack," because he willingly commanded these Negro troops who fought for the billions of dollars of American property at stake in Mexico. Villa was not captured, but Carranza was overthrown and murdered in 1920. General Obregon became president, and our relations with Mexico were resumed in 1924. A great pan-Mexican program is in process now (1938). The Mexicans are gradually taking property in Mexico held by foreigners or the landlords to use it for the good of Mexico.

Troops were sent to Nicaragua to protect our interests in that country. A Central American court of justice was established in 1908 to clarify all issues and yet trouble brews quite often.

In San Domingo, after startling reports, the Americans dismissed the officers of that country and ruled for six years, 1916 to 1922. Afterwards, the Dominicans consented to an election by which Burgos became president. Fifteen hundred marines remained for the protection of our interests.

In 1914, in Haiti, we marched troops to the national bank and seized the government funds. Orders were

issued that we were to receive practical control of the customs and of the financial affairs of Haiti. However, we forced the republic to accept a president of our own selection and a constitution of our own making. In doing this, America put down a revolt with vigor and ruthlessness. It was reported that nearly 2,000 Haitians were killed in one year. This little Negro republic, after nineteen years of American occupation, is finally free of our domination. In 1937, President Roosevelt appointed William H. Hastie, a Negro lawyer from Knoxville, Tennessee, as Federal judge in the Virgin Islands.

Proclamation of Neutrality. On June 28, 1914, the Grand Duke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, was assassinated with his wife while riding through the streets of Serajevo in the Austrian province of Bosnia. This act immediately put Europe into two camps facing each other with jealousy and rivalry. Germany, Austria and Italy were in a triple alliance made in 1883. France and Russia had been allied since 1894, and, in 1904, France and England had a friendly understanding called the "Entente Cordiale."

The fundamental causes of the World War were: (1) growth of nationalism, (2) growth of democracy, (3) colonial imperialism, (4) rivalry of England and Germany, (5) disputed territory, and (6) international anarchy.

Wilson followed our traditional policy of not interfering with European entanglements and issued a proclamation of neutrality, August 4, 1914, saying in part, "Be neutral in fact as well as in name." Later he said that "America must be calm and cool, completely detached from the struggle, neither sitting in judgment on others nor disturbed in her own counsels, keeping

herself ready when the time should come to lend her disinterested aid to the re-establishment of peace."

It was not long until Germany was blockaded, and then she let loose her submarines to torpedo the vessels on the high seas. In 1915, the American steamer, *Gulflight,* was sent to the bottom of the ocean; on May 7, 1915, the *Lusitania* was sunk and among the 1,153 people lost were 114 Americans. Germany expressed regret but kept on destroying ships at sea.

Later, spies and emissaries were active in this country. Explosions, strikes and propaganda of all sorts were used to impede our progress in preparing for war. In 1916, a council of national defense was created to prepare industry, agriculture, shipping, railroad transportation and communication for use in case of war.

Election of 1916. The Democrats renominated Woodrow Wilson for president and Thomas Marshall for vice-president. The Republicans nominated Charles E. Hughes. President Wilson was re-elected on the slogan, "He kept us out of war." This was a close election. Wilson had conceded defeat the night before, but when returns came from California, he had defeated Hughes for the office.

America Enters War. On February 3, 1917, we broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. On February 26, 1917, the president was authorized to arm merchant marines. On April 2, 1917, President Wilson declared that the irresponsible German government had cast aside all considerations of humanity and was running amuck among the nations. Nothing less than war against the people and government of the United States existed. On April 6, 1917, on Good Friday, we officially were in the war.

Vast Preparations for War. Money and supplies were not enough to win the war. All of our natural resources were mobilized in such a way that the most

and best of everything was reserved for the successful prosecution of the war. We had meatless, breadless, sugarless and wheatless days. Many people gave their all for the ideal, "Make the world safe for democracy."

The total cost of the war to the United States was $35,400,000,000 in money from April 1917 to October 1919. $4,000,000,000 was contributed as a free-will offering which was given to the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board, the Y.M.C.A., and the War Camp Community Service.

The regular army, national guards and marines were mobilized to a greater fighting force by a selective draft, which included all able-bodied men from eighteen years of age to forty-five. The total strength of the army was brought up to 3,634,000 men and, of this number, 1,971,000 went overseas. It took about thirty days for transports to cross the Atlantic Ocean. No ship was sunk with troops on it, and only 732 men were lost at sea.

The Negro Enters. When the war began, there were 10,000 Negro soldiers in the regular army, and about 10,000 more in the national guards of several states. Between June 5, 1917 and September 12, 1918, over 2,290,529 Negro men were registered for service. Of this number, 400,000 Negro soldiers served in the United States Army, and 200,000 went to France. About one-tenth of the American forces which went across the seas was of the Negro race. Forty-two thousand were combatant troops and about 1,400 commissioned as officers.

Dr. Joel E. Spingarn interceded for a place in which to train Negro officers. At the start such officers were trained at Howard University, Washington, D. C., then later, Fort Des Moines, Iowa, was designated as an officers' training camp. On October 15, 1917, 639

Negro officers received their commissions. Approximately 10,000 Negroes volunteered to serve in the navy. Those who were enlisted served at menial tasks mostly. Some became petty officers. There were 2,000 Negroes who served in the American transport force. Some Negro women served as yeowomen during the World War.

The Ninety-second Division was the largest group of Negroes. It was made up of infantry, field artillery, machine gun battalion, and signal corps. In the last hours of the war, the Ninety-second Division occupied the point closest to the German city of Metz—the objective of the last drive of the war. The Armistice stopped their advance toward Berlin, but they did reach the nearest point to the German city of Metz in what was designed as a victorious march to Berlin.

Negroes also fought in the Argonne Forest. Here the Ninth Ohio Battalion lay in an open field all night awaiting orders to go into action, while Germans were dumping big shells and machine gun fire into them all the time.

One hundred ninety-four officers and men received decorations, including the Congressional medal of honor, the distinguished service cross, the Croix de Guerre, and the Legion of Honor. Some of the more noble exploits, however, were those of Henry Johnson, Needham Roberts and Sergeant William Butler. Johnson and Roberts were among the first American soldiers to receive the French Croix de Guerre. They repelled a German raiding party of more than 20 men in a hand-to-hand combat.

In the Battle of Argonne, the 368th Negro Infantry did noble service. Lieutenant Robert L. Campbell was decorated for going out in an open field to rescue Private Edward Sanders who was carrying a message.

Negroes in the Service of Supply, S. O. S. Half of

the Negro troops in France were used for rough labor in rough buildings and in the docks at Havre and Brest.

There was little effort to give the remainder any chance for spectacular action, or credit for the services they did render. The highest ranking Negro officer in the regular army was Colonel Charles Young. He was not assigned to the expeditionary forces, but was sent on a futile mission to Liberia, Africa, where he died.

The Negro soldiers worked at such tasks as unloading transports, building roads, building depots, burying the dead, and salvaging war materials.

Departments in Which the Negro Served. Approximately 1,200 Negro officers were admitted into practically every branch of military service. This included field artillery, coast artillery, cavalry, infantry, engineers' corps, signal corps, radio, wireless and telegraph, medical corps (as physicians, surgeons, and dentists), and in hospitals, ambulance corps, veterinary corps, sanitary and ammunition trains, stevedore regiments, labor battalions, and depot brigades. Negroes served as regimental clerks, surveyors, draftsmen, auto repairers, motor truck operators, regimental adjutants. Among them was one or more judge advocates. They acquitted themselves well, also in the military intelligence service, and as chemists, and mechanics. In fact, they served in almost every department except the air corps. Negroes did not fly airplanes.

Loyalty of Negroes. No people can feel more proud of their record in the war than can the Negroes. No troops served more faithfully and loyally under similar circumstances. With opposition from within and facing the firing troops of the enemy, the Negro kept up his morale and fought bravely on. Back home, men, women and children did all they could to make the

war a success. The lowly and the educated alike took any task assigned and performed their duties without a murmur. They purchased Liberty Bonds and War Saving Stamps. David H. Haynes, a colored farmer of Thibodaux, Louisiana, subscribed for $100,000 worth of Liberty Bonds. This was the largest single subscription in Louisiana by either whites or blacks, and the largest of any Negro in America. The Fifteenth Regiment of New York was under fire in 191 days and held one trench for 91 days without relief. Each of four regiments received the Croix de Guerre, as a regiment. The 191 days exceeded by five days the time of under-fire service of any other American regiment.

General Pershing's Tribute. "Colored troops in trenches have been particularly fortunate, as one regiment had been there a month before any losses were suffered. This was almost unheard of on the western front. The exploit of two colored infantrymen in repelling a much larger German patrol, killing and wounding several Germans and winning the Croix de Guerre by their gallantry, has aroused a firm spirit of emulation throughout the colored troops, all of whom are looking forward to more active service. The only regret expressed by colored troops is that they are not given more dangerous work to do. I cannot commend too highly the spirit shown among the colored combat troops, who exhibit fine capacity for quick training and eagerness for the most dangerous service."

Our Allied Forces. We have told at some length about the Negroes in the war, but their part, of course, was not the only thing. Millions of white citizens gave all they could. The more than 1,500,000 loyal white men who went to France deserve unstinted praise for, if it had not been for them, the war might not have been won by the allies. White men fought furiously

and dangerously. They were in all activities. The intelligence and good judgment shown in mobilization, transporting, financing, feeding and hospitalization of all these men was a spectacle beyond words.

Many names should be revered. Among these are General John J. Pershing, General Wood, Julius Rosenwald, Secretary Newton D. Baker, Emmett Scott, Marshall Foch, and thousands of others.

War Losses. The total number of men killed in this war was 12,000,000. Of this stupendous number, Russia lost four million, France more than a million, Germany four million, Austria-Hungary, Italy and the British Empire about one million each. The number wounded was 19,000,000, of whom more than 221,000 were Americans. The cost to all nations was about $200,000,000,000, a very conservative estimate.

Wilson and the Peace Treaty. Much discussion went on among the allies as to the terms of peace which would be acceptable. Wilson had announced his famous fourteen points in 1918. The things he stressed were: reform in international relations, open diplomacy, the freedom of the seas, economic cooperation, the reduction of armament, and the adjustment of colonial claims with due regard to the interests of the populations concerned. He also pointed out the basis for justly satisfying Russia, Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, Italy, the Balkan States, and Poland. The crux of his whole scheme was to have a general association of nations. This association was to provide for mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to large and small states alike.

The Armistice Signed, November 11, 1918. The principles proposed by Wilson went unheeded. The Kaiser was positive that the last drive would be successful. Hindenburg and Ludendorff knew that the German cause was lost. Chancellor Max had contacted

Wilson through the Swiss minister and suggested that terms be drawn up. The Supreme War Council of the allies drew up terms stating that the Germans must evacuate France, Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, and Luxemburg. The German Army must withdraw beyond the Rhine. The Germans were to surrender all their submarines, destroyers and warships, and to hand over vast stores of war materials, such as guns, airplanes, locomotives, freight cars and motor trucks. They were to repatriate all prisoners and exiles, to make reparation for all property damages and to pay for the expenses of the allies' armies of occupation.

The Germans resented these demands, but were restless, and riots were breaking out in several places. The Kaiser and the Crown Prince signed letters of abdication at the headquarters at Spa on November 9, 1918, and the next day fled to Holland. Finally, the delegates of Germany signed the Armistice on November 11, 1918, and this was the end of the greatest war known to man. Unbounded joy swept the entire civilized earth.

President Goes to Europe. On December 2, 1918, the President announced that he would go to Paris. His purpose was to get the covenant of the League of Nations into the peace treaty. On December 4, 1918, the President, aboard the *George Washington*, with a large number of expert advisors, sailed for France. Colonel House, General Tasker H. Bliss, Henry M. White and Robert Lansing were his chief advisors. He landed December 13 and, before the conference opened, visited France, Great Britain and Italy. He was so hailed as the savior of the world that one would almost have thought the Lord had risen. However, while he was winning glory abroad, the clouds of doubt and suspicion against Wilson and ratification of the treaty were gathering at home.

The Peace Conference assembled on January 18, 1919, with seventy delegates from twenty-seven nations present. They debated and compared notes, and finally reached terms on June 28, 1919. This was the end, officially, of the great conflict. The peace treaty was accepted by all the nations except ours. In spite of President Wilson's appeal to the people of America, we failed to ratify it and technically remained at war until 1921.

Election of 1920. The Republicans nominated Warren G. Harding of Ohio for president. The Democrats nominated James M. Cox of Ohio. Harding's running mate was Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts. Cox's running mate was Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York. Strikes were everywhere. The "Reds" were still busy. The "Wets" and "Drys" were waging a fight and the League of Nations was a much-discussed issue. Harding and Coolidge were elected.

CHAPTER X

THE "NEW" NEGRO FROM 1918 TO THE PRESENT

Economic Conditions Among Negroes During the World War. The World War brought an unprecedented prosperity to the laboring and farm Negroes. In fact, everybody who could do anything was sought after and put into jobs. It was nothing exceptional to work one shift of eight hours and then get time and a half for all hours overtime. Pay checks were big and fat, bosses were kind and easy. Materials for human needs could be purchased but at a big price. The attitude of "what is the difference?" was in the air.

New cars, silk shirts, homes purchased, land tilled and the choice of several jobs made the average American a very different fellow from what he had been. He was now prone to buy extravagantly and to trust in the future for the outcome.

Division of Negro Economics. Dr. George E. Haynes was made director of a division of Negro economics in the department of labor of the United States Government. This department was started in June, 1918. He was to make a scientific study of Negro labor and to guide the "new" Negro into the various avenues of work, as well as to see that relations between the black and the white workers were amicable and fair. He was to get out of the workers a maximum of efficiency as well as a good morale. This laudable effort lasted two years without much being accomplished.

Associated Colored Employees of America. While

the government was establishing the Negro economic division, the Negro laborers organized into the "Associated Colored Employees of America." This was a labor organization to bring about systematic distribution of labor. The Council of the American Federation of Labor met February 12, 1918, and invited Negroes to discuss with them plans for uniting the two races for labor improvement. The Negroes asked the A. F. of L. to organize the Negroes in various trades—to include skilled as well as unskilled workmen, Northern as well as Southern, governmental as well as civilian employees, women as well as men workers. They asked that Negro labor be directed by the A. F. of L. in the same way as was the case with white labor. When the A. F. of L. held its meeting in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in June, 1919, they voted, with only one dissenting vote (Railway Postal Clerks' Union), to give full membership rights to Negro wage earners. However, since the depression, Negroes have found out that they are the last to be hired and the first to be fired.

Negro Migration. The Negroes of the South were attracted to the North largely through the great demand for labor which had been made necessary by the deportation of thousands of aliens who left for their respective countries. Another inducement which caused many to go North was that industries offered better wages and living conditions than did the occupations in localities where they were living in the South. During the period of 1916 to 1920, more than a half million Negroes moved to the North. Negroes of Texas, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi, Southern states of the Mississippi valley, following the route of the Illinois Central Railroad, usually went to Chicago, Detroit, Indianapolis, Cleveland and St. Louis. Negroes from Florida, Virginia, Alabama,

Georgia and the Carolinas usually went to the Northern and Eastern sections.

When the northward movements of the Negro, during and after the war, threatened Southern farmers and industrialists with bankruptcy, Negro leaders were called into conference to devise means of stemming the tide. Promises were made for better working conditions, improved schools and protection from violence and in part, at least, these promises have been carried out.

The mass migration of the Negro during the war not only afforded him better labor opportunities and higher wages, but socially also he was benefited. His children were able to attend school with equal facilities with the white children and a longer duration of training. Parks and various forms of recreation previously denied them were available to the children. The health of the Southern Negroes was improved by information gained from health programs, water purification, vaccines, the pasteurization of milk, free clinics and visits of city nurses and social workers.

However, many of these facilities have come to the Southern Negro in recent times due to the fact that the Southern whites have demanded that their employees be healthy and clean for the sake of their own safety.

The Southern Negroes made as good or better domestic servants than did the West Indian or Northern Negroes. Nevertheless, it was hard for many of the Southern Negroes to become accustomed to the modern appliances used in the home, but the records show that they are gradually mastering these new techniques.

These migrants caused the rise of community organizations, Negro churches, banks, theatres and mov-

ing picture houses, drugstores, hospitals, insurance companies, and many other types of enterprise.

The adjustment of this shifting scene and the tapering off of a workable scheme for better relations between the races have been the cause of much trouble in the form of race riots, lynchings and activities of secret organizations, such as the revised Ku Klux Klan, the Black Shirts, and various other organizations.

Adjustments Since the War. On November 11, 1918, there were 3,700,000 men in the army. Of this number 2,071,000 were still in France to be demobilized and returned to America by 1920. Only about 17,000 remained temporarily on the Rhine and only a very small percentage were Negroes. Among those who returned home were the crippled and injured. Many of these were suffering with arthritis, tuberculosis, and mental diseases caused by gas and the shock of shells. The care of these disabled men fell to the organization of the United States Veterans' Bureau which was established August 9, 1921. This organization was directly responsible to the President for the forms of veterans' relief. It not only gave relief but did general rehabilitation and educational work among these men. Centers were established in various sections of the country. The disabled Negro soldiers were cared for at a new Veterans' Hospital built near Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama. Much discussion ensued as to whether it should be staffed by whites or Negroes, but, finally, the government staffed it with Negroes throughout. Lack of experience in this work has caused much dissension, but, by a general house-cleaning and putting in more competent Negroes, it has become a very successful experiment.

The American Legion, which was informally organized in Paris on March 15, 1919, continued its activi-

ties after the soldiers returned home and was incorporated on September 16, 1919. The Legion was formed to intervene for soldiers in legislation and to solve problems concerning the veterans. Their first and greatest fight was for a bonus. They also asked for adjusted compensation. President Harding vetoed the bonus bill, and the bonus was not forthcoming until sometime later.

Economic Conditions. Following the war there was a decided business slump and an economic change. Food and commodities advanced in price, and in place of the prosperity in business in 1919, there were hard times in 1920 and 1921. In January, 1921, there were approximately 3,400,000 men unemployed. Deflation began during 1920. Its causes were both foreign and domestic. Early in the year, exporters were faced with the sudden cancellation of contracts and refusal of goods shipped. At home, buyers' stocks were organized. The Federal Reserve Board was charged with causing the depression by enforcing a policy of deflation of credits and currency, and it was agreed by critics that relief could come only through reduction of discount rates.

These hard times were accompanied with strikes and much disorder in the industries. The steel strike began on September 22, 1919, and lasted until January 8, 1920, but was a failure. In November, 1919, there were coal strikes in the Indiana coal fields. After the war, organized labor suffered a decline in membership, as leading trades began to be organized independently on sharp union bases, because of change in industry.

Economic Legislation. The Esch-Cummings Act provided for the return of the railroads by the government to their private owners, and all disputes over working conditions of railroad employees—concerning wages and working hours—were to be submitted to

the Railroad Labor Board. This board was composed of nine men: three selected by the owners of railroads, three by employees and three by the government. A fund of $300,000,000 was appropriated by Congress for the rehabilitation of the railroads, an action which was opposed by organized labor.

The Wilson administration closed with the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, prohibiting the sale of liquor, and of the Nineteenth Amendment, giving women the right to vote.

Warren Gamaliel Harding, Twenty-ninth President, March 4, 1921, to August 2, 1923. Ohio has given to the United States seven men as presidents. Warren G. Harding, the eldest of eight children, was the seventh Ohioan to be president. Of all the presidents, he was the only one who was a doctor's son and the only one who claimed the Baptist church as his choice. He was born on November 2, 1865, at Blooming Grove, Ohio. His father was a doctor and a farmer.

Young Harding did the work that all country boys do. He attended school in the country and later made a poor showing at Ohio Central College. His father moved to Marion, Ohio, and here is where Warren got his start. For a while he worked on a Democratic paper and in 1884 bought the *Marion Star* at a foreclosure sale for three hundred dollars.

In 1891, he married Mrs. Florence Kling De Wolfe, who was five years his senior, but had a great deal of wealth and a host of friends. This was his great chance, He was a man known for his good looks, kindly nature and manner of dress. He started out in his local community to be a leader and was soon a member of all the lodges, the church, and a director of the bank and of the telephone company.

Hooking up with the Foraker faction and going to the Ohio state senate in 1900, he met Harry K.

Daugherty, a shrewd politician and lawyer. Daugherty became his manager and made him lieutenant-governor of Ohio from 1904 to 1906. In 1910, he was defeated for the governorship by Judson Harmon. In 1912, he presented Taft's name for nomination in the Republican National Convention. In 1914, he defeated Foraker for the Senate. Much talk followed Harding's election. In 1920, he received the Republican nomination for president, with Calvin Coolidge as his running mate.

Elected president, he surrounded himself with some good men like Charles E. Hughes, Andrew Mellon and Charles G. Dawes, but having for his intimate personal friends and advisors more bad men than good ones; such as Albert Fall, Harry K. Daugherty, Ned McLean, Charles R. Forbes, and Thomas W. Miller, he was in for a great scandal.

Albert Falls was Secretary of the Interior. He had the naval oil reserve lands transferred to his department and then leased them out, securing some bribes for himself. Scandal and crookedness came to the light in other departments also and, in the summer of 1923, Harding took a trip to Alaska. On the way, he became ill and died in a hotel in California, on August 2, 1923, in the midst of one of the greatest scandals that have ever been in the White House. He was succeeded by Calvin Coolidge who managed, by his New England shrewdness, to clear up most of the matters and have himself elected president in 1924.

Calvin Coolidge, Thirtieth President, August 2, 1923 to 1928. Calvin Coolidge was the only president who was born on July 4. That event occurred in the year 1872, at Plymouth, Vermont. His father was a farmer and a storekeeper. Coolidge came from sturdy, silent, self-respecting people who made their way without asking any odds. He had no brothers

and his sister died when a child. He was prepared for college at Black River Academy and St. John Berry Academy. He was graduated from Amherst College at Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1891.

He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1897. He was a brilliant student in school. His first and only defeat came when he ran for member of a school committee. In 1899, he was elected to the city council of Northampton. The next two years he was city solicitor. In 1904, he was elected county court clerk. In 1907 and 1908, he was a member of the lower house of the state legislature. In 1910 and 1911, he was mayor of Northampton. From 1912 to 1915, he was state senator; from 1916 to 1918, lieutenant-governor, and in 1918 and 1919, he was governor of Massachusetts.

While governor, he inaugurated the budget system and put down the Boston police strike. He said: "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime." In 1905, he married Grace Goodhue and to them were born two sons, Calvin, Jr., and John. In 1920, he was nominated for vice-president to run with Harding. He attended to the duties of vice-president with the same degree of silence that he had devoted to all the other jobs he had held and, on the passing of President Harding, he became president, August 2, 1923, while he was on his father's farm in Vermont. He was sworn into office by his father at their old home place, while the neighbors held the kerosene lamp.

He was a man of mystery throughout his life. He had little to say and possessed a rare gift of inspiring confidence because of his honesty and silence. He cleared up most of the unfinished business of President Harding and was re-elected in 1924. While he was fishing in the Black Hills of North Dakota, he said,

"I do not choose to run for president in 1928." In accordance with this statement, he retired from the White House at the end of his term in 1928 and wrote his autobiography.

Harding's Administration. The new word "normalcy," coined by Harding, was the keynote of his administration. It was his plan to retrench and reduce expenses in order to bring about normal times. His program called for the reduction of taxes, reduction of the army, reduction in governmental expenditures, and the reduction of the number of immigrants to enter the country. "Normalcy," which was the ideal of the conservative mind, was perhaps unattainable, but there was general approval of President Harding's decision to initiate a season of economy and repose.

Scandals of Government Officials. The Navy Department, Interior Department and the Veterans' Bureau were the main governmental departments in which scandals were brought to light. Government oil reserves, located at Elks Hill, California, and at Teapot Dome, Wyoming, were reserved to provide oil for naval vessels, but, in 1921, they were transferred by President Harding (with Secretary Denby's approval) to the custody and management of the department of the interior. The Secretary of the Interior, Albert B. Fall, contracted with private oil companies to exploit the naval oil fields and to pay to the Navy Department a royalty in the form of crude oil and tankage for storage purposes. Fall was imprisoned, Denby resigned, and as a result of these transactions, Harry Sinclair was cited for contempt of court, and served a term in jail.

The Veterans' Bureau was investigated and it was found that funds were misappropriated and Colonel Charles Forbes was imprisoned. President Harding's unexpected death on August 2, 1923, brought Calvin

Coolidge to the head of the nation. It was in his administration that much of these scandalous manipulations were uncovered and the guilty parties punished.

The proposed Child Labor Amendment of June 4, 1924, stated in Section One that "Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age." Section Two states, "The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation by the Congress."

Coolidge's Second Term. Coolidge came into office with a plurality of 7,500,000 votes and a Republican majority in both houses. Nevertheless, Congress refused to ratify a number of his measures: Charles B. Warren was refused ratification as attorney-general; Coolidge's plans for tax revision and prohibition enforcement were bitterly opposed; the funding of the debts due to the United States by European Countries met with opposition; as likewise did the railroad consolidation and naval program; nor was intervention in Nicaragua favored.

Another segment of the population—the farmers—was constantly losing ground. Between 1922 and 1927, over 1,000,000 people including many Negroes had left the farm. The farm capital was reduced from $79,000,000,000 to $59,000,000,000. The return to the farmer was less than three per cent, while the railroads were guaranteed a six per cent income, and manufacturing and labor were protected by the tariff and the immigration laws. The second McNary-Haugen Bill, passed on April 23, 1928, put the government in the farming business by requiring it to purchase the farmers' surplus of grain, cotton, livestock and tobacco, and to sell these products abroad

for what they would bring in the market, making up the difference by an "Equalization Fee."

The other disturbing factors were the relations of the United States with Mexico and Nicaragua. In the Mexican affair, Dwight Morrow ironed out the difficulty and the sixth Pan-American Congress, held on January 5, 1929, at Washington, made satisfactory agreements with South American countries.

On April 13, 1928, the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact to outlaw war was signed by fifteen nations. Finally, sixty-two nations either signed or expressed their willingness to abide by the terms of the pact. It was ratified by the United States on January 15, 1929.

Another noticeable change taking place was the conquest of the air. Airships had played a great part in the World War. In 1903, Wilbur and Orville Wright first made air flights possible at Kittyhawk, North Carolina. Colonel Lindbergh had made his flight to Paris, in the Spirit of St. Louis, in May, 1927. The Bremen had come from Europe in 1928. Since this time, it is definitely assumed that the world has been brought more closely together, a consummation strengthened by Howard Hughes, who completed his flight of 15,224 miles around the world in 91 hours and 45 minutes on July 14, 1938. Thousands of passengers daily pass over the world by air in reasonable safety. Douglas (wrong-way) Corrigan flew from New York to Ireland in an airplane valued at less than $900.00 in July, 1938. He thought he was on his way to California.

Campaign of 1928. The statement, "I do not choose to run for president in 1928," announced by President Coolidge, left the field open. As a Republican, Herbert Hoover was nominated for president along with Charles E. Curtis, of Kansas, for vice-president. The Democrats nominated for president Governor Alfred

E. Smith of New York with Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas as running mate. Both parties pledged themselves to the enforcement of prohibition, relief of farmers and the soldiers' bonus. The Socialists nominated Norman Thomas, but he did not influence many votes.

Herbert Hoover, Thirty-first President. This was the first time that a president came from Iowa. Herbert Clark Hoover was born at West Branch, Iowa, on August 10, 1874. He is of Swiss descent. His father was a village merchant and a blacksmith. He lost both his parents before he was ten and, thereafter, had to depend upon relatives for aid. He finally went to Salem, Oregon, where he drove a horse-drawn street car. Here he prepared for college. He entered Leland Stanford Junior College at Palo Alto, California, and, after many hardships, was graduated as a mining engineer. Starting out as an engineer, he joined a London company and went to Australia. Here he spent two years on a gold mining project. Later, when he went to China and entered upon a project, he took his bride with him. He became a member of a firm and soon had interests in Burma, China, South Africa, Brazil and Russia. When the World War broke out, he was invited to head relief for the Belgians. His efficiency in this activity marked him as one of the world's great humanitarians. Finally, he was made Food Administrator during the World War. He had not engaged in politics and for this reason both Democrats and Republicans made a bid for him. When Harding became president, Hoover was made secretary of commerce. Coolidge retained him in the same office and soon he became the choice of the Republicans for president. He was nominated and elected. His inaugural address was the first in history to be broadcast over the radio.

Soon after his inauguration, the period of prosperity ended and he was confronted with the beginning of a great depression which started with a stock market crash in October, 1929. He strongly opposed direct relief for the unemployed.

He had many conferences with distinguished European diplomats such as J. Ramsay MacDonald of England, Premier Laval of France and Minister Grandi of Italy. These men came to talk of international affairs, but, in spite of all his conferences and sane leadership, he went out of office with a long breadline standing at the White House door.

Hoover's Administration. One of the first of the important things Hoover did was to create on June 15, 1929, the Federal Farm Board. This board had nine members and they were entrusted with $500,000,000 to be used as a revolving fund to be loaned to farmers at four per cent so that they could market their products. Another move was to pass on May 28, 1929, the Hawley-Smoot tariff act. This act raised the tariff rates far above the Fordney-McCumber Act which was passed in 1922, and caused many reverses in our export trade.

Another attempt of Hoover was to determine the wide-spread disregard for law and the disobedience of it. Bootleggers, hijackers, and racketeers were running practically undisturbed throughout the country. The Wickersham Commission studied the situation for eighteen months and, upon reporting their findings, were so much in disagreement that practically nothing could be done with the report.

In October, 1929, the stock market crashed and the United States was headed for a great reverse. Soon foreign trade fell off sharply, factories closed, unemployment grew alarmingly, mortgages were foreclosed, banks failed, prices were lowered. Relief measures

were passed and new taxes were sought, yet things kept going from bad to worse.

Hoover closed his administration with participation in the London Naval Treaty in 1930, but the United States would not join the League of Nations.

Election of 1932. The Republicans renominated Hoover and Curtis, and the Democrats nominated Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt of New York for president, and John N. Garner of Texas for vice-president. The issues centered about the "New Deal" promised by Roosevelt, and the record of Hoover. Again, the Socialists nominated Norman Thomas. The Communists nominated William Z. Foster for president and James W. Ford, a Negro, for vice-president. The election resulted in Roosevelt being elected president and Garner vice-president.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Thirty-second President of the United States, 1932 to..... Americans are thrilled by the name of Roosevelt. This feeling is due to the dynamic life of Theodore Roosevelt who was a cousin of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Franklin D. Roosevelt was born at Hyde Park, New York, January 30, 1882. His parents were of good circumstances and he was prepared in a thorough and orderly way for college. He entered Harvard University and was graduated in 1904. Later, he studied law at Columbia University, New York. In 1905, he married Anna Eleanor Roosevelt and five children were born to them. In 1910, he was elected to the New York State senate and resigned in 1913 to accept the post of assistant secretary of the Navy, in which position he remained until 1920. In 1928, he was elected governor of New York and was re-elected in 1930. In 1932, he was elected president, and was overwhelmingly re-elected in 1936. He made himself famous for his fireside chats and his advocacy of the "New Deal."

Roosevelt's Administration, 1932. Since the agricultural situation was bad under Hoover, it naturally became one of Roosevelt's problems. In 1931, the Voluntary Domestic Allotment Plan was advocated. Its distinguishing principle is that it proposes to pay the farmers a bounty to control and reduce production.

It was not long before America was faced with a long list of alphabetical symbols for various programs and agencies of relief. Among these were:

A.A.A.—Agricultural Adjustment Administration
C.C.C.—Civilian Conservation Corps
C.C.B.—Commodity Credit Bureau
C.S.B.—Central Statistical Bureau
C.W.A.—Civil Works Administration
E.C.N.R.—Executive Council of National Recovery
E.C.P.C.—Executive Commercial Policy Committee
F.A.C.A.—Federal Alcohol Control Administration
F.C.A.—Farm Credit Administration
F.C.T.—Federal Coordination of Transportation
F.D.I.C.—Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
F.E.S.B.—Federal Employment Stabilization Board
F.E.R.A.—Federal Emergency Relief Administration
F.H.C.—Federal Housing Corporation
F.H.O.L.C.—Federal Home Owners' Loan Corporation
F.S.H.C.—Federal Subsistence Homestead Corporation
F.S.R.C.—Federal Surplus Relief Corporation
N.E.C.—National Emergency Council
N.I.R.A.—National Industrial Recovery Act
N.L.B.—National Labor Board
N.R.A.—National Recovery Administration
P.A.B.—Petroleum Administrative Board
P.R.A.—Presidential Re-employment Agreements
P.W.A.—Public Works Administration

S.A.B.—Science Advisory Board
T.V.A.—Tennessee Valley Authority
W.P.A.—Works Progress Administration

The foregoing list does not include all of the agencies. On April 8, 1935, $4,000,000,000 was appropriated to be used at the discretion of the president, for highways, rural rehabilitation, rural electrification, housing, assistance for educational, professional and clerical persons, civilian conservation corps, loans and grants for projects of states, territories, municipalities, and public bodies, sanitation, prevention of soil erosion, reforestation and flood control. The Social Security Act was passed August 14, 1935, and provides for the creation of a system of Federal old-age benefits. It attempted to assist the states in making provision for the care of aged persons, dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare and public health service. It is administered by a board of three members.

The Public Utilities Holding Company Act was made a law on August 26, 1935. Its purpose was to regulate and simplify utility holding companies, and eventually to eliminate most of them. To assist in this work the Securities and Exchange Commission was given power to regulate the financial practices of public utility holding companies; and the Federal Power Commission was given authority to regulate rates charged for transmission and sale of electricity in interstate commerce.

The Duffey-Snyder Coal Act of 1935 sought to stabilize the bituminous coal-mining industry and to promote its interstate commerce. It did not last long; in fact, only until May, 1936, when the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional.

In 1936, a Bonus Bill was passed over the president's veto. This gave 3,500,000 World War veterans

over $2,000,000,000 immediately instead of in 1945, when it was to have been paid.

Later, in 1936, there was passed the National Youth Administration Act and a Flood Control Act. The former used large sums to employ the youth of America, and the latter devoted its appropriation to the starting of projects for the control of floods throughout America.

It is useless to go into minute details about the purposes of these large expenditures. Everybody knows that we have had a hard time getting things adjusted in this country. All of these alphabetical programs were started to work over some phase of our maladjusted social order.

In 1930, the Negro population was 11,891,143. As our whole social order is affected, so will the Negro be. It is our purpose, however, to show how the Negro has fared under the "New Deal."

The "New" Negro. The great World War had a very decided effect upon the Negro. The experiences gained during and after the war resulted in the creation of a "new" Negro. Never before had there been such a display of race consciousness, nor of outward expression of defiance and cynicism. Many factors were involved in the formation of this new group, but perhaps the greatest of all the factors was the migration of the rural Southern Negroes to Northern, urban, industrial centers. This shift caused the Negro to acquire new visions of opportunities for work, for social outlet, for economic freedom, and for a spirit of patriotism and citizenship which made him a "new" individual.

Negroes and Relief. Under the F.E.R.A. set-up there were two types of relief—direct relief and work relief. Direct relief was given to those who were unemployed and in destitute circumstances. Work relief was that type of relief granted in the form of work

for the unemployed. While the total number of people in America on relief was about 10,000,000, the number of Negroes on relief in 1935 was 3,030,000, 25.5 per cent of the total Negro population as compared with 15.5 per cent for the other portions of our population. A few examples will show how the comparisons work. In Birmingham, Alabama, Negroes composed 68.3 per cent of the relief population. In Kansas City, Missouri, Negroes were 9.6 per cent of the population and from 25 to 37 per cent of the relief roll.

The depression found 64.7 per cent of all Negro workers in the country engaged in either agriculture or personal service. It was in these fields that unemployment struck most sharply and most quickly. It is also in the occupations in these fields that re-employment is going forward most slowly toward recovery.

Social Security and the Negro. The disfranchised Negro can hardly hope for social security without political security. Old-age pensions and unemployment insurance are designed to take care of persons "who have been industrial wage earners." Social security, under the act, therefore, largely leaves the Negro out because he is so little employed in industry.

Migration of Negroes. The "new" Negro found himself in a new environment. Lack of work and the new experience of living in crowded conditions forced adjustments to be made, and there was some blood shed. Riots broke out in St. Louis, Washington, and Chicago. Lynchings took place in some states. As a result of such disturbances, we find "Negro sections" in most cities of the North, and Negroes have been elected to city and state offices. In Chicago, Oscar De Priest was elected as United States Congressman and later Arthur W. Mitchell succeeded him. This Negro success was caused by the numerous votes in the "Negro section." Members of the various professions also gained by segregation, since, in such sections, Negro teachers

are employed to teach Negro children, and the physicians and dentists increase their practices among their greater number of Negro neighbors. Banks, stores, insurance companies and all types of enterprises have also sprung up.

To show how the "new" Negro rises, it is necessary to give only a glance at Oscar De Priest. He was born in 1871, of slave parents in Florence, Alabama. One of seven children, he moved in 1877 with his family to Salina, Kansas. De Priest attended Alabama schools and in Kansas he finished a business course. He moved to Chicago at the age of seventeen, and began house painting. Later he became a contractor and realtor. Some of his political offices prior to that of Congressman were: Cook County Commissioner and city councilman. He also had the distinction of being the first Negro to be elected to the city council of Chicago. He was elected to the 71st Congress to fill the vacancy created by the death of Congressman Martin B. Maddin, and was the first Negro since reconstruction days to be so honored. He is an energetic, shrewd and fearless man.

Negro Suffrage. Four factors contributed to the presence and the increase of Negro political activity in the South: (1) open election; an election, that is, held outside of the white primary system; (2) a favorable white sentiment, or a lack of racial feeling in the surrounding white population. It is very evident that this feeling is getting better and better each year; (3) skillful and active Negro leadership which is very slowly developing; (4) economic strength coupled with high cultural standards (schooling, taste in the amenities of life), and serious social organization. Evidence points to the fact that Negroes who are self-respecting property owners are increasing participation in all elections. This tendency goes to show that a great re-

sponsibility is upon the Negro to get ready for the exercise of the ballot, for he can and will participate.

"New" Negro and Industry. Between 1923 and 1925 there were increases in the number of Negro workmen employed in the steel industry. The transition to an industrial activity and an economic position which will bring the Negro group to a place comparable with other race groups in America has not been completed, but the former closed door is now slowly being opened. The largest number of Negro industrial workers is found in the building and construction industries. In the food industries the numbers are growing. Slaughtering houses employ thousands. The Works Progress Administration has enabled many Negroes to find work to their liking.

Negro Women in Industry. Negro women recently have entered factories as unskilled workers. The tobacco industry employs the largest number, although the manufacture of clothing and food also offers some employment. Some Negro women are becoming semi-skilled and skilled at their work. The development of Negro business has caused many to be employed in clerical work. Thousands have gone into teaching, hair-dressing, laundries and other businesses.

Negro Farmers and Tenancy. The Negro who remained in the South on his farm has also experienced changes in home life. Many who left the farms sold them and moved north. Many who remained on their farms lost them during the depression. Negroes, as owners and tenants, operate 30 per cent of the Southern farms and perform a great part of the hired labor. Of all the depressed agricultural regions, the South has been most severely deflated, because it has been so largely dependent on two money crops—cotton and tobacco. From 1910 to 1925, there was a shrinkage of 25,000,000 acres in Southern farm land. Most of

this shrinkage was in the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, and South Carolina. Since 1925, there has been a tendency to bring some of this idle land in Alabama and Mississippi back into cultivation.

The difficulties in Southern agriculture, which particularly affect the Negroes, are the tenant system, the one-crop system, and the credit system. By 1910, there were 218,972 Negro farm owners. This number held constant to 1920 and dropped off markedly in 1924 and 1930. In 1930, there were only 181,016 Negro owners. The tenancy went up from 1,744, in 1900, to 700,911 in 1930. In other words, in 1935, the standing of Negroes in regard to the farms was 22.8 per cent owners, .1 per cent managers, and 77.1 per cent as tenants.

Interracial Work in the South. Much good has been accomplished toward bringing about better feelings and cooperation between Southern Negroes and whites through interracial councils. In the South, groups of Negroes and whites, through these interracial movements, meet and discuss questions of vital concern toward bringing about a better mutual understanding. While there have sprung up in the South interracial councils which draw on the progressive elements of both races, and mutual laborers may rub elbows in every-day work, the community and business leaders have experienced far too little of such interplay. These segments must achieve contact, or the race situation in America will become desperate.

The Southern Sociological Congress, which was organized by Mrs. Anne Russell Cole of Nashville, Tennessee, and of which Governor Ben W. Hooper was president, included in its program constructive activities for the prevention of crime, vice, disease and moral degradation, protection of the weak, ignorant, defective and those who from racial disability are unable to protect themselves.

There is a growing realization that, in social effort, the cooperative basis must supplant long-distance philanthropy and that the only safeguard for race relations in the future must be provided in the carefully maintained contacts of the enlightened minorities of both racial groups.

Y.M.C.A. and the Negro. The first organization of the Y.M.C.A. among Negroes was effected some time in the year of 1853 in Washington, D. C. The first donation for it was made in 1869. It was $10,000 to the Freedmen. After 1869 there was much interest manifested in promoting Young Men's Christian Associations in the South. As a result, one was established at Charleston, South Carolina. In 1869, the first student organization was established at Howard University and Anthony Bowen was the first president of it. William A. Hunton entered the work in 1880. He was the first salaried employee of the Negro race. In 1911, a Race Relations Fund of $10,000 was appropriated due to the influence of Dr. W. D. Weatherford's book, *The Negro and the South.* Dr. Weatherford initiated the King's Mountain Organization of Student Conferences in North Carolina. Much good has come out of this work. In 1920, Max Yergen was sent to South Africa, and after much difficulty he returned to the United States.

There are now twenty-six Negro Y.M.C.A.'s with an investment of $5,815,969 in land, buildings and equipment, and there are 140 organizations in Negro schools. Mr. George Foster Peabody, Mr. John D. Rockefeller and Mr. Julius Rosenwald have given hundreds of thousands of dollars to this work. Mr. Rosenwald alone gave $637,000 for twenty-six buildings in twenty-five cities.

Y.W.C.A. Among Negroes. There are now fifty-six branches of the Y.W.C.A. among Negro women. This

work started somewhat later than that of the Y.M.C.A.; but it has outgrown the latter in many ways and supplies a great need. They employ about one hundred and thirty-five secretaries throughout the United States.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This organization is known as the N.A.A.C.P. and was started in 1909 on Lincoln's birthday, February 12. It has as its program: (1) abolition of all forced segregation; (2) equal educational advantages for colored and white; (3) enfranchisement of the Negro; (4) enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The board of directors is made up of whites and Negroes working together for the betterment of the Negro. In 1921, they had over four hundred branches. The president of the association is Joel E. Spingarn. The secretary is Walter White, and the director of branches is William Pickens. Mrs. Mary White Ovington has been an untiring worker for years. *The Crisis Magazine* is their organ and they fearlessly attack any injustice to Negroes.

National Urban League. The Urban League is an organization interested in "greater economic opportunities for the colored workers." They approach the employer and prominent officials of trade unions instead of appealing to the masses. They started in 1913, but were more active in 1916. L. Hollingsworth Wood is a prominent leader of this organization. Eugene Kinkle Jones is the executive secretary. T. Arnold Hill is the industrial leader and Ira D. Reid is a research expert. They have branches throughout the United States and have done much to improve the conditions of Negroes economically. Their organ is the *Opportunity Magazine* of which Dr. Charles S. Johnson was editor for many years.

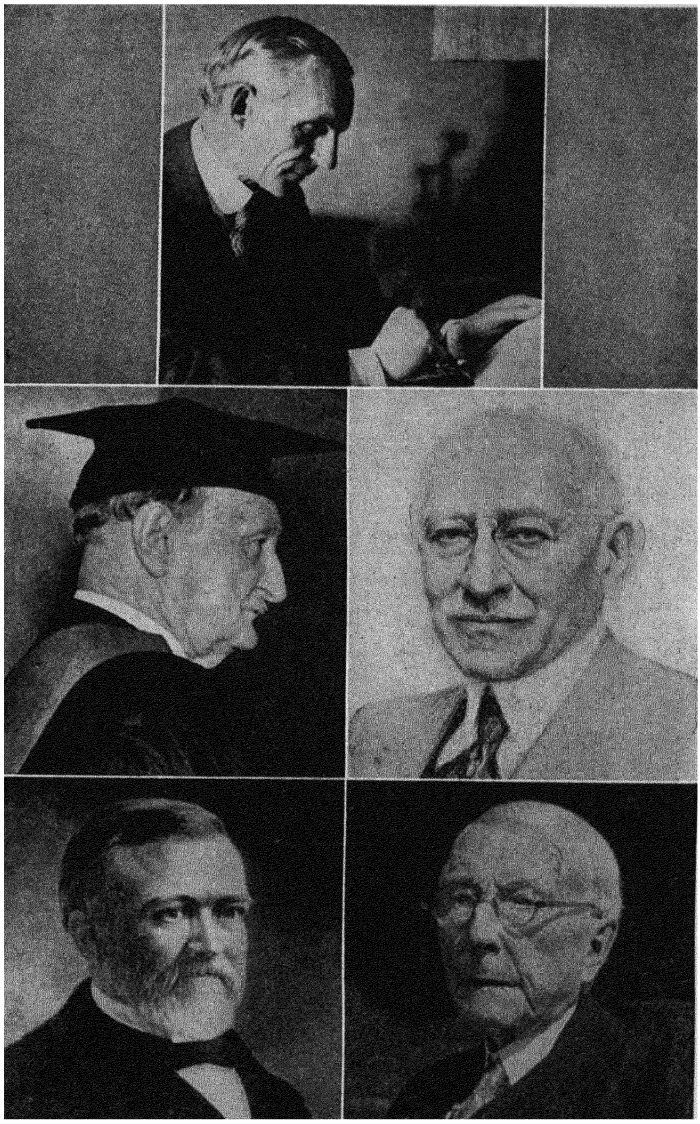
Negro Educational Facilities. To evaluate the work

of education without mentioning the aid of funds created by philanthropists would be like having a meal without food. The Slater Fund aided mainly church and private schools, but in 1911 it began to encourage the work of county training schools in order that the teaching in rural communities might be more efficient. Up to 1928, it had contributed more than $3,000,000.

The General Education Board. This board, organized by John D. Rockefeller, Sr. in 1902, has aided all phases of Negro education and, up to 1930, had contributed over $22,000,000.

In 1907, the Negro Rural School Fund was incorporated as the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, and is commonly known as the "Jeanes Fund." It was incorporated for the purpose of assisting in the Southern United States communities, county and rural schools for the great class of Negroes to whom the small rural and community schools are alone available. Hollis B. Frissel and Booker T. Washington were the inspiration that caused the interest manifested in the work financed by this fund. The first amount given was $1,000,000. Dr. James H. Dillard, formerly dean and professor at Tulane University, became director of the trust, and later joined with the Slater Fund of which he became president in 1917. The Peabody Fund joined in this enterprise and Dr. Dillard initiated the idea of the visiting teacher or the Jeanes Supervisor, with the Jeanes Fund paying the whole salary. Jackson Davis, then superintendent of schools in Henrico County, Virginia, employed Miss Virginia E. Randolph, a capable Negro woman, as the first Jeanes teacher. There has been a consolidation of four funds into the Southern Educational Foundation, with Arthur D. Wright as president. They are doing a great work toward taking education to the Negroes who are most neglected.

General Education Board. Previously, we have



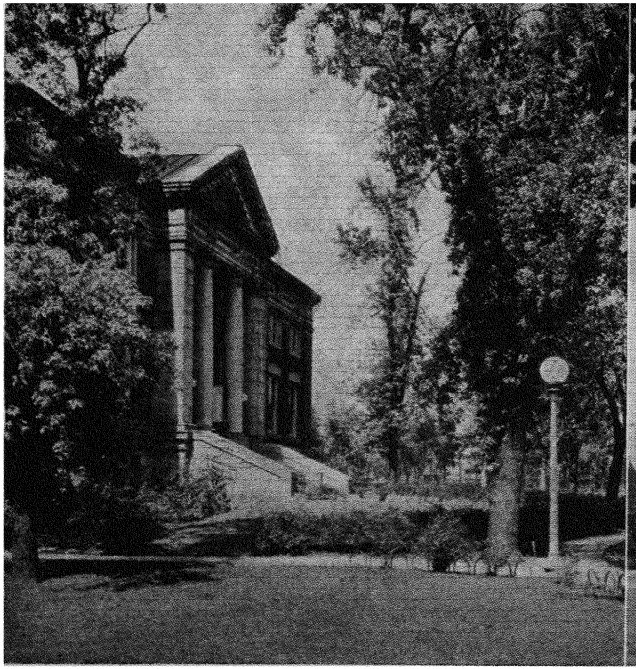
Top—Henry Ford, industrialist, employs over 25,000 Negroes at Dearborn, Michigan. Middle—Left to Right—(Wide World) (1) James Hartley Dillard, retired president, Jeans Fund. (2) Julius Rosenwald, philanthropist, founded Rosenwald Fund. Bottom—Left to Right—(1) (Wide World) Andrew Carnegie, philanthropist. (2) (Culver Service) John D. Rockefeller, Sr., philanthropist, founded General Education Board

spoken of the amount which the General Education Board has given to Negro education. Now, we shall take note of the further activities of the work. In 1911, the General Education Board supported state agents for Negro schools in fourteen Southern states. Prior to 1916, it supported agricultural and home economics work among Negroes. Since that time, this work has been taken over by the federal government.

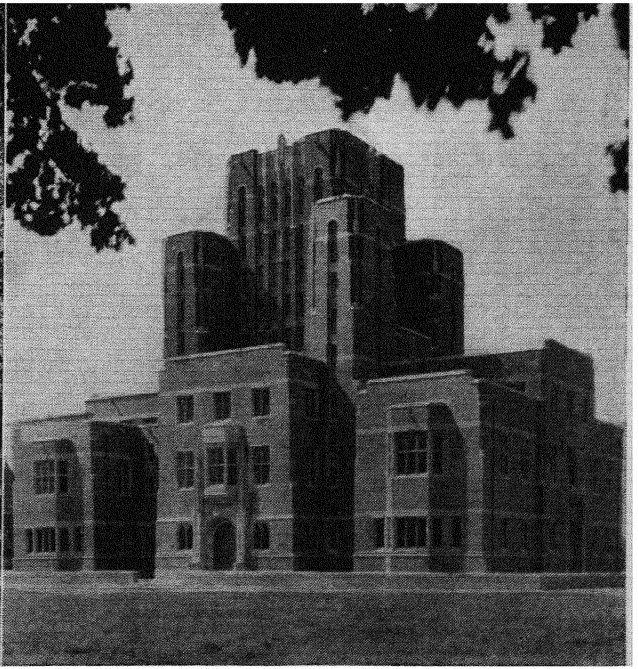
Many Negro schools owe their ability to continue operation to the G.E.B. Fisk University, Meharry Medical College, Hampton Institute, Tuskegee and many more have received, and still receive, generous contributions to their work. Jackson Davis, Leo Favrot, Fred McCuistion and many other men are doing a notable piece of work for the advancement of Negro education.

Julius Rosenwald Fund. In 1910, Julius Rosenwald intimated that he would help any cause, if it included the Negro. One of the first institutions aided by him was the Chicago Y.M.C.A. In 1911, he visited Tuskegee and pledged $5,000 for five years. It was during this visit that Booker T. Washington suggested that the greatest need among Negroes was in the rural areas. Rosenwald began a program to stimulate the public officials, the Negroes and whole communities to a greater realization of the needs of these neglected areas. As a result of this movement, he appointed C. J. Calloway, of Tuskegee, as director of this work. Later, he broadened its scope and appointed S. L. Smith of Clarksville, Tennessee, as director of it.

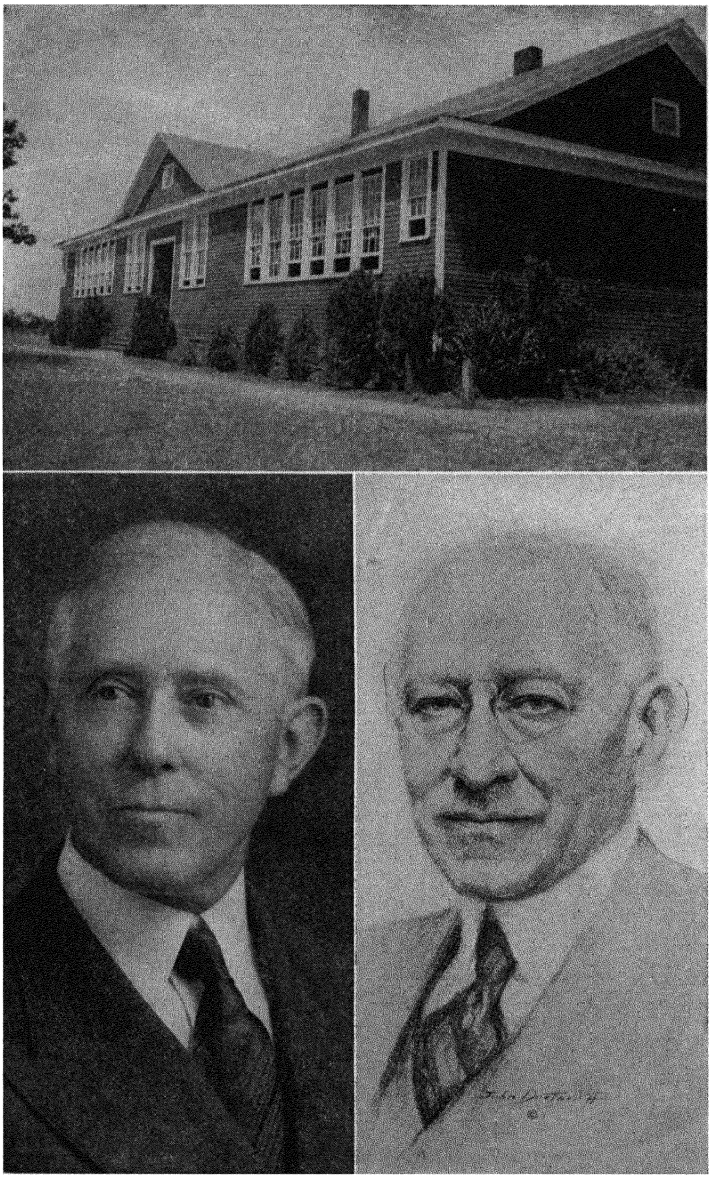
The Rosenwald Fund and Rural Negro Schools. The first Southern plan for the aid of all the rural schools was started under the direction of S. L. Smith. For years he had been an educator in Tennessee and when he took over the work, a plan was formulated whereby all the neglected areas could be helped. In July, 1932,



Carnegie Library, Howard University, Washington, D. C.



Library, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee



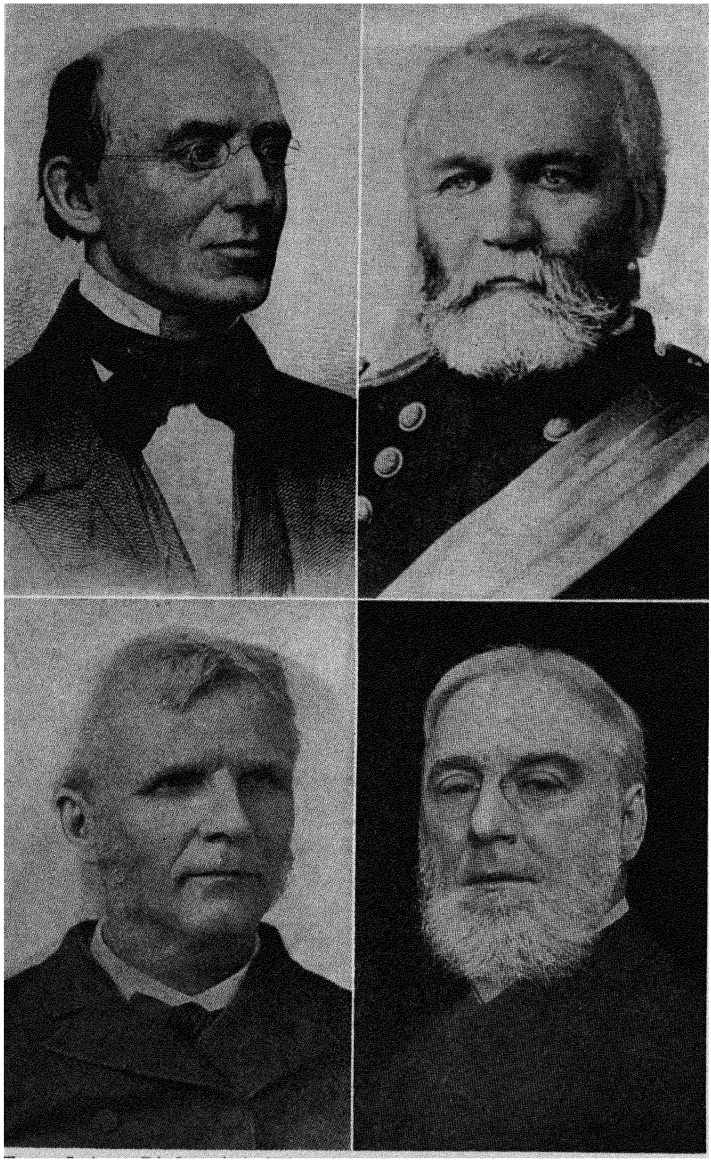
Top—Collierville Junior Rosenwald High School, Collierville, Tennessee, one of the 5,357 Negro schools aided by the Rosenwald Fund. Below—(1) Dr. S. L. Smith, Southern Ex-Director, Rosenwald Fund. (2) Hon. Julius Rosenwald, Founder of Rosenwald Foundation

the Fund had helped erect 5,357 school buildings with a pupil capacity of 663,615. Between 25 and 40 per cent of all Negro children enrolled in schools in 1932 were in Rosenwald buildings. This work was extended to 883 counties of fifteen Southern states at a total cost of $28,408,520, toward which Mr. Rosenwald gave $4,366,519. The total amount spent on Negroes from 1917 to 1936 was $8,816,854, and to other activities in general the amount was $3,842,350. This expenditure, together with office expenses, makes a total of $14,236,-083, which was spent by this man alone for the betterment of American life.

Among other philanthropic foundations which aid Negroes is the Phelps-Stokes Fund. This fund was made possible by a gift of $900,000 by Miss Caroline Phelps-Stokes in 1909. It was to be used for the education of Negroes both in Africa and in the United States. This fund has given fellowships to the University of Georgia and to Virginia for sociological studies of the Negro. It contributed to the survey made by Thomas Jesse Jones, in 1917, under the auspices of the United States Bureau of Education. It sent a financial commission to Africa. Miss Mabel Carney, an authority in the field of rural education and Negro education, went to Africa under direction of this foundation. Under direction of this fund and of other funds, many programs and studies have been sponsored by Mabel Carney.

The Carnegie Corporation has aided Negro education. It gave $720,000 to Tuskegee; $989,245 to Hampton Institute; for special research work it gave $82,500 and more than $200,000 for the building of libraries in Negro colleges.

Through the American Missionary Association the Daniel Hand Fund is using $1,550,642 for the work of this association throughout the South.



Top—Left to Right—(1) (Pictorial Archives) William Lloyd Garrison, Abolitionist. (2) (Wide World) General O. O. Howard, founder of Howard University. Bottom—Left to Right—(3) (Culver Service) General S. C. Armstrong, founder of Hampton Institute. (4) (Healy Collection) Robert C. Ogden, president Southern Education Foundation

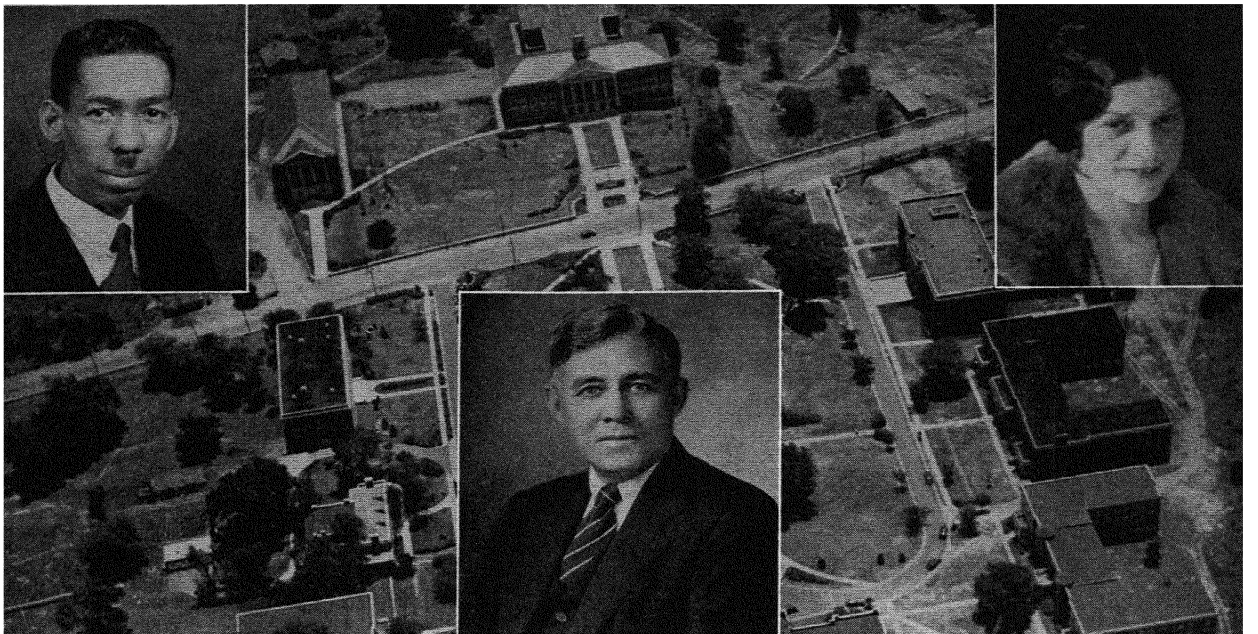
The DuPont Gifts included enough money to build and equip a schoolhouse for every school district in the state of Delaware.

Had it not been for this aid and the guidance of intelligent white leadership at a time much needed, the plight of Negro education would have been deplorable. At the present time, if it were not for this support, many Negro schools would have to close.

Negro State Colleges. In all of the Southern states, there have been established state agricultural and industrial colleges for Negroes. The amount of money expended for this work runs into millions of dollars. No better expression of interracial good will is manifested than in what Southern legislatures have done along this line. These schools are in all the Southern states. For the most part, they are in good shape, and only one will suffice to give a picture of the program which is going on.

Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State College. This school was founded in 1911, and opened its doors in 1912, with a state appropriation of $14,000, and three buildings. Within twenty-five years, the school has grown to include a campus of forty acres, thirty-two modern brick buildings well-equipped, twenty miles of substantial fence enclosing two hundred and forty-one acres of farm land, artificial lakes, the only natural stadium and field house for Negroes in the South, barns and chicken houses with the latest improvements, herds of cattle, sheep and hogs, with hundreds of chickens, ducks, geese and turkeys, and a greenhouse with a variety of plants. Its campus is outlined with modern roads and walks and ponds and is covered with plants from all parts of the world. The home economics and science laboratories are modern in every respect.

William Jasper Hale has been the president through-



Top, Insets, Left to Right—(1) *George W. Gore, Jr., Dean of Instruction.* (2) *Mrs. Hattie E. Hale, wife of the president and chairman of the division of women's vocations and director of Secretarial Commerce. Below, Inset—President William Jasper Hale, founder and president of Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State College, Nashville, Tenn. A $3,000,000 plant, 43 buildings, 1,409 enrollment. The largest state controlled school for Negroes in the world. This has all been accomplished within twenty-five years, 1912-1938*

out the development of this plant and most people regard the phenomenal growth of this institution into a plant worth over three million dollars and a student body of over fourteen hundred as the expression of interracial good will of the white people and the genius of this Negro leader. His philosophy of education is, "Think, Work, Serve." He believes in doing the common things of life in an uncommon way. At the present time, the school is still expanding and its leadership inspires the confidence of the best educators, North and South.

The Negro in Business. There are at present forty-four Negro insurance companies, twenty-eight of which are members of the National Negro Insurance Association. The annual report of the association showed that its member companies had an annual income of $15,061,347.72 and employ 8,150 persons. These companies had $288,963,070 worth of insurance in force on 1,643,125 policies. From all reports, the insurance business is the largest business among Negroes. The Atlanta Life Insurance Company, the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, the Universal Life Insurance Company, the Golden State Life Insurance Company and the Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company are among the largest and best-known companies.

Negro Banks. There were forty-eight Negro banks at the beginning of the depression. Only twenty-three have survived. The first bank to be established was the Free Labor Bank in New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1864. One of the oldest banks existing is the Citizens Savings Bank and Trust Company of Nashville. Henry Allen Boyd is the president and James Carroll Napier is the cashier. These twenty-three banks have an aggregate capital of $2,000,000, with resources of $15,000,000, and the volume of their annual business exceeds $50,000,000.

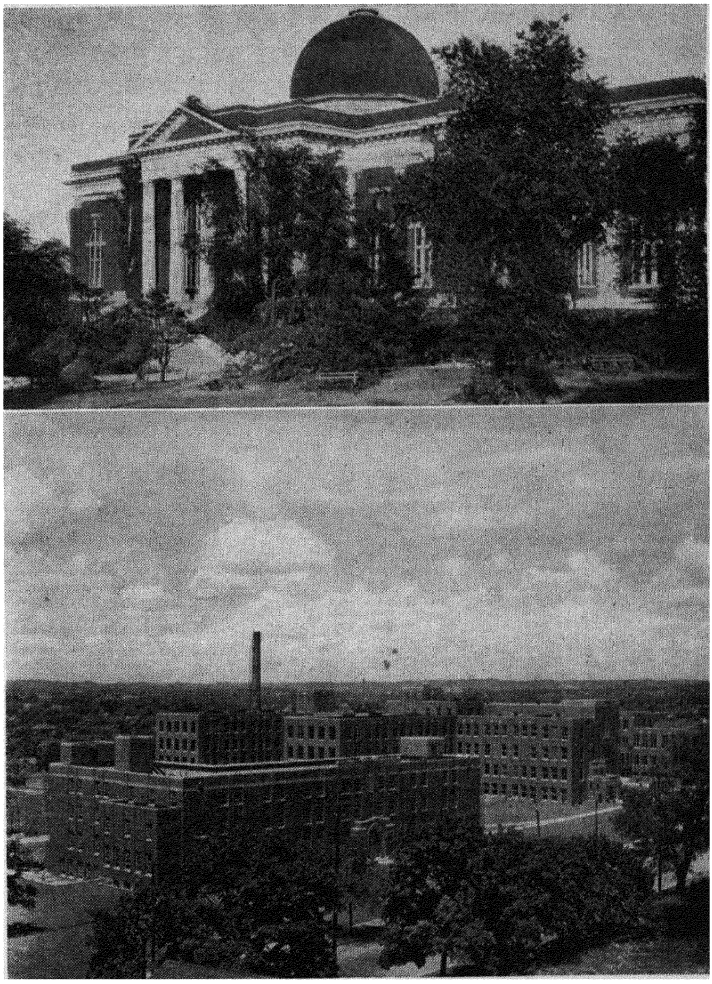
The 1930 census showed that 25,701 retail stores were owned and operated by Negroes. They did an annual business of $101,000,000, employing 28,243 proprietors and firm members and 12,561 full-time employees with a total payroll of $8,528,306. These retail businesses included foods, general stores, general merchandise, restaurants, hair-dressing parlors and many other types of business. The Ben Franklin Store of Chicago is one of the largest department stores owned by Negroes in America. The T. M. Elliott Store of Muskogee, Oklahoma, is another very prosperous store. A Negro owns the largest general store in Georgetown, Kentucky. His business is in excess of $50,000 annually.

John Miller

John Miller, born in Georgetown, Kentucky, August 16, 1888, attended the local school and finished the normal department of Simmons University, Louisville, Kentucky, 1909. He worked as a clerk in Milner's Grocery (white) until October, 1911. He served as manager of the Georgetown Stock Grocery Company (colored) until 1913 and spent the next six months in preparation for the opening of the Miller Department Store.

In October, 1914, Miller opened a retail shoe, clothing, and dry goods store in an old building inherited from his father who formerly used it as a general store until 1892 when he passed. During the World War, John Miller served sixteen months over seas. In 1925, he remodelled and repaired the store. In 1929 a radio department was added. During his twenty-five years in business he enjoyed a prosperous patronage from both races.

Several white concerns have employed Negro salesmen, including the Rumford Baking Company, the



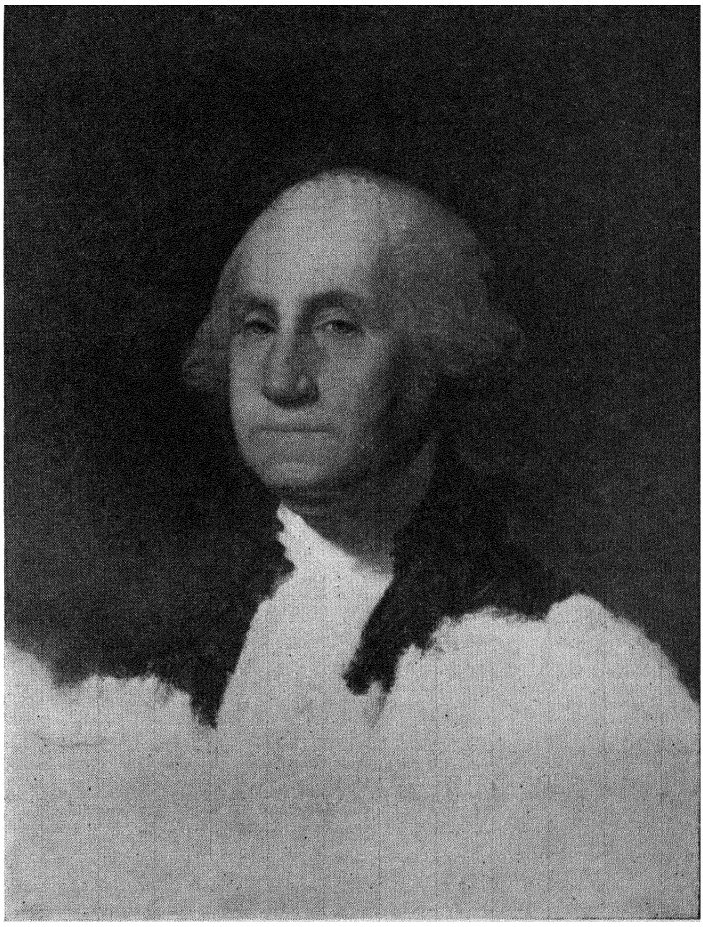
Above—Dining Hall, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama

Below—Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee

Atlantic Ice and Beer Company, the Real Silk Hosiery Company, the Leonard Tailoring Company, the Standard Oil Company and hundreds of smaller concerns.

The "New" Negro in Cultural Attainments. In education and the arts, the Negro is attaining greater recognition. Books by and about Negroes are increasing in number and popularity, as are plays by Negro authors and Negro casts. Appreciation of Negro music is increasing. In the arts, the Negro tends more and more to contribute as a Negro rather than to imitate white achievements. The Negro was 10 per cent literate in 1866; now, in 1938, he is 90 per cent literate. In 1866, there were 15 schools for higher training; in 1936, there were over 800 schools for higher training. There are now over 2,500,000 students in public schools with 55,000 Negro teachers. Over $61,700,000 is spent annually on the education of the Negro. The Negro has 45,000 churches, 5,300,000 communicants, 36,000 Sunday schools with 2,200,000 in enrollment. The value of his church property is $210,000,000.

There are over 100 Negroes listed in *Who's Who in America* for 1936 to 1937. In the list of "American Men of Science," there are the names of twelve Negroes. Twenty-two Negroes have received the Spingarn Achievement award for distinguished service since 1918. The Harmon award has been given to many Negroes for their achievements in literature, art, science, education, religion and race relations. In all of the honorary scholastic societies, Negroes have been elected to membership. One hundred and fifty-five Negroes have been elected to the Phi Beta Kappa honorary scholastic fraternity. From 1878 to 1938 more than 150 Negroes have earned the doctor of philosophy degree. More than 4,000 patents are held by Negroes in the United States. There are over 12,000 Negro musicians who make their living by this



George Washington—"First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

means. There are over 4,500 Negro physicians and surgeons, 5,728 trained nurses, 2,146 dentists, 25,034 clergymen, 1,938 social workers, 430 artists, 361 chemists, and 351 technical engineers.

In the theatres and movies, the music of the Negro has lifted him to the highest pinnacle. No one can question the work of Bert Williams as a comedian, that of "Bill" Robinson as a dancer, that of Paul Robeson as an actor or that of Marian Anderson as a singer. Clarence Muse, Stepin Fetchit, Louise Beavers, Ralph Cooper, Fredi Washington and the late Richard B. Harrison in "Green Pastures" proved their worth as movie actors.

Hilyard Robinson, Paul Williams and David Williston are names which will not be forgotten in the field of architecture and landscaping.

Reverend Glenn T. Settle, a Negro Baptist preacher of Cleveland, Ohio, has organized and presented a Sunday morning service by introducing outstanding Negro speakers and a series of Negro spiritual songs. This program is heard over the Columbia Broadcasting System and it is estimated that over 5,000,000 people have heard it.

The jazz orchestra has been popularized everywhere on the earth by the music of James Reece Europe, Cab Calloway, Duke Ellington, Jimmie Lunceford and Noble Sissle.

Negro Health. The Negro death rate is almost twice as high as that of the whites. This deplorable fact is due to bad living conditions. Negroes have, however, shown signs of improvement in the last decade, because the whites have made medical care and hospitals more accessible to Negroes. There are only ten Negro hospitals approved by the American Medical Association. However, many of the white hospitals are now allowing Negro doctors to serve on the staff



The Home Hospital and Infirmary, owned and operated by Dr. Robert T. Burt and Mrs. Em (Williams) Burt, Clarksville, Tennessee

of their hospitals. The span of life for the Negro is still ten years less than that of the whites, the Negro's being forty-six, and the whites' fifty-six years.

Home Infirmary and Hospital, Clarksville, Tennessee. A striking illustration of what a Negro can do is afforded by Dr. Robert Tecumseh Burt. He was born on a Mississippi plantation, some sixty years ago, and worked his way through Meharry Medical College. Imbued with the desire to help the Negro in the field of health, he went to Clarksville, Tennessee, a Southern town of about 5,000 people, and started a hospital for Negroes. In the period of twenty-five years he has performed over 5,000 operations and his wife has developed over 11,000 X-ray plates, as well as administering all of the anesthetics for the operations. He owns one of the main office buildings in the downtown district, and the high school for Negroes bears his name. He is the sole owner of the Home Infirmary and Hospital. This record is cited because this Negro doctor has, as his philosophy of life, emphasized just dealing with everyone and serving all the people with all the medical skill he can command. He has taken post-graduate work at Mayo Brothers Hospital and at Harvard University. His patients come from all the surrounding country to get the service he has to offer. He has many white patients.

Strange Negro Efforts. Among the Negroes are many who try strange and unique methods of getting along. One of them is Timothy Drew, a native of North Carolina. In 1925, he founded upon Moslem beliefs the race conscious, philanthropic Moorish Science Temple at Chicago, Illinois. Prophet Drew Ali, as he called himself, soon had branches of the Moors in the principal Northern cities. Murder at headquarters and various riots have brought them into ill-repute.

Another cult similar to this is the "University of Islam" at Detroit, Michigan. Negroes have known that only the Christian religion has respected, saved and unified their race and sponsored their achievements; yet for several decades many of them have become completely dissatisfied with their historical churches. When, during the last decade of the nineteenth century, Holiness and Pentecostal groups began to arise in direct opposition to the churches, with money enough to be fine, fashionable and formal, Negroes organized similar bodies. For example, at Durham, North Carolina, dubbed in the era of the "New Negro" the capital of the middle black class, "The United Holy Church of America" was organized among the lowly Negroes. This church has expanded to New York, Colorado, and the Bermuda Islands.

Two respectable denominations, however, were organized after the World War. The African Orthodox Church was founded in New York City on September 21, 1921. Dr. G. A. McGuire entered Greek Catholicism, became a bishop, and later started the above-named independent Negro church. Dr. W. D. Cook became president of the Council of Community Churches in Chicago in 1923. This group is made up of the dissatisfied members of the A. M. E. Church.

The Hodish Church was founded in Philadelphia by E. R. Kellingsworth. Bishop Grace, a native of Portugal, founded his first mission in Boston in 1921. His organization has grown to a membership of approximately 200,000 and extends from New York to Florida.

Lightfoot Solomon Micheaux of Washington, D. C., has attracted national attention by his "Happy Am I" theme song and his endeavors to establish a Utopia in Delaware.

"Father Divine," George Baker of Alabama, went

to New York and declared himself "God," Father Divine, with "Kingdoms" throughout the world, harboring "angels" numbering into thousands and with a bountiful table set all the time, with all the host "in heaven" on earth, has developed a fundamental type of Christianity based upon the Bible, particularly the New Testament. The cult has challenged the traditional denominations on the present social and economic order, diseased by greed, corruption, crime, poverty, immorality, intemperance and war. Unlike the usual Negro churches, the cult seeks to cure the souls and bodies of men. They view social work differently from the Negro denominations that have no technique. Father Divine realizes that one of the greatest sources of worry and one of the most important factors in the weakening of character in our lives is that of living beyond our individual means. He has, however, completely annihilated this deleterious practice among his adherents, hereby adding measurably to their happiness and peace of mind. He says, "I am not especially representing religion, I am representing God on earth among men."

Marcus Garvey. Soon after the war, Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican Negro, advocated the most thorough and consistent nationalistic philosophy for Negroes that we have had. Garvey advocated the absolute repudiation of white standards and the substitution, wherever possible, of black ones. A Negro Zionism, popularly known as the "Back to Africa Movement," was sponsored by Garvey through an organization known as the "Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League." This was an all-Negro movement, built upon pride of race and the exaltation of things black.

Garvey advocated establishing a Negro state in Africa as the only means of securing nationalism. He

opposed Negro affiliation with white labor unions and the Communist Party. His advice to Negroes was to work and save enough money to become independent of white employers, and to become owners of their own businesses. His grandiose scheme went upon the rocks. Because of the treachery of Negro leaders who became jealous, and the unfaithfulness of his subordinates, he went to the Federal prison and was finally deported. A profound Negro thinker said, " 'Garveyism' may be a transient, if spectacular, phenomenon, but the possible role of the American Negro in the future development of Africa is one of the most constructive and universally helpful missions that any modern people can lay claim to."

CHAPTER XI

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE NEGRO TO AMERICAN CULTURE

The evaluation of the labor of millions of people who worked two hundred and forty-six years, technically, without a pay day, has not been accurately performed. To take stock of what we now possess in goods and services in comparison with what we had three centuries ago, would be a task which would startle the most optimistic mind. It is impossible for this generation to forget the paths over which we have come.

Therefore, as we turn the pages of history back to our beginnings, we find that Negroes, with their strong backs and brawny muscles, have dug the ditches, built the homes, toiled in season and out, under a blistering sun and in all other types of weather, fought disease, gathered the crops, laid out the roads, cooked the meals, cared for the sick, spanned the streams, cleared the forests and have done nearly everything else; in fact, they helped lay the very foundation of our present America.

It is true that the Negro was guided in his labors by his white master. It is a fact that the whites communicated the Anglo-Saxon culture to him. It goes without debate that the white man gave him a language, religion, names, morality, education and the skill and technique of American great culture. It could be said with reason that these things should more than pay for what the Negro did. However, if we take the frame of reference that a contribution to be genuine

must be universally useful and at the same time make living more pleasant for those who come in contact with their labors, it cannot be denied that the health and happiness of the American people are founded to no small degree upon the menial labor of the Negro.

One cannot look at a healthy, clean, white person without, at the same time, seeing beyond him some menial task which has been performed before he matured. One cannot wear clothes, eat food, enjoy a ride, or do efficient work in an office, without first recognizing that some black people prepared some of this material and service for us.

Tools, machines and power have been necessary for our advancement. The tools, machines and power have either changed or become obsolete; but the Negro has not changed. He has demonstrated his capacity in such a way that he cannot longer be regarded as a menial. He has reflected the glory that has been claimed by all others. In all circumstances he has taken over the culture of Americans and, in many instances, has contributed to this culture. American people have been the beneficiaries of the toil of all who labor.

It is trite to think that the Negro came to America empty-headed and empty-handed. He came out of a culture that is far different from ours. In his culture, he had all types of tribal language and none of it was written. Negroes have all kinds of superstitions and myths concerning the things about them. In Africa they had a morality, a religion and, in general, a way of life. One never thinks of how hard it is or how long it takes to lay aside all of those things which, in due time, become a part of a person and then be suddenly forced to accept a different mode of living; to react favorably to an economy of scarcity, when you have been used to an economy of plenty; to be forced

to save, when you have never had the use of a bank; to be forced to make time, to be punctual and prompt, when your time has been your own; to be forced to read, write and figure, when you had never seen a book; to be forced to rules and regulations, when you had had only the native whip of pain and pleasure to drive you on. These and many more problems are what the Negro was forced to confront.

In his long years of slavery, he took off the robe of primitiveness and put on the garments of civilization and took stock of what he had to do. What he has contributed and achieved in the past seventy-five years will convince the most critical mind that the Negro is an integral part of American culture. James Bryce said the American Negro made more progress in 60 years after emancipation than the English had made in 600 years.

Negro's Contribution to Democracy. Western culture has the concept of a democracy as its ideal. In the simplest terms, it means that government of the people, by the people and for the people is practised. It connotes a representative assembly, which legislates for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It presumes that the greatest good will be done to the greatest number of people. It is based upon an intelligent participation in the affairs of government. How hard it has been and how embarrassing it is now for a portion of our people to deny the good things of life to a part of the people without an explanation!

Long before the War Between the States, Negroes were voting in many places. During this conflict and afterwards, America was forced to define a citizen of this country. That definition is found in the Fourteenth Amendment. The contention of women for the right of suffrage was based upon the same theory as to the Negro's right. If you will only compare the

Nineteenth Amendment with the Fifteenth Amendment, you will see that the language is almost identical.

The contention over fundamental human rights always pricked the consciences of our founding fathers. Look at the actions of John Randolph, when he sent his slaves to Ohio and bought land for each of them and set them free. Robert E. Lee, commander of the Army of Northern Virginia of the Confederacy, had a few slaves whom he himself inherited. Some of them finally died and others were manumitted before the Civil War started. Read the wills of George Washington, of Thomas Jefferson and of many others and see if you cannot gain from them sufficient evidence that the very presence of the Negro brought out the finer qualities of our great Democratic principle.

The Negro's Contribution to Religion. The Constitution provides that "No law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people to peaceably assemble" shall ever be passed. In the large, the American government has guaranteed to all of its people the right to communicate and worship as they please. As a result of this right, the Negro has been a constant deterrent to a narrow interpretation of the Bible. He has done his part in causing the tenets of Christianity to survive. Many people, even though they may not be ready to accept the Negro, believe in the Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of man, in life after death and in Jesus Christ. There has been no influence in Western culture which has developed more champions of the cause of our black brother than the Christian religion. The first passing of the horrors of slavery and the inculcation of education and fair play to the Negro came through the efforts of devout Christians.

The Negro has contributed to the religious life of

America a large philanthropic, missionary impulse. Look at the thousands of dollars spent for his good; the churches, schools and hospitals built and the tireless workers who continue to pour out their all so that the kingdom of God may come on earth.

The Negro by nature is endowed with a remarkable treasury of creative Christian qualities and graces—his native kindliness of spirit, his patience, and long-suffering, his general optimism, his lack of resentment. In fact, in the preservation of that brotherhood, to which the world must finally resort for the solution of its social, economic and spiritual problems, it is difficult to measure the influence of the Negro temperament.

The Negro's Contribution to Education. The idea that this nation could not long endure half slave and half free, has been carried over into the field of education. All educators now believe that this nation cannot long endure if a part of the people is educated and the other part is ignorant.

The great public school idea has been broadened and extended to such a degree that merely the more ignorant of our people argue that only people who pay taxes should get the best facilities. The modern thought is that, if a part of our people do not pay taxes directly, they at least contribute indirectly through low wages and their labor and in the purchase of commodities, and, if education is denied them, we have to pay more for the diseases and crimes committed by them or by direct relief. Therefore, all of America pays for the enlightenment of all its people.

Booker T. Washington contributed to the philosophy of our industrial education. The idea that you cannot hold a man down, unless you get down with him, has caused the great American mind to value public education. As a result of this idea, the Negro has

helped to give to America the technical school, industrial education and a sense of dignity for common labor.

Negro Contribution to Literature, Music and the Arts. The Negro's life has flowed full and strong. In spite of toil and torment, he has not wasted away nor become exhausted. Always there has been an abundance of energy overflowing in literature, spirituals and field songs, in laughter and dance, in love and hate, in rhythmic mournings and in sorrow. This exuberance, which has flowed so richly into folk art, is now beginning to take its place in American culture.

When one goes back to Africa and views the Negro in his native habitat, he finds him to be among the first of the people to use the tom-tom, the drum, the flute, and many stringed instruments. His transplantation may have dulled his artistic sense, when it comes to sculpture and painting, but not so with his gift of voice, the playing of musical instruments and the development of dramatic art.

The quaint way in which the Negro expresses his inner feelings in regard to the horrors of slavery and the glimpse of his much-hoped-for freedom, permeated the thinking of all the writers in American life. It would be hard to prove that the Negro imitated the whites in the formation of the spirituals, because he was not free to intermingle with the whites. It is reasonable to believe that his pent-up emotions and the humdrum life which he led caused him to burst forth with tones and words that would give his inner feelings expression. This is the beginning of the spirituals and the writings of the early Negroes.

The same is true of the stage. The Negro first conceived the idea of clowning, which later grew into the minstrel entertainment and into stage performances of a more serious nature. His ability to make fun, to

dramatize life, to do the unique has caused him to be called to the stage to make thousands laugh and weep. There is nothing which stimulates the heart or quickens the imagination so much as does the subtle portrayal of ridiculous situations.

In sculpture and painting, the Negro has expressed himself with such penetrating portrayals that the American mind has been forced to recognize his genius. The constant stream of fine wood carvings, weaving, and beautiful bric-a-brac have proved the development of his talent and skill in art.

Negro Contributions in Science and Invention. The flow of goods and services to make life more livable is a good criterion by which one may judge the contributions of those who have labored in these fields. In the field of invention, we have over 4,000 patents from which we may choose. It is impossible to list them all, but we shall bring to attention a few of the most outstanding. Benjamin Banneker, a noted Negro astronomer, about 1754, with imperfect tools, constructed a clock which told time and struck the hour.

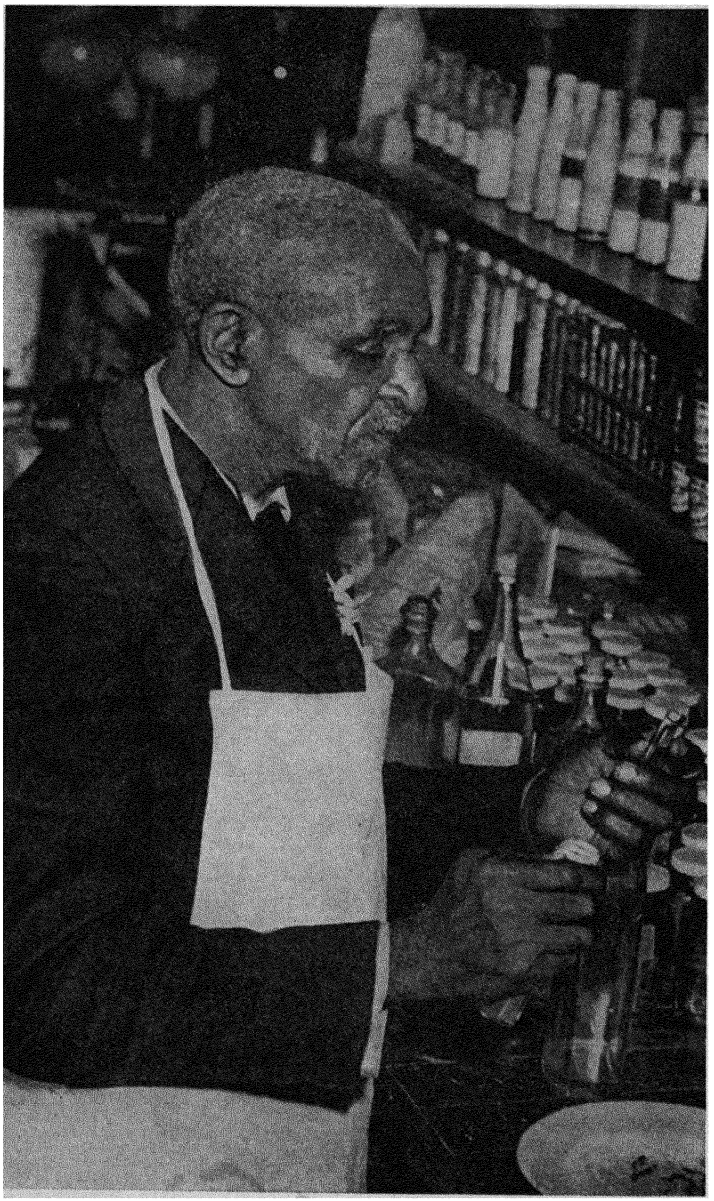
Henry Blair, in 1834 patented a corn harvester.

James Foster, of Philadelphia, in 1842, invented an apparatus for managing sales. Robert Benjamin Lewis, in Maine, in 1802, invented a machine for picking oakum.

Granville T. Woods, from 1884 to 1910, made various improvements in telegraph, electric railways and the phonograph. Several of his inventions are used by the General Electric Company and the American Bell Telephone Company.

Elijah McCoy of Detroit, in 1872, was granted 57 patents, chiefly on lubricating appliances of engines, many of which were used on the Canadian Northwestern Railroad and in steamships.

Jan E. Matzeliger, in 1842, invented a machine for



Dr. George Washington Carver, eminent scientist, working in his laboratory at Tuskegee Institute

attaching soles to shoes. The United Shoe Company bought this patent.

George Washington Carver, born a slave in Missouri in 1864, has found, through his agricultural research, over one hundred products from the sweet potato, nearly as many from the pecan, and at least one hundred and fifty from the peanut. He has also developed blacking for shoes, all kinds of oils, base materials for mats, covers, cloth, and many other articles which are useful and usable. He is one of the greatest scientists in the world.

Charles Henry Turner (1867-1923) was a neurologist and a pioneer in the field of biology. He discovered new information regarding the life of the bee and of ants.

Ernest Everett Just, in the field of biology, has contributed to our knowledge of fertilization, artificial parthenogenesis and cell division.

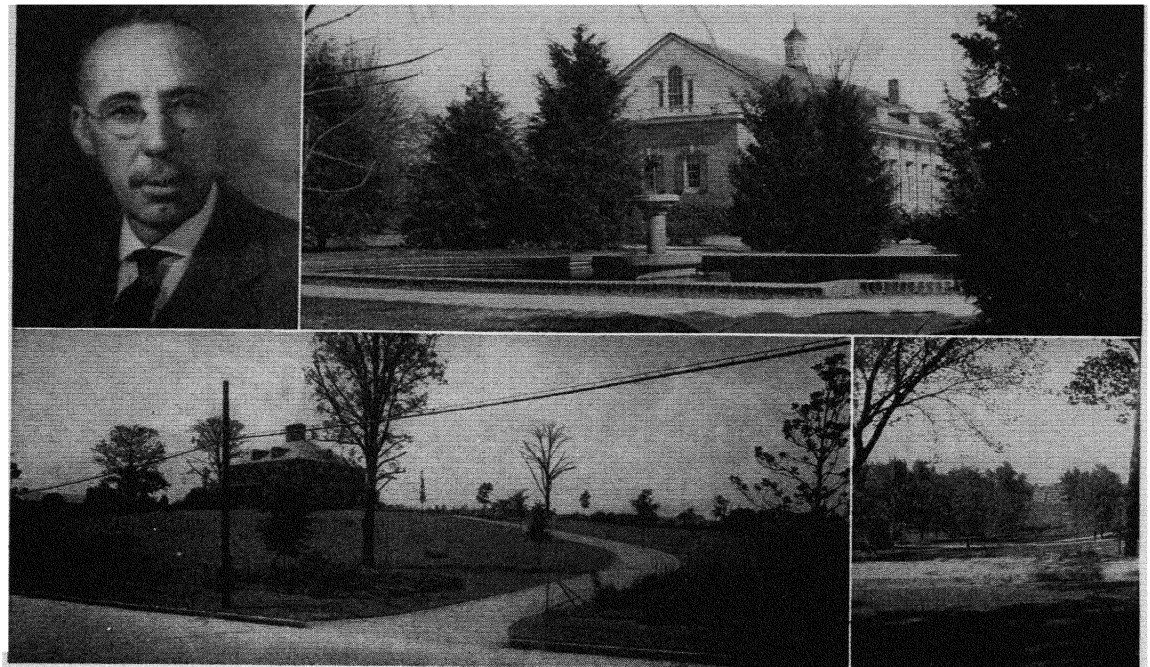
Elmer S. Imes, in the field of physics, has contributed to our knowledge of infrared absorption bands.

James A. Parson, of Dayton, Ohio, has contributed to the field of aluminum bronze, making his contribution through the resources of the Aluminum Bronze Foundation.

Archie A. Alexander, of Des Moines, Iowa, has contributed to the field of engineering, by his skill in building bridges, installing sewers and designing engineering materials.

David A. Williston has contributed to the field of landscape architecture. He has engineered the work at the Veterans' Hospital, Tuskegee, Alabama, Atlanta University, Tuskegee Institute, Howard University, A. and I. State College, Nashville, Tennessee, and the Langston Terrace in Washington, D. C. His knowledge of plant life and soils has made his work outstanding.

Hilyard Robinson, Washington, D. C., was trained



Inset—David A. Williston, landscape architect. Top—Scene of Veterans Hospital, Tuskegee Institute. Bottom—Left—Landscaping of president's home, Atlanta University. Bottom—Right—Landscape view at Tuskegee Institute

at the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Arts, Philadelphia; University of Pennsylvania; School of Architecture, Columbia University; University of Berlin, Germany, and traveled and studied housing and city planning in Europe for thirteen months. He is the chief architect for the Langston Public Works, a $1,800,000 project in Washington, D. C.; architect for the $500,000 men's dormitory at Howard University, and is consulting architect to the United States Housing Authority.

The Langston project was declared by the director of the Housing Division to be one of the best of the fifty-one P.W.A. housing projects. An article was carried in the April 30 issue of the *New Yorker* by critic Lewis Mumford praising the architecture and the merits of the sculpture as follows: "The use of sculpture against the flat walls of the building is more conspicuously successful here than anywhere else I can recall; from the photographs, it looks better than the best modern work in Hamburg (Germany) or Vienna (Austria) that I can recall."

Paul R. Williams, Los Angeles, California, was trained at Los Angeles Polytechnic High School and the University of Southern California. He is one of the most outstanding architects in Southern California. It is said that he was advised by his teachers not to study architecture and was failed in some of his subjects, but the record is different now. He is a consultant for the Housing Commission, and has designed homes for Will Hayes, Grace Moore, Sally Eilers, E. L. Cord, Jay Paley, and Zasu Pitts. His most recent work is the Saks Fifth Avenue Store in Beverly Hills.

In the early years of the last century (in 1796) James Derham, of New Orleans, became the first Negro physician. A. T. Augusta was the first Negro surgeon in the army. Daniel Hale Williams, from 1859-1931, be-



Top—Left to Right—(1) and (4) Architectural design by Paul Williams. (2) Paul Williams, architect. (3) Hilyard Robinson, architect. Bottom—Langston Terrace, $1,800,000 Washington Negro housing project designed by Hilyard Robinson

came a member of the Illinois State Board of Health and led the way for the establishment of Provident Hospital. He became famous for his successful operations on the human heart.

Samuel Carter Fuller, a graduate from Boston University, became famous as a pathologist and neurologist.

William A. Hinton, a medical graduate of Harvard, became famous for his treatment of syphilis. He is a pathologist and director of research in the Boston Dispensary.

Julian H. Lewis, associate professor of Pathology at the University of Chicago, has done great work in the field of immunity.

Theodore K. Lawless, a fellow in dermatology at Northwestern University School of Medicine, is doing fine work and making a contribution.

Dr. John H. Hale, chief surgeon of Meharry Medical College, has performed thousands of successful operations and is regarded as one of the great surgeons of this day.

The number of Negroes who have contributed to American culture through their genius extends into the hundreds. It is necessary to show only these few, so that Negro youth, as well as white youth, may become convinced that what America wishes is goods and services, and that, when you are able to provide them, the door is open to you.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF NEGROES

Educational Achievements. It is hard to select from among the many, those Negroes who have achieved most in the field of education. Among them are found doctors of philosophy, members of Who's Who in America, of Phi Beta Kappa and of other formal measures of worth. Hence, it is necessary to mention

only a few names that stand out conspicuously. Among these prominent educators are Booker T. Washington, for his industrial education philosophy; William Jasper Hale, for his genius in functional education as applied to present living; and Charles S. Johnson, for his scholarly researches in the field of social life.

Religious Achievements. Richard Allen achieved greatly in founding the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

James Varick founded the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

Joseph Willis and Andrew Bryan, organized the Baptist Church.

William H. Miles and Richard Wanderhoust organized the Colored Methodist Church.

Negro Discoverers and Explorers. Nuflo De Olano aided Balboa in the discovery of the Pacific Ocean, and was among the first Negro discoverers and explorers.

Stephen Dorantes discovered Arizona and New Mexico.

Matthew Henson went with Commodore Peary to the North Pole.

Paul Cuffee carried the first Negroes back to Africa in his own ships.

Achievement in Military Affairs. Four Negroes have graduated from West Point: Henry O. Flipper, 1877; John H. Alexander, 1887; Charles E. Young, 1889; and Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., in 1936.

Crispus Attucks was the first man to shed his blood for American freedom.

Salem Poor was a hero at Bunker Hill.

Peter Salem was the hero who stopped Major Pitcairn in the Revolutionary War.

In the War of 1812, Andrew Jackson lauded the Negro soldier at New Orleans.

In the Spanish-American War, Negroes saved the day on El Carney and San Juan Hill.

In the World War, four hundred thousand Negroes risked their lives in France and hundreds received honors and decorations.

Achievement in Fraternal Organizations. Prince Hall organized the Negro Masonic Lodge in 1784, and Peter Ogden organized the Negro Odd Fellows in 1843. To date, there are over sixty secret Negro organizations besides the fraternities and sororities.

Achievements in Politics. The following is a list of Negroes who have achieved national recognition for their able political activities and leadership:

Blanche K. Bruce—Senator from Mississippi.

Hiram R. Revels—Senator from Mississippi.

Oscar De Priest and Arthur W. Mitchell, Congressmen, since reconstruction.

Twenty-one Negroes have served as Congressmen.

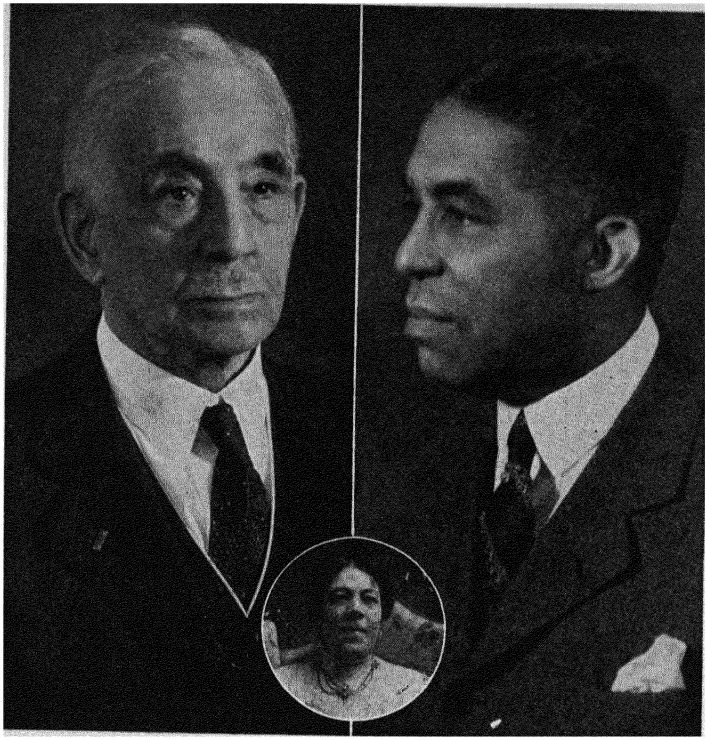
William H. Hastie is federal judge in the Virgin Islands.

Lester Walton is consul to Liberia, Africa. ✓

James Carroll Napier, was register of the treasury 1912-1916.

Mary McLeod Bethune, founder and president of Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida, awarded the Spingarn medal because "In the face of almost insuperable difficulties has, almost single-handedly, established and built up this school." At present she is director of the National Youth Administration and personal advisor to the President of the United States. Mrs. Bethune is making a distinct achievement in making Negro womanhood heard and respected throughout America, besides helping thousands of Negro boys and girls.

Dr. Ambrose Caliver, is senior specialist in Negro education in the Department of the Interior, Washing-



Left—James Carroll Napier, born June 9, 1845; attended First Colored School in Nashville, Tennessee; attended Wilberforce University, 1856-1860; attended Oberlin College, 1863-1867; graduated Howard University, 1869-1872, B.LL.; admitted to the Bar, Nashville, Tennessee, 1872; Deputy Collector and Gauger, U. S. Internal Revenue, 1872-1876; Married (Inset)—Nettie Langston, October 2, 1878; Register U. S. Treasury four years under President Taft and President Wilson; member Nashville City Council, 1902; organized Citizens Savings Bank and Trust Co., Nashville, Tenn., 1903; Trustee Howard University; Trustee Fisk University; Trustee Meharry Medical College. Right—Dr. John Henry Hale, M.D., born Estill Springs, Tennessee, June 5, 1885; attended local schools, Central Tennessee College; graduated Walden College, B.A., 1901; graduated Meharry Medical College, M.D., 1905; Professor of Histology, Professor of Clinical Medicine and Professor of Surgery, 1905-1938; Chief Department of Surgery and Chairman of the Hospital Committee, Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn.; organized and sole owner Millie Hale Hospital, 1917-1938; Past President, Volunteer State Medical Association; Past President, R. F. Boyd Medical Association; Past President, National Medical Association; Medical Director, Tennessee A. and I. State College, 1911; one of the three honored by N. M. A., 1938, for outstanding work; has performed over 17,000 operations

ton, D. C. He is a graduate of Knoxville College and of the University of Wisconsin, and holds the doctorate degree from Columbia University. He has made a distinct contribution to education by his research work in the field of Negro education.

Achievement of the Negro in the Arts.

Phillis Wheatley—first poetess and classical writer.

Francis Harper—whose poetry expressed the desire of freedom.

George M. Horton—wrote poetry.

Paul Laurence Dunbar—greatest poet of folklore.

Claude McKay—greatest writer of candid character of the Negro.

Countee Cullen—vivid writer of poetic realism.

William Stanley Braithwaite—literary critic.

James Weldon Johnson

James Weldon Johnson was born at Jacksonville, Florida, June 17, 1871, attended the public schools of Jacksonville, then graduated from Atlanta University with a B.A. degree in 1894. He studied at Columbia University, N. Y., for three years, and received many honorary degrees. In 1899, he came to New York and with his brother, J. Rosamond Johnson, wrote many musical plays and light operas. Popular songs among them were, "Under the Bamboo Tree," "Congo Love Song," "Maiden with the Dreamy Eyes," "O, Don't He Ramble."

He later was consul to Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, and Corinto, Nicaragua. In 1914, he joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at which he worked for fourteen years. Later he was visiting professor at New York University, New York, and professor of creative literature at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. In February, 1928, he received the Harmon Gold Award in Literature, in Ford Hall, Boston, Massachusetts, and the Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement.



James Weldon Johnson, born June 17, 1871; died June 26, 1938; writer, poet, diplomat, educator

Among his best writings are: *Along This Way, God's Trombone, The Book of American Negro Spirituals, Black Manhattan, The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man, Saint Peter Relates an Incident, Negro Americans, What Now? English Libretto of the Grand Opera, Goyescas, Self-Determining Haiti,* and *Native African Races and Culture.*

On June 26, 1938, accompanied by his wife, Grace Nail Johnson, he met his tragic death in Maine in a car collision.

William E. B. DuBois—writer of interracial activities, sociology and history.

Sterling Brown—poet of distinction.

Zora Hurston—writer of Negro life.

George W. Williams—writer of the history of Negroes.

Frederick Douglass—great abolitionist, orator and writer.
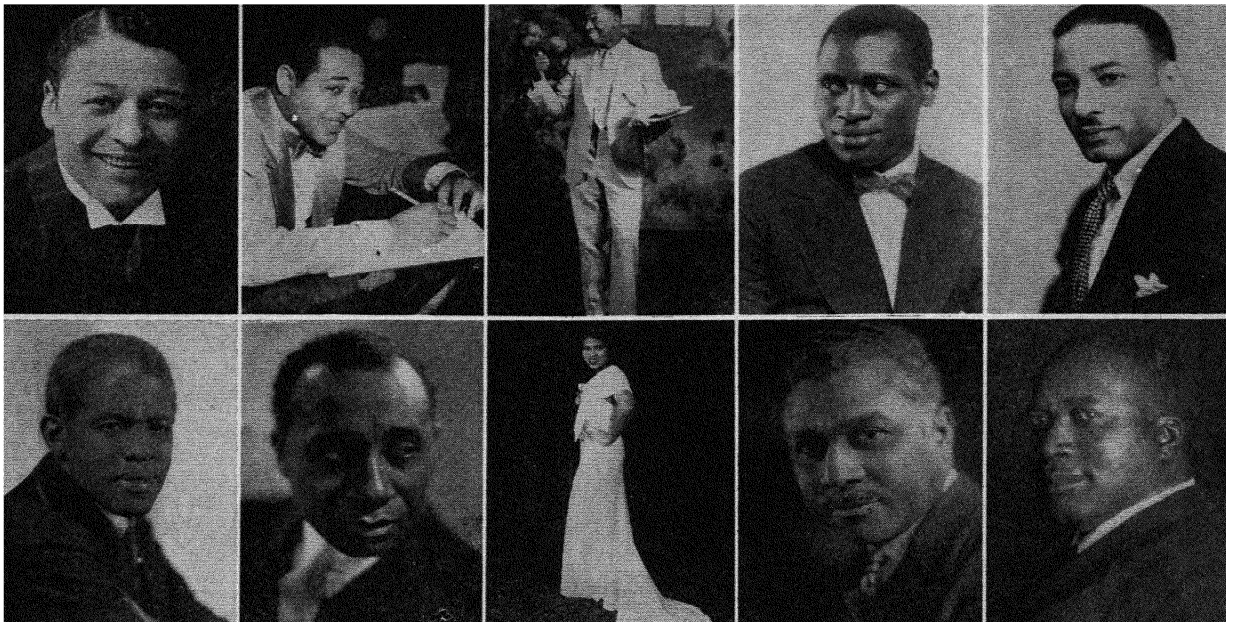
Booker T. Washington—writer, orator and educator.

Each of the above named has contributed his unique offering to the molding of American art. Each has made a distinct contribution by his display of proficiency in poetry and literature, writing and speaking and by making records of the remarkable progress of the Negro. Experiences from the time of slavery have been recorded in both dialect and approved literary form by these great exponents of the skill of the Negro artist.

Music. Ever making progress and developing his musical abilities, the Negro has included in the list of his famous musicians, both singers and instrumentalists, the following:

Fisk Jubilee singers—Negro spirituals.

Roland Hayes—tenor singer.



Top—Left to Right—(1) (Healy) "Bert" Williams, comedian. (2) (Ewing Galloway) Duke Ellington, orchestra. (3) (Wide World) Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, tap dancer. (4) (Wide World) Paul Robeson, actor, singer. (5) (Acme) William L. Dawson, composer. Bottom—Left to Right—(1) (N. Y. Times) Roland Hayes, tenor. (2) R. Nathaniel Dett, composer. (3) (Ewing Galloway) Marian Anderson, contralto. (4) Clarence Cameron White, violinist. (5) James A. Myers, Fisk Jubilee Singers

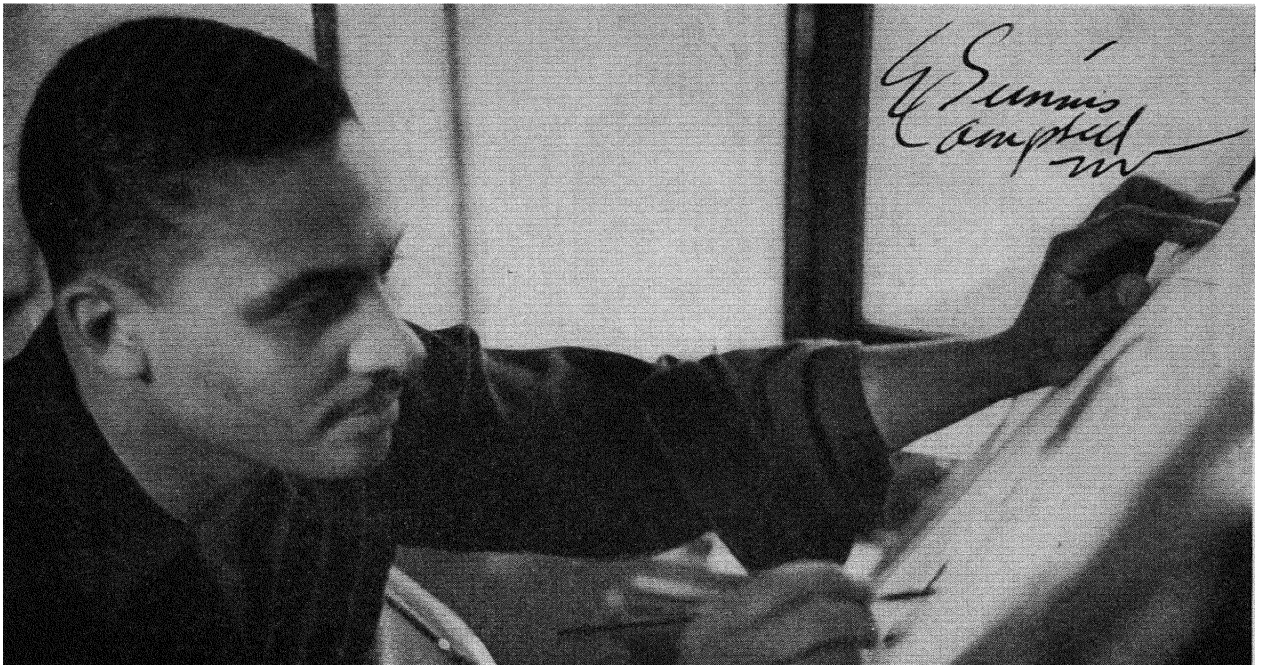
Florence Cole—Tolbert McCleaves—lyric soprano.
Marian Anderson—internationally known contralto.
Paul Robeson—baritone.
William Handy—composer.
Harry T. Burleigh—composer.
Clarence C. White—violinist.
R. Nathaniel Dett—composer and writer.
William H. Dawson—composer of a symphony.
Marie Brooks Strange—pianist.
Hazel Harrison—pianist.
La Julia Rhea—only Negro to appear with Chicago Grand Opera.
Cornella Lampton—pianist, Chicago Symphony Orchestra.
Helen Hagen—pianist.
Shirley Graham—Opera writer—"Tom-Tom."
✔ William Grant Still was selected from among the leading composers of America to write the music for the World's Fair to be held in New York City in 1939.

As you can see from the list, Negroes have become composers of music and authors of symphonies and operas.

Popular Music has become a field of new endeavor for the Negro. He has developed a distinctive style and rhythmical technique which has won for him great praise and acclaim. In the following list are composers of popular music who are internationally known and lauded:

William C. Handy of Memphis, Tennessee, is the originator of "the blues." He is a composer and publisher of music in New York City.

Noble Sissle—whose orchestra has played in Europe.
Fletcher Henderson—popular broadcasting orchestra leader.
Duke Ellington—orchestra leader and composer of over 100 songs.



E. Simms Campbell, cartoonist for "Esquire," "Ken," and other publications

Cab Calloway—popular orchestra leader.

Jimmie Lunceford—popular orchestra leader.

James Reese Europe—great band leader.

Dramatics. The Negro by nature is an imaginative and emotional person. These qualities have been successfully portrayed by the parts the Negro has played in the field of dramatics. Among the great Negro dramatists are found:

Ira Aldridge who played Othello in 1833.

Charles Gilpin—in "Emperor Jones."

Paul Robeson—in "Show Boat," and "Sanders of the River," and Othello.

Richard B. Harrison—"De Lawd" in the Green Pastures.

Louise Beavers—movie actress.

Clarence Muse—movie actor.

Bill "Bojangles" Robinson—tap dancer and movie actor.

Ethel Waters—popular singer.

Stepin Fetchit—comic movie actor.

Painters, Sculptors, Muralists, Cartoonists. It will be noted that the Negro's greatest artistic contributions have been made in music and drama. However, Negroes are gaining greater recognition and acclaim as painters, sculptors, muralists and cartoonists. No record of achievement in these fields would be complete without the following:

Henry O. Tanner—painter of religious subjects, such as, "Moses and the Burning Bush."

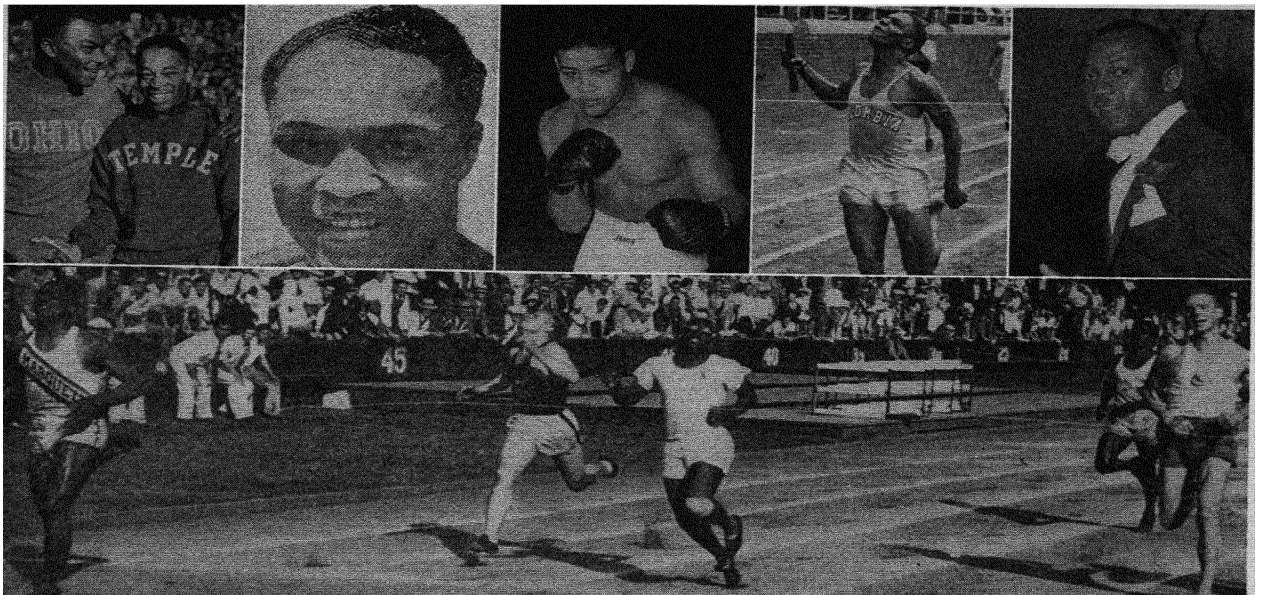
Hale Woodruff—painter of note.

Edmonia Lewis—sculptor.

Augusta Savage—sculptor.

Aaron Douglass—muralist and painter.

E. Simms Campbell—cartoonist for *Esquire,* a leading magazine.



Acme Photos

Top, Left to Right—(1) Dave Albritton, Ohio State; A. Threadgill, Temple. Both leaped 6 ft. 5 in., Penn Relays, April 24, 1937. (2) Henry Armstrong, the only man who has ever held three world championships at the same time—Welterweight, Lightweight and Featherweight. (3) Joe Louis, World's Heavyweight Champion. (4) Ben Johnson, Columbia University, N. Y., the nation's greatest Sprinter. Seen winning at Penn Relays, April 29, 1938. (5) Jesse Owens, Ohio State University runner, three "Firsts," Olympic Games, Berlin, Germany—the fastest runner in the world.

Bottom, Left to Right—Ralph Metcalf, Marquette University, winner 200 meter race, American Olympic try-outs, Palo Alto, California, July 26, 1932. Bob Kiesel, California, 4th; Eddie Tolan, Detroit, 2nd; James Johnson, Illinois State Normal, 6th; Hec Dyer, Los Angeles A. C., 5th; and George Simpson, Ohio State, 3rd. Metcalf's time, 21.5-5. Olympic record

Sports. Physical strength and endurance, together with litheness and swiftness of action, have won a place for the Negro in the world of sports. Boxing has been chosen by many, but splendid showings have been made in other sports. Some Negroes who are contributing to the field of sports are:

Joe Louis—heavyweight champion of the world, 1938.

John Henry Lewis—light heavyweight champion, 1938.

Henry Armstrong—the only man who has ever held three world championships at the same time. He is the world's welter-weight (147 lbs.), 1938; world's light-weight (133 lbs.), 1938; and world's feather-weight (122 lbs.), 1938.

Jesse Owens—winner of three Olympic races in Germany in 1936.

Ralph Metcalf, Ben Johnson, Eddie Tolan and many others have won honors on the track.

Newspapers and Periodicals. In 1827, John Russwurm and Samuel Cornish started the *Freedom's Journal.* Later, Frederick Douglas and Robert T. Greener started the *New National Era.* In 1848, the *Christian Recorder* was started as the official organ of the A. M. E. Church. From that time to the present, there have been nearly two hundred thirty publications issued by Negroes. Those that are outstanding include the *Chicago Defender,* which has been issued over twenty-five years under the magnetic leadership of Robert S. Abbott of Georgia. This paper has an international circulation and has always championed the cause of the Negro.

The *Pittsburg Courier* has been published continuously for over twenty years. It has at its head Robert S. Vann, a lawyer and political leader for years, and



Top, Left to Right—Robert S. Abbott, founder and owner "Chicago Defender"; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, eminent sociologist. Middle, Left to Right—Arthur W. Mitchell (Acme Photo), Member of Congress, Illinois; Robert S. Vaun (Acme Photo), founder and editor "Pittsburg Courier." Bottom, Left to Right—Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois (Wide World Photos, Inc.), editor-writer; Matthew Henson (Culver Service), went to the north pole with Peary, 1909

enjoys one of the widest circulations of Negro papers in America.

The *Afro-American,* edited by Carl Murphy, has a wide circulation, as has the *Norfolk-Journal and Guide,* edited by P. B. Young, which has a national distribution.

Of the many magazines published, the *Crisis* and *Opportunity* are the best known and have a wider spread popularity. In the last few years, colleges and schools have been publishing a great number of scholarly magazines.

Thomas Monroe Campbell, born in Georgia, graduated from Tuskegee Institute under Dr. B. T. Washington by working his way through college. He was appointed the first Negro extension agent of the Federal government and operated the first movable school. He received the Harmon Award and $400 for his outstanding achievement in 1930.

Monroe Nathan Work was born April, 1866, Iredell County, North Carolina; educated at Chicago Theological Seminary and University of Chicago. He taught at Georgia State College and was director of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute. He is the author of the *Negro Year Book, Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America,* and many other works.

James A. Atkins, graduate of University of Colorado, is specialist in Negro Education for the Works Progress Administration. He is doing much to wipe out illiteracy among the adult Negroes and to adjust many to a normal way of life.

Carter Goodwin Woodson, founder and director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, is making a distinct contribution in collecting and publishing records of the Negro in America. He is the author of *The Negro in Our History, The Story*

of the Negro Retold, Negro Makers of History, Negro Orators and Their Orations, and a score of others.

James A. Rogers, of New York City, is making a distinct contribution in collecting material about Negroes from all parts of the world. He has written *From Superman to Man, World's Greatest Men and Women of African Descent,* and is now writing a biography of Negroes.

Dr. Charles S. Thompson, Professor of Education, Howard University, Washington, D. C., is the editor of one of the few scholarly publications in America—*The Journal of Negro Education.*

Carlton B. Goodlett, born 1915, graduated from the University of California, with a doctor of philosophy degree, June, 1938, at the age of 23. He was director of race relations at the International House, a research assistant in the Institute of Child Welfare, and student instructor in psychology. His thesis was "A Comparative Study of Adolescent Interests in Two Socio-Economic Groups." He is a member of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity.

Thomas Lewis, 19 Calender Street, Providence, Rhode Island, designs and makes the compact cases as well as perfume bottles for Richard Hudnut Company. He has been a jewelry manufacturer for 26 years. He employs up to 60 people from time to time. The Woolworth Company, as well as many other firms, uses his products. He works in glass, platinum, gold, silver and other metals.

John H. Shuford, a graduate of Livingstone College, and the Yale School of Engineering, is the owner and operator of the National Welding Company, 92 Dixwell Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut. He employs nine engineers and does business with the City of New Haven, General Electric Company, American Telephone and Telegraph Company and the Lincoln-

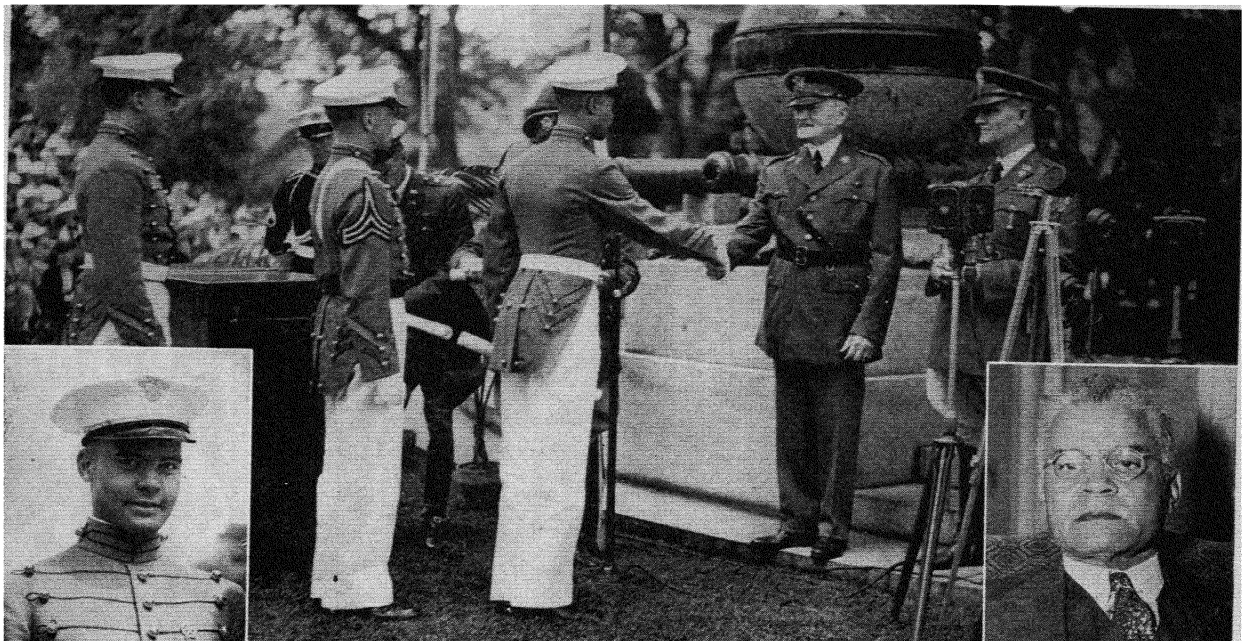
Webster Engineering Company. His business extends to all the Northeastern parts of the United States. He has been in business for twenty-seven years.

Isaac Hathaway, head of the Division of Art and Ceramics, Tuskegee Institute, has gained distinction in sculpture. He has done outstanding work in bronze, clay, and metals. He worked for many years at Lexington, Kentucky, and in Arkansas.

Carson Gulley, born in Alabama, has gained national recognition as a chef. He is a recognized artist with meats and soups. He is principal chef at the University of Wisconsin cafeteria, and teaches at Tuskegee Institute.

Benjamin O. Davis, born in Washington, D. C., sixty years ago, attended the public schools of Washington, D. C., joined the army at eighteen years of age and worked his way up to the highest ranking Negro officer—Colonel of the Tenth Cavalry. He distinguished himself by fighting the Indians in the West. He was made Lieutenant Colonel of the Cavalry in the Philippine Islands, and taught military tactics at Wilberforce University, and Tuskegee Institute. He was made commanding officer of the famous 369th Regiment of New York in August, 1938. The notable record of this Negro officer is a record of achievements of worth.

The National Association of Colored Women with Mrs. Jennie D. Moton, Capahosic, Virginia, National president; Mrs. Sallie W. Stewart, Evansville, Indiana, secretary, was organized in 1896, and is national in scope. This organization throws its weight to all movements for the advancement of the Negro. The Frederick Douglass Home is sponsored by this Association. Mrs. J. C. Napier of Nashville, Tennessee, has been the national treasurer. Mrs. S. J. Brown, of Iowa, Miss Nannie Burroughs, Mrs. Terrell, Mrs. E.



(International News Photo) Lt. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., receiving his diploma from General John J. Pershing, June 2, 1936.
Insets—*(International News Photo) Lieutenant Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. (Acme) Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, highest ranking Negro officer, colonel of the 369th Infantry, N. Y.*

Lawton, Mrs. A. Hunton, and many others are some of the leaders of this organization.

John Butler, born in Elizabeth City, North Carolina, graduated from Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina. He was appointed supervisor of all the schools of Isabelle province, Philippine Islands and has served since 1903 to the present. He is the author of a text-book used in all the schools of the Philippines. Over 30,000 copies of this book are sold annually.

Damon Lee, 1728 27th Avenue, North, Homewood, Birmingham, Alabama, started with $250.00 capital 50 years ago and is now the owner of 68 houses, one grocery store, rents two filling stations—one to Gulf and the other to Standard; owns a coal yard and is regarded as one of the leading citizens of Alabama.

Ira T. Bryant, born October 14, 1878, at Selma, Alabama, was graduated from the A. & M. College, Huntsville, Alabama, and studied law at Harvard University. In 1908, he was elected secretary-treasurer of the Sunday School Union at the General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1914, he consummated a deal for the property at 8th Avenue, South, and Lea Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee. The modern John Avery Apartment, the Bryant Hotel and printing plant are valued at half a million dollars. He has been in this one position for thirty years.

Henry Allen Boyd, Secretary of the National Baptist Publishing Board which was founded by his father, R. H. Boyd, thirty years ago, publishes over 17,000,000 pieces of literature, and distributes them throughout the world. He employs hundreds of Negroes in his publishing plant at Nashville, Tennessee.

Arthur M. Townsend, Secretary of the Sunday School Publishing Board of the National Baptist Convention Incorporated, of which L. K. Williams is the

president, prints millions of pieces of Christian literature. He employs hundreds of Negroes in his printing plant at Nashville, Tennessee. W. D. Allimono, a Negro certified public accountant, is the general manager.

The Baptist Young Peoples Union Publishing Board, headed by E. W. D. Isaac, Jr., employs many Negro people and distributes thousands of pieces of literature.

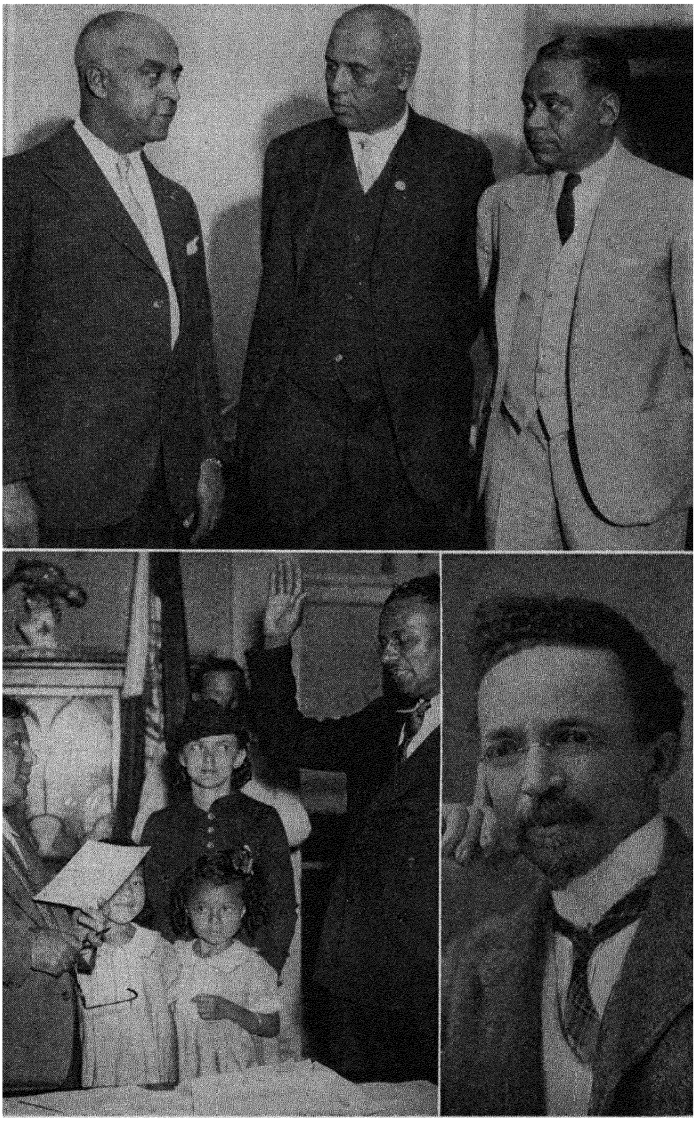
The Colored Methodist Episcopal Publishing Board has a large plant at Jackson, Tennessee. They employ hundreds of Negroes in their plant and distribute thousands of pieces of literature. Dr. Porter M. Doyle is the educational director.

Moses McKissack and Calvin McKissack, Negro architects and contractors, have built more churches than any other Negro firm in America. They have offices in Nashville, Tennessee.

Truman K. Gibson, born in Georgia, but entering the insurance business and moving to Chicago, was awarded the Harmon Award in 1929, for pioneer work in Negro insurance organization and administration.

John C. Claybrook, Proctor, Arkansas, was recipient of the Harmon Award in 1929 for developing a large plantation and lumber business. He never had a day of schooling.

Charles Clinton Spaulding was born August 1, 1874, at Clarkton, North Carolina. He was educated in the local schools and Shaw University. He helped organize the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company and has been its president since 1923. He is president of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, since January 12, 1922. The standing of Mr. Spaulding is due to the fact that he has made all of his business ventures successful. He is president of the Bankers Fire Insurance Company,



Top, Left to Right—(Photo by Acme) (1) Dr. William J. Thompkins, Kansas City, Mo., recorder of deeds. (2) Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, Columbus, Ohio, former Minister to Liberia. (3) Attorney Julian D. Rainey, assistant corporation counsel, Boston, Mass. Bottom, Left to Right—(Acme) Mayor F. H. La Guardia swearing in Myles Paige as magistrate, New York City. (2) Henry Ossawa Tanner, painter (Photo by Culver Service)

which is the only Negro fire insurance company in America. He received the Harmon Award and $400 in 1926 for his outstanding achievements.

Arthur Alfonso Schomburg was born January 24, 1874, San Juan, Puerto Rico. He was educated at St. Thomas College, Danish West Indies. He came to the United States on April 17, 1891 and was one of the founders and the secretary of the Negro Society for Historical Research. He edited the poems of Phillis Wheatley. He was best known by his extensive book collecting and assembled the rarest private collection of Africana and of Negro Americana in America. His collection was purchased by the New York Public Library in January, 1927. At the time of his death, in 1938, he was employed by the city of New York as a bibliographer.

Dr. David A. Wyke, a Negro, is a graduate of the University of Toronto in medicine. While in college, he won a gold medal in oratory. He is regarded as one of the best doctors of internal medicines in the dominion. He has a lucrative practice among all races.

A. Phillip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, has waged a relentless fight for the economic advancement of thousands of Sleeping Car Railroad employees.

Robert E. Clay, Bristol, Tennessee, was a companion of B. T. Washington for several years, after which he became a representative of the State Department of Education of the State of Tennessee, State Rosenwald agent and now developer of Education. He probably has helped to build more Rosenwald schools for Negroes than any other agent.

CHAPTER XII

THE OUTLOOK—A SUMMARY OF WHAT IS TRUE UP TO NOW, AND A GLIMPSE AT FUTURE TRENDS

Theories of Solution. This is the most difficult part of our attempt to trace the Negro through American History. It is easy to go to the sources and find facts and write them down. It is much easier to ignore the facts and evade the issues. None of these paths has been chosen. It is our purpose still to stick to the facts, although we come near to the time in which we live and yet we know that the passage of time is important to judge whether anything is valid and true.

There are a great number of people who think that the two races should always remain separate, each developing its own culture and without intermixing, but using the best of both groups for the benefit of all. This theory is called Parallelism. The argument against it is that the unification of control from one source tends to make the culture of all Americans alike.

Another theory is for the two races to amalgamate. This view is objectionable to both sides, because each is proud of its own inherent qualities.

The interracial co-operation groups hold that, while it is true that all strata of our population tend to co-operate interracially, it would be better for the higher strata to come together and agree on a workable plan of mutual respect. The Fusionists hold to about the same theories as do the Amalgamationists. They would not question the natural selection of all groups

and they advocate that the quicker we quit meddling with peoples' tastes and desires, the quicker will friction and misunderstanding pass.

The caste system advocates believe that one race is destined to be subservient to the other; that one group is not endowed with the native ability to be on a par with the other. This theory has been proven to be false, because where the two races have similar environmental conditions they tend to have the same reactions.

The groups of people who feel that the only way out of the Negro-white relationship is to send all Negroes out of the country, have found that this idea also is unworkable. This plan has been tried ever since America has been a nation, and has failed each time.

The people who believe in passive resistance are extreme religionists. They hold to the theory that, if you are smitten on one cheek, you should turn the other, you should take the injustices and humiliations of the other group, because they know not what they do. The people who advocate violence, physical force and striking back, forget that the Negro is only one-tenth of the total population and that to resort to this theory is to bring self-destruction upon the Negroes as well as to incur the enmity and hate of the other group.

The scatter-theory people advocate that prejudice and race friction tend to be equal. It is true that the presence of a large number of Negroes causes racial barriers to be erected and to become more fixed and rigid. These people hold that the Negro should be thinly scattered out in all parts of the United States, so that each community could share in the burden of this development. The records show that Negroes, to the contrary, have made more progress when they have been close to each other and to the whites.

It is not our purpose to evaluate any of these theories

—we leave all of them to the best thinking of the American people. Most of them have a point. None of them is absolute. It may be hoped that the future will develop an absolute solution for this great American problem, but this consummation seems doubtful.

HOW THE PICTURE LOOKS

In Education. There are more schools of all kinds for Negroes than ever before. Thousands are graduated on various levels each year. The educated are holding responsible places throughout America. The Negro can secure a liberal, technical, professional or scientific education, if he only desires it and works for it. The South has almost impoverished itself by supporting separate schools. The Federal government has tried to distribute its aid equitably. The trend of the times is definitely toward the fact that America is anxious that all its citizens be enlightened.

Politics. There is no doubt that most Negroes will agree that the reconstruction program of Congress was entirely wrong. It not only sowed the seeds of resentment and abuse in the minds of the whites, but it also embedded in the minds of the Negroes the wrong conception of the duties and rights of a citizen. While all the prohibitive measures have been undemocratic and harsh, nevertheless, the Negro is fast becoming an enlightened citizen. As he increases his favorable economic conditions and social standing, his political participation will increase. The two major political parties bid for his affiliation. There is still in places some contention over the right of the Negro to vote. The Socialist and the Communist are making an open bid for his vote, but his political freedom remains with the two dominant parties. The Negro fills many positions in the federal government. He has some munici-

pal and county jobs in the North, but in the South he is practically closed out of all county and municipal government work.

Social. The most perplexing problem of the interracial relationship is the social one. The idea of according the Negro his rightful place socially has been contested bitterly. It is unfortunate that the best thinking whites cannot see that there is a difference in the Negroes. Why should Dr. Carver or Booker T. Washington have to submit to the same humiliations as attend a Negro who has not made any contribution? The only answer is that all Negroes are alike. Those who hold this view believe it, because they do not know the Negro. It is hoped that America will look deeper than the skin of a person before it evaluates his worth.

Jim Crowism, lynching, discrimination are gradually passing, but in doing so, they take their toll of bitterness. For the Negro now there are many more facilities for recreation and play. For them parks are being built, their places of amusement are better supervised, social case work is doing much to bring the condition of the Negroes to the light and help to solve their problems.

The Low-rent Housing and Subsistence Homesteads, with the aid of the federal government, are doing much to raise the social status of the Negro.

Crime, disease and poverty are so closely related that it makes one shudder when one looks about and sees the lack of interest taken in these conditions. Our jails and detention institutions will always be filled, so long as nothing is done to eradicate poverty, disease and crime.

Religion. Nearly half of the Negro population are communicants in some church. There seems to be a widening gap between what a church member believes and what he does. It seems that, with the rise of

new cults that are making an attack on the church for its lack of power to cure the spiritual ills of the Negro, the church would improve its technique and bring the people back into its fold. It is the Christian religion that has brought us the spiritual values that are precious to us. It would be the task of the church to interpret Christianity with a vitality which will quicken men's souls or otherwise the church will lose ground.

Economics. In 1936, it is estimated, on the basis of tax returns, that, in spite of the depression, Negroes in the United States owned some 20,000,000 acres of land, or 31,000 square miles. This is an area about equal to the five New England states, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island. In spite of this land holding, there were 700,918 tenants in 1930 as compared with 1,744 in 1900. It appears that there is a greater number of Negroes on relief in proportion to their population than is true of the whites. In May, 1935, of the 18,000,000 persons on relief, 3,000,000 were Negroes. Approximately one-fourth of the Negroes and only one-seventh of the whites are on relief. The reason for this difference is that Negroes are largely concentrated in those economic groups which have contributed heavily to the rolls of unemployment such as unskilled labor and domestic service workers. Some of the reasons for this condition are racial discriminations in lay-offs and reemployment, the Negro being the first fired and the last hired; the displacement of Negro laborers by whites; the crowding of him out of the cheap labor field; industrial color bans, and color bans in organized labor; and the technological displacement of all workers.

The future of the Negro does not look any brighter than that of the whites. If the truth were known, he is worse off economically than he was a few years ago.

The time has arrived when he will have to acquire economical skill and compete with all other laborers. There are no more traditional Negro jobs. He will have to shift for himself.

Organizations in the Field of Race Relations. To bring about better relationship between whites and colored persons several interracial organizations have been formed. They are:

1. Commission on Interracial Cooperation.
2. National Urban League.
3. The Commission of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.
4. The Interracial Department of the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association.
5. The Interracial Work of the Young Women's Christian Association.
6. The Society of Friends.
7. The Fellowship of Reconciliation.
8. The American Civil Liberties Union.
9. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
10. The International Labor Defense.

Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation was organized early in 1919 at the close of the great World War, to develop interracial understanding between the races. Three men are responsible for the organization, John J. Eagen, Dr. Will W. Alexander and M. Ashby Jones of Atlanta. To aid in the movement, the War Work Council of the Y.M.C.A. appropriated $75,000 which it placed in the hands of Dr. Will W. Alexander for the new interracial work. The membership is composed of ministers, business men, and educators of the South of both races. The work aided in abating riots among

returned Negro soldiers and whites. So succesful was its work that the leaders approved the continuance of it and branch offices were established in Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia. The movement is classed as a Southern movement that is sponsored by the white Southern group, despite the fact that most of the funds are provided by Northerners.

The philosophy of the movement is not that of "seeking to solve the race question" but simply that of taking the next step in the direction of interracial justice and good will.

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation uses the informative technique and personal contacts. Committees are formed and meet to discuss conditions, cultural and business achievements. Public addresses are made and informative literature is distributed to inform of the progress of the race. The Commission is directed by Southern leaders among whom are R. B. Eleazer, Jessie D. Ames and Arthur F. Raper.

The National Urban League. William H. Baldwin, Jr., president of the Long Island Railroad and president of the General Education Board, in 1906, called together men and women of both races to study problems of race relations, and the organization formed by these persons became known as "The Committee for Improving the Industrial Conditions of Negroes in New York City." The aims of the group were to organize Negro mechanics and assist in finding better positions.

In 1906, Miss Frances Keller called together men and women of both races who formed a committee called "The League for the Protection of Colored Women." The purpose of the committee was to find proper lodgings and jobs for Negro women and girls who went to New York City and Philadelphia for work, and to prevent the placing of newcomers in houses of prostitution.

In 1910, the organization became known as the "Committee on Urban Conditions among Negroes in the City of New York." In 1911, the three above mentioned organizations decided, for purposes of economy and efficiency to merge into a single organization to be known as "The National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes."

The national office is located in New York City, and there are 42 branch offices located in various important cities of the United States. The national staff consists of one executive secretary, Eugene Kinkle Jones, and 11 paid workers. In the 42 branches, there are 184 paid workers and 32 of the branch offices receive support from community chests. There are 25,000 persons who support or give their services to the league. The local and national branches consist of about 1,200. All boards except one are interracial.

The *Opportunity Magazine,* the official organ, publishes achievements especially concerning Negro economic life.

The League fights segregation, injustices and discrimination of certain types. One of the officers has said, "When we colored and white people, bonded together in our league, seek to better conditions among the Negroes of Harlem, or San Juan Hill, or Brooklyn, we seek also to make a better New York City for everybody to live in, and help in some measure toward a truer realization of the ideals of sound community living in our great republic."

The league uses the indirect method. Eugene Kinkle Jones, the executive secretary, said, "The Urban League is working to give Negroes a chance to use their talents and to win for themselves their rightful place in American life." Some projects initiated by the League are the Big Brothers, Big Sisters, visiting teachers in Harlem schools, parole officers, probation officers,

and colored internes in Harlem Hospital. The League is interested in the employment, housing and health conditions of Negroes.

The Commission on Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, in America. The Commission on Negro Churches and Race Relations, as an agency of the Federal Council of Churches, was organized on July 12, 1921, in Washington, D. C. Prior to that time, the committee on Negro Churches of the Federal Council of Churches had administered the work of the Negro churches and had promoted the cause of the race relations in the churches. This committee was organized by the Federal Council in 1908, and functioned until the organization of the commission on Race Relations. Prominent in the work of the committee from the beginning were Bishop George C. Clement of the A. M. E. Zion Church and Rev. John R. Hawkins of the A. M. E. Church. Two major conferences were held in the South, and these helped the church leaders to realize the responsibility of the church in solving the race problem. The first conference met in Blue Ridge, North Carolina, with some of the South's finest church leaders, who declared the church responsible for the solution of the race problem. The second conference, consisting of Southern women met in Memphis, Tennessee, in October, 1920. These women pledged to do something toward lifting the burden from the shoulders of Negro mothers and children. The committee on Negro Churches of the Federal Council, at its meetings in Boston, December, 1920, and in Washington, July 1921, incorporated the sentiments of these two conferences, and, as a result, the Commission on Negro Churches and Race Relations, later known as the Commission on Race Relations, was organized. Dr. George E. Haynes was elected executive secretary.

The council is interested in the artistic achievements of Negroes (Harmon Award), Northern lynchings, the Negro's economic life. It encourages local church federations to appoint interracial committees. Dr. Haynes says, "The Federal Council does not undertake to stereotype local interracial progress." It furnishes literature showing what is being done by the committee and federations in the cities, but does not dictate any program or policy to a local group.

He also gives three objectives of the council: (1) to remove old evils to be found in the interracial situation in America; (2) to prevent new evils from developing; (3) to integrate the Negro with American life. Its methods are educational, including the distribution of literature, the dissemination of facts concerning the Negro, his treatment in American life among churches; race relations on Sunday; the Harmon Awards; and the exhibition of Negro art in museums of large cities. It makes public a list of state lynchings each January, and publicizes praise to churches that are active in real racial matters.

The Interracial Department of the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association. In 1930, there were 71 cities and 140 student associations in the colored group (4,500 volunteer committeemen, 170 employed officers direct the work.). Colored men are members of all the governing boards of the organization and members of the international committee.

There is no national policy. Jay A. Urice says "the interracial trend of the National Council is: (1) to manifest a spirit that would make it seem an obligation on the part of local associations to foster good race relations; (2) to honor and broadcast good examples of race improvement or co-operation; (3) to practice the best types of race relations. The Y.M.C.A. will not hold its annual conference at a hotel unless it opens

all its privileges to the Negro delegates just as it does to the white delegates; (4) helps local leaders to be resourceful in meeting interracial situations. Publicity is given to the way local organizations meet and solve race problems; (5) local units are urged not to make issues of race practices unless it seems absolutely necessary. The council takes it for granted that race contacts are valid as long as the parties concerned are agreeable. If we made an issue of every new race development, we would not be nearly as far along as we are."

Its methods are social and personal contacts, platform speeches, forums, study classes, discussion groups and interracial banquets.

The Interracial Work of the Y.W.C.A. Prior to 1906, only four cities had any kind of a Y.W.C.A. program for colored women. By 1913, the demand came to national headquarters that work be carried on among Negro women and girls. Miss Eva D. Browler was made national secretary, with offices at National Headquarters in New York City.

By 1915, it was discovered that the colored work could not be administered from New York. Three white men, Thomas Jesse Jones, Arch Trawick and W. D. Weatherford, met with the women. Important items among the findings of this conference were: first, that the colored work be administered by a committee made up of Southern white and colored women; second, that trained leadership from the colored women be provided for the association; third, that colored student conferences be organized; and fourth, that in the cities the colored work be administered through branch relationship.

In the fall of 1932, the association completed the organization of its national offices on an interracial basis, shifting the colored secretaries in with the white

secretaries, according to the division represented. For direct interracial activity, the Y.W.C.A. was organized as follows:

1. The national student council has an interracial committee which meets monthly to talk over plans and methods of work along interracial lines in the association. This committee is composed of women members from both races.

2. The Council of Christian Association has a national interracial committee, which meets monthly and talks over the larger problems of race adjustment as they concern the two associations. This committee is the outgrowth of the conflict that arose over interracial matters at the Detroit Students-Faculty Conference in 1930, and is composed of men and women from both races.

3. One of the sub-committees of the Christian World Committee is a committee on interracial relations. This committee is also composed of both colored and white members.

Among its principles is the elimination of distinctions among the white and colored members of the organization. The national group will not meet where colored members are socially eliminated.

Its work is carried on through personal contact and group experience. It is more concerned with building interracial attitudes in its members than in dealing with conflicting situations. It encourages the contact of the two races in order to break down prejudices and to build friendly relations, but it only indirectly attacks the fundamental, political, economic and social problems of the race situation. Its program is evolutionary rather than revolutionary.

The Society of Friends. The Society of Friends began its work with the underground railroad movement during the days of slavery. After the Civil War,

schools were established for the education of Negroes by the Friends. The Committee on Race Relations of the Society is divided into four sub-committees:

1. Committee on Religious Life and Race Relations —Committee on Public Schools—Committee on Economic Opportunity—Committee on Social and Civic Justice.

2. The Race Relations Committee holds a general conference; and the six yearly meetings of liberal Friends. Their aim is to promote interracial relations toward enlightening the white world in regard to the Negro world. Rachel Davis Du Bois is the director.

3. The Race Relations Section of the Friends' Service Committee started during the World War to educate white friends by bringing together Southerners and Northerners to study race relations.

4. The American Interracial Peace Committee is to get colored people interested in peace movements; in the spirit of cooperation and an understanding of good will. Alice Dunbar-Nelson is the secretary of this division.

The purpose of the Society of Friends is to build friendship by personal contacts. It promotes parties and dinners between the two races. Educational progress is made through addresses, forums, seminars, and study groups to disseminate information concerning the races in America. Books, magazines and public meetings are also used. The Society fights injustice, discrimination and segregation. It stands for peace and harmony, and fights for the political, educational and economic rights of Negroes.

The Society used a direct informative procedure, evolutionary process, educational techniques and personal contacts.

The Friends work on the assumption that every privilege that is open to white people should be open

also to Negroes. The basic elements of their faith teach that all races are equal in every respect. On all the leading committees, colored and white people work together without discrimination. The influences of the Friends' Society has been felt strongly in the interracial movement.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation. The Fellowship of Reconciliation was originated in England during the World War by a group of Christian pacifists. Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin was an active leader of its beginning. In 1917, John Nevin Sayre and Bishop Paul Jones organized it in America and now there are organizations in England, Germany, France and the United States. The organization has a Department of Race Relations, Department of Industrial Relations, and Department of Relations with Latin America. The Fellowship stands for the Christian way of life rather than for definite organization.

Among its principles are refusal to participate in any war, or to sanction military preparations. The members work to abolish war and foster good will among nations, races and classes. They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life. They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrong-doers rather than inflict retributive punishment. They endeavor to show the results received for personality in the home, in the education of children, and in association with those of other classes, nationalities and races while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes. They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love. This organization seeks to invite into a spiritual fellowship all those who are willing to practice

the way of love unswervingly, at whatever cost, in all personal, social, industrial, national and international relations.

The Fellowship publishes literature to circulate its principles, for conventions and for all activities that help to realize the Christian way of life in social, political, industrial or international affairs. Its main aim is to interpret the Negro people of the South and the white people of the North.

Its methods are instruction, social training, promotion of student, church and school interracial forums, conferences, study groups and the circulation of literature of race relations.

The American Civil Liberties Union. The Union started in 1917, as the Department of the American Union against militarism, and in January, 1920, was known as the National Civil Liberties Bureau. It became the American Civil Liberties Union with Roger N. Baldwin as its director. The work is under two directors (a research secretary and a publicity director). The research department secures facts necessary for prosecuting, and the publicity department seeks to organize public opinion in favor of the person accused of some crime.

It was created to oppose reactionaries in labor organizations, strikes, and picketing; to help students and professors who were guilty of expressing radical views; to fight against censorship of movies, stage, books, and radio in expressing propaganda.

It believes that orderly social progress is promoted only by unrestricted freedom of expression; that punishment for mere expression, without overt acts, makes for violence and bloodshed. That the principle of civil liberty, embodied in the constitutional law must be reasserted in its application to American conditions, is also one of its beliefs and principles.

This organization encourages freedom of press and of speech, peaceful assemblage, the right to strike, lack of race discrimination, liberty in education, immunity from search and seizure, rights of aliens, law enforcement and no censorship.

It offers legal aid to those unable to defend their freedom.

The Union has done much work among Negroes. It provided defense lawyers for those arrested in Atlanta, Georgia, in May, 1931. The Union published "Black Justice," attacked restrictions of the Negro in the right to vote, segregation, denial of serving on juries, poor educational opportunities, discrimination in public accommodations, and "taxation without representation." The American Civil Liberties Union starts with the assumption that the Negro should have all the privileges and rights enjoyed by other citizens according to the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. It has worked with the N.A.A.C.P. for the Southern Negro tenant farmers and "to revoke laws that withhold from people the right to marry according to choice."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This organization began in January, 1909, as a result of a race riot in Springfield, Illinois. Mary White Ovington of New York, William English Walling and Henry Moskovitz planned for a national conference to be held on Lincoln's birthday to discuss Negro-white situations in America. Dr. W. E. DuBois became director of publicity. In 1910, an office was opened in New York City. In November of the same year, *The Crisis* was published for the first time.

The National organization has a staff of 26 paid workers. There are branch offices in leading cities, but the work is directed by volunteer workers taking care of local matters. In major cases, the local branch contacts the national office.

The organization seeks and expects to secure for the Negro all the privileges available to any other citizen, opposes all forms of segregation, discrimination, injustice, suppression and special privilege. It maintains that the Negro should have the same cultural privileges and the same rights to marriage as any other citizen of the community. It defends the Negro who has become the victim of unscrupulous men or who suffers injustice at the hands of the courts.

It seeks to uplift the colored men and women of this country by securing for them the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens, justice in all courts and equality of opportunity everywhere. It favors and aims to aid every kind of education among them save that which teaches special privileges or prerogative class or caste. It recognizes the national character of the Negro problem and no sectionalism. It believes in the upholding of the Constitution of the United States and its amendments, in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. It upholds the doctrine of "all men up and no man down." It abhors Negro crime, but still more the conditions which produce crime, and most of all the crimes committed by mobs in the mockery of the law, or by individuals in the name of the law. It believes that the scientific truths of the Negro problem must be available before the country can see its way wholly clear to the righting of existing wrongs. It has no other belief than that the best way to uplift the Negro is the best way to aid the white man to peace and social content. It has no other desire than for exact justice, and no other motive than patriotism.

The N.A.A.C.P. has dealt more with the legal and political aspects of the race question than has any other organization of its kind. In the United States Supreme Court, it has won six decisive victories regarding the fundamental Constitutional rights of Negroes to vote.

It has opposed anti-Negro legislation and has favored legislation that secured fundamental rights to the Negro.

James Weldon Johnson, W. E. DuBois and Walter White are three outstanding Negro writers who have been connected with the N.A.A.C.P.

Some Facts for Thought. In 1937, Negroes possessed property valued at two billion dollars.

They owned 20,000,000 acres of land.

In 1930, there were 882,850 Negro farm operators.

In 1930, 181,016 were owners or part owners of land.

In 1930, the farm property of Negroes was worth $350,000,000.

In 1930, Negroes produced 32% of the South's cotton, 25% of its sweet potatoes, 19% of its tobacco and 16% of its corn.

In 1930, Negroes conducted over 70,000 retail stores with sales over $100,000,000 a year.

In 1930, the Negro population was 11,891,143. Of that number, there were:

351 technical engineers.
361 chemists.
430 photographers.
1,938 social workers.
1,247 lawyers.
2,146 dentists.
3,805 physicians and surgeons.
4,130 actors.
5,728 trained nurses.
10,583 musicians.
25,034 clergymen.
54,683 teachers.

The death rate of Negroes decreased from 24.2 to 16.5 per thousand. The life span was increased from

41 years to 46 years. Illiteracy decreased from 90% in 1865 to 16% in 1930.

In 1930, 2,477,311 children attended school, 22,000 Negroes were in college, and more than 20,000 had won degrees.

In 1930, of the 882,850 Negro farm operators, 700,-911 were landless renters and tenants. Only one in two hundred Negro farmers had a telephone and one in three hundred had water and light in their homes. More than three-fourths of the Negro farm houses were valued at less than $500. In 1929, the Negro farmer produced foodstuff valued at $643,000,000.

In 1930, there were 1,954,137 white farm tenants.

In 1930, there were 2,803,756 Negro families in the United States and 2,050,217 or 73 per cent, were living in rented houses.

In 1927, the Negro death rate was 17.5 per thousand, and the white death rate was 10.8 per thousand. In 1927, the Negro death rate was 62 per cent higher than that of the whites. In 1930, over 1,576,205 Negroes were domestic servants.

In 1930, money spent for white children averaged $44.31 per child in the South, and for the Negro child, $12.57.

In 1930, Negroes conducted more than 70,000 businesses. There were 21 Negro insurance companies with $18,445,798 in assets and $260,174,467 worth of insurance in force, with more than 8,000 people working with them.

In 1931, there were only 23 Negro banks left of the 51 in 1929.

In 1930, only 68 per cent of Negro children attended school, aggregating 2,289,389 pupils.

In 1935, there were more than 132 Negro doctors of philosophy.

In 1930, there were 135 Negro members of Phi Beta Kappa.

In fifteen years, Negroes of the South contributed $4,683,000 to the building of Rosenwald schools.

In 1930, Negroes had 42,585 churches with 5,203,487 members and 36,000 Sunday schools with 2,144,000 pupils. The Baptists had 22,090 churches with 3,196,623 members.

Negro church property was valued at $168,000,000. Only 645,000 Negroes belonged to white churches. Olivet Baptist Church, Chicago, with 10,000 members, is the largest Protestant congregation in the world.

In 1937, Arthur W. Mitchell was a member of the House of Representatives from Illinois. William Hastie was appointed Federal Judge to the Virgin Islands.

In 1936, Jesse Owens won three first places in the Olympic games in Germany.

In 1936, 1937, and 1938, Joe Louis startled everyone by his boxing ability, and won the heavyweight championship of the world.

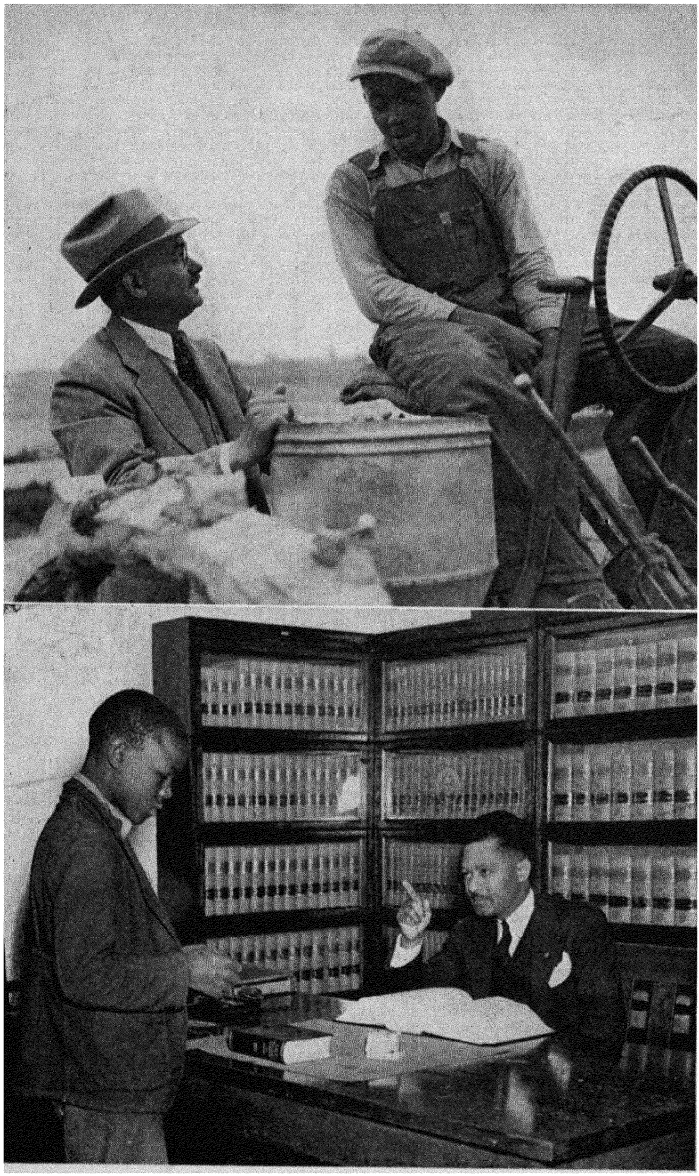
In 1937, Duke Ellington had written over 100 songs.

In 1937, President William J. Hale finished his twenty-fifth year as president of the Agricultural and Industrial College, Nashville. It is valued at more than $3,000,000 with an enrollment of nearly 2,000.

You now have come to the end of our attempt to put the Negro in his proper place in American history. It has been our intention to keep him in place and time. There has been no attempt to exaggerate or to minimize. The story has simply been told without prejudice or bias.

If those who read this book will think of the Negro as an integral part of the American scene and, if their conclusion be adverse, will change their attitude toward the Negro so that they will regard his efforts in his

upward climb as a victory over impediments and pitfalls, the author is sure that this country of ours will become a greater nation. The principles of democracy will survive. There will be plenty for all, and none will have to bow their heads in shame for the wrongs that make us all regretful of the blots that have appeared in the evolution of the American race.



Top—(Acme) Eugene Booze supervises his 2,000 acre farm, Mound Bayou, Miss. Bottom (Acme) Judge Ben Green, Judge of Court, Mound Bayou, Miss.

APPENDIXES

NUMBER I

IMPORTANT EVENTS AND DATES ABOUT NEGROES

January 1. Proclamation abolishing slavery in the U. S. became law under President Lincoln, 1863.

January 2. The *Liberator,* abolition paper, began publication, Boston, Mass., 1831.

January 7. Col. Chas. Young died, Liberia, West Africa, 1922.

January 8. A Negro was one of Columbus' pilots in 1492.

January 10. Rev. James Varick, first Supt. and Bishop of the A. M. E. Z. Church, born in Newburg, N. Y., 1768.

January 12. Massachusetts prohibited slavery in 1641.

January 17. John M. Langston, permitted to practice law before the U. S. Supreme Court, 1867. The First Negro.

January 19. First African Baptist Church, organized by Rev. A. Marshall and Rev. Peters, at Savannah, Ga., 1788.

January 22. The First Negro Baptist Church, Williamsburg, Va., in 1776, and was formally recognized in 1790.

January 28. Benjamin Banneker, Negro astronomer, helped to survey and lay out Washington, D. C.

January 29. Four entire Negro regiments awarded Croix de Guerre for heroism in France during World War.

February 1. Henry M. Turner, the first Negro Chaplain in the U. S. Army in 1863, born at Newberry, S. C., 1833.

February 4. All slaves in French colonies were emancipated, 1794.

February 7. George Peabody (white) established a fund of $3,500,000 to be used for education in the South, 1867.

February 9. Paul Laurence Dunbar, noted poet, died at Dayton, Ohio, 1906.

February 12. Congress passed first fugitive slave law, to control run-away slaves, 1793.

February 12. Abraham Lincoln, born, 1809.

February 13. The American Colonization Society founded Liberia, the Negro Republic in West Africa, 1820.

February 14. Richard Allen, founder of the A. M. E. Church, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., 1760.

February 14. Frederick Douglass' "Birthday," 1817.

February 20. Frederick Douglass, born a slave, died. Estate valued at over $200,000 at his death, 1895.

February 23. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, writer and educator, was born in Great Barrington, Mass., 1868.

February 24. Rev. Daniel A. Payne, A. M. E., was born. He established Union Seminary, near Columbus, Ohio, 1811.

February 25. Hiram R. Revels, first Negro United States Senator, took oath of office, 1870.

February 27. Congress passed the 15th Amendment, 1869.

March 1. Blanche K. Bruce, Register, U. S. Treasury; U. S. Senator from Miss., 1875-1881, born Farmville, Va., 1841.

March 2. The Freedmen's Bureau created by Congress to help newly emancipated slaves, 1865. It was abolished, 1870.

March 3. Congress passed the Consolidation Act, and the 38th and 41st Regiments were reorganized as 24th Infantry, 1869.

March 5. First blood shed for independence of colonies from England was by Crispus Attucks, a Negro, 1770.

March 6. The "Dred Scott Decision" was announced by U. S. Supreme Court, favorable to South, 1857.

March 7. Little Stephen, a Negro, set out to explore the Southwestern part of the United States, 1539.

March 8. John F. Slater Fund of one million dollars was created for education and uplifting the Negro in South, 1882.

March 10. Wilberforce University sold to A. M. E. Church. It was opened by M. E. Church, August 30, 1856, at Xenia, Ohio.

March 13. Orders given to enroll slaves in Confederate Army. Lee surrendered before these troops saw action, 1865.

March 25. Slavery was prohibited in Massachusetts, 1788.

March 31. Thomas Peterson was first Negro to vote in U. S., the day after 15th Amendment had been ratified, 1870.

April 1. The N. C. Mutual Life Ins. Co., organized by John Merrick and Dr. A. M. Moore in Durham, N. C., 1898-1899.

April 5. Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee Institute, born a slave near Hale's Ford, Virginia, 1856.

April 7. Matthew Henson stood with Admiral Peary at the North Pole, 1909.

April 13. Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., was opened in 1866 to educate Negroes.

April 14. Pres. Abraham Lincoln was shot by Booth, at Ford's Theatre in Washington, D. C., 1865.

April 14. First abolition society in the United States founded, 1775.

April 16. Slavery abolished in District of Columbia. The owners were paid $993,407.30 for their losses.

April 17. Easter, 1787, Richard Allen and Absalom Jones organized the Free African Society in Philadelphia.

April 23. G. T. Woods, inventor of "Induction Telegraph," born, Columbus, Ohio.

April 26. Miss Caroline Phelps-Stokes, of New York, created a fund for the education of Negroes, died 1909.

April 27. Toussaint L'Ouverture, Negro liberator of Haiti, died in France in the Prison of Joux, 1803.

May 2. 1822, Rev. John Gloucester, first Negro minister of a Presbyterian Church, died. Born in Kentucky about 1776.

May 6. Martin R. Delaney, soldier, adventurer, editor and abolitionist, was born in Charleston, West Va., 1812.

May 9. R. T. Greener, educator, first Negro graduate of Harvard, died, Chicago, Ill., 1922.

May 9. John Brown, the martyr, born, 1800.

May 15. Needham Roberts and Henry Johnson killed over 20 Germans on sentry duty in France during war, 1918.

May 17. "Blind Boone," John W. Boone, a noted musical prodigy, born Miami, Mo., 1864.

May 20. Toussaint L'Ouverture, Haitian liberator, born, 1743.

May 21. Oberlin College opened its doors to Negroes following its organization in 1833.

May 24. Lincoln University at Chester, Pa., was established for Negroes in 1854.

May 25. "Blind Tom," Negro musical prodigy, born at Columbus, Ga., 1849.

May 26. John B. Russwurm, graduated from Bowdoin College in 1826, became the first Negro college graduate.

May 29. Lott Cary, an early Negro Baptist missionary to Africa, was born about 1780.

May 31. Wesleyan Methodists were organized at Utica, N. Y.

June 1. In 1875, Booker T. Washington graduated from Hampton.

June 3. In 1881, Booker T. Washington was invited to open a school at Tuskegee, Ala.

June 5. 1917. From this date until Sept. 12, 1918, 2,300,-427 Negroes registered in the army during the World War.

June 7. Alexander Pushkin, Russian Negro poet, born Moscow, Russia, 1799.

June 9. James Carroll Napier, born on Charlotte Pike, near Nashville, Tenn., 1845. He was Register of Treasury, Cashier of Citizens Saving Bank and Trust Co., Nashville. At the age of 93 years is known as the "First Negro Citizen of Nashville."

June 15. Booker T. Washington arrived in Tuskegee, Ala., to teach school, 1881.

June 16. Slavery existed in America 43 years before a law upholding it was passed.

June 18. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., 23, graduated from West Point as the fourth member of the race, 1935.

June 19. First African Baptist Church became an organized body in Philadelphia, Pa., 1809.

June 21. Henry O. Tanner, world famous artist, born in Pittsburgh, 1859, died May 25, 1937, buried in France.

June 23. Harvard University gave to Booker T. Washington the first honorary degree ever given a Negro, in 1896.

June 25. The N. Y. Abolition Society was organized with John Jay, president and Alexander Hamilton, sec., 1785.

June 27. Paul Laurence Dunbar, noted poet and writer, born Dayton, Ohio, 1872.

June 28. Congress passed a law making Negro regiments a part of the regular army, 1866.

June 30. The Julius Rosenwald Fund had assisted in building 2,455 schools in South by this date, 1924.

July 4. Alexander Dumas, French novelist, of Negro extraction, born in France, April 30, 1802, died in 1870.

July 5. Nineteen persons were organized as the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York City, 1809.

July 7. Paul Cuffe was born in 1759.
Benjamin Banneker died, 1804.

July 14. There are memorial busts of Frederick Douglass at the University of Rochester and at the State House, Albany.

July 18. Rev. Lemuel Haynes, pioneer preacher, was born, West Hartford, Conn., 1753.

July 21. In 1793, Benj. Banneker, Negro, was one of six commissioners chosen to supervise plans of Washington, D. C.

July 24. Ira Aldridge, Shakespearean actor, acknowledged in Europe. Born in 1804.

July 26. The first Negro Baptist Church was organized at Silver Bluff, S. C., by eight slaves before 1778.

July 28. Fourteenth Amendment declared ratified, 1868.

August 12. The home of Frederick Douglass dedicated as a race shrine, 1922.

August 19. The Niagara Movement closed the second annual meeting at Harper's Ferry, W. Va., 1906.

August 21. Nat Turner, a preacher, who led an insurrection of over 60 slaves in Southampton Co., Va., killed, 1831.

August 23. Reverend Henry A. Boyd, died, Nashville, Tenn., 1912.

August 24. There were 775 Negro soldiers in the army under Gen. George Washington, 1778.

August 25. There were more than 3,000 Negro soldiers in the army who fought in the War for Independence.

September 1. Matt A. Henson, who accompanied Adm. Robt. E. Peary to North Pole, born, Charles Co., Md., 1860.

September 1. Hiram R. Revels, first Negro United States senator, born, 1822.

September 1. Bishop Charles Betts Galloway, of Mississippi, promoter of interracial good will, born, 1849.

September 5. In 1875, Booker T. Washington began teaching school at Malden, W. Va., remained as teacher until 1878.

September 9. John Gregg Fee, Kentucky abolitionist and founder of Berea College, born, 1816.

September 10. John R. Lynch, Negro Congressman from Mississippi, born, Concordia Parish, Louisiana, 1847.

September 12. Prince Hall of Boston was granted a warrant from England to set up an African Masonic Lodge, 1784.

September 18. Booker T. Washington delivered an address at the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta, Ga., 1895.

September 21. Gen. Andrew Jackson asked free Negroes of Louisiana to join the army, 1814.

September 22. President Lincoln issued the preliminary emancipation proclamation that all slaves would be free, 1862.

September 26. William Jasper Hale, president of Tennessee A. & I. State College, Nashville, Tenn., the largest state-controlled school for Negroes in the world, was born at Retro, Tennessee, 1873.

September 29. The first African Lodge of Free Masons organized in Boston, with Prince Hall as the leader, 1784.

October 1. Phillis Wheatley-Peters, died, Boston, Mass., 1784. Emmett J. Scott was appointed special assistant to the secretary of war, 1917.

October 5. Booker T. Washington left Malden, W. Va., to attend Hampton; entrance examination was sweeping, 1872.

October 7. William Still, slave sympathizer, was born, Burlington County, N. J., 1821.

October 20. David Walker, born free, 1785, was first Negro to attack slavery through the public press.

October 25. Toussaint L'Ouverture delivered the people of Haiti from slavery and the yoke of France, 1793.

October 26. Phillis Wheatley, Negro poetess, wrote George Washington a letter of encouragement during war, 1775.

October 31. Every slave with honorable service to American cause, freed by act at the expense of the State of Virginia.

November 1. Julius Rosenwald Fund for educational, scientific and religious purposes, organized, 1917.

November 2. Benjamin Banneker, Negro astronomer and mathematician, born in Maryland, 1731.

November 6. Rev. Absalom Jones, who with Richard Allen founded the A. M. E. Church, born Sussex, Delaware, 1744.

November 7. Elijah P. Lovejoy, the abolitionist, killed by a pro-slavery mob at Alton, Illinois, 1837.

November 11. Elihu Embree, Tennessee emancipationist, born 1782. Bishop William Meade, preacher to Negroes in Va., born, 1789.

November 14. Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee Institute, died, 1915.

November 15. John M. Langston, educator, lawyer and race leader, died 1897.

November 26. Sojourner Truth died at Battle Creek, Mich., 1883.

December 2. John Brown was executed for leading raid on U. S. arsenal at Harper's Ferry, to free slaves, 1859.

December 3. Myrtilla Miner of Brookfield, N. Y., established an educational fund for Negro girls, 1851.

December 5. Phillis Wheatley-Peters, from Africa at 7, became a poetess and leader of her race, died at age 31, 1784.

December 6. Phillis Wheatley had a book of poems published in Boston in 1774.

December 7. Myrtilla Miner died. The Miner Normal School, D. C., was named for her benefactions to Negro girls, 1864.

December 14. John M. Langston, Negro Congressman, was born in Louisa County, Va., 1829.

December 18. Thirteenth Amendment declared ratified, 1865.

December 25. Bishop B. T. Tanner, A. M. E. Church, born in Pennsylvania, 1835.

APPENDIX

NUMBER II

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America.

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established

should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Depotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accomodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and Superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troups among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with Circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would, inevitably, interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly *Publish* and *declare*, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. AND for the support of this Declaration with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

John Hancock

Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
Geo Walton
Wm Hooper
Joseph Hewes
John Penn
Edward Rutledge
Thos Heyward Junr.
Thomas Lynch Junr.
Arthur Middleton
Samuel Chase
Wm Paca
Thos Stone
Charles Carroll
of Carrollton
George Wythe
Richard Henry Lee
Thomas Jefferson
Benja Harrison
Thomas Nelson, Jr.

Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton
Robt Morris
Benjamin Rush
Benja Franklin
John Morton
Geo Clymer
Jas Smith
Geo Taylor
James Wilson
Geo Rose
Caesar Rodney
Tho M: Kean
Geo Read
Wm Floyd
Phil Livingston
Francis Lewis
Lewis Morris
Richd Stockton
Jno Witherspoon

Fras Hopkinson	Elbridge Gerry
John Hart	Step. Hopkins
Abraham Clark	William Ellery
Josia Bartlett	Roger Sherman
Wm. Whipple	Saml Huntington
Saml Adams	Wm Williams
John Adams	Oliver Wolcott
Robt. Treat Paine	Matthew Thornton

NOTE: This reprint is from the copperplate facsimile made in 1823. It involves in a few cases the same doubt respecting capitals that is found in the original Constitution. The signatures in the original are in six columns by States without names, except Matthew Thornton should be under New Hampshire. The groups are here in the same order, as follows: first column, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Maryland, Virginia; second column, Virginia (continued), Pennsylvania, Delaware, New York; third column, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut. John Hancock signs as President of the Congress.

APPENDIX

NUMBER III

THE TEXT OF THE CONSTITUTION

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People

of the several States, and the Electors in each state shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

SECTION 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators

of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the Second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

SECTION 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

SECTION 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the Other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

SECTION 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Repre-

sentatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an Uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the High Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, Dockyards, and other needful Buildings;—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Govern-

ment of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

SECTION 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all Public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imports or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid

by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War, in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II.

Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall imme-

diately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having One Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual

Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their Respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts

as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

SECTION 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a state shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appelate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SECTION 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work

Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

SECTION 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

SECTION 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States Concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution be-

tween the States to ratifying the Same. Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventh Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth.

The Word, "the" being interlined between the seventh and eighth Lines of the first Page, The word "thirty" being partly written on an Erazure in the fifteenth Line of the first Page, The Words "is tried" being interlined between the thirty second and thirty third Lines of the first Page and the Word "the" being interlined between the forty third and forty fourth Lines of the second Page.

Attest WILLIAM JACKSON *Secretary*

In witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

Go; WASHINGTON—*Presdt.* and deputy from Virginia

Delaware:
Geo: Read
Gunning Bedford jun
John Dickinson
Richard Bassett
Jaco: Broom

Maryland:
James McHenry
Dan of St Thos. Jenifer
Danl Carroll

Virginia:
John Blair
James Madison Jr

Georgia:
William Few
Abr Baldwin

New Hampshire:
John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts:
Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King

Connecticut:
Wm. Saml. Johnson
Roger Sherman

North Carolina:
Wm. Blount
Richd. Dobbs Spaight
Hu Williamson

South Carolina:
J. Rutledge
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
Charles Pinckney
Pierce Butler

New York:
Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey:
Wil; Livingston
David Brearley
Wm. Paterson
Jona: Dayton

Pennsylvania:
B Franklin
Thomas Mifflin
Robt Morris
Geo Clymer
Thos. FitzSimmons
Jared Ingersoll
James Wilson
Gouv Morris

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

Amendment I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Amendment II

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Amendment III

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the Consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by Law.

Amendment IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Amendment V

No Person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless of a presentment or indict-

ment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

AMENDMENT VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

AMENDMENT VII

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

AMENDMENT VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

AMENDMENT IX

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

AMENDMENT X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Amendment XI

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

Amendment XII

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President, shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The Person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two high-

est numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Amendment XIII

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XIV

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens

shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

AMENDMENT XV

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XVI

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Amendment XVII

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies:

Provided, that the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Amendment XVIII

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XIX

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XX

SECTION 1. The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meetings shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

SECTION 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

SECTION 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th of October following the ratification of this article.

SECTION 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

AMENDMENT XXI

SECTION 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

SECTION 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

RATIFICATION OF AMENDMENTS

Article V of the National Constitution is as follows:

"The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislature of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; . . ."

Until Amendment XXI was proposed, State ratification was by the legislature; this last one was directed by Congress to be submitted to conventions.

It has been usual to date the ratification of all amendments to the National Constitution from the certification of the Secretary of State that a sufficient number of States had approved of it. On May 16, 1921, however, the Supreme Court of the United States announced in Dillin v. Gloss (256 U. S., 368, 376 that an amendment was in effect on the day when the legislature of the last necessary State ratified it. Such ratification is entirely apart from State regulations respecting the passage of laws or resolutions. It is based on the higher law of the National Constitution

itself, which, as it also did for the election of senators before Amendment XVII, prescribed action by the legislature alone. In consequence, approval or vote of such ratification by the governor is of no account either as respects the date or the legality of the sanction. The rule that ratification once made may not be withdrawn has been applied in all cases; though a legislature that has rejected may later approve, and this change has been made in the consideration of several amendments.

Amendments I-X

These passed Congress on September 25, 1789. Ratification by eleven states was necessary, since Vermont became a State before the ratification was completed. Virginia was this eleventh State and she agreed to the amendments on December 15, 1791. President Washington announced the action of the States from time to time in messages to Congress. He reported the action of Virginia on December 30, 1791, and that of Vermont of January 18, 1792; but Vermont had ratified on November 3. There is no record of action by Connecticut, Georgia, or Massachusetts. Secretary Jefferson on March 1, 1792, announced the adoption to the governors of the states. The first ten amendments constitute what is called the "Bill of Rights."

Amendment XI

Congress proposed this on March 4, 1794, but the resolution was not enrolled and signed by the vice-president and speaker of the House until March 11. The records on the adoption are rather meager, and the States were so dilatory in notifying the central government of their sentiments that Congress on March 2, 1797, asked the President to make inquiries of Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and South Carolina, half of the states then in the Union. On January 8, 1798, he reported that Kentucky having ratified, the amendment was "declared to be a part of the Constitution." But Kentucky had ratified as early as December 17, 1794.

The honor of being the twelfth State to ratify lies between North Carolina and Delaware. Delaware ratified

on January 23, 1795. The legislature of North Carolina passed the ratification as a law on January 19, 1795. In that State the governor did not possess the power to approve or veto a bill, but the Constitution required that each act be signed by the speakers of the two houses, and this signature was essential to the validity of the law. All the laws of a session were so signed at that time on the last day; accordingly, this act of ratification bears the date February 7, 1795. It has been considered, therefore, that February 7 was the date of ratification of North Carolina, because the action, as required by State regulations, was not completed until that day. However, at that time in that state the rule of common law was in force which made a statute retroactive to the beginning of the session in which it was enacted, which in this case was December 30, 1794. In Tennessee, there was a similar requirement of signature by the speakers, and there the state supreme court declared that though the signing was essential to the validity of the measure, yet it was of a ministerial and not of a legislative character, and being done the "law takes effect from the date of its passage by relation." Because of the contradictory character of the state regulations, and because they are also opposed to the principle of the Dillon v. Gloss decision governing the legislature in the performance of a duty dependent upon the National Constitution only, the ratification by Delaware on January 23, 1795, is here considered as the final necessary one, with the ratification of North Carolina as of January 19.

Amendment XII

This proposal passed Congress on December 9, 1803, the vote of the speaker being necessary for it in the House; but it was not enrolled and signed until December 12. James Madison, Secretary of State, declared it in force on September 25, 1804. Thirteen States were then needed to ratify, and Tennessee was supposedly the last necessary state and it ratified on July 27, 1804. Connecticut and Delaware rejected the proposal; and there is no record for Massachusetts. In New Hampshire the resolution passed

on June 15, was voted on June 20, was not passed over the veto, and was never certified to the secretary of state; but since the veto of the governor was extra-legal, the original action by the legislature of that state really consummated the ratification.

Amendment XIII

This was submitted on January 31, 1865, by Congress, President Lincoln giving his unnecessary approval also on the next day. It was rejected by Delaware and Kentucky, two of the loyal slave-holding states and the only states except Texas which had not already abolished slavery by state action. It was also rejected by Mississippi, a slave state that had been one of the Confederate states. The remaining states, including the ten others that had been in the Confederacy, approved. As there were then thirty-six states, ratification by twenty-seven was needed. Georgia was the last necessary State, her legislature voting on December 6, 1865. Secretary Seward certified the amendment on December 18, 1865. At this time the Southern states had been reorganized under presidential reconstruction and their legislatures, while annulling the ordinances of secession, had also abolished slavery within their limits. Later, Congress refused to recognize these reorganized governments, except in Tennessee, but their ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment was nonetheless accepted to make it valid; otherwise, if they were states within the Union, the amendment could not be carried without their approval. If the eleven States that formed the Confederate states were not in the Union, then there were only twenty-five States and nineteen were needed for ratification. On this basis the necessary approval would have been that of New Hampshire, July 1, 1865.

Amendment XIV

June 13, 1866, was the date on which Congress voted this second of the Civil War amendments. The resolution was signed on June 15 and received by the secretary of state the next day. There were many complications over the ratification. The Southern states were still unrecon-

structed when it was submitted, and conditions remained unsettled in that region during its consideration, Congress requiring ratification as a condition of reconstruction. Various states rejected the amendment and later accepted it; others, having approved, attempted to withdraw the approval. On the same basis as that under which the Thirteenth Amendment became a part of the Constitution, there were thirty-seven states to vote on it and twenty-eight was the required three-fourths. The legislatures of Louisiana and South Carolina, twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth states, both passed the amendment on July 9, and Alabama on July 13. Meanwhile, New Jersey and Ohio had withdrawn their acceptance. Secretary Seward made a conditional certification of ratification on July 20, 1868; but on July 21, Congress, by concurrent resolution, declared that the amendment had been ratified by twenty-nine states and directed Secretary Seward to promulgate it as a part of the Constitution, which he did on July 28 in a lengthy statement showing that he acted under the order from Congress. Later, Oregon also withdrew her acceptance. Delaware, Kentucky, and Maryland rejected the proposal and California ignored it. Four states added their approval after that of Alabama, more than making up the necessary twenty-eight without the three states that had withdrawn.

Amendment XV

The prohibition of a color limitation of suffrage was offered to the states by Congress on February 26, 1869, and deposited with the secretary of state on the next day. By this time most of the Southern states had been reconstructed; ratification of this amendment was required, however, of the remaining few before they would be readmitted. Georgia was the twenty-eighth state, February 2, 1870, and Secretary Fish announced the approval on March 30. New York withdrew her acceptance on January 5, 1870, but Nebraska added her name on February 17, and Texas on February 18. New Jersey, the last state to vote, did so on February 15, 1871. California, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Oregon, and Tennessee rejected the amendment.

Amendment XVI

Not until July 12, 1909, did Congress suggest another amendment to the Constitution. The resolution was signed on July 16 and deposited in the department of state July 21. Before it was ratified the number of states had increased to forty-eight, making thirty-six essential for the incorporation of the amendment into the Constitution. Delaware on February 3, 1913, made up the required number; but New Mexico and Wyoming also accepted the amendment on this day, though probably at later hours. Kentucky is included in the above mentioned thirty-six, even though the governor had vetoed the legislative approval. Secretary Knox issued his certificate on the ratification on February 25, 1913. The amendment was rejected by Connecticut, Florida, Rhode Island, and Utah, and Pennsylvania and Virginia took no action.

Amendment XVII

The amendment for popular election of senators passed Congress on May 13, 1912, and reached the secretary of state on the 15th. In contrast with the slow progress of the Sixteenth Amendment through the state legislatures, this one was adopted by Connecticut, the thirty-sixth State, on April 8, 1913. Only one other state ratified, that of Louisiana, more than a year later. It was rejected by Delaware and Utah, and no action was taken by Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Virginia. The Secretary's certification is dated May 31, 1913.

Amendment XVIII

The enactment of the prohibition amendment was almost as swift as its repeal. The amendment was offered to the states by Congress on December 18, 1917, and deposited with the department of state on the 19th. On January 16, 1919, it was ratified by Missouri, Nebraska, and Wyoming, with Missouri as the thirty-sixth state. Five other states ratified on January 15 and two on January 17. The amendment was promulgated on January 29, and was

in effect from January 16, 1920. The California legislature passed the resolution on January 13, 1919, that endorsement being the twenty-first. A referendum was ordered on it, but this did not affect the legality of the enactment. Rhode Island rejected the amendment; Connecticut took no action.

Amendment XIX

The amendment for woman suffrage received the sanction of Congress on June 4, 1919, and was placed with the secretary of state the next day. The ratification of Tennessee, the thirty-sixth state, was on August 18, 1920. The struggle there for approval of the amendment was a severe one, and on August 31, the House reconsidered and nonconcurred; but the Senate refused to recognize this action, as the governor had not only forwarded to Washington the certificate of adoption but the secretary of state had announced the inclusion of the amendment in the Constitution on August 26. After Tennessee, two other states voted their adherence to the proposal, Connecticut on September 14, and Vermont on February 8, 1921. There was no action by Alabama, Florida, or North Carolina; and rejection by Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia.

Amendment XX

The "lame duck" amendment passed Congress on March 2, 1932, and was signed and deposited in the department of state on March 3. It was ratified on January 23, 1933, by Georgia, Missouri, Ohio, and Utah, whose approvals made up the necessary thirty-six; of these, Utah, because of its extremely western location, was probably the last. All forty-eight states ratified the amendment, which was certified by the secretary of state on February 6, 1933.

Amendment XXI

Congress voted the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment on February 20, 1933, and it was deposited in the department of state the same day. Ratification was by state conventions, which required preliminary legislative action to

prescribe the election of the delegates and the meetings; and in forty-three states this was done by September 7, but four of the legislatures postponed the conventions until 1934. In North Carolina the people voted on the question of holding a convention, and rejected it. Thirty-eight conventions met in 1933; that of South Carolina rejected the amendment. The conventions of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Utah ratified on December 5, 1933, in this order. Maine, December 6, was the thirty-seventh state. The certificate of the adoption of the amendment was made by the acting secretary of state on December 5, and the President in accordance with a special law also issued his proclamation the same day.

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APPENDIX NUMBER V

"CIVILIZATION MARCHES ON"

LYNCHINGS, WHITES AND NEGROES, 1882-1936

Year	*Whites*	*Negroes*	*Total*
1882	64	49	113
1883	77	53	130
1884	160	51	211
1885	110	74	184
1886	64	74	138
1887	50	70	120
1888	68	69	137
1889	76	94	170
1890	11	85	96
1891	71	113	184
1892	69	162	231
1893	34	117	151
1894	58	134	192
1895	66	113	179
1896	45	78	123
1897	35	123	158
1898	19	101	120
1899	21	85	106
1900	9	106	115
1901	25	105	130
1902	7	85	92
1903	15	84	99
1904	7	76	83
1905	5	57	62
1906	3	62	65
1907	2	58	60
1908	8	89	97
1909	13	69	82
1910	9	67	76
1911	7	60	67
1912	2	61	63
1913	1	51	52
1914	3	49	52
1915	13	54	67
1916	4	50	54
1917	3	35	38
1918	4	60	64
1919	7	76	83
1920	8	53	61
1921	5	59	64
1922	6	51	57
1923	4	29	33
1924	0	16	16
1925	0	17	17
1926	7	23	30

Year	*Whites*	*Negroes*	*Total*
1927	0	16	16
1928	1	10	11
1929	3	7	10
1930	1	20	21
1931	1	12	13
1932	2	6	8
1933	4	24	28
1934	0	15	15
1935	2	18	20
1936	0	8	8
Total	1,289	3,383	4,672

—*Negro Year Book*, 1937-1938, p. 156.

APPENDIX NUMBER VI

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

President	*From State*	*Term of Service*	*Born*	*Died*
George Washington	Virginia	1789-1797	1732	1799
John Adams	Massachusetts	1797-1801	1735	1826
Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	1801-1809	1743	1826
James Madison	Virginia	1809-1817	1751	1836
James Monroe	Virginia	1817-1825	1759	1831
John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	1825-1829	1767	1848
Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	1829-1837	1767	1845
Martin Van Buren	New York	1837-1841	1782	1862
William H. Harrison	Ohio	Mar.-April, 1841	1773	1841
John Tyler	Virginia	1841-1845	1790	1862
James K. Polk	Tennessee	1845-1849	1795	1849
Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	1849-1850	1784	1850
Millard Fillmore	New York	1850-1853	1800	1874
Franklin Pierce	New Hampshire	1853-1857	1804	1869
James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	1857-1861	1791	1868
Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	1861-Apr., 1865	1809	1865
Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	1865-1869	1808	1875
Ulysses S. Grant	Illinois	1869-1877	1822	1885
Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	1877-1881	1822	1893
James A. Garfield	Ohio	Mar.-Sept., 1881	1831	1881
Chester A. Arthur	New York	1881-1885	1830	1886
Grover Cleveland	New York	1885-1889	1837	1908
Benjamin Harrison	Indiana	1889-1893	1833	1901
Grover Cleveland	New York	1893-1897	1837	1908
William McKinley	Ohio	1897-Sept., 1901	1843	1901
Theodore Roosevelt	New York	1901-1909	1858	1919
William H. Taft	Ohio	1909-1913	1851	1930
Woodrow Wilson	New Jersey	1913-1921	1856	1924
Warren G. Harding	Ohio	1921-Aug., 1923	1865	1923
Calvin Coolidge	Massachusetts	1923-1929	1872	1933
Herbert Clark Hoover	California	1929-1933	1874	....
Franklin D. Roosevelt	New York	1933-1941	1882	....

APPENDIX NUMBER VII.

VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

Vice-President	*From State*	*Term of Service*	*Born*	*Died*
John Adams	Massachusetts	1789-1797	1735	1826
Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	1797-1801	1743	1826
Aaron Burr	New York	1801-1805	1856	1836
George Clinton	New York	1805-1812	1739	1812
Elbridge Gerry	Massachusetts	1813-1814	1744	1814
Daniel D. Tompkins	New York	1817-1825	1774	1825
John C. Calhoun	South Carolina	1825-1832	1782	1850
Martin Van Buren	New York	1833-1837	1782	1862
Richard M. Johnson	Kentucky	1837-1841	1780	1850
John Tyler	Virginia	Mar.-Apr., 1841	1790	1862
George M. Dallas	Pennsylvania	1845-1849	1792	1864
Millard Fillmore	New York	1849-1850	1800	1874
William R. King	Alabama	1853	1786	1853
John C. Breckinridge	Kentucky	1857-1861	1821	1875
Hannibal Hamlin	Maine	1861-1865	1809	1891
Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	Mar.-Apr., 1865	1808	1875
Schuyler Colfax	Indiana	1869-1873	1823	1885
Henry Wilson	Massachusetts	1873-1875	1812	1875
William A. Wheeler	New York	1877-1881	1819	1887
Chester A. Arthur	New York	Mar.-Sept., 1881	1830	1886
Thomas A. Hendricks	Indiana	Mar.-Nov., 1885	1819	1885
Levi P. Morton	New York	1889-1893	1824	1920
Adlai E. Stevenson	Illinois	1893-1897	1835	1914
Garret A. Hobart	New York	1897-1899	1844	1899
Theodore Roosevelt	New York	Mar.-Sept., 1901	1858	1919
Charles W. Fairbanks	Indiana	1905-1909	1855	1920
James S. Sherman	New York	1909-1912	1855	1912
Thomas R. Marshall	Indiana	1913-1921	1854	1925
Calvin Coolidge	Mass.	1921-Aug. 2, 1923	1872	1933
Charles G. Dawes	Illinois	1923-1929	1865	....
Charles Curtis	Kansas	1929-1933	1860	1935
John Nance Garner	Texas	1933-1941	1869	....

Reference: *The Statesman's Year Book,* Macmillan & Co., Ltd, London, pp. 474-476.

APPENDIX NUMBER VIII

THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET

The administrative business of the nation is conducted by ten heads of departments who form the "Cabinet." They are chosen by the President, but must be confirmed by the Senate. Each presides over a separate department under the immediate authority of the President. The cabinet

appointed March 4, 1933 and subsequently is composed as follows:

1. *Secretary of State*—Cordell Hull, formerly U. S. Senator from Tennessee, born 1871.
2. *Secretary of the Treasury*—Henry Morgenthau, Jr., of New York, publisher; appointed January 1, 1934, born 1891.
3. *Secretary of War*—Harry H. Woodring, of Kansas, appointed September 25, 1933, born 1890.
4. *Attorney-General*—Homer S. Cummings, of Connecticut; lawyer and politician; born 1870.
5. *Postmaster-General*—James A. Farley, of New York; business man and politician; born in 1888; reappointed January 20, 1937.
6. *Secretary of the Navy*—Claude A. Swanson, formerly U. S. Senator from Virginia, born 1862.
7. *Secretary of the Interior*—Harold L. Ickes, of Illinois; lawyer; born 1874.
8. *Secretary of Agriculture*—Henry A. Wallace, of Iowa; editor of farm paper; born 1888.
9. *Secretary of Commerce*—Daniel C. Roper, of Washington, D. C.; publicist and lawyer; born 1867.
10. *Secretary of Labor*—Miss Frances Perkins, of New York; formerly State Industrial Commissioner of New York; born 1882.

APPENDIX NUMBER IX

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

A Proclamation

Whereas on the 22nd day of September, A.D. 1862, a proclamation was issued by the president of the United States, containing among other things, the following, to wit:

That on the 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a

State the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will of the 1st day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State or the people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such States and the people thereof are then in rebellion against the United States.

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander in chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and Government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, A. D. 1863, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemine, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin and Orleans, (including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth

City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and hencefoward shall be free, and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations and other places and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof I have set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 1st day of January, A.D. 1863, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

(Seal) ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

William H. Seward, Secretary of State.

From: *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. XII, pages 3,358-60.

APPENDIX NUMBER X

LAST WILL OF ANDREW JACKSON, MADE 95 YEARS AGO TODAY, (JUNE 7, 1838) DISPLAYED HIS LOVE OF COUNTRY

Bequeathed Articles to Man Most Valiant in Defense of Nation

By Lydel Sims

"I bequeath my body to the dust whence it comes," wrote Gen. Andrew Jackson. "And my soul to God who gave it, hoping for a happy immortality through the atoning merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Savior of the world," the General added reverently.

He was writing at his beloved home in the Hermitage, and thinking of his beloved adopted son, "A. Jackson, Jun." as he wrote.

It was ninety-five years ago today. The General was writing his last will. Two years and a day later he was to die.

A tragic fire at the Hermitage had left General Jackson not as well-off financially as he could have wished. Unfortunate debts not incurred by himself took some that remained.

Brief Will

So the General's will was brief.

"This," he wrote in his bequest to Andrew J. Donelson, a well-beloved nephew, "from the great change in my worldly affairs of late, is, with my blessing, all I can bequeath him, doing justice to those creditors to whom I am responsible."

But it was a noble will, in which many noble articles were passed on with admonitions that they be used aright.

There was the sword presented the General by the State of Tennessee, and the sword presented him by the Rifle Company of New Orleans, and the sword presented him by the citizens of Philadelphia. There were the pistols used by

Lafayette and Washington. There was the gold box which the corporation of the City of New York had presented him, and the large picture of the unfurling of the American banner, given by the citizens of South Carolina.

This last made the General, in the year 1843, turn his thoughts to possibilities of a war within his beloved Union. So he left the picture, which was presented to him "when it was refused to be accepted by the United States" in trust to his son.

He left it and the gold box with directions that, "should our happy country not be blessed with peace, an event not always to be expected, he will at the close of the war or end of the conflict, present each of said articles of inestimable value, to that patriot residing in the city or state from which they were presented, who shall be adjudged by his countrymen or the ladies to have been the most valiant in defense of his country and our country's rights."

Five Witnesses

The General's will was witnessed by five persons, Marion Adams, Elizabeth D. Love, Thomas J. Donelson, Richard Smith, and R. Armstrong.

The document, copied from a time-worn copy of a "Monument to Jackson," compiled by B. W. Dusenbery in 1846, and now in the possession of Dr. A. L. Crabb of Peabody College, reads in full:

"Hermitage, June 7th, 1843.

"IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN:—I, Andrew Jackson, Sen'r., being of sound mind, memory, and understanding, and impressed with the great uncertainty of life and the certainty of death, and being desirous to dispose of my temporal affairs so that after my death no contention may arise relative to the same—And whereas, since executing will of the 30th of September, 1833, my estate has become greatly involved by my liabilities for the debts of my well-beloved and adopted son Andrew Jackson, Jun., which makes it necessary to alter the same: Therefore I, Andrew Jackson, Sen'r., of the county of Davidson, and state of

Tennessee, do make, ordain, publish, and declare this my last will and testament, revoking all other wills by me heretofore made.

SOUL TO GOD

"First, I bequeath my body to the dust whence it comes, and my soul to God who gave it, hoping for a happy immortality through the atoning merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Savior of the world. My desire is, that my body be buried by the side of my dear departed wife, in the garden at the Hermitage, in the vault prepared in the garden, and all expenses paid by my executor hereafter named.

"Secondly, that all my just debts be paid out of my personal and real estate by my executor; for which purpose to meet the debt of my good friends Gen'l. J. B. Planchin & Co. of New Orleans, for the sum of six thousand dollars, with the interest accruing thereon, loaned to me to meet the debt due by Andrew Jackson, Jr., for the purchase of the plantation from Hiram G. Runnels, lying on the east bank of the river Mississippi, in the State of Mississippi. Also, a debt due by me of ten thousand dollars, borrowed of my friends Blair and Rives of the city of Washington and District of Columbia, with the interest accruing thereon; being applied to the payment of the lands bought of Hiram G. Runnels as aforesaid, and for the faithful payment of the aforesaid recited debts, I hereby bequeath all my real and personal estate. After these debts are fully paid—

"Thirdly, I give and bequeath to my adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Junior, the tract of land whereon I now live, known by the Hermitage tract, with its butts and boundaries, with all its appendages of the three lots of land bought of Samuel Donelson, Thomas J. Donelson and Alexander Donelson sons and heirs of Severn Donelson, deceased, all adjoining the Hermitage tract, agreeable to their butts and boundaries, with all the appurtenances thereto belonging or in any wise appertaining, with all my negroes that I may die possessed of, with the exception hereafter named, with all their increase after the before recited debts are fully paid, with all the household furniture, farming tools, stock of all kinds,

both on the Hermitage tract farms, as well as those of the Mississippi plantation, to him and his heirs forever. The true intent and meaning of this my last will and testament is, that all my estate, real and personal, and mixed, is hereby first pledged for the payment of the above recited debts and interest; and when they are fully paid, the residue of all my estate, real and personal, and mixed, is hereby bequeathed to my adopted son, A. Jackson, Jun., with the exceptions hereafter named, to him and his heirs forever.

Fourth Bequest

"Fourth, Whereas I have heretofore by conveyance, deposited with my beloved daughter, Sarah Jackson, wife of my adopted son, A. Jackson, Jun., several Negroes therein described, which I hereby confirm, I give and bequeath to my beloved grandson, Andrew Jackson, son of A. Jackson, Jun., and Sarah, his wife, a Negro boy named Ned, son of Blacksmith Aaron and Hannah, his wife, to him and his heirs forever.

"Fifth, I give and bequeath to my beloved little grandson, Samuel Jackson, son of A. Jackson, Jun., and his much beloved wife, Sarah, one Negro boy named Davy or George, son of Squire and his wife Giney, to him and his heirs forever.

"Sixth, To my beloved and affectionate daughter, Sarah Jackson, wife of my adopted and well beloved son, A. Jackson, Jun., I hereby recognize, by this bequest, the gift I made her on her marriage, of the Negro girl, Gracy, which I bought for her, and gave her to my daughter, Sarah, as her maid and seamstress, with her increase, with my house-servant, Hanna, and her two daughters, namely Charlotte and Mary, to her and her heirs forever. This gift and bequest is made for my great affection for her—as a memento of her uniform attention to me and kindness on all occasions, and particularly when worn down with sickness, pain, and debility—she has been more than a daughter to me, and I hope she never will be disturbed in the enjoyment of this gift and bequest by anyone.

SWORD GIVEN BY STATE

"Seventh, I bequest to my well-beloved nephew, Andrew J. Donelson, son of Samuel Donelson, deceased, the elegant sword presented to me by the State of Tennessee, with this injunction, that he fail not to use it when necessary in support and protection of our glorious Union, and for the protection of the constitutional rights of our beloved country, should they be assailed by foreign enemies or domestic traitors. This, from the great change in my world's affairs of late is, with my blessing, all I can bequeath him, doing justice to those creditors to whom I am responsible. This bequest is made as a memento of my high regard, affection, and esteem I bear for him as a high minded, honest, and honorable man.

"Eighth, To my grand-nephew, Andrew Jackson Coffee, I bequeath the elegant sword presented to me by the Rifle Company of New Orleans, commanded by Captain Beal, as a memento of my regard and to bring to his recollection the gallant service of his deceased father, General John Coffee, in the late Indian and British war, under my command, and his gallant conduct in defense of New Orleans in 1814 and 1815; with this injunction, that he wield it in the protection of the rights secured to the American citizen under our glorious constitution, against all invaders whether foreign foes or intestine traitors.

"I bequeath to my beloved grandson, Andrew Jackson, son of A. Jackson, Jun., and Sarah, his wife, the sword presented to me by the citizens of Philadelphia, with this injunction, that he will always use it in defense of the constitution and our glorious Union, and the perpetuation of our republican system; remembering the motto—'Draw me not without occasion, nor sheath me without Honour.'

LAFAYETTE'S PISTOLS

"The pistols of Gen'l. Lafayette, which were presented by him to Gen'l. George Washington, and by Col. Wm. Robertson presented to me, I bequeath to George Washington Lafayette, as a memento of the illustrious personages

through whose hands they have passed—his father, and the father of his country.

"The golden box presented to me by the corporation of the city of New York, the large silver vase presented to me by the ladies of Charleston, South Carolina, my native state, with the large picture representing the unfurling of the American banner, presented to me by the citizens of South Carolina when it was refused to be accepted by the United States Senate, I leave in trust to my son, A. Jackson, Jun., with directions that should our happy country not be blessed with peace, an event not always to be expected, he will at the close of the war or end of the conflict, present each of said articles of inestimable value, to that patriot residing in the city or state from which they were presented, who shall be adjudged by his countrymen or ladies to have been the most valiant in defense of his country and our country's rights.

"The pocket spyglass which was used by Gen'l. Washington during the Revolutionary War, and presented to me by Mr. Custis, having been burned with my dwelling house, the Hermitage, with many other invaluable relics, I can make no disposition of them. As a memento of my high regard for Gen'l. Robert Armstrong as a gentleman, patriot, and soldier, as well as for his meritorious military services under my command during the late British and Indian War, and remembering the gallant bearing of him and his gallant little band at Enotochopco Creek, when, falling desperately wounded, he called out—'My brave fellows, some may fall, but save the cannon'—as a memento of all these things, I give and bequeath to him my case of pistols satisfied that in his hands they will never be disgraced—that they never be used or drawn without occasion, not sheathed but with honour.

"Lastly, I leave to my beloved son all my walking canes and other relics, to be distributed amongst my young relatives—namesakes—first, to my much esteemed namesake, Andrew J. Donelson, son of my esteemed nephew, A. J. Donelson, his first choice, and then to be distributed as A. Jackson, Jun., may think proper.

"Lastly, I appoint my adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Jun., my whole and sole executor to this my last will and testament, and direct of him for the faithful execution and discharge of the trusts hereby reposed in him.

"In testimony whereof I have this 7th day of June, One thousand eight hundred and forty-three, hereunto set my hand, and affixed my seal, hereby revoking all wills heretofore made by me, and in the presence of

"Marion Adams,
"Elizabeth D. Love,
"Thos. J. Donelson,
"Richard Smith,
"R. Armstrong,
"Andrew Jackson."

"(Seal)"

APPENDIX NUMBER XI

FIRST NEGRO CHURCHES ORGANIZED

1773—First Negro Baptist Church in America organized at Silver Bluff across the Savannah River from Augusta, Georgia, by a Mr. Palmer.

1776—Harrison Street Baptist Church, Petersburg, Virginia, organized.

1780—First African Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia.

1785—Colored Baptist Church organized at Williamsburg, Virginia.

1787—The Free African Society organized with Absalom Jones and Richard Allen as overseers. This society resolved itself into the "African Church," erected a building and by its own decision entered into fellowship with the Protestant Episcopal Church. Absalom Jones and Richard Allen alone voted for the organization to connect itself with the Methodist Church. This was the origin of St. Thomas Episcopal Church. The building was opened for divine service, July 17, 1794. Richard Allen was selected for license and ordination. He preferred to remain a Methodist. Absalom Jones was then selected and ordained.

1788—First African Baptist Church of Savannah, Georgia, organized January 19, by Rev. Abraham Marshall, (white), and Rev. Jesse Peters (colored). Andrew Bryan a slave was the first pastor.

1790—Springfield Baptist Church at Augusta, Georgia, organized by Rev. Abraham Marshall. Rev. Jesse Peters, who had gathered the members together, was the pastor.

1790—African Baptist Church, Lexington, Kentucky, organized. In 1820 split into First Baptist Church and Pleasant Green Baptist Church.

1790—Richard Allen purchased a lot for a church at Sixth and Lombard Streets, Philadelphia. In 1794, he sold this lot to Bethel Church and he erected on this lot the first Church building of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

1794—Zion Methodist Episcopal Church (colored), organized, Philadelphia, from St. George's M. E. Church (white).

1796—James Varick and others established in New York City a Colored Methodist Church which was the beginning of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Denomination. This is the oldest Negro church in New York. The first meetings were held in the cabinet shop of William Miller on Cross Street.

DATES OF ORGANIZATION OF NEGRO DENOMINATIONS

1805—Colored members of Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church of Wilmington, Delaware, withdrew and erected a building for themselves.

1813—The Union Church of Africans, Incorporated, September 7, at Wilmington, Delaware, by the colored members who had withdrawn from Asbury Church.

1816—The African Methodist Episcopal Church organized at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, with Richard Allen as its first bishop.

1821—At New York the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church organized June 21. James Varick was made district chairman and the next year he became the first bishop of the church.

1863—The Providence Baptist Association of Ohio was organized. This is said to be the first colored Baptist Association organized in the United States. In 1838, the Wood River Baptist Association of Illinois was organized. In 1853, the Western Colored Baptist Convention was organized.

1864—Northwestern and Southern Baptist Convention was organized. In 1867, the Consolidated American Baptist Convention organized and continued till 1879 when the Western churches withdrew. In 1880, the National Baptist Convention was organized at Montgomery, Alabama.

1850—African Union Church organized by a division of the Union Church of Africans.

1850—The Union American Methodist Episcopal Church (colored) organized by a division of the Union Church of Africans.

1860—About this time the First Colored Methodist Protestant Church organized by Negro members who withdrew from the Methodist Protestant Church.

1865—Colored members from the white Primitive Baptist Churches of the South organized at Columbia, Tennessee, the Colored Primitive Baptists in America.

1866—The African Union First Colored Methodist Protestant Church of America or elsewhere, organized by a Union of the African Union Church with the First Colored Methodist Protestant Church.

1869—At Murfreesboro, Tennessee, in May, the General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church set apart its colored members and organized the Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

1870—The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in May, at Memphis, Tennessee, as a step toward setting apart its colored members, appointed a commission to confer with delegates from the Colored Methodist Church, and on December 16,

1870, at Jackson, Tennessee, these members were organized into the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

1882—The Reformed Zion Apostolic Church (colored) was organized.

1896—The Church of God and Saints of Christ, (colored) was organized at Lawrence, Kansas.

1896—In 1894, a number of ministers and members of the African Methodist Episcopal Church withdrew from the conferences in South Carolina, and in Georgia, and organized an independent Methodist Church. In 1896, they were organized into the Reformed Methodist Union Episcopal Church (colored).

1899—A new denomination, the Church of the Living God, (colored) was organized at Wrightsville, Arkansas. There are now three distinct bodies as follows: Church of the Living God (Christian workers for fellowship); Church of Christ in God; Church of the Living God (Apostolic).

1900—The voluntary Missionary Society in America, (colored) was organized.

1901—The United American Free-Will Baptist Church was organized.

1905—July 10. At Redemption, Arkansas, persons who had withdrawn from the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and Baptist churches, organized the Free Christian Zion Church in Christ (colored).

Reference: *Negro Year Book*, 1937-1938, pp. 220-221.

APPENDIX NUMBER XII

STATISTICS FOR NEGRO CHURCHES WITH SEPARATE FIGURES FOR URBAN AND RURAL CHURCHES

(Urban territory includes all cities and other incorporated places having 2,500 inhabitants or more; rural territory comprises the remainder of the country.)

The data on Negro churches collected in 1926, by the Census Bureau, show the following:

	Rural	*Urban*	*Total*
Churches	32,427	10,158	42,585
Members	2,964,616	2,238,871	5,203,487
Sunday Schools	27,350	9,028	36,378
Sunday School Scholars	1,278,458	866,068	2,144,553
Value of Church Property	$60,051,670	$145,730,958	$205,782,628

—*Negro Year Book*, 1937-38, page 221.

APPENDIX NUMBER XIII

POPULATION UNITED STATES

FREE AND SLAVE NEGRO POPULATION, 1790-1860

TOTAL NEGROES, FREE AND SLAVE, BY STATES, 1790

Name of State	*Slave*	*Free*	*Total*
Maine	.....	536	536
New Hampshire	157	630	787
Vermont	.....	269	269
Massachusetts	....	5,368	5,369
Rhode Island	958	3,484	4,442
Connecticut	2,648	2,771	5,419
New York	21,193	4,682	25,875
New Jersey	11,423	2,762	14,185
Pennsylvania	3,707	6,531	10,238
Delaware	8,887	3,899	12,786
Maryland	103,036	8,043	111,079
Virginia	292,627	12,866	305,493
North Carolina	100,783	5,041	105,824
South Carolina	107,094	1,801	108,895
Georgia	29,264	398	29,662
Kentucky	12,430	114	12,544
Tennessee	3,417	361	3,778
Total	697,624	59,557	757,181

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF INCREASE OF FREE AND SLAVE NEGRO POPULATION, 1790-1860

Year	*Free Number*	*Per Cent of Increase Over Preceding Census*	*Slave Number*	*Per Cent of Increase Over Preceding Census*
1790	59,557	...	697,624	...
1800	108,435	82.1	893,602	28.1
1810	186,446	71.9	1,191,362	33.3
1820	233,634	25 3	1,538,022	29.1
1830	319,599	36.8	2,099,043	30.6
1840	386,293	20.9	2,487,355	23.8
1850	434,495	12.5	3,204,313	23.8
1860	488.070	12.3	3,953.760	23.4

The Census Bureau estimates that the value of the slaves in the Southern States in 1860 amounted to $1,500,000,000.

From: *Negro Year Book*, 1937-38, p. 244.

TOTAL NEGROES, FREE AND SLAVE, BY STATES, 1860

Name of State	*Slave*	*Free*	*Total*
Maine	.....	1,327	1,327
New Hampshire	.....	494	494
Vermont	.....	709	709
Massachusetts	.....	9,602	9,602
Rhode Island	.....	3,952	3,952
Connecticut	.....	8,627	8,627
New York	.....	49,005	49,005
New Jersey	18	25,318	25,336
Pennsylvania	.....	56,949	56,949
Delaware	1,798	19,949	21,627
Maryland	87,178	83,942	171,131
District of Columbia	3,185	11,131	14,316
Virginia	490,865	58,042	548,907
North Carolina	331,059	30,463	361,522
South Carolina	402,406	9,914	412,320
Georgia	462,198	3,500	465,698
Kentucky	225,483	10,684	236.167
Tennessee	275,179	7,300	283,019
Ohio	.....	36,673	36,673
Indiana	.....	11,428	11,428
Illinois	.....	7,628	7,628
Michigan	.....	6,799	6,799
Wisconsin	.....	1,171	1,171
Alabama	435,080	2,690	437,770
Mississippi	436,631	773	437,404
Louisiana	331,726	18,647	350,373
Arkansas	111,115	144	111,259
Missouri	114,931	3,572	118,503
Florida	61,745	932	62,677
Iowa	.....	1,069	1,069

Name of State	*Slave*	*Free*	*Total*
California	.....	4,086	4,086
Kansas	2	625	627
Minnesota	.....	259	259
Oregon	.....	128	128
Texas	182,566	355	182,921
Colorado	.....	46	46
New Mexico	.....	85	85
Utah	29	30	59
Washington	...	30	30
Nebraska	15	67	82
Nevada	...	45	45
Total	3,953,760	488 070	4,441,830

From: *Negro Year Book*, 1937-38, p. 244.

POPULATION EACH CENSUS YEAR, 1790-1930

Year	*Total Population*	*White*	*Negro*
1930	122,775,046	108,864,207	11,891,143
1920	105,710,620	94,120,374	10,463,131
1910	91,972,266	81,364,447	9,827,763
1900	75,994,575	66,809,196	8,833,994
1890	62,947,714	55,101,258	7,488,676
1880	50,155,783	43,402,970	6,580,793
1870	38,558,371	33,589,377	4,880,009
1860	31,443,321	26,922,537	4,441,830
1850	23,191,876	19,553,068	3,638,808
1840	17,069,453	14,195,805	2,873,648
1830	12,866,020	10,537,378	2,328,642
1820	9,638,453	7,866,797	1,771,656
1810	7,239,881	5,862,073	1,377,808
1800	5,308,483	4,306,446	1,002,037
1790	3,929,214	3,172,006	757,208

From: *Negro Year Book*, 1937-38, p. 245.

BLACK AND MULATTO POPULATION, 1850-1920

Year	*Negro Population*			*Per Cent of Total*	
	Total	*Black*	*Mulatto*	*Black*	*Mulatto*
1920	10,463 131	8,802,577	1,660,554	84.1	15.9
1910	9,827,763	7,777,077	2,050,686	79.1	20.9
1890	7,488,676	6,337,980	1,132,060	84.8	15.2
1870	4,880,009	4,295,960	584,049	88.0	12.0
1860	4,441,830	3 853,467	588,363	86.8	13.2
1850	3,638,808	3,233,057	405,751	88.8	11.2

From: *Negro Year Book*, 1937-38, p. 245.

MIGRATION OF NEGROES

Number and Per Cent Living Outside State of Birth—

Total number of Negroes in the United States for whom the state of birth was reported by the 1930 census was 11,739,479.

Of this number, 8,774,754 or 74.7 per cent were living in the state in which they were born, and 2,964,725 or 25.3 per cent were living outside of the states in which they were born.

In 1920, the percentage living in states other than those in which they were born was 19.9. In 1910, it was 16.6 and in 1900, 15.6.

Negroes Born in the South—

Of the total number of Negroes reported in 1930 as born in the South, 10,699,458, it was found that 8,001,700 or 74.8 per cent were living in the states in which they were born; 1,271,545 or 11.9 per cent were living in other Southern states, and 1,426,213 or 13.3 per cent were living in the North and West.

Number Born in the South and Living in the North and West—

The number reported in 1930 as born in the South and living in the North and West was 1,426,213. This was 645,417 more than the number from the South, 780,794, who were living in the North in 1920.

From: *Negro Year Book*, 1937-38, pp. 250, 254.

URBANIZATION

Urban and Rural Negro Population—The Negro population is, in the main, rural. But in 1930, of the total Negro population, only 56.3 per cent was rural, as compared with 66 per cent in 1920, and 72.7 per cent in 1910. These data indicate the increasing movement of Negroes from the rural areas to the urban centers, and if the trend continues, it is probable that, by 1940, the Negro, like the white population, will be predominantly urban. In 1930, the Negro population constituted 12.4 per cent of the rural population of

the United States as compared with 10.4 per cent in 1920. The Negroes in urban population formed only 7.5 per cent of the total in 1930, as compared with 6.6 per cent in 1920.

The general trend of the Negro movement has been from rural areas and small urban centers to cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants. Between 1920 and 1930, the Negro population of urban territory increased from 3,559,473 to 5,193,913, while that of rural areas decreased from 6,903,658 to 6,697,230. The Negro population of cities, with 100,000 or more inhabitants, increased approximately 1,200,000 during that same period.

In both decades, 1920 to 1930, and 1910 to 1920, the urban Negro population increased at a greater rate than the white population. The percentage of increase for the Negroes for the period 1920 to 1930 was 45.9 and for 1910 to 1920 was 32.6 as compared with 24.1 and 28.5, respectively, for the white population.

Rural and Urban Negro Population by Sections and Divisions—A large part of the Negro population in the North and West was urban, while that of the South was rural. In 1930, the Negro population was 88.3 per cent urban in the North, and 82.5 per cent in the West, as compared with 31.7 per cent in the South.

There has been a steady increase from 1910 to 1930 in the percentage of the Negro urban population in the South Atlantic, the East South Central, and the West South Central divisions, in fact, in the South as a whole.

Although the total Negro population in the United States in 1930 was 43.7 per cent urban, yet in only 15 states (1 in the North, 13 in the South, and 1 in the West) was the Negro population less than 50 per cent urban, while the white population was 53 per cent urban. There were 28 states (9 in the North, 13 in the South, and 6 in the West) with a white population that was less than 50 per cent urban.

Urban, Rural-farm, and Rural-non-Farm Negro Population—In 1930, of the total Negro population in the United States, 39.4 per cent was rural-farm, that is, living on farms or in incorporated places of less than 2,500 inhabitants and in territory outside of incorporated places. The Negroes

in incorporated places of less than 2,500 inhabitants and in the territory outside of these places, but not living on farms, constituted 17 per cent of the total Negro population in 1930.

In the South, the Negro population was approximately one-half rural-farm while in the North and West 2.7 and 5.1 per cent, respectively, of the total Negro population was rural-farm. In the South 19.1 per cent of the Negro population was rural-non-farm in 1930.

Negro Population in the Largest Cities—There were 2,881,790 Negroes in the 93 cities having a total population of 100,000 or more in 1930. Seven cities, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, New Orleans, and Detroit had more than 100,000 Negroes. Over one-third of the Negro population in the North was concentrated in the four Northern cities having 100,000 or more Negroes. More than two-thirds of the Negro population in the North was in the cities with total population of 100,000 or more inhabitants. The Negro population represented more than 38 per cent in Atlanta, Jacksonville, and Norfolk; more than 25 per cent in Washington, New Orleans, Richmond, Nashville, and Chattanooga; and more than 20 per cent in Houston, Miami, and Tampa. In 1930, there were 80 cities in the United States with a Negro population of 10,000 or more.

In almost every Southern city, the proportion of Negroes in the total population has been decreasing, while in the Northern cities the proportion has been increasing.

Negroes in Metropolitan Districts—The growth of Negro urban population, until 1910, was more or less normal. It was the result of the growth of towns and cities brought about by the general agricultural, commercial, and to some extent, industrial development. It is of interest to note that there was no city in 1910 which had a Negro population equalling 100,000. There were in that year only two cities in the North, New York, 91,709; and Philadelphia, 84,459, which had a Negro population of over 50,000. The District of Columbia had the largest Negro population of any center in the country, 94,446; the center with the largest Negro population, 91,717 was Shelby County, Tennessee, in which

is located the City of Memphis. There was increased urban trend of the Negro population in the period 1900 to 1910. It was in this decade that for the first time, the numerical growth of the urban Negro population, 682,789, exceeded the rural growth, which for the decade was 310,980.

The Black Belt areas in the South developed as a result of the concentration of Negro labor in areas particularly favorable for the production of staple crops, especially cotton. The demands of industry for Negro labor in the decades 1910-1920, and 1920-1930 have brought about a somewhat similar concentration of Negroes in industrial centers. The census monograph on "Metropolitan Districts, Population and Area" reports 3,658,404 Negroes in these districts, or 70.4 per cent of all Negroes living in urban territory. The greatest concentration of Negroes in metropolitan districts is in the North. Nine metropolitan regions in this section had a Negro population of 2,033,203 or 55.5 per cent of all Negroes in metropolitan areas.

HOMES OF NEGRO FAMILIES

Size of Families—In 1930, of the 2,803,756 Negro families, 12.1 per cent were comprised of one person; 26.4 per cent of two persons; 17.9 per cent of three persons; 12.9 per cent of four persons; 9.5 per cent of five persons; and 21.3 per cent of six or more persons. The median size of the Negro family was 3.15 persons as compared with 3.34 for native-white families. The median size of the family in the South exceeded the median size for Negro families in the North and West.

Ownership of Homes—In 1930, of the 2,803,756 Negro Homes, 669,645, or 23.9 per cent were owned, and 2,050,217 or 73.1 per cent were rented. Of the total number of homes, 65 per cent were non-farm homes, and 35 per cent were farm homes. Of the non-farm homes, 26.4 per cent were owned and 70.8 per cent were rented, while 19.3 per cent of the farm homes were owned and 77.4 per cent rented. Between 1900 and 1930, the number of homes owned increased 296,195, or 79.3 per cent, while the number of homes rented increased 714,941, or 53.5 per cent. In the

West 37 per cent of the Negro families owned their homes in 1930; in the South, 24.4 per cent; and in the North, 21.1 per cent.

	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
All Homes	1,410,769	1.833,759	2,173,018	2,243,106	2,803,756
Owned	264,288	397,420	506,590	542,654	669,645
Rented	1,146,481	1,335,276	1,666,428	1,799,694	2,050,217

From: *Negro Year Book,* 1937-38, pp. 256, 257.

NEGRO TOWNS AND SETTLEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

There is a considerable number of towns and settlements populated and governed entirely or almost entirely by Negroes. The origin of the majority of these towns and settlements in the North was due to the fact that, in several instances in the ante-bellum period, masters in the South freed their slaves, purchased land in the North and settled them there. The names and locations of these towns and fifteen of these settlements follow:

TOWNS

		Population
Alabama		
Greenwood Village	Macon County	1,200
Hobson City	Calhoun County	
Plateau	Mobile County	4,429
Arkansas		
Briscoe	Prairie County	
Edmondson	Crittenden County	
Gould	Lincoln County	
California		
Allensworth	Tulare County	85
Bowles	Fresno County	
Victorville	San Bernardino County	
Florida		
Eatonville	Orange County	200
Georgia		
Burroughs	Chatham County	
Illinois		
Brooklyn	Schuyler County	2,068
Robbins	Cook County	

TOWNS—Continued

		Population
Kansas		
Nicodemus	Graham County	296
Maryland		
Fairmont Heights, near Washington	Prince George County	1,213
Lincoln	Prince George County	
Highland Beach	Anne Arundel County	
North Brentwood	Prince George County	641
Michigan		
Idlewild	Lake County	
Mississippi		
Mound Bayou	Bolivar County	834
Mt. Carmel	Bolivar County	700
Renova	Bolivar County	
New Jersey		
Gouldtown	Cumberland County	150
Lawnside	Camden County	1,379
Mizpah, near Atlantic City	Atlantic County	
Whitesboro, near Cape May	Cape May County	
New York		
Sandy Ground	Richmond, Staten Island	
North Carolina		
Columbia Heights, suburb of Winston-Salem	Forsythe County	
Method, near Raleigh	Wake County	
Oberlin, suburb of Raleigh	Wake County	
Ohio		
Hanford	Franklin County	220
Oklahoma		
Boley	Okfuske County	874
Langston	Logan County	351
Lima	Seminole County	239
Porter	Wagoner County	
Redbird	Wagoner County	218
Rentiesville	McIntosh County	154
Taft	Muskogee County	690
Tatums	Carter County	
Tullahassee	Wagoner County	1,856
Vernon	McIntosh County	
Pennsylvania		
Darby	Delaware County	2,772
South Carolina		
Booker Washington Heights, near Columbia	Richland County	
Lincolnville	Charleston County	600

TOWNS—Continued

Texas		*Population*
Independence Heights	Houston County	
Kendleton	Fort Bend County	
Virginia		
Almargo	Pittsylvania County	
Hare Valley	Northampton County	
Ocean Grove	Norfolk County	
Titustown	Norfolk County	
Truxton, near Portsmouth	Norfolk County	
West Virginia		
Institute	Kanawha County	600

SETTLEMENTS

Illinois		
Stites	St. Clair County	2,428
Indiana		
Bassett Settlement	Howard County	
Cabin Creek Settlement	Randolph County	
Greenville Settlement	Randolph County	
Lost Creek Settlement	Vigo County	
Roberts Settlement	Hamilton County	
Weaver Settlement	Grant County	
Michigan		
Calvin Township	Cass County	
Nebraska		
Brownlee	Cherry County	
New Jersey		
Snow Hill	Camden County	
Ohio		
Long	Drake County	
McIntyre	Jefferson County	
Randolph	Mercer County	
Wilberforce	Green County	
Pennsylvania		
Lincoln	Chester County	

From: *Negro Year Book* 1937-1938, p 260.

APPENDIX NUMBER XIV

TRENDS OF THE OCCUPATIONS OF NEGROES FOR THE FORTY YEAR PERIOD, 1890-1930

At the beginning of the period, the Negro was but twenty-five years removed from slavery. Under slavery he was engaged chiefly in two occupations, agriculture and domestic and personal services. In 1890, the majority of Negroes gainfully occupied were in these two main classes of occupations. The census reports of 1890 showed that, of the Negro population ten years of age and over gainfully occupied, 55.8 per cent were in agriculture, 31 per cent were in domestic and personal service, and 13 per cent in all other occupations. In 1910, the per cent in all other occupations was 26.1; in 1920, 32.8; and in 1930, 34.7.

The census reports of 1890 showed that, of the Negro population ten years of age and over gainfully occupied, 55.8 per cent were in agriculture, 31 per cent were in domestic and personal service, and 13 per cent in all other occupations. The trend of the occupation of Negroes into pursuits other than agriculture, and domestic and personal service in the past forty years, is indicated by the fact that in 1930 more than one-third, 34.7 per cent, were in pursuits other than these two main classes of occupations.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED NEGROES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1890-1930

Occupation Group	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Agriculture and allied occupations	56.6	53.9	49.0	45.1	36.7
Mining	0.6	0.9	1.4	1.5	1.4
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	5.6	5.7	14.0	18.4	18.6
Trade and transportation	4.4	4.9	8 3	9.4	10.6
Clerical service	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.8	0.7
Domestic and personal service	31.2	32.8	24.9	22.1	28.6
Public service not elsewhere classified	0.2	0.3	0.5	1.0	0.9
Professional service	1.1	1.2	1.5	1.7	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

From: *Negro Year Book*, 1937-1938, p. 260.

PRIMARY ACTIVITIES OF THE NEGRO POPULATION

The entire Negro population may be considered with respect to its primary activities; that is, those gainfully occupied, those in school, housewives, and so forth. An estimate of the primary activity distribution of Negroes shows the following percentage distribution for 1930: gainfully occupied, 46.3; housewives, 15.7; persons at school, 20.8; children, five to fifteen years of age not at school or work, 4.1; children under five years of age, 10.3; and all others, 2.8.

Negroes in Main Classes of Occupations—

The percentage distribution of Negroes in the main classes of occupations, as already indicated, has changed considerably in the forty year period, 1890-1930. The most striking change in the percentage distribution of Negroes in the main classes of occupations is the decrease in the percentage of those engaged in agriculture and domestic and personal service; and the increased percentage of those engaged in professional service, in trade, in transportation, and in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. The largest percentage change is for manufacturing and mechanical industries, from 5.6 in 1890 to 18.6 in 1930. The next largest percentage change is for trade and transportation combined, which increased from 4.4 in 1890 to 10.6 in 1930.

Domestic and Personal Service—The number of persons in 1890 in the domestic and personal service group was 958,279; the number in this group in 1930 was 1,579,205, an increase for the forty years of 64.5 per cent. The greatest increase within the domestic and personal service group was in the number of household servants and waiters. In 1890, they numbered 410,463, or 42.8 per cent of the total in the domestic and personal service group; in 1930 they numbered 914,171, or 58 per cent of the total group.

Another interesting change in domestic and personal service occupations was the increase in the number of persons in some particular groups outside of the groups of un-

trained nurses, laborers, launderers, and household servants. It is found that the barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists group increased from 17,480 in 1890, to 34,263 in 1930, an increase of 96.0 per cent. The number of janitors increased from 5,945 in 1890 to 78,415 in 1930, an increase of over 1,200 per cent.

The elevator tenders group which was not listed separately for Negroes until 1910, increased from 4,999 in that year to 16,889 in 1930. Cleaners, dyers, and pressers, another group not listed separately until 1910, increased from 3,744 in that year to 15,773 in 1930. Bootblacking, sometimes said to be a dying occupation so far as Negroes are concerned, also was not listed separately until 1910. In that year the number of Negro bootblacks was returned as being 3,850. In 1930, the number reported was 9,499, an increase of 5,649.

Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries—The number of Negroes in the manufacturing and mechanical industries group in 1890 was 172,970. The number in 1930 was 1,024,656. This was an increase for the forty year period of 851,686.

For purposes of comparison the manufacturing and mechanical industries group is divided into six main sections: building trades industries; clothing and allied industries; foods and allied industries; metal industries; and miscellaneous industries.

Each of these sections had a numerical increase in the forty year period 1890 to 1930. Building trades from 48,184 to 317,380; clothing and allied industries from 29,935 to 80,862; foods and allied industries from 8,798 to 50,410; lumber and furniture industries from 24,524 to 127,220; the metal industries from 22,366 to 249,880; and the miscellaneous industries from 39,163 to 198,904.

The clothing and allied industries section in 1890 constitute 17.3 per cent of the total Negroes in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. In 1930, the clothing and applied industries section was 7.9 per cent or 8 per cent less than at the beginning of the period. Three of the sections, the building trades, the foods and allied industries, and the

lumber and furniture industries, showed but little relative percentage change with respect to the beginning and end of the period. The per cent of the building trades of the total Negroes in manufacturing and mechanical industries was 27.9 in 1890 and 31.0 in 1930.

The per cent in the foods and allied industries section of the total in the manufacturing and mechanical industries group was 5.1 in 1890 and 4.9 in 1930. The per cent of the total in manufacturing and mechanical industries engaged in the lumber and furniture industries section was 14.2 in 1890 and 12.4 in 1930. The per cent in miscellaneous industries in 1890 was 22.6, and in 1930 it was 19.4. The greatest percentage distribution change was in the metal industries section. The per cent in this section of the total in the manufacturing industries group was 12.9 in 1890, and 24.4 in 1930.

Transportation—The number of Negroes engaged in transportation and communication in 1890 was 110,433. The number in 1930 was 397,645, an increase of 260.1 per cent. The percentage of Negroes in transportation and communication of the total number of Negroes gainfully occupied in 1890 was 3.5; and in 1930, 7.2; a gain of 3.7 per cent.

Transportation and communication are divided into four main sections; water transportation, street transportation, steam transportation, and other or miscellaneous transportation, and communication. The number in water transportation in 1890 was 6,545, and in 1930, 35,501. The number in steam transportation in 1890 was 47,548; in 1930, the number was 120,112.

The greatest change was in street transportation, which rose from 55,913 in 1890 to 227,804 in 1930. This change was brought about mainly by the supplanting of horse-drawn vehicles. The number of Negro draymen, teamsters, and carriage drivers in 1890 was 44,434. In 1930, the number thus employed was 19,566, a loss of 24,868. The number of Negroes reported as chauffeurs, truck and tractor drivers in 1910 was 4,639. The number in 1930 was 108,412, an increase in the twenty years of over 100,000.

Trade (Including Clerical Occupations)—The number of Negroes engaged in the various pursuits concerned with the selling of goods in 1890 was 35,284. The number thus engaged in 1930 was 224,358, an increase of 535.9 per cent.

The number in trade pursuits in 1890 was 1.0 per cent of the total number of Negroes in gainful occupations. In 1930, the number engaged in trade pursuits was 4.0 per cent of the total number of Negroes engaged in gainful occupations. The largest group within the trade section in 1890 was laborers, porters, and helpers, 11,694; the retail dealers were next, 9740. The largest group in trade pursuits in 1930 was still laborers, porters and helpers, 89,137. The next three largest groups were: retail dealers, 28,213; deliverymen, 25,299; and clerks (not in stores) 25,185.

Professional Service—The number of Negroes in the professional service pursuits in 1890 was 32,879. The number in 1930 was 135,925, an increase for the forty years of over 100,000. There were in 1890 only four professions in which there were more than 500 Negroes; clergymen, 12,159; musicians and teachers of music, 1,881; physicians, 909; teachers, 15,100.

There were eleven professional service pursuits in 1930, in which there were more than 500 Negroes. These pursuits and the number in each were: actors and showmen, 4,130; clergymen, 25,034; dentists, 1,773; lawyers, 1,247; musicians and teachers of music, 10,583; photographers, 545; physicians, 3,805; teachers, 56,829; trained nurses, 5,728; social workers, 1,038; religious workers, 1,196.

There were seven other professions in which the number of Negroes engaged was between 200 and 500. Three of these pursuits represent a trend of the Negro in the professions to meet the demands of the machine age. These three pursuits and the number in each are: designers, draftsmen, and inventors, 217; technical engineers, 351; chemists, assayers, and metallurgists, 361. The number in the four other pursuits in the less than 500 but more than 200 category are: artists and teachers of art, 430; authors, editors, and reporters, 425; agricultural demonstration agents, 226; and librarians, 210.

NEGROES IN PROFESSIONS

Name of Profession	1930	1920	1910	1900	1890
Actors, Showmen, Etc.	4,130	1,973	2,995	2,020	1,490
Architects	63	50	62	52	21
Artists, Sculptors, and Teachers of Art	430	259	329	236	150
Authors, Editors, Reporters, Etc.	425	315	362	309	225
Chemists, Assayers, and Metallurgists	361	207	116	...	...
Clergymen	25,034	19,571	17,996	15,528	12,159
Dentists	1,773	1,109	478	212	120
Designers, Draftsmen, Inventors, Etc.	217	145	174	25	23
Lawyers, Judges, and Justices	1,247	950	915	728	431
Musicians and Teachers of Music	10,583	5,902	5,606	3,915	1,881
Osteopaths	19	215	...	...	...
Photographers	545	608	404	247	190
Physicians and Surgeons	3,805	3,495	3,077	1,734	909
Religious, Charity and Welfare Workers	2,234	1,231	...	...	...
Teachers in Public Schools, Colleges, Etc.	56,289	36,626	29,772	21,267	15,100
Technical Engineers	351	184	970	305	279
Theatrical Owners, Managers, Officials, Etc.	166	175	93	...	...
Trained Nurses	5,728	3,341	2,433	...	...
Veterinary Surgeons	134	145	122	...	69
Semi-Professional Pursuits	4,981	1,482	...	...	...
Other Professional Pursuits	1,810	186	2,994	913	1,137
Attendants and Helpers (Professional Service)	16,098	2,014	...	...	...
Total	136,963	80,183	68,698	47,491	34,184

Reference: *Negro Year Book*, 1937-1938, p. 267.

DETAILS OF OCCUPATION OF NEGROES IN 1930

Summary Statements—

Negroes gainfully occupied by occupation groups by sections. The Negro gainful workers in the North and West were largely occupied in domestic and personal service and in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, while those in the South were occupied largely in agriculture and in domestic and personal service.

Distribution of Negro Gainful Workers in the Various Occupation Groups by Sex. In 1930, 40.7 per cent of the male Negro gainful workers were occupied in agriculture; 25.2 per cent in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 11.6 per cent in domestic and personal service, and 10.8 per cent in transportation, and communication. The female Negro gainful workers were occupied in the main in domestic and personal service and in agriculture.

Distribution by Occupation Groups per 1,000 Negroes Gainfully Occupied. A larger proportion of the Negro gainful workers than of the native white and foreign born white gainful workers were occupied in agriculture. In 1930, there were in agriculture, 361 Negroes per 1,000 gainfully occupied Negroes as compared with 214 whites (native) and 91 foreign-born whites. In domestic and personal service there were 287 Negroes as compared with 66 for native white, and 127 for foreign-born white.

Occupations in Which Negroes Predominate. The Negro gainful workers exceeded those of all others classes in 10 occupations in 1930. Of the 911,943 persons engaged in these occupations, 72 per cent were Negroes. The Negro workers in these occupations constituted 11.9 per cent of the Negroes 10 years old and over reported as gainfully occupied in 1930. Over 75 per cent of the launderers and laundresses (not in laundries) were Negroes and more than 68 per cent of the cooks (other than in hotels, restaurants and boarding houses) were Negroes in 1930.

Negro Inhabitants per Professional Person. In 1930 there was one Negro clergyman for every 475 Negro inhabitants, one college professor or college president for every 5,541 inhabitants, one dentist for every 6,707 inhabitants, one lawyer, or judge, or justice, for every 9,536 inhabitants, one musician, or teacher of music, for every 1,124 inhabitants, and one physician, or surgeon, for every 3,125 inhabitants, one school teacher for every 218 inhabitants and one trained nurse for every 2,076 inhabitants.

Negro Year Book, 1937-1938, p. 269.

THE NEGRO AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Date of Establishment of Public School Systems in Southern States

1863—West Virginia established a system of public schools which includes Negroes.

1864—March. The first public school for Negroes in the District of Columbia.

1864—March 22. General Banks issued an order for the establishment in Louisiana of a system of public schools for the freedmen. This was the first complete system of public schools in the South supported by taxation.

1864—October 12-13. Provision made in the constitution of Maryland for common schools.

1865—Missouri includes Negroes in her public school system.

1866—Florida legislature passed an act providing for the appointment of a superintendent of common schools for freedmen. A tax of one dollar upon every male person of color, between the ages of 21 and 53 was imposed to provide a common school fund for freedmen. Georgia passed an act to provide for a general system of education for whites. Did not go into effect.

1867—Kentucky enacted a law "providing that the capitation and other taxes collected from the Negroes and mulattoes should be set apart and constitute a separate fund for the support of their paupers and the education of their children."

1867—Alabama and Tennessee established public school systems.

1868—Arkansas, Florida and South Carolina established public school systems.

1869—North Carolina and Virginia established public school systems.

1870—Georgia, Mississippi and Texas established public school systems.

1874—Kentucky established a public school system for Negroes.

1875—March 25. Delaware established a system of public schools to include Negroes. The first report of enrollment in the public schools of the South was for the year 1876-1877, when 1,827,139 white children and 571,506 colored children were enrolled in the sixteen former slave states and the District of Columbia.

Reference: *Negro Year Book*, 1937-1938, p. 165.

Enrollment of Negroes in Public Schools

The total number of Negro pupils enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools of the 18 states during the years 1931-32 was 2,553,320—an increase of 377,165, or 19.1 per cent, over the enrollment in 1917-18, which was 1,976,155. The increase in the population of school age (5-17) during the same period was 1.5. This increase in the school enrollment when the school population remained almost stationary is a reflection of the improvement in educational conditions and facilities for Negroes, which is probably the result of at least three factors, namely:

(1) Improvement in the Negroes' economic status
(2) Increased interest on the part of Negroes in their own education
(3) The changed attitude of public officials toward the education of Negroes

ACCREDITING

Colleges and universities listed are accredited by the following accrediting associations which are designated by the accompanying abbreviations:

M—Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools
N—North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools
S—Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools
T—American Association of Teachers Colleges

Reference: *Educational Directory*, 1938, Part III, Colleges and Universities, Bulletin 1938, No. 1—United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education.

NEGRO INSTITUTIONS

ALABAMA:

Miles Memorial College, Birmingham—Brooks Dickens, President.
Oakwood College, Huntsville—J. L. Moran, President.
Selma University, Selma—Wm. H. Dinkins, President.
State Agricultural and Mechanical Institute, Normal (S)—J. F. Drake, President.
State Teachers College, Montgomery (S)—H. Councill Trenholm, President.
Stillman Institute, Tuscaloosa—A. L. Jackson, President.
Talladega College, Talladega (S)—Buell Gordon Gallagher, President.
Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee (S)—F. D. Patterson, President.

ARKANSAS:

Agricultural, Mechanical, and Normal College, Pine Bluff—John B. Watson, President.
Arkansas Baptist College, Little Rock—R. C. Woods, President.
Dunbar Junior College, Little Rock—John H. Lewis, President.
Philander Smith College, Little Rock—M. LaFayette Harris, President.
Shorter College, Little Rock—G. A. Gregg, President.

DELAWARE:

State College for Colored Students, Dover—R. S. Grossley, President.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA:

Howard University, Washington (M)—Mordecai W. Johnson, President.
Miner Teachers College, Washington (T)—Eugene A. Clark, President.

FLORIDA:

Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach (S)—Mary McLeod Bethune, President.
Edward Waters College, Jacksonville—C. S. Long, Jr., President.
Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes, Tallahassee (S)—J. R. E. Lee, President.
Florida Normal and Industrial Institute, St. Augustine (S)—N. W. Collier, President.

GEORGIA:

Atlanta School of Social Work, Atlanta—Forrester B. Washington, President.
Atlanta University, Atlanta (S)—Rufus E. Clement, President.
Clark University, Atlanta (S)—M. S. Davage, President.
Fort Valley Normal and Industrial School, Fort Valley (S)—Frank S. Horne, acting President.
Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta—Willis J. King, President.
Georgia Normal and Agricultural College, Albany—J. W. Holley, President.
Georgia State College, Industrial College, Ga.—B. F. Hubert, President.
Morehouse College, Atlanta (S)—Samuel H. Archer, President.
Morris Brown University, Atlanta (S)—William A. Fountain, Jr., President.
Paine College, Augusta (S)—Edmund C. Peters, President.
Spelman College, Atlanta (S)—Florence M. Reed, President.
State Teachers and Agricultural College, Forsyth—W. M. Hubbard, President.

KENTUCKY:

Kentucky State Industrial College, Frankfort (S)—R. B. Atwood, President.
Louisville Municipal College for Negroes (S)—David A. Lane, Jr., President.

LOUISIANA:

Dillard University, New Orleans (S)—William Stuart Nelson, President.
Leland College, Baker—J. A. Bacoats, President.
Louisiana Normal and Industrial Institute, Grambling—Charles P. Adams, President.
Southern University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, Scotlandville (S)—J. S. Clark, President.
Xavier University, New Orleans (S)—Mother M. Agatha, President.

MARYLAND:

Coppin Normal School, Baltimore—Miles W. Conner, President.
Maryland Normal School, Bowie—Leonidas S. James, President.
Morgan College, Baltimore (M)—Dwight O. W. Holmes, President.
Princess Anne Academy, Princess Anne—T. H. Kiah, President.

MISSISSIPPI:

Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, Alcorn—William H. Bell, President.
Campbell College, Jackson—R. A. Scott, President.
Jackson College, Jackson—B. Baldwin Dansby, President.
Rust College, Holly Springs—L. M. McCoy, President.
Southern Christian Institute, Edwards—John Long, President.
Tougaloo College, Tougaloo (S)—Judson L. Cross, President.

MISSOURI:

Lincoln University, Jefferson City (N)—President, Dr. Sherman D. Scruggs.
Stowe Teachers College, St. Louis (T)—Ruth Miriam Harris, President.

NORTH CAROLINA:

Barber-Scotia Junior College, Concord (S)—L. S. Cozard, Dean.

Bennett College, Greensboro (S)—David D. Jones, President.

Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte (S)—Henry L. McCrorey, President.

Livingston College, Salisbury (S)—W. J. Trent, President.

Negro Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro (S)—Ferdinand D. Bluford, President.

North Carolina College for Negroes, Durham (S)—James E. Shepard, President.

St. Augustine's College, Raleigh (S)—Edgar H. Goold, President.

Shaw University, Raleigh (S)—Robert P. Daniel, President.

State Normal School, Elizabeth City—J. H. Bias, President.

State Normal School, Fayetteville—J. W. Seabrook, President.

Winston-Salem Teachers College, Winston-Salem—F. L. Atkins, President.

OHIO:

Wilberforce University, Wilberforce (T)—D. Ormonde Walker, President.

OKLAHOMA:

Colored Agricultural and Normal University, Langston —J. W. Sanford, President.

PENNSYLVANIA:

Cheyney Training School for Teachers, Cheyney—Leslie Pinckney Hill, President.

Lincoln University, Lincoln University (S)—W. L. Wright, President.

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Allen University, Columbia (S)—Abram L. Simpson, President.
Avery Institute, Charleston—F. A. De Costa, Director.
Benedict College, Columbia (S)—J. J. Starks, President.
Bettis Academy, Trenton—A. W. Nicholson, President.
Claflin College, Orangeburg—J. B. Randolph, President.
Clinton Normal and Industrial Institute, Rock Hill—J. S. Stanback, President.
Friendship College, Rock Hill—J. H. Goudlock, President.
Morris College, Sumter—I. D. Pinson, President.
State Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural, and Mechanical College of South Carolina, Orangeburg (S)—M. F. Whittaker, President.
Voorhees Normal and Industrial School, Denmark—J. E. Blanton, Principal.

TENNESSEE:

Fisk University, Nashville (S)—Thomas E. Jones, President.
Knoxville College, Knoxville (S)—Samuel M. Laing, President.
Lane College, Jackson (S)—J. F. Lane, President.
Le Moyne College, Memphis (S)—Frank Sweeney, President.
Meharry Medical College, Nashville—Edward L. Turner, President.
Morristown Normal and Industrial College, Morristown—J. W. Haywood, President.
Swift Memorial Junior College, Rogersville—W. C. Hargrave, President.
Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Teachers College, Nashville (T)—W. J. Hale, President.

TEXAS:

Bishop College, Marshall (S)—Joseph J. Rhoads, President.
Butler College, Tyler—I. Jackson, Jr., President.

Guadelupe College, Seguin—J. R. Lockett, President.
Houston College for Negroes, Houston (S)—E. E. Oberholtzer, President.
Jarvis Christian College—J. N. Ervin, President.
Mary Allen Junior College (S)—R. R. Smith, President.
Paul Quinn College, Waco—A. S. Jackson, President.
Prairie View State College, Crockett (S)—W. R. Banks, President.
St. Phillip's Junior College and Vocational Institute—Miss A. Bowden, President.
Samuel Houston College, Austin (S)—Stanley E. Grannum, President.
Texas College, Tyler (S)—Dominion R. Glass, President.
Tillotson College, Austin (S)—Mary E. Branch, President.
Wiley College, Marshall (S)—M. W. Dogan, President.

VIRGINIA:

Bishop Payne Divinity School, Petersburg—F. G. Ribble, Dean.
Hampton Institute, Hampton (S)—Arthur Howe, President.
Nansemond Collegiate Institute, Suffolk—William Huskerson, President.
St. Paul Normal and Industrial School, Lawrenceville—J. Alvin Russell, President.
Virginia State College for Negroes, Ettrick (S)—John M. Gandy, President.
Virginia Theological Seminary and College, Lynchburg (S)—W. H. R. Powell, President.
Virginia Union University, Richmond—William J. Clark, President.

WEST VIRGINIA:

Bluefield State Teachers College, Bluefield—H. L. Dickson, acting President.
Storer College, Harpers Ferry—Henry T. McDonald, President.
West Virginia State College, Institute (N)—John W. Davis, President.

APPENDIX NUMBER XV

AMERICA

My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
  Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrim's pride,
From every mountain side
  Let freedom ring.

My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free,—
  Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills;
My heart with rapture thrills
  Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees,
  Sweet freedom's song!
Let mortal tongues awake
Let all that breathe partake,
Let rocks their silence break,—
  The sound prolong.

Our father's God, to Thee,
Author of liberty;
  To Thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by thy might,
  Great God our King.

—*Samuel Francis Smith*

APPENDIX NUMBER XVI
THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

O say, can you see, by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming—
Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the perilous night,
O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming!
And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there;
O! say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave?

On that shore dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breese, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, now conceals, now discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam
In full glory reflected now shines on the stream;
'Tis the star-spangled banner; O long may it wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave!

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion
A home and a country should leave us no more?
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave:
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

O! thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand
Between their loved homes and the war's desolation!
Blest with victory and peace, may the heav'n rescued land
Praise the power that hath made and preserved us a nation.
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just
And this be our motto,—"In God is our trust;"
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

—***Francis Scott Key***

SWING LOW

Chorus:

Swing low, sweet chariot,
Coming for to carry me home,
Swing low, sweet chariot,
Coming for to carry me home.

Verses:

I looked over Jordan, and what did I see?
Coming for to carry me home,
A band of angels coming after me,
Coming for to carry me home.

If you get there before I do,
Coming for to carry me home,
Tell all my friends I'm coming too,
Coming for to carry me home.

I'm sometimes up, I'm sometimes down,
Coming for to carry me home,
But still my soul feel heav'nly bound,
Coming for to carry me home.

LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING

(Negro National Anthem)

Lift every voice and sing
Till earth and heaven ring
Ring with the harmonies of liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise
High as the listening skies
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith
That the dark past hast taught us,
Sing a song full of the hope
That the present has brought us;
Facing the rising sun
Of our new day begun
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod
Bitter and chast'ning rod
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat
Have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed!
We have come over the way
That with tears has been watered,
We have come treading our path
Thro' the blood of the slaughtered,
Out from the gloomy past;
Till now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.
God of our weary years,
God of our silent tears,
Thou who hast brought us thus far on our way;
Thou who hast by Thy might
Let us into the light
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places,
Our God where we met Thee
Lest our hearts drunk with the wine
Of the world, we forget Thee;
Shadowed beneath Thy hand,
May we forever stand,
True to our God, true to our Native Land!

—*James Weldon Johnson;*
J. Rosamond Johnson

I AIN'T GOIN'T STUDY WAR NO MORE

Going to lay down my burden,
Down by the riverside,
Down by the riverside,
Down by the riverside,
Going to lay down my burden,
Down by the riverside to study war no more.

Going to lay down my sword and shield,
Down by the riverside,
Down by the riverside,
Down by the riverside,
Going to lay down my sword and shield,
Down by the riverside to study war no more.

Going to try on my long white robe,
Down by the riverside,
Down by the riverside,
Down by the riverside,
Going to try on my long white robe,
Down by the riverside to study war no more.

Going to try on my starry crown,
Down by the riverside,
Down by the riverside,
Down by the riverside,
Going to try on my starry crown,
Down by the riverside to study war no more.

Going to meet my dear old mother,
Down by the riverside,
Down by the riverside,
Down by the riverside,
Going to meet my dear old mother,
Down by the riverside to study war no more.

Going to meet my dear old father,
Down by the riverside,
Down by the riverside,
Down by the riverside,
Going to meet my dear old father,
Down by the riverside to study war no more.

Going to meet my loving Jesus,
Down by the riverside,
Down by the riverside,
Down by the riverside,
Going to meet my loving Jesus,
Down by the riverside to study war no more.

Chorus:

I ain't goin't study war no more,
Ain't goin't study war no more,
Ain't goin't study war no more,
Ain't goin't study war no more,
Ain't goin't study war no more,
Ain't goin't study war no more.

I COULDN'T HEAR NOBODY PRAY

Chorus:

An' I couldn't hear nobody pray, O Lord,
I couldn't hear nobody pray, O Lord,
O 'way down yonder by myself and I couldn't
Hear nobody pray.

Verses:

In de valley, I couldn't hear nobody pray,
On my knees, I couldn't hear nobody pray,
Wid my burden, I couldn't hear nobody pray,
An' my Savior, I couldn't hear nobody pray,
O Lord.

Chilly water, I couldn't hear nobody pray,
In'a de Jordan, I couldn't hear nobody pray,
Crossing over, I couldn't hear nobody pray,
In'a to Canaan, I couldn't hear nobody pray,
O Lord.

Hallelujah, I couldn't hear nobody pray,
Troubles am over, I couldn't hear nobody pray,
In de Kingdom, I couldn't hear nobody pray
Wid a my Jesus, I couldn't hear nobody pray,
O Lord.

STEAL AWAY

Chorus:

Steal away, steal away, steal away to Jesus!
Steal away, steal away home,
I ain't got long to stay here!

Verses:

My Lord calls me, He calls me by the Thunder,
The trumpet sounds within my soul,
I ain't got long to stay here.

Green trees are bending, poor sinner stands a trembling,
The trumpet sounds within my soul,
I ain't got long to stay here.

Tombstones are bursting, poor sinner stands a trembling,
The trumpet sounds within my soul,
I ain't got long to stay here.

My Lord calls me, He calls me by the Lightning,
The trumpet sounds within my soul,
I ain't got long to stay here.

GO DOWN MOSES

Chorus:

Go down Moses; 'way down in Egypt land,
Tell Ole Pharaoh, To let my people go.
(Repeat.)

Verse:

When Israel was in Egypt's land—
Let my people go,
Oppressed so hard they could not stand,
Let my people go.
"Thus spoke the Lord," bold Moses said,
Let my people go.
"If not I'll smite your first-born dead,"
Let my people go.

Deep River

Chorus:

Deep river, My home is over Jordan
Deep river, Lord,
I want to cross over into camp-ground.
Lord, I want to cross over into camp-ground.
Lord, I want to cross over into camp-ground.
Lord, I want to cross over into camp-ground.

Verses:

Oh, don't you want to go to that Gospel-feast,
That promis'd land where all is peace?
Lord, I want to cross over into camp-ground.
(Repeat 3 times.)

I'll go into heaven, and take my seat,
Cast my crown at Jesus' feet.
Lord, I want to cross over into camp-ground.
(Repeat 3 times.)

Oh, when I get to heav'n, I'll walk all about.
There's nobody there for to turn me out.
Lord, I want to cross over into camp-ground.
(Repeat 3 times.)

APPENDIX NUMBER XVII

DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF NEGRO PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS

The number of Negro presidential appointments has steadily declined from 1912 to 1937.

Negroes Holding Presidential Appointment Offices under the T. R. Roosevelt and Taft Administrations, 1901-1912.

To Federal Offices—

James C. Napier, Tennessee, Register of the Treasury.

Cyrus F. Adams, Illinois, Assistant Register of the Treasury.

Henry L. Johnson, Georgia, Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia.

Ralph W. Tyler, Ohio, Auditor of the Navy Department.

Whitfield McKinley, Collector of Customs, Washington, D. C.

Robert H. Terrell, Judge, Municipal Court, Washington, D. C.

Charles W. Anderson, Collector of Internal Revenue, New York City.

Charles Cottrell, Collector of Customs, Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands.

John N. W. Alexander, Registrar, Land Office, Montgomery, Alabama.

John E. Bush, Receiver of Public Monies, Little Rock, Arkansas.

In Diplomatic Service—

Henry W. Furniss, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

William D. Crum, Minister and Resident Consul General at Monrovia, Liberia.

In Consular Service—

William J. Yerby, Consul at Sierra Leone, West Africa.

James G. Carter, Consul at Tamatave, Madagascar.

Christopher H. Payne, Consul at St. Thomas, West Indies.

George H. Jackson, Consul at Cognac, France.
Lemuel W. Livingston, Consul at Cape Haitien, Haiti.
William H. Hunt, Consul at St. Etienne, France.
Herbert R. Wright, Consul at Puerto Cabello, Venezuela.
James W. Johnson, Consul at Corinto, Nicaragua.

Negroes holding Presidential Appointment Offices Under the Wilson Administration, 1913-1920.

To Federal Offices—

Robert H. Terrell, Judge, Municipal Court, Washington, D. C.

In Diplomatic Service—

James L. Curtis, Minister Resident and Consul General at Monrovia, Liberia.
Joseph L. Johnson, Minister Resident and Consul General at Monrovia, Liberia.
Solomon P. Hood, Minister Resident and Consul General at Monrovia, Liberia.
Richard W. Bundy, Secretary of Legation at Monrovia, Liberia.

In Consular Service—

William J. Yerby, Consul, at Dakar, West Africa.
James G. Carter, Consul at Tamatave, Madagascar.
Christopher H. Payne, Consul at St. Thomas, West Indies.
Lemuel W. Livingston, Consul at Cape Haitien, Haiti.
William H. Hunt, Consul at St. Etienne, France.
Herbert R. Wright, Consul at Puerto Cabello, Venezuela.

Negroes Holding Presidential Appointment Offices Under the Harding-Coolidge Administrations, 1921-1928.

To Federal Offices—

Robert H. Terrell, Judge, Municipal Court, Washington, D. C.
James A. Cobb, Judge, Municipal Court, Washington, D. C.
Walter L. Cohen, Louisiana, Collector of Customs, New Orleans, La.
Charles W. Anderson, New York, Collector of Internal Revenue, Third District of New York City.

Jefferson S. Coage, Recorder of Deeds, District of Columbia.

In Diplomatic Service—

Solomon P. Hood, Minister Resident and Consul General at Monrovia, Liberia.

In Consular Service—

William J. Yerby, Consul at Daker, West Africa and at Oporto, Portugal.

James G. Carter, Consul at Tamatave, Madagascar, and at Calais, France.

William H. Hunt, Consul at St. Etienne, France, and St. Michales, Azores.

Clifford R. Wharton, Consul at Las Palmas, Canary Islands.

Negroes Holding Presidential Appointment Offices under the Hoover Administration 1929-1932.

To Federal Offices—

James A. Cobb, Judge, Municipal Court, Washington, D. C.

Walter L. Cohen, Collector of Customs, New Orleans.

Charles W. Anderson, Collector Internal Revenue, District of New York City.

Jefferson S. Coage, Recorder of Deeds, District of Columbia.

In Diplomatic Service—

Charles E. Mitchell, Minister Resident and Consul General at Monrovia, Liberia.

In Consular Service—

William J. Yerby, Consul at Oporto, Portugal.

James G. Carter, Consul at Calais, France.

William H. Hunt, Consul at St. Michales, Azores.

Clifford R. Wharton, Consul at Las Palmas, Canary Islands.

Negroes Holding Presidential Appointment Offices under the Roosevelt Administration, 1933-1937.

To Federal Offices—

Armond W. Scott, Judge, Municipal Court, Washington, D. C.

W. J. Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds, District of Columbia.

William H. Hastie, Federal Judge, Virgin Islands.

In Diplomatic Service—

Lester A. Walton, Minister Resident and Consul General at Monrovia, Liberia.

In Consular Service—

James G. Carter, Consul at Calais, France.

Reference: *Negro Year Book,* 1937-1938, pp. 111-112.

LIST OF NEGRO "NEW DEAL" DEPARTMENTAL APPOINTEES

1933-1934 Appointees—

Allen, L. R.—Statistician, Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

Atkins, James A.—Specialist Negro Education, W.P.A

Bond, Max—Supervisor of Recreation and Training, Tennessee Valley Authority, Wheeler.

Brown, Alonzo—Architect, Subsistence Homesteads Division,* Department of the Interior.

Brown, Edgar G.—Advisor on Negro affairs CCC.

Byrd, Mabel (curtailed)—Economist, Research Department, Emergency Relief Administration.

Cools, G. Victor—Project Analyst, Subsistence Homesteads Division,* Department of the Interior.

Davis, John A.—Research Assistant, Department of Labor.

Evans, Joseph H. B.—Executive Assistant to the Farm Security Administration.

Fletcher, T. M.—Member NRA Code Authority for Funeral Industry.

Harris, Dr. Abram L. (resigned)—Member NRA Consumer Advisory Board.

Hunt, Henry A.—Assistant to the Governor, Farm Credit Administration.

Johnson, Dr. Joseph L. (resigned)—Assistant, Office of Clark Foreman, Department of Interior.

Jones, Eugene Kinckle—Advisor on Negro Affairs, Department of Commerce.

King, Dr. Louise E.—Historian Foreman, Gettysburg CCC Camp (promoted June, 1935 to Junior Historian).

Lankford, John A.—Architect, Public Works Administration.

Mann, Theophilus M.—Legal Staff, Public Works Administration.

Moron, Alonzo—Commissioner of Public Welfare, Virgin Islands.

Moses, Earl (resigned)—Assistant Economic Analyst, Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

Murchison, John P.—Associate Advisor on Negro Affairs, Department of the Interior.

Otis, Jesse R. (resigned)—Assistant in Homesteads Development Administration.

Oxley, Lawrence A.—Chief, Division of Negro Labor, Department of Labor.

Reed, R. R.—Assistant Executive Secretary, Code Authority for Funeral Industry.

Robinson, Hilyard R.—Architect, Subsistence Homesteads Division, Department of the Interior.

Sanders, Mrs. Mabel—Education Division, W. P. A.

Smith, Alfred E.—Assistant, Correspondence Division, Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

Vann, Robert L.—Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Department of Justice.

Washington, Forrester B. (resigned)—Director of Negro Work, Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

Weaver, Dr. Robert C.—Advisor on Negro Affairs, U. S. H. A., Department of the Interior.

1935 Appointees—

Bailey Walter T.—Architect participating in a Chicago Housing project.

Coleman, Wilbur F. (resigned)—Management Supervisor, Housing Division, Public Works Administration.

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*The Division of Subsistence Homesteads has been transferred to the Resettlement Administration of the Department of Agriculture.

Reference: *Negro Year Book,* 1937-1938, pp. 112-114.

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