Publications of the University of Virginia
Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers

NUMBER SIX

THE Education and Economic Development of the Negro in Virginia

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Phelps-Stokes Fellow, 1921-1923

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

The Phelps-Stokes Fellowship for the study of the Negro was founded at the University of Virginia in 1912 through a gift from the trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. It is the duty of the holder of the Fellowship to stimulate and conduct investigation and to encourage and guide a wider general interest among students concerning the character, condition and possibilities of the Negroes in the Southern States.

With this object in view the successive incumbents have organized classes for study that have been well attended and diligent. Special investigations have been carried on by each Fellow; related topics have been assigned for study by individuals and groups, and the results presented for class discussion; and from time to time men distinguished as thoughtful students of Negro life have been invited to lecture at the University.

PREFACE.

It is not necessary to offer apologies for the study here presented of the education and economic status of the Negro in Virginia. Although a problem of long standing, in its essential aspects the Negro question remains as vital and as far from solution as in the Colonial period. We in Virginia have failed to look the matter squarely in the face, and have preferred not to think of it at all in its broader aspects. In my conversations with many representative Virginians, I have been greatly impressed with the indifference displayed towards this subject by the mass of the people. Comparatively few, even of those who were raised among Negroes, have formed any definite opinion as to what should be the attitude of the white man towards the Negro. They also lacked any general information as to what the Negroes of the State had done or what had been done for them during the past sixty years of freedom. It is true that many have a well-grounded impression, often unfavorable, which they have gained through frequent contact with the day laboring and domestic class of Negroes. It is possible that this estimate is not altogether fair to the race.

The writer has made no attempt to "solve the insoluble." His purpose has not been to generalize on what the ultimate solution of our race problem must be. He has merely attempted to portray what has been done toward the education of the Negro and the bearing of that education on the part which the Negro has played in the development of Virginia's resources in the past two generations. He has tried to avoid the pitfall of making indefensible assumptions, and has been satisfied with giving, to a large extent, statements of important facts from which the reader may draw his own conclusions.

In dealing with certain phases of the subject the writer has been obliged for the sake of clarity of treatment to make frequent recourse to the works of others. As far as possible an acknowledgment of indebtedness to individual authors has been made by reference in footnotes. Yet many ideas, obtained from

rather wide reading, have been employed and the author is at a loss to give in all cases the proper recognition.

I am especially indebted to Professors Thomas Walker Page, and Tipton R. Snavely, of the University of Virginia, for their constant assistance and advice. The author also gratefully acknowledges the invaluable help given him by the United States Census Bureau, and the Virginia State Library at Richmond.

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CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

For a proper understanding of Negro education in recent years some general idea of what had been done along this line prior to the Civil War is an obvious necessity. In the usually accepted sense of the word, there was indeed little education of the Negro in the days of slavery. However, it seems to be no unwarranted extension of the term "education" to consider outside religious training and manual training as of the same significance as though they had been given in the school room.

An attempt to reproduce the story of literary education, for either whites or Negroes, in the Colonial period, is an almost hopeless task. Historians made slight mention of it in their works. This would go to show that there was the lack of interest in education which is always apparent in a pioneer country. The stern struggle for existence allows but little time for the development of the finer sensibilities.

During the first half century after the settlement of the colony at Jamestown, there was at no time more than two thousand Negroes in Virginia. Hence, it is not surprising that they occupy but a small part in the records of the period. The most then that can be done is to piece together the few well authenticated reports which are left to us and, using this as a foundation, reconstruct the outlines as best we may.

In considering the education of the Negro prior to the Civil War it is convenient to divide the time between 1619 and 1860 into two periods: the first, 1619 to 1800; and the second, 1800 to 1861.

During the earlier period, the people as a whole were in favor of education for the Negro. Not that any constructive action was taken on a large scale, but the general sentiment was at least friendly. Many masters encouraged education among their slaves for religious or more selfish motives while very few were actively opposed to it. Religious organizations also frequently displayed considerable interest in the instruction of Negroes.

From the last years of the eighteenth century until the Civil War there was much unrest among the Negroes of Virginia. Negro resentment found expression through insubordination and sporadic outbreaks which finally culminated in Gabriel's insurrection in 1800. Masters accused the abolitionists of fostering trouble among their slaves by means of incendiary literature and special agents. The latter could be handled with comparative ease, but the only certain method of combating written propaganda was to prevent Negroes from learning to read.

The spread of the plantation system also indirectly injured the prospects of Negro education. Masters lost much of their personal interest in their charges. It became convenient for them to believe that the Negro was fitted only to become a cog in a vast machine. Virginia was especially affected by the change as an important percentage of her slaves were now raised and trained, not for employment at home, but to meet the demands of distant markets. Since education usually decreased the value of a slave the masters had this additional reason, besides that of fear of personal injury or property loss, for frowning on any efforts towards literary education for their Negroes. Missionaries still continued, so far as possible, their attempts to "enlighten the heathen" and they were seconded in their efforts by Negro sympathizers, especially from the North.

After the Civil War there were no longer any serious obstructions to Negro education. Many native Virginians frowned on the activities of "Yankee missionaries" and refused them any aid or moral encouragement. However, schools had been opened on a comparatively large scale within a few months after peace was declared.

The public school system went into operation in 1870. The opportunity of Negroes for acquiring an education was thereby vastly increased. Negro public schools have been constantly improving in quality and in quantity since the founding of the system. The most rapid advances have taken place in recent years. County training schools and better industrial and agricultural instruction are evidences of this forward movement.

The advance of the Negroes in land and home ownership in Virginia during two generations of freedom is especially note-

worthy. Along with their economic and intellectual improvement has come an increasing tendency towards racial cooperation and self-sufficiency. This change in attitude has been so gradual as to be almost unnoticed by the white business man. However, it has been continuous and there is no doubt but that future years will witness a constant strengthening of racial bonds. In this way the Negroes, in so far as they lose white patronage, can largely gain it from among those of their own color. Yet, they will be faced with a sterner struggle as the pressure of population becomes greater. The Negroes must increase their efficiency as producers. In all their efforts looking to this end, they should have the sympathy and assistance of the white race.

CHAPTER II.

The Education of the Negroes Prior to 1800.

The early settlers in Virginia paid little attention to education. They were too much engrossed with making good their foothold in a new and hostile country to think of cultural development. Ministers established a number of small private schools, sometimes as a business venture but usually as a recognized part of their pastoral duty. By the middle of the seventeenth century there were at least twenty of these schools in operation. There are no records to show whether or not Negroes were in attendance but the pastors in charge seem to have been godly men and some of them expressed a desire to christianize the "Heathen" (Indians and Negroes).

In 1620, there was a school for "Infidel Children" established in Virginia. The intention was to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic as a prelude to religious training.[1] It was hoped that the Indians would take advantage of this opportunity which was primarily for their benefit, as there were at this time but twenty-one Negroes in the colony. The first cargo consisting of twenty Negroes had only arrived in the previous year and but one addition had been made to their numbers prior to 1622 when the school was destroyed by the Indians.[2]

Early in the history of the colony there was an interest in what we would now call manual training for Negroes. For, in 1649, Captain Matthews, an early Virginia planter, was said to have forty Negro servants[3] whom he brought up to trades in

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1. Stith, History of Virginia, p. 162.

2. Bruce, Economic History of Virginia, Vol. II, p. 70. Note: E. D. Neil in the "Virginia Vetusta" gives a list of Negroes in Virginia, together with their masters, in 1625. This record shows only 20 Negroes.

3. During the first half century after the settlement at Jamestown, Negroes were regarded as servants although accorded more severe treatment than white servants. Ballagh calls attention to the fact that Negroes were slaves after 1661. He bases his claim on the recognition by law, in this year, that an extension of the term of servitude was insufficient punishment for runaway Negroes. (Ballagh, History of Slavery in Virginia,

his house.[4] During this period the colony was in the stage of household industry and as free craftsmen were very scarce, it was necessary for each plantation to be practically self-supporting. It is probable that the case of Captain Matthews is typical of the times. Bruce finds as a result of his study of the county records of the seventeenth century that "they reveal the presence of many Negro mechanics in the colony." He quotes the examples of Robert Beverley who owned a Negro carpenter valued at 30 pounds sterling; John Carter, Jr., of Lancaster, who owned a Negro cooper; and Ralph Wormeley, of Middlesex County, who owned both a Negro cooper and a Negro carpenter, each valued at 35 pounds sterling.[5]

In 1641, John Geaween, a Negro servant, purchased his son in order to bring him up in the Christian religion. The General Court decreed that the child should be "at the disposing and education of the said Geaween and the child's godfather."[6] In 1654, Richard Vaughan of Northampton County bequeathed his entire plantation to a Negro family, and instructed his executors to see to it that its younger members were all taught to read.[7]

Public opinion was not averse to the teaching of Negroes, provided such teaching was orthodox. However, too great tolerance was not a failing of these early settlers. In 1663, they prescribed a penalty of 5,000 pounds of tobacco on inhabitants entertaining Quakers, to teach or preach in their homes.[8] Quakers throughout their whole history took an especial interest in Negro education. The persecution to which they were subjected was in no wise due to the fact that they taught Negroes, but to the kind of teaching they gave and the religious beliefs which they held. They were, to the minds of members of the Estab-

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p. 34.) The first specific legal enactment looking towards perpetual servitude for the race was in 1662, when it was decreed that the issue of slave mothers should follow their condition. (Hening, Statutes, Vol. II, p. 170.)

4. Force, Historical Tracts, Vol. II, A New Description of Virginia, p. 15.

5. Bruce, Economic History of Virginia, Vol. II, p. 405.

6. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XI, p. 281.

7. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol. I, p. 298.

8. Hening, Statutes, Vol. II, p. 182.

lished Church, the worst variety of dissenters and as such, should be sternly suppressed.

In considering religious training for the Negro, the problem arose in Virginia as to whether the baptism of a slave released him from bondage. This question had disturbed slave owners, and it is to be feared that many were willing to take the chance of sacrificing the welfare of their slaves in the next world in order to prevent any immediate pecuniary losses to themselves. In order to allay any fears of this sort, a law was passed in 1667 which stated that baptism in no way altered the condition of the recipient in respect to his bondage or freedom.[9] In 1646, an act had been passed which required masters to send their servants to the minister to be instructed and catechized.[10]

Many masters became conscience-stricken as they prepared to die. It is quite common to find, as in the case of Richard Vaughan (see p. 13), provision made for the education of slaves. Henry Wickliff, of Westmoreland County, ordered his executors to purchase two mulatto boys, the younger of whom "was to be put to school until he could read English."[11] In 1670, Thomas Gerard, of Eastern Virginia, bequeathed 1,000 pounds of tobacco to meet the expenses for "the learning and education" of a Negro boy.[12] In 1693, Thomas Carter, of Northampton, a free black, left instructions that his three children, after his death, should be apprenticed to Thomas Gelding until they had reached the age of nineteen. It was specified that Gelding should teach the young Negroes how to read.[13] A certain John Farnefold in his will, proved in 1702, left one hundred acres of land and other property for the founding of a free school in Northumberland County. In speaking of this school, he says that he wishes his "two mulatto girles, Frances and Lucy Murrey, to

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9. Hening, Statutes Vol. II, p. 260. See Braxton Bryan, The Negro in Virginia, p. 7.
10. Hening, Statutes, Vol. I, p. 312.
11. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, Vol. I, p. 301.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

have a yeares' schooling."[14] Evidently they were to be pupils in this school.

The Negro in the seventeenth century was not regarded in some circles as having much higher mentality than a brute. Morgan Godwyn, writing in 1681, expresses this sentiment when he says that "their conversion was thought so idle and unmeaning that the reputation for good sense of the man who suggested it, was seriously impaired."[15] The Presbyterian Church did not follow this view and wanted more done for the two thousand and more Negroes of the State, for in the same year in which Godwyn wrote, we find them complaining that the "Negroes are destitute of the means of knowledge and wanting education."[16] There were others who agreed with the Presbyterians for in the instructions to Lord Culpeper in this year, he was advised as follows: "You are also, with the assistance of the Council and Assembly to find out the best means to facilitate and encourage the conversion of Negroes to the Christian Religion, wherein you are to have a due caution and regard to ye property of the inhabitants and safety of the colony."[17]

The Church was given an opportunity for doing much good when they were allowed to administer the laws in regard to apprentices. The carrying out of these laws was in the hands of church wardens from 1691-1785, and they seem to have been impartial in their treatment of the Negroes. The terms of indenture stipulated, among other things, that the apprentice should be taught to read and write.[18] The Lancaster County court records show that in 1719, "Robert, ye son of young Cuba, a free Negro woman, is bound to Mr. Edward Carter.....the said Carter is to cause him to be taught to read and write....."[19]

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14. William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, Vol. XXIV, pp. 245-246.
15. Bruce, Economic History of Virginia, Vol. II, p. 95.
16. A Supplement to the Negro's and Indian's Advocate, p. 10.
17. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XXVIII, p. 44.
18. Hening, Statutes, Vol. III, p. 375.
19. William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine, Vol. VIII, p. 82.

The Princess Anne County records for the same year show that Ned Anderson, a free Negro boy, was bound to John Jameson who was "to teach him to read and the trade of a tanner." [20] In Petworth Parish, Gloucester County, in 1716, George Petworth, a mulatto boy, was bound to Ralph Bevis who was to give him "3 years' schooling and carefully to instruct him afterwards that he may read well in any part of the Bible, also to instruct and Learn him ye said Molattoe boy such Lawful way or ways that he may be able after his Indented time expires to gitt his own Liveing." [21] The Princess Anne County records for 1727 show that David James, a Negro boy, was ordered to be bound to James Isadel, "who is to teach him to read ye Bible distinctly also ye trade of a gunsmith, that he carry him to ye clark's office and take indenture to that purpose." [22] The Minutes of Warwick County (1748-1762) show an order that "Malacai, a mulatto boy, son of Mulatto Betty, be by the churchwardens of this parish bound to Thomas Hobday to learn the art of planter according to law." [23] At a court held in Norfolk County on the fifteenth day of June, 1769, "It is ordered that the churchwardens of Portsmouth Parish bind Jack Sparrow, son of Margaret Sparrow, mulatto, to John Carr according to law." [24] At another court in the same county in 1771, "It is ordered that the churchwardens of St. Bride's Parish bind Saunders, a free Negro, son of Hannah Saunders, to James Jollif to be taught the trade of a tanner according to law." [25]

In 1785, the Overseers of the Poor took over the administration of the laws in regard to apprentices. They were ordered to require masters to see that their apprentices were taught reading, writing, and, if boys, arithmetic—including the rule of three, in addition to a trade.[26]

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20. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. II, p. 429.
21. William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine, Vol. V, p. 219.
22. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. II, p. 429.
23. Minutes of Warwick County (1748-1762), p. 30. (Recopy in Virginia State Library.)
24. Order Book of Norfolk County, 1768-1771, p. 91.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
26. Hening, Statutes, Vol. VIII, pp. 376-377, and Vol. XII, pp. 28-29, 197.

In 1724, the Bishop of London became anxious as to the extent of the missionary work carried on by Virginia clergy, so he sent them a letter in which he asked these questions: "Are there any infidels, bond or free, in your parish? What means are used for their conversion?" The answers are worth recording:

Petworth Parish, Gloucester County.—"I have no Indians in my parish but have several infidels, negro slaves brought from Africa, and such as are born in the country. Their masters very often bring them to read, and send them to the church and minister to be further instructed that they may be baptized, and many are so."—Emmanuel Jones.

Elizabeth City Parish, Elizabeth City County.—"There are many infidels, though very few here. The owners are generally careful to instruct those capable of instruction, and to bring them to baptism; but it is impossible to instruct those who are grown up before they are carried from their own country; they never being able to speak or understand our language perfectly."—James Falconer.

Accomack Parish, Eastern Shore.—"There are very few of the natives but a great many of the negroes who come to church; of such, I have baptized since I came (i. e. during fifteen years) about two hundred, and instruct them at their masters' houses."—William Black.[27]

Dr. Gibson, the Bishop of London, wrote two letters in 1727, on the subject of the conversion of the Negroes. The first of these was addressed to Masters and Mistresses in the English Plantations Abroad, and the second, to the missionaries. In both of these letters were exhortations to assist and promote the instruction of Negroes.[28] The good bishop was not satisfied with the progress which had been made towards instructing the heathen, for in his letter to Masters and Mistresses, he says, "I am not a little troubled to observe how small a progress has been made in a Christian country towards delivering those poor creatures from the pagan darkness and superstition in which they are bred, and the making them partakers of the light of

27. Braxton Bryan, The Negro in Virginia, p. 8.

28. Charles Jones, Religious Instruction of Negroes in the United States, p. 15.

the gospel, and of the benefits and blessings belonging to it." He said, moreover, that "all attempts towards it, have been by too many industriously discouraged and hindered; partly by magnifying the difficulties of the work; and partly by mistaken suggestions of the change which baptism would make in the condition of the Negroes, to the loss and disadvantage of the owners." [29]

Hugh Jones, writing in 1724, shows us that manual training was still going on among the Negroes, for he says, "Several of them are taught to be sawyers, carpenters, smiths, coopers, etc., and though for the most part they be none of the aptest or nicest; yet, they are by nature cut out for labor and fatigue and will perform tolerably well." [30] It may be concluded from Jones' statement that he did not have a very high regard for the ability of Negroes except in the lowest forms of labor.

There is other evidence besides that supplied by Jones which shows that the Negroes were employed quite freely in skilled and semi-skilled labor. In 1709, Jane Pleasants, of Henrico County, gave to her son, Joseph, a Negro boy called Neddy and stated that her desire was that "ye said Neddy should be a shoemaker." [31] When Col. William Byrd in 1732 thought of starting iron works, he sought advice from a Mr. Chiswell and Colonel Spotswood as to methods of operation. Mr. Chiswell told him that ".....120 slaves, including women, were necessary to carry on all the business of an iron work, and the more Virginians among them the better; tho' in that number

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29. Charles Jones, Religious Instruction of Negroes in the United States, pp. 16-25. There seems to have been some ignorance of the law of 1667 which stated that the conferring of baptism did not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage. Francis Michel, a native of Switzerland, in 1702, made a report of his journey through Virginia in which he said that "Even if they (the Negroes) desire to become Christians, it is only rarely permitted because the English law prescribes that after seven years' service they are (in that case) to be freed." (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XXIV, p. 116.)

30. Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 38. (Sabin Reprint.)

31. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XVIII, p. 451.

he comprehended carters, colliers, and those that planted corn." Colonel Spotswood informed Byrd that he ran his iron works with his own people (meaning slaves), except for raising the mine and running the ore, and that he believed he could train sensible Negroes to perform that part of the work also.[32] Robert Carter, in his will of June 9, 1730, said: "It is my will that some young Negroes of those I have given to my son George be bred up tradesmen, carpenters, and coopers for ye use of his plantation." [33] Benjamin Harrison, of Charles City County in his will dated 1745, gave sawyers, carpenters, and coopers to his son Benjamin.[34] Thomas Turner in a will proved in King George County in 1758, gave a Negro carpenter to Mr. Turner Dixon.[35] In 1772, John Baylor of New Market listed among his slaves, a carpenter, two smiths, two wheelwrights, and a miller.[36]

Robert Carter furnishes a good example of the attitude which the larger Virginia planters adopted towards their slaves. When he built his church in Lancaster County, in 1732, he specified that one-fourth of it should be reserved for the accommodation of his tenants and servants.[37]

In the middle of the eighteenth century, ministers were still working for the literary and religious cultivation of the Negroes. Fawcett, in his Compassionate Address of 1754, requests the Negroes to aid their fellows. He says, "Invite them to learn to read and direct them to where they may apply for assistance, especially to those faithful ministers who have been your instructors and fathers in Christ." [38]

The Reverend William Robinson served as a Methodist minister in Virginia during 1743. John Ledman reported that Robinson "was much interested for the slaves, many of whom attended his ministry and belonged to his church. Some of them

32. Writings of Colonel Wm. Byrd, Basset Edition, pp. 345, 360.
33. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. VI, p. 17.
34. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 128.
35. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 439
36. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 367-373.
37. Braxton Bryan, The Negro in Virginia, p. 8.
38. Fawcett, Compassionate Address, p. 25.

by the improvement of their few leisure hours, had learned to read, and were very desirous to have books. He supplied them to the utmost of his means." [39]

The Rev. Mr. Davies, writing to a London correspondent in 1754, says of the Negroes: "Though they have generally very little help to learn to read, yet, to my agreeable surprise, many of them, by the dint of application in their leisure hours, have made such a progress, that they can intelligently read a plain author." [40] Mr. Davies evidently welcomed Negroes in his congregations, for in a letter written from Hanover in 1756, he reports: "Last Sunday I had a sacrament, etc..... I had the pleasure of seeing the table of the Lord adorned with about forty-four black faces." [41] He said that at particular times as many as three hundred slaves attended his ministry. Bennett says of Davies that he embraced every opportunity for giving the Negroes religious instruction.[42]

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the Methodists had gotten into action in earnest. Thomas Rankin, in 1777, speaking of one of his own meetings, tells us that "hundreds of Negroes were among them with the tears streaming down their faces." [43] A Methodist Conference, meeting about 1780, adopted a measure to this effect: "Preachers were to meet the colored people in class, and in their absence were to appoint white leaders and not suffer them to stay late and meet by themselves." However, they adopted a resolution at the same time, condemning slavery which aroused resentment among certain classes and injured their opportunities for serving the Negroes.[44] Jones said "from this year (1773) to 1776, there was a great revival of religion in Virginia under the preaching of the Methodists, in connection with Rev. Mr. Jarrett of the Episcopal Church, which spread through fourteen counties." [45]

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39. Ledman, A History of the Rise of Methodism in America, p. 179.
40. Fawcett, Compassionate Address, p. 36.
41. Foote, Sketches of Virginia, Second Series, p. 47.
42. Bennett, Memorials of Methodism, p. 36.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
44. Bennett, Memorials of Methodism, p. 134.
45. Jones, Religious Instruction of Negroes in the United States, p. 39

The Methodists gained rapidly in the number of colored communicants. The following statistics show the increase.[46]

1786	379	colored	members	reported	for	Virginia	at	Conference
1787	645	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1789	2487	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1790	3416	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1792	3923	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1793	4097	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

The subject of establishing Sunday schools came before the Methodist Conference in 1790. The question arose as to "What can be done to instruct poor children (white and black) to read?" The answer was, "Let us labor, as the heart and soul of one man to establish Sunday schools, in or near the place of public worship. Let persons be appointed by the bishops, elders, deacons, or preachers, to teach (gratis) all that will attend and have the capacity to learn, from 6:00 in the morning till 10:00; and 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon till 6:00; where it does not interfere with public worship. The council shall compile a proper school book to teach them learning and piety."[47] This scheme was quite ambitious but it seems to have fallen into disuse after a few years, as it was a little too much strain on the brethren.

Mr. Todd reported in 1758, that "some of the Negroes can read the Bible; others can spell; and still others are just learning the alphabet."[48]

The Quakers, in spite of the persecution to which they had been subjected, were still in the field. In the report of the Virginia Yearly Meeting in 1757, we are told that "some manifested a concern in regard to taking more care in the education of Negroes."[49] In 1784, the Upper Quarterly Meeting reports that "the education of Negroes is very much neglected, although it is generally believed to be an indispensable duty, wherefore the meeting recommends this weighty matter to the particular

46. Bennett, Memorials of Methodism, pp. 233-281.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 297-298.
48. Earnest, Religious Development of the Negro, p. 42.
49. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, p. 200.

care and notice of the Monthly Meeting, who are requested to send up an account how far they have proceeded in this business." [50]

Robert Pleasants, one of the Friends, was interested in establishing schools for Negroes. "He circulated about 1782, or earlier, 'Proposals for Establishing a Free School for the Instruction of the Children of Blacks and People of Color,' in which it was earnestly recommended to the humane and benevolent of all denominations, cheerfully to contribute to an institution calculated to promote the spiritual and temporal interest of that unfortunate part of our fellow creatures, in forming their minds in the principles of virtue and religion and in common or useful literature: writing, cyphering, and mechanic arts, as the most likely means to render so numerous a people fit for freedom and to become useful citizens." He appropriated the rent of 350 acres of land and ten pounds per annum to be laid out in a a free school for Negroes. Weeks thinks that possibly the school for Negroes, which a few years after Pleasant's death was in existence, at Gravelly Run, resulted from this donation.[51]

Earnest finds that: "In 1781-1782 and later, the Quakers appointed committees to care for the education and religious instruction of Negroes set free, as well as those still in bondage." [52] These committees fell to work but as to how much they actually accomplished, we are unable to find out.

The Baptists began operations in Virginia during the last half of the eighteenth century, and did much in the way of religious instruction. Russell says, "even when the laws discouraged Negro education, the Baptists did much towards instructing free Negroes privately and in Sunday schools." [53] Some examples in regard to the influence of this sect may not be amiss. The following reports are from Virginia districts:

Allen's Creek: "The Gospel was carried here about 1770. Many persons embraced the truth, under the preaching of Mr.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

51. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, p. 215. Cited by Woodson, The Education of the Negro, pp. 111-112.

52. Earnest, Religious Development of the Negro, pp. 49-50.

53. Russell, The Free Negro in Virginia, p. 141.

John Williams. They were united and happy until Mr. Williams, in 1790, moved away. Being left destitute of ministerial instruction and having a considerable number of black people in their society, of whom there were some preachers of talents ..... . They increased rapidly so that in a few years, more than 100 blacks were baptized by them." [54]

Bluestone (1758): "There were several white members besides a large number of blacks, belonging chiefly to the estate of Colonel Bird, in that neighborhood. Many of these poor slaves became bright and shining Christians. The breaking up of Bird's quarters scattered these blacks into various parts. It did not rob them of their religion. It is said that through their labors in the different neighborhoods into which they fell, many persons were brought to the knowledge of the truth and some of them persons of distinction." [55]

During 1793, a church in the city of Williamsburg, composed wholly of people of color, was admitted into the Association. For several years, this church, with a roll of five hundred members, sent delegates regularly to the general meeting. A succession of talented Negroes served as pastors.[56]

A number of other local Baptist Associations reported large numbers of Negroes in attendance. These churches often made no distinction in sex or color in rules governing discipline and church government. However, in churches where slaves were in the majority, the incapacity of Negroes for government resulted in "great confusion." Hence, as in the case of the Dover Association, in 1802, it was sometimes found desirable to allow only free male members to exercise authority.[57]

Many masters cheerfully gave permission to their slaves to attend preaching or religious gatherings whenever they asked it. The lenient attitude of Robert Carter towards his Negroes, even when his leniency resulted in a pecuniary loss, is illustrated by this letter of Samuel L. Straughan, overseer, which was written to Carter in 1787: "I understand by Suckey (a slave) that she has leave of you to stay at home and wash her clothes

54. Semple, Baptists in Virginia, pp. 221-222.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 97 and 114-115.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 109, 112, 128.

at any time when she pleases, and go to every place to meeting in the week she pleases, let the work be in what condition it will." It seems that Suckey exercised her privilege and deserted the plantation at a strategic time, for which the overseer called her to account with the following result, as the overseer relates it: "She said it was your orders and she would do it in defiance of me. I never refuse to let none of the people go to meeting when they ast my leave, etc." [58]

Occasionally such statements as this one against the estate of William Hunter, one time editor of the Gazette, gives us a glimpse of what was going on,—"Paid Ann wages for teaching at the Negro school." Mr. Lyon G. Tyler concludes from this that there was a school for Negroes at Williamsburg prior to 1764.[59] Colonel James Gordon, of Lancaster County, records in his journal, under date of Jan. 16, 1759, that he "sent Molly and her maid to school to Mr. Criswell." [60] In the same year he records the facts that he "gave several books among the Negroes" and that "Our Negroes have attended sermons these four days." [61]

Jefferson believed that something tangible had been done towards Negro education by 1787. He tells us in his Notes on Virginia that "many of them have been brought up to the handicraft arts, and from that circumstance, have always been associated with the whites. Some have been liberally educated." [62]

Jefferson, in his project for a public school system in Virginia, intended to place Negroes on much the same basis as whites for he says: "The ultimate result of the whole scheme of education would be the teaching of all the children of the State, reading, writing, and common arithmetic." [63]

The following letter was written by Thomas Jefferson to a Mr. Barrow in 1815: "The mind of the master is to be apprized

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58. Documentary History of American Industrial Society, Vol. I, pp. 324-325.

59. William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine, Vol. VI, p. 80.

60. M. N. Standard, Colonial Virginia, Its People and Customs, p. 273.

61. William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine, Vol. XI, pp. 108-109.

62. Jefferson, Notes on Virginia, p. 192.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

by reflection and strengthened by the energies of conscience against the obstacles of self-interest to an acquiescence in the rights of others; that of the slaves is to be prepared by instruction and habit for self-government, and for the honest pursuits of industry and social duty." [64]

In a plan which Jefferson drew up for the abolition of slavery in the United States, he provided that the Federal government should at its own expense, educate the colored people.[65]

Henderson quotes a conversation which Melbourne is said to have had with Jefferson: "He inquired of me whether I had seen the building, then lately erected for the University of Virginia, and said he intended it should be free for the instruction of all sects and colors. He expressed his deep anxiety for the improvement of the minds and the elevation of the character of, as he has been pleased to call them, 'our colored brethren.'" [66]

That Jefferson took a deep interest in the education of the Negroes is evidenced by the letter which he wrote to Banneker (a Negro). As this letter is interesting for several reasons, I shall take the risk of tiring the reader and quote it in full:

Philadelphia, Pa., August 30, 1791.

"Sir: I thank you sincerely for your letter of the 19th inst., and for the almanac it contained. Nobody wishes more than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of other colors of men, and that the appearance of a want of them is owing only to their degraded condition, both in Africa and America. I can add with truth that no one wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition both of their body and mind, to what it ought to be, as fast as the imbecility of their present existence, and other circumstances which cannot be neglected, will admit. I have taken the liberty of sending

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64. H. A. Washington, Works of Jefferson, Vol. VI, p. 456. See, also, Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, p. 61.

65. Henderson, Thomas Jefferson on Education, p. 456.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225. Note: There is evidence extant which leads us to doubt seriously the accuracy of the statement in regard to throwing open the University of Virginia to "all sects and colors."

your almanac to Monsieur de Condorcet, Secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and member of the Philanthropic Society, because I considered it a document to which your whole color had a right for their justification against the doubts which have been ascertained against them." [67]

Washington did not take any especial interest in Negro education. However, in his will, dated 1799, he made the following provision: "Negro infants who do not have parents willing or able to provide for them, shall be bound by the court until they arrive at the age of twenty-five. The Negroes thus bound are to be taught to read and write and brought up to some useful occupation." [68]

Woodson makes a statement which well illustrates the feeling during the period prior to 1800. He says that in 1797 the abolitionists had established a mixed school in Alexandria. The same writer states that at this time, there were schools for Negroes in Richmond, Petersburg, and Norfolk.[69]

It seems that Negroes were at least not prevented by many masters from gaining any instruction at hand, during their leisure hours. Ministers and members of the master's family would often assist them if they were really anxious to learn. Missionaries were almost unhindered in their efforts towards the uplift of the race, provided they used common discretion in the matter of their instruction. Negroes, it is true, were getting what would appear to us very meager educational encouragement, but we must not make the mistake of judging education at this period by our present day standards. Education for whites in the South was at a very low ebb except in the families of the more wealthy planters.

Braxton Bryan says that there were many more Negroes in the South between 1800 and 1830 who could read than there

67. Annual Virginia Reports for 1871, p. 110. Note: Benjamin Banneker was a pure Negro, born at Ellicott's Mills, Md., son of a native African. He invented a good clock and showed a sound knowledge of astronomy. He aided also in running the lines of the District of Columbia.

68. Livermore, Historical Research, p. 44. (Quoted from Spark's "Washington," Vol. XII, pp. 569-570.)

69. Woodson, Education of the Negro, pp. 109-110.

were in 1861.[70] This was due to the change in the attitude of Southern people toward the Negro. Gabriel's insurrection in 1800 marks the turning point in the early history of Negro education.

Prior to 1800 there had been two slave insurrections of rather large proportions: In October 1722, about two hundred Negroes had gotten together in a body near the mouth of the Rappahannock River. They were armed and had the intention of attacking the white people in church. This plot was discovered and the participants scattered before they had done any harm.[71] In August 1730, there was an insurrection among the slaves of Williamsburg, due to a report that Colonel Spotswood had orders to free all baptized persons. The Negroes decided that they were being unlawfully held as slaves and demanded their liberty. The disturbance subsided when the Negroes found that they had been misinformed. [72]

The insurrection led by Gabriel and Jack Bowler was of a much more threatening character than these earlier revolts. These Negroes managed to collect and organize a large band of

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70. Braxton Bryan, The Negro in Virginia, p. 65.

71. Coffin, Slave Insurrections, p. 11.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 13. Note: There was a slave insurrection in Isle of Wight County in 1709 (Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. I, p. 129.) From early in the history of the colony, as would be expected, many individual masters had trouble with their Negroes. In some cases, several slaves were involved. It was found necessary as soon as slavery had become a recognized institution in the colony, to take steps to curb the social activities of Negroes in order to lessen the possibility of slave revolts. Masters who allowed their Negroes any great freedom of movement were frowned on by their neighbors and in some cases prosecuted by law. The records of Surry County for September 4, 1672, show a certain Mr. Marriott to have been fined "two hundred pounds of tobacco and cask," with costs, for allowing his Negroes too much liberty. There were other persons before the court at this time, charged with the same offense. (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. VII, p. 314. In June, 1680, an act was passed to prevent frequent meeting of Negroes at feasts and burials. This act stated that "It shall not be lawful for any Negro or other slave to carry or arm himself.....nor to go or depart from his master's ground without a certificate from his master." (Hening, Statutes, Vol. II, p. 481.)

followers in Henrico County for a descent upon Richmond. But for the interference of a storm and the fact that one of the conspirators turned traitor, there would have undoubtedly been a fearful massacre of the whites. The danger was averted but the damage had been done as far as the Negroes were concerned. [73]

Judge St. George Tucker, speaking in 1800, expresses the general sentiment of Virginians after this insurrection, "Our sole security then consists in their ignorance of this power (doing us mischief, and their means of using it). A security which we have lately found is not to be relied upon, and which, small as it is, every day diminishes. Every year adds to the number of those who can read and write; and the increase in knowledge is the principal agent in evolving the spirit we have to fear." [74]

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73. For a full account of Gabriel's insurrection, see "Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. IX, pp. 140-172." See, also, the "Virginia Argus" for Oct. 14, 1800.

74. Coffin, Slave Insurrections, p. 30.

CHAPTER III.

Education of the Negroes From 1800-1860.

It was not long before preachers felt the change in public sentiment which resulted from Gabriel's insurrection. Bishop Asbury, writing of the Conference in 1809, in his journal, remarks: "We are defrauded of great numbers by the pains that are taken to keep the blacks from us." [1]

Persons who attempted to instruct Negroes, other than their own slaves, were not only outcasts among the better class of whites but were apt to fall into the clutches of the law. "In the Circuit Court of Albemarle County in October, 1818, Andrew Hart, Sr., Alexander Blain, William B. Harris, James Hart, Andrew Hart, Jr., James Robinson, Sr., Jesse Hamner, and James Robinson, Jr., were summoned to answer to the charge of the unlawful assemblage of slaves, and teaching them at the Cove Meeting House on the Sundays of September 27th and October 4th." [2] James Robinson was also presented individually for words spoken in addressing the Negroes. He was reported as having said: "You have been disappointed in your school, but do not be disheartened, come and attend to me. I will instruct you, and I have no doubt that in fifteen or twenty years, you will be as free as your masters." [3] Such expressions as this were well calculated to stir up the wrath of Robinson's neighbors and did much to injure the cause of the church. It was not long until such radical ideas had ceased to be aired from Southern pulpits. The preachers found it much wiser to fall in line with public opinion which had already decreed that book learning was not for Negroes.

In 1805, the overseers of the poor were ordered to leave out the stipulation for education in reading, writing, and arithme-

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1. Bennett, Memorials of Methodism, p. 547.
2. E. Woods, History of Albemarle, p. 111.
3. *Ibid.*

tic when making up terms of indenture for Negro and mulatto orphans.[4]

Under the Revised Code of 1819, the section dealing with Negro meetings reads as follows: "All meetings or assemblage of free Negroes or mulattoes, mixing and associating with such slaves, at any meeting house, or other place in the night, or at any school for teaching them reading or writing in the day or night, under whatever pretext, is deemed an unlawful assemblage; and any justice of the county or corporation may, either from his own knowledge or information thereof, issue his warrant, directed to any sworn officer or officers authorizing him or them to enter the house or houses, where such meetings are held, inflict corporal punishment on the offenders, at the discretion of the justice, not exceeding twenty lashes." It goes on further to say "nothing in this act shall be construed to prevent the master or owner of slaves from carrying or permitting them to go with him, or any part of his white family, to any place of religious worship; provided it be conducted by a regularly ordained or licensed white minister." [5]

About this time there were several outstanding examples of gifted Negroes: In the County Court of Rockbridge, in 1802, the freedom and character of a black, the Rev. John Chavis, were certified to and established beyond doubt by the court, which declared that he had passed through a "regular course of academic studies as a student at Washington Academy." [6] It seems that Chavis was a preacher of great power among his black brethren in Rockbridge and, withal, discreet in his handling of the whites.

Campbell, a colored Baptist preacher of South-Eastern Virginia, who was in the height of his glory in 1812, was a preacher of different stamp from Chavis. "He argued that in as much as very few of the blacks could read, they should no longer rely upon, or be directed in their faith or practice, by the written

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4. Shepherd, Statutes at Large of Virginia, Vol. III, p. 124.

5. Hening, Justice, p. 646.

6. Ballagh, History of Slavery, p. 110.—Washington Academy was at Lexington, Va.

Word of God, but depend entirely upon the revelations of the Holy Spirit." Campbell could read, but he said God had shown him the great impropriety of his doing so since so many of his fellows were deprived of this privilege. He accordingly burned his Bible in the presence of a number of his congregation. Some of his sayings, ostensibly from the Bible, but so badly distorted as to be unrecognizable were treasured up by the Negroes on the Eastern Shore as inspired truths. Campbell's influence was finally negatived by the prowess of Uncle Jack of Nottaway.[7]

Uncle Jack of Nottaway was by far the most prominent colored preacher of this period. Uncle Jack belonged to one of the last slave cargoes. He coaxed his master's children to teach him to read but he never learned to write. He was licensed to preach by the Baptist church and wrought mightily among people of his own color. The Rev. John H. Rice had an interview with him in 1826, when Uncle Jack was nearly eighty years of age, and he says of him: "The acquaintance of this African Preacher with the Scripture is wonderful. Many of his interpretations of obscure passages are singularly just and striking. In many respects, indeed, he is one of the most remarkable men I have ever known." He goes on further to say, "His influence among people of his own color is very extensive and beneficial."

"But while the white people respect, the blacks love, fear, and obey him. His influence among them is unbounded. His authority among the members of his own church is greater than that of a master or overseer. And if one of them commits an offense of magnitude, he never ceases dealing with him, until the offender is brought to repentance, or excluded from the society. The gentlemen of the vicinity freely acknowledge that his influence is highly beneficial." Masters sometimes sent guilty servants to Uncle Jack for a tongue lashing rather than give them the cowhide—it seemed to work even better.

White says that when the law was passed prohibiting colored men from preaching, "Uncle Jack raised no objection, and even expressed his approbation of the new measure. He likened his own preaching to the ringing of an old cow bell and said it ought

7. Wm. S. White, The African Preacher, pp. 61-62.

to be stopped. Uncle Jack could not be persuaded to preach thereafter." [8]

A list of the Negro patriarchs would be incomplete unless mention was made of John Jasper. This preacher was born in Fluvanna County in 1812. Jasper professed religion in Richmond in 1839, and immediately thereafter began his career. He served as a pastor in Petersburg before the Civil War. He also preached in Richmond and many other parts of the State as occasion demanded. Both whites and Negroes regularly attended his sermons and were deeply impressed with his sincerity and religious power. It seems that Jasper's sole educational equipment, when he began his work, was the ability to read a little. A fellow slave had been his teacher. The sermon to which Jasper owed his fame was entitled "De Sun do Move" and was said to have been preached 250 times. Many of his hearers attended his services for amusement, but usually went away convinced that they had seen a godly man if not a scientist.[9]

For several years prior to the Civil War, oral instruction was resorted to for teaching Negroes. This method was reasonably satisfactory as Negroes have quite a gift of memory. Many Negroes picked up a good knowledge of the Bible from having it explained to them by missionaries and preachers. It is probable that ideas obtained in this way were more accurate than those which they would have gotten had they read the Bible for themselves. Those who could read moderately well put strange and wonderful interpretations on scriptural passages when left to their own devices.

Rev. John Mines of Leesburg, Virginia, published the Evangelical Catechism in which he outlined methods for the oral instruction of Negroes. Bishop Meade collected and published "Sermons, Dialogues, and Narratives for Servants to be Read to Them in Families," in Richmond, during 1836.[10] According

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8. Wm. S. White, The African Preacher. See, also, Earnest, The Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia, pp. 96-98.

9. For a complete history of Jasper and his work, see "John Jasper," by Wm. E. Hatcher.

10. Charles Jones, Religious Instruction of Negroes in the United States, pp. 68, 82.

to Charles Jones, Bishop Meade was an unwearied advocate of the cause of Negro education. He also said that many of the clergy devoted time to the instruction of Negroes attached to their congregations and had regular and flourishing Sunday schools. Dr. John Holt Rice, in 1823, printed a sermon on the duty of masters to educate and baptize the children of their servants. Jones says that through the influence of Dr. Rice many in Virginia were induced to give the duty of the religious instruction of the Negroes serious consideration, which resulted in action.[11] In 1824, the Methodist General Conference introduced the following regulations: "All our preachers shall prudently enforce upon our members the necessity of teaching their slaves to read the Word of God; and to allow them time to attend upon the public worship of God on our regular days of divine service." [12]

The Negroes evidently were not very carefully restricted in certain localities, for in 1820 there was said to be a neighborhood school in Rockbridge, patronized by the whites, which "consisted of thirty children of whom ten were Negroes." [13]

There were many of the planters who would have been glad to see the Negroes educated provided they were removed from the country or that slavery was abolished. We have already quoted Jefferson's views on this subject. (See pp. 24 and 25.) Madison had the same ideas, as may be seen from a letter dated September 1, 1825 and addressed to Frances Wright, in which he advocates compulsory education for the blacks "to fit them for a life of freedom and social order." [14] Woodson tells us that Samuel Gist, an Englishman, who owned extensive plantations in Henrico, Amherst, and Hanover Counties, provided in his will for the freeing of his slaves. The income from his Virginia plantations was to be used for paying the salaries of preachers and teachers for them in their home in a free State.[15]

By 1820, the abolitionists were in action in earnest and em-

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 92.
12. Matthew Simpson, Cyclopedia of Methodism, Fourth Edition, p. 806.
13. Ballagh, History of Slavery in Virginia, p. 110.
14. Madison, Works, Vol. III, p. 496.
15. Woodson, Education of the Negro, pp. 231-232.

ployed any means to accomplish their ends. Pamphlets and appeals to the Negroes to resist their masters aroused the anger and fear of the slave holders. Some of these appeals were couched in the most violent language.[16] Benton, writing in 1835, expresses the result: "The abolition societies have thrown the state of emancipation question fifty years back, and subjected every traveler and every immigrant from non-slaveholding states to be received with suspicion and jealousy in the slave states. Further, they have occasioned many slaves to lose their lives, caused the privileges of slaves to be curtailed, and their bonds to be more tightly drawn, besides opening a gulf of misery to the free people of color." [17]

The fears aroused by the abolitionists combined with the increased value of slaves caused by the opening up of a wide Southern market for slave labor, brought the following result, if we are to believe Olmstead, a traveller throughout Virginia and the South, "Negro property as it increases in intelligence decreases in security; as it becomes of greater value, and its security more important, more regard is naturally paid to the means of suppressing its ambition and dwarfing its intellect." [18]

The seemingly bad effects of education on Negro docility were well demonstrated to Virginians by Nat Turner. Turner had received instruction from his parents and master, and in the Sunday schools. He afterwards became well-informed through independent study. Because of his exceptional ability, he assumed a position of leadership among the Negroes and succeeded in stirring up the discontent which resulted in the Southampton massacre in 1831.[19] Negro bonds were now more tightly drawn than ever. Negro preachers or teachers could not conduct

16. David Walker, Negro editor of the "Appeal," a Boston publication, continually urged violent resistance. Braxton Bryan quotes him as urging the slaves to "kill or be killed." (Braxton Bryan, The Negro in Virginia, p. 17.)

17. Braxton Bryan, The Negro in Virginia, p. 17.

18. Olmstead, Seaboard Slave States, p. 281.

19. Coffin, Slave Insurrections, p. 31. Note: Coffin says that sixty-four white persons were murdered in this uprising. At least one hundred Negroes, the larger part of whom had little or no connection with the plot, were either hung or slaughtered by the enraged whites.

any meeting for religious or other purposes in daytime or night, under penalty of stripes, given at the discretion of the justice of the peace. Nor could slaves attend such meetings without incurring the same penalty. Slaves were required to have written permission from, or be accompanied by, owner or master, in order to attend services conducted by a white minister. However, ministers could give them oral instruction in the daytime, and a master could employ free white persons to teach them. A Negro was not allowed to hire either colored or white teachers for himself.[20]

The laws were so strict that much objection was registered to them by the better disposed among the whites. In January 1832, Henry Berry, Esq., a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, said in addressing that body: "Sirs, we have as far as possible, closed every avenue by which light might enter into their minds. We have only to go one step further—to extinguish the capacity to see the light—and our work will be complete." [21]

The greatest agent for education, which was at work among the Negroes, was the association and influence of cultured masters and mistresses with whom the slaves came into daily con-

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20. Acts of the Assembly, 1830-1831, pp. 20, 107. This act reads as follows: "All meetings of free negroes or mulattoes, at any school house, church, meetinghouse, or other place for teaching them reading or writing, either in the day or night, under whatever pretext, shall be deemed an unlawful assembly; and any justice of the county or corporation, wherein such assemblage shall be, either from his own knowledge or on the information of others of such unlawful assemblage or meeting, shall issue his warrant, directed to any sworn officer or officers, authorizing him or them, to enter the house or houses wherein such unlawful assemblage may be, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such free Negroes or mulattoes, and to inflict corporal punishment on the offender or offenders, at the discretion of any justice of the peace, not exceeding twenty lashes.

Be it further enacted, that if any white person or persons assemble such free Negroes or mulattoes, at any school house, church, meetinghouse, or other place, for the purpose of instructing such free Negroes or mulattoes to read or write, such person or persons, shall on conviction, be fined in a sum not exceeding fifty dollars, and moreover may be imprisoned at the discretion of a jury not exceeding two months." See also, Code of Virginia, 1849, p. 247.

21. Coffin, Slave Insurrections, pp. 32-33.

tact. A teaching through example rather than precept turned out Negroes more thoroughly disciplined and cultured, and with a higher sense of morality than would have any other school. Paxton, in his "Letters on Slavery," expresses his belief that "the custom of using slaves as household servants must, from the very nature of the case, impart much information to them, and in some degree supply the place of a regular education. In that way they are so near their masters as to hear a great deal of conversation on almost all subjects." [22] Foote, writing at a little later date, tells us that "the meanest servant on a Virginian plantation, knew more of the proprieties of life than the savage chiefs of Africa. Christian people looked upon this body of men with peculiar sympathy, and recognized a part of their Lord's vineyard unlike any found in Europe, and requiring the services of devoted ministers of the gospel." [23]

The more wealthy class of free Negroes had for some time been sending their children to the North to be educated. Virginians regarded this as more dangerous than to allow education at home where there could be a certain amount of supervision over their teachers. They were at a loss, however, as to a method of preventing it. There was a promising solution found in 1838 when a law was passed which stipulated that any free person of color who should go out of the State for education was to be considered as having emigrated. [24] Negro immigrants were not allowed in Virginia.

The legislature evidently meant to completely stamp out Negro education. A motion made by Mr. Botts in the House of Delegates to take up a bill authorizing the establishment of a school in the town of Fredericksburg for the instruction of free people of color, was considered and rejected by an overwhelming majority, at

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22. Paxton, Letters on Slavery, p. 32.

23. Foote, Sketches of Virginia, p. 156. Note: The Governor of Virginia said in 1853, in connection with Colonization: "Africa gave to Virginia a savage and a slave; Virginia gives back to Africa a citizen and a Christian." (Fortieth Annual Report of American Colonization Society, January 20, 1857, p. 8.)

24. Acts of 1838, p. 76. Code of Virginia, 1849, p. 747. See, also, Russell, The Free Negro in Virginia, p. 144.

the meeting in 1836.[25] In 1814, a charity school for free blacks had been established in Fredericksburg in order "to give them such an instruction as will enable them to get their living in an honest way and prevent them running into crime." [26] This school was a short-lived institution.

Unauthorized activity persisted throughout the State. Many slaves were still taught in their masters' houses or with their masters' permission.[27] The main intent of the restrictive laws, as favored by the majority of the people, had been to keep out abolitionists, although some insisted that it was necessary to keep the Negroes in absolute ignorance so that the abolitionists would have no road by which to reach them. We have seen from the records of the various church denominations that their activities were not entirely arrested.

A Sunday school for Negro slaves was established at Lexington, Virginia, in 1845, with "upwards of 100 pupils and plenty of white teachers." [28] This Sunday school was later conducted by T. J. Jackson (Stonewall Jackson). Grant Thorburn reported in 1848: "They have laws too to prevent the colored population from learning to read, but they are not enforced, for in all Sabbath schools, in whatever quarter I sojourned, colored men, women, and children formed a larger proportion of the scholars; and what pleased me still more was that in every family where I lodged, provided they were professors of religion, the master of the house, or more frequently the mistress and her elder daughters spent a portion of every evening in teaching the servants to read." [29]

Russell tells us that there were three African Baptist churches, and two African Methodist churches in Richmond in the decade

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25. Journal of the House of Delegates 1838, pp. 224, 248.

26. Wm. A. Maddox, The Free School Idea in Virginia before the Civil War, p. 26.

27. Buckingham reports a conversation which he had with a Negro named Pompey, at Charlottesville, in 1842. Pompey told him that some masters occasionally allowed their slaves to learn to read although it was not publicly permitted. (Buckingham, The Slave States of America, Vol. II, pp. 429-430.)

28. Earnest, Religious Development of the Negro, p. 81.

29. Grant Thorburn, Laurie Todd's Notes on Virginia, p. 8.

before the Civil War.[30] We know also that there were still two Baptist churches and a Methodist church for Negroes in Petersburg in 1851.[31] Grant Thorburn tells us that in 1848 he saw, in Petersburg, a colored congregation of Baptists "composed of bond and free men and women to the number of nine hundred members."[32] Nehemiah Adams reported in 1854 that there were forty-five thousand colored communicants in the Baptist churches of Virginia.[33]

There are few records showing any prosecution for teaching of Negroes by Southern teachers and, as far as I have been able to discover, none at all, of cases where the master was teaching his own slaves. The instance of the white ladies of Falmouth, Virginia, who were stopped in their efforts to give oral instruction to Negro children in the principles of the Christian faith was a rare exception to this rule.[34] Margaret Douglass' experience deserves especial consideration as an example of persecution, and also because it sheds light on other disputed points.

Margaret Douglass started a school for Negroes in Norfolk in 1853. Her first students were the children of a colored barber. She says in this instance: "I was particular also to ascertain that both himself and family were free as I knew that the laws of the Southern states did not permit the slaves to be educated, although at the same time, all the churches of Norfolk were actually instructing from books both slave and free children, and had done so for years without molestation."[35] Her school soon grew in proportions until she had twenty-five pupils of both sexes. She was not so careful as to the family history of the later scholars and was arrested for breaking the law in regard to teaching Negroes. She was finally sentenced to one month in jail.

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30. Russell, The Free Negro in Virginia, p. 143. Note: Richard Edwards, in speaking of Richmond in 1855, reported that "the congregation of the African church is one of the largest in the Union." (Edwards, Statistical Gazeteer of Virginia, 1855, p. 357.)
31. Claiborne, Seventy-five Years in Old Virginia, p. 88.
32. Thorburn, Laurie Todd's Notes on Virginia, p. 7.
33. Adams, Southside View of Slavery, p. 53.
34. Conway, Testimonies Concerning Slavery, p. 5.
35. Margaret Douglass, Narrative, p. 9.

The "Norfolk Argus" speaks of Mrs. Douglass' trial as the first time within the passage of the act forbidding the teaching of Negroes to read and write, when a case of this description had come under the jurisdiction of the court. [36]

The "Petersburg Daily Express" carried the following news of the Douglass trial: "It did not appear from the evidence of any of the gentlemen called upon by Mrs. Douglass that they had actually seen Negroes taught from books in any of the Sunday schools of the city, but the fact, as stated by them, that nearly all of the Negroes attending the Sunday schools could read, gave rise to a violent suspicion that many of the ladies and gentlemen of the city, moving in the higher circles of society, had been guilty of as flagrant a violation of the law as could be imputed to Mrs. Douglass and her daughter." [37] (It seemed that the daughter of Mrs. Douglass had done the actual teaching under her mother's direction. She was sent North and escaped trial.)

It is hard to get at the exact facts in regard to the status of Negro education in Virginia in the decade before the Civil War. We know that some Negroes could read and write and had had training calculated to make them independent, from such statements as the following, in 1846: "The fine ship Baltimore sailed from Norfolk, Virginia, to Liberia on November 5th." There were 187 emigrants. Of these, 106 were from King George County, ten from Prince William County, five from Petersburg, seventeen from Essex County, eleven from Fredericksburg County, fourteen from Shepherdstown and vicinity, and two from Fredericksburg. "Many of them could read and write, and had been accustomed to taking care of themselves and their interests, and were industrious and prudent." [38] Mr. Howison sums the matter up in the following statement: "In 1848, there were in Virginia 449,087 slaves and 48,852 free Negroes, with few exceptions wholly uneducated. The policy which discourages further extension of knowledge among them is necessary, but the fact remains unchanged that

36. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
38. African Repository, Vol. XXII, February, 1846, p. 46.

they exist among us, a huge mass of mind almost entirely unenlightened." [39]

The educational statistics for the free colored population of Virginia in the years 1850 and 1860, as given by the United States Census of those years, is shown in Table I. These statistics must be accepted with due reservations. Since the education of Negroes was prohibited in Virginia, it is unlikely that the figures are very accurate. It was estimated that in 1850

TABLE I: ADULT FREE COLORED POPULATION, NUMBER ATTENDING SCHOOL AND NUMBER UNABLE TO READ IN VIRGINIA IN THE YEARS 1850 AND 1860.[40]

	Adult Free Negroes	Number of Negroes Attending School	Negro Adults Unable to Read
1850	25,538	64	11,515
1860	27,102	41	12,397

there were 200,000 colored people over twenty in Virginia who could not read or write, and in 1860 this number had increased to 208,000.[41] The total colored population, slave and free, over twenty in Virginia, in 1850, was 235,095 while in 1860 it was 243,664. [42] This would indicate an illiteracy among the colored adult population of over 85 per cent. in 1850 and in 1860.

The Honorable Willoughby Newton, in speaking of the religious education of Virginia Negroes in the fifties, says: "The Negroes have the Bible read to them a great deal and there is preaching for them all over the country. They have preachers of their own; right smart ones they are too, some of them." When he was asked if this was permitted by law, he said: "Well, it is not, they are not allowed to have meetings unless some white

39. Olmstead, Seaboard Slave States, p. 173.

40. United States Census, 1850, pp. 248-251, and 269-271. United States Census, 1860, Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics, pp. 507-508. United States Census, 1860, Population, pp. 504-509.

41. First Annual Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, p. 24.

42. United States Census, 1850, pp. 248-255; and United States Census, 1860, Population, pp. 508-515.

man is present. They must not preach unless a white man hears what they say. However, they do. On my plantation, they always have a meeting on Sunday, and I have sometimes, when I have been there, told my overseer, 'You must go up there to meeting, you know the law requires it'; and he would start as if he were going, but would just look in and go by; he wasn't going to wait for them." [43]

It is safe to assume that the Negroes were rarely deprived of religious training, if it was religion they sought, and as for manual training, they received relatively much more than now falls to their lot. The scope of our modern trade schools for Negroes is insignificant as compared to the extensive practical training offered by the plantations of the South in the pre-Civil War days. For self-interested reasons, the master trained his male slaves in agriculture, and mechanical branches, while the mistress gave instruction in domestic science and art to many of the Negro women. As Page tells us, "..... Every plantation possessed its smiths, wheelwrights, and carpenters; its spinners and weavers and cobblers." [44] The newspapers long before the Civil War contain frequent advertisements of Negroes for sale or Negro runaways, among which are listed such tradesmen as blacksmiths, weavers, shoemakers, carpenters, coopers, millers, etc.[45] At least the rudimentary rules of hygiene were also commonly taught and enforced. The Negro who graduated from a school of this sort at the time of emancipation was in a position to have taken his place as an independent producer in the ranks of society. It is true that the Negro slave generally lacked the incentive to labor which was possessed by the independent producer. Hence, the average slave laborer was much inferior in efficiency to the freeman.[46] Yet, he was

43. Olmstead, Seaboard Slave States, p. 107.

44. Thomas Nelson Page, The Old Dominion, p. 242.

45. *Virginia Gazette,* January 4, March 29, April 26, 1787, October 8, 1789; *Richmond Examiner,* October 29, December 3, 1788, March 11, 14, October 29, November 18, 21, 25, 1800.

46. Note: George Tucker, Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Virginia from 1825-1845, said that persons who were skillful in managing slaves and supplied small incentives to their industry, were thereby enabled to get from them labor "scarcely inferior to that of

at least trained to systematic labor. In this respect, the slave compared most favorably with the generation of Negroes who were raised amid the demoralizing influences of a too sudden as well as an ill-timed emancipation. Bruce, commenting on the success of freedmen in the post war period, says, "..... The obvious explanation of the success of the freedman is ..... that he was subjected at the most plastic and responsive period of his existence to the strict discipline of slavery, which cultivated in him industrious habits, regularity of life, and simple tastes; above all, it repressed in him that fickle spirit which is so marked in his race, when its individuals are allowed the greatest latitude of action." [47] The ambitions of the Negro for a strictly literary training were frustrated to a large extent, but at this stage in their development it was perhaps not as great a deprivation as we might suppose.

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freemen." However, he thought that cases of this kind were not of common occurrence. (George Tucker, Political Economy for the People, pp. 85-86.) Olmstead did not credit the Negro slave with any great industry. He quotes the following abstract of a letter from a Virginian to the editor of the *New York Daily News*,—"Where you would see one white laborer on a Northern farm, scores of blacks should appear on the Virginia plantation, the best of them only performing each day, one-fourth a white man's daily task, and all requiring an incessant watch to get even this small modicum of labor." Olmstead further quotes a Mr. Griscom, of Petersburg, as saying, "It is my deliberate opinion, formed not without much and accurate observation, that four Virginia slaves do not, when engaged in ordinary agricultural operations accomplished as much, on an average, as one ordinary free laborer in New Jersey." (Olmstead, Seaboard Slave States, pp. 204, 717, Appendix.)

47. Bruce, The Plantation Negro as a Freeman, p. 226.

CHAPTER IV.

Education of the Negro Since 1860.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War, philanthropic societies in the North sent missionaries to the South to aid Negroes who were found in any captured territory or who had deserted to the Northern army. The American Missionary Society established a school for Negroes at Fort Monroe as early as September, 1861. Other societies had joined in prior to the close of the war. Conspicuous among those operating in Virginia were the New York Society, Friends Association of Philadelphia, The Baltimore Society, and the New England Society. According to Eckenrode, the Baptist Association furnished teachers for the Shenandoah Valley.[1] This writer tells us that "By November 31, 1865, there existed 90 schools with 195 teachers and 11,500 pupils."[2] If these figures were for Virginia as a whole, it was a very conservative estimate.

The white people of Virginia at first looked rather askance at the efforts of Northern philanthropists to educate Negroes. The following sarcastic comment illustrates the feeling then existent: "White cravatted gentlemen from Andover, with a nasal twang, and pretty Yankee girls, with the smallest of hands and feet, have flocked to the South as missionary ground, and are communicating a healthy moral tone to the 'colored folks,' besides instructing them in chemistry, botany, and natural philosophy, teaching them to speak French, sing Italian, and walk Spanish, so that in time we are bound to have intelligent, and, probably, intellectual labor."[3]

The Freedman's Bureau, organized in 1865, assumed control

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1. The Baptist Association started its work in 1867. Twenty missionaries and teachers were employed in the Shenandoah Valley. Approximately 3500 pupils attended these schools in 1868. The normal school which they established at Harper's Ferry afterwards grew into Storer College.
2. Eckenrode, Political History of Virginia during Reconstruction, p. 57.
3. *Richmond Times,* January 16, 1866.

of Negro affairs. It attended to all such matters as charity, legal complaints, political direction, and education. The schools were placed on a systematic basis and necessary financial aid was given for the creation of high schools and normal schools, as well as elementary schools. The principal branches taught were reading, writing, orthography, elementary arithmetic, and grammar. The number under instruction at various times between the years 1865-1870 was said to total 50,000, and officials of the Bureau claimed that, "Progress was encouraging. Thousands have become intelligent readers of books and magazines, and fairly competent in writing and accounts."[4] In 1868, we find the following report of the schools for freedmen in Virginia: "There are now in operation 191 day and 37 night schools, with an average attendance of 10,809 out of 15,380 pupils on register. These schools are taught by 293 teachers, 190 white and 103 colored. $1,311 was contributed by the freedmen towards the support of the schools."[5] A letter of Rev. R. M. Manly, Superintendent of Colored Schools in Virginia under the Freedmen's Bureau, to W. H. Ruffner, Superintendent of Public Instruction, in 1880, gives his history of the schools for freedmen:

December 20, 1880.

"During the last year of the war, colored regiments which remained in camp for any length of time had regimental schools under the direction of the chaplain, with such assistants as he needed. The attendance was voluntary, but embraced most of the younger men; the assistant teachers were provided by charitable associations, North. The soldiers clubbed their efforts and built a rude schoolhouse, which served also for prayer meetings, and for preaching services in bad weather. Such schools were numerous at Alexandria, Fort Monroe, Hampton, Norfolk, and Portsmouth. In these places, and in the country immediately adjacent to them, the colored children were fully provided with teachers. Colored churches, disused barrack buildings, and abandoned dwelling houses supplied schoolrooms. During the twelve months preceding the close of the war there must have been as many as three or four thousand children under daily instruc-

4. First Annual Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, p. 203.

5. *Richmond Dispatch,* March 30, 1868. (Reprinted from *Washington Chronicle.*)

tion in these schools. I have only my recollection to guide me, and cannot pretend to accuracy.

"There was a great development of this work in the spring and autumn of 1865, and for the five years following, during which the Freedman's Bureau assumed the general control of educational operations and contributed largely to their success, by the erection of buildings and the rental and repairs of others, school furniture, etc., etc.

"The teachers were commissioned and paid chiefly by the following associations:

"The New York Branch American Freedman's Union Commission.

"The New England Branch American Freedman's Union Commission.

"The American Missionary Association.

"And Missionary societies in the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopal Churches, and the Philadelphia Friends.

"In 1865 there were 200 teachers and near 13,000 pupils. A gradual increase from year to year until 1870 (when the whole system was discontinued), when there were 412 teachers and over 18,000 pupils. During the last two years, Dr. Sears aided by supplementing the salaries of a large number of teachers, and in many schools a small tuition fee was collected.

"Teachers: Time enough has passed for a dispassionate judgment of the temper, spirit, and professional skill of these workers, the teachers from the North. There was some drift-wood and a few pieces of rotten wood. This was to be expected where the executive officers of the associations were sending hundreds of teachers, received on recommendations, to all parts of the South. But poor material or indifferent material was in a very small proportion to the whole. And there was much of the best work I ever saw done. The young ladies were, in many cases, from homes of affluence and refinement and the highest Christian principle.

"I have always affirmed, and still believe, that during this period of five or six years not less than 20,000 learned to read, and some became good scholars and some excellent teachers." [6]

Undoubtedly these schools were quite successful and aided the colored people at a time when they were most in need of assistance. Steps were taken to make the Negroes help themselves as much as possible. Tuition was charged at the rate of ten to fifty cents a month in many of the schools. Payments were made

6. Virginia School Report, 1880, pp. 129-131.

either in money or in labor. The final report of the Freedman's Bureau, made July 1, 1870, shows that during the previous fiscal year the freedmen paid in tuition the sum of $12,286.[7] The Baltimore Society should probably be given the credit for initiating this plan to prevent pauperizing of the blacks.

In spite of the work of the Freedman's Bureau, illiteracy gained in Virginia during the period from 1860-1870. Thus the Commissioner of Education reports 208,000 illiterate Negroes over twenty years of age in 1860, and 207,595 illiterate Negroes over *twenty-one* in 1870, and this in the face of a decrease in colored population between 1860-'70 amounting to over 36,000.

The taste which the Negroes had of education on a larger scale made them clamor for more. With the granting of freedom, they insisted on education almost as strongly as they did on their "forty acres and a mule." Under the guidance of the Union League, which was especially powerful in Virginia, plans were formulated to obtain a public free school system. The chance came at the Constitutional Convention of 1867-'68. This gathering is worthy of considerable mention as it was responsible for our present school system—before which there was little education and without which, Virginia's development would have been fearfully retarded. The convention itself was a strange and unpromising tool for the fashioning of so fine a gift.

The constitutional convention, required by the reconstruction act of 1867, met at Richmond beginning in December of that year. The delegates who had been chosen at the general election of October 18-21, 1867, were a motley group, with representatives of the radical party in complete control. This was to be expected as the Negro vote at the election of delegates was 93,145 while the whites could muster only 76,084. According to Eckenrode, "The radical majority was composed of twenty-five Negroes and about forty-five white men. Fourteen of the latter were native Virginians; the others came from Northern states or abroad."[8] Brenaman says: "Both the records of the

7. Tenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, p. 131.

8. Eckenrode, Political History of Virginia during Reconstruction, p. 87.

convention and the papers of that day, as well as living witnesses, testify that this was the most conglomerate and heterogeneous body of men ever assembled in the history of the world to frame a constitution for the government of a free and enlightened people. Made up of different nationalities and different races, carpetbaggers, adventurers, and Negroes, with a hopeless minority of reputable Virginians trying to stem the tide of the majority in their attempts to humiliate and disgrace the fair name of Virginia, the hall of the convention became a bedlam of chaotic confusion, perturbation, and anarchy." [9] The Negro delegates to the convention had come pledged to fight for mixed schools. From first to last, they resisted every proposal looking to a separation of the races in the schoolroom. Thomas Bayne, Negro delegate from Norfolk City, saw no sense in "this old slavery notion of having two school houses whar one would do." [10] Mr. Gibson, white delegate from Giles County, led the opposition to mixed schools, and suggested a provision in the constitution as follows: "There shall be separate schools for white children and for colored children, and the capitation tax derived from white polls shall be devoted exclusively to education in white schools, and that from colored polls to education in colored schools." [11] Lewis Lindsay, one of the Negro delegates from Richmond City, became so incensed at the desertion of the carpetbaggers that he warned them as follows: "I say, dout speakin disrespectfully of carpet bags, dat if you carpetbaggers goes back on us, woe be unto you. You had better take your carpet bags and quit; and de quicker you leave the better. I do not abdicate opposition to dese strange friends, lately so-called citizens of Ferginny, but dey must stick by me if de want me to stick by them." He furthermore said "I'll tell you sah if dey proposes to do dat and to go back on me and my constituents, I'll raise my hand, and 10,000 of these colored men will vote against this insterment." [12] The constitution as finally adopted on April 17, 1868, ignored the question of mixed schools but

9. Brenaman, History of Virginia Conventions, p. 76.
10. *Richmond Dispatch,* March 28, 1868.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.,* April 8, 1868.

did provide for a uniform system of public free schools to be established not later than 1876.[13] The conservatives in the convention were opposed to public education as they did not believe the financial condition of the State would warrant the necessary outlay. The constitution was submitted to the vote of the people on July 6, 1869. The whites cast 125,114 votes, Negroes cast 97,205. Of the total uncontested votes, 210,585 were in favor of the constitution and 9,136 were opposed.[14]

According to section 3, article VIII, of the new constitution, the General Assembly was required to provide for the free school system by law. When the matter came up for discussion in the Senate and House, trouble again arose over the provision in the bill that "white and colored persons shall not be taught in the same school but in separate schools, under the same general regulations as to management, usefulness, and efficiency." The Negroes were far from ready to concede the point of mixed schools which they deemed fundamental if they were to have equal advantages with the whites.[15] However, they were in the minority and could do nothing more than register objections.

An attempt was also made in the House to amend the bill as follows: "But it is especially provided that no distinction shall be made in the appointment of the school trustees ..... on account of race or color." This amendment was rejected by a vote of 51 to 35.[16]

The legislature of 1870 appointed Rev. Wm. H. Ruffner as Superintendent of Public Instruction. Mr. Ruffner proposed the plan for a system of public free schools which was adopted with few alterations, and on July 11, 1870, the present school system of Virginia was ready for a trial.

According to the law of 1870, schools were to be opened to all children in Virginia between the ages of five and twenty-one; the two races were to have separate schools; school funds were to be obtained from a capitation tax of one dollar, a property

13. Constitution of Virginia 1867-'68, Sec. 2, Article VIII.

14. Pulliam, The Constitutional Conventions of Virginia, p. 143.

15. Senate Journal 1869-'70, pp. 485, 489. Journal of the House of Delegates 1869-'70, p. 607.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 610.

tax of ten to fifty cents on the $100.00 and the income from the Literary Fund. Additional levies on property up to fifty cents on the $100.00 were optional within counties and districts; besides a state superintendent and state board, there were also to be county superintendents and local trustees. The income from the Literary Fund was an important source of revenue. The Fund amounted at this time to approximately two million dollars.

The white citizens of the State were in poor financial condition as a result of the war, and they were hard put to it for funds with which to pay for the education of their own children.[17] It is easily understood why many raised objections to their money being spent on Negroes (Negro property at this time was too limited in amount to yield much property tax) whom Congress had freed and then left largely to their own devices. Help, however, soon came from Mr. George Peabody and, at a later date, from the Slater Fund. The Freedman's Bureau went out of existence in 1870 and its work was taken over by the State.

As soon as the public school law was passed, Mr. Ruffner set energetically about his task and by November, 1870, the schools had been opened on a remarkable scale, considering the obstacles to be overcome. He was a whole hearted believer in the education of the Negro, as is shown by his remarks in the Reports for 1871 and 1872, and tried to see to it that the Negroes, from the first, had their proportionate share of schools wherever conditions would permit. During the school year 1870-'71, the figures for Negro schools show: 706 schools opened, 38,554 students enrolled, average daily attendance 23,452, per cent. of school population enrolled—23.4.[18]

The greatest difficulty was experienced in securing suitable teachers for the Negro schools, and indeed, even for white schools. Mr. Ruffner says: The difference in relative numbers

17. The planters of Virginia, even before the Civil War, were not as wealthy as is commonly supposed. Agriculture, as practised by both large and small planters, paid very poor dividends. There were few farmers who were not burdened with debt or suffering from lack of ready money.

18. Virginia School Report 1871, p. 173.

of white and colored people in their school arrangements was accidental. ..... The officers were instructed to avoid everything that would even present the appearance of unfairness; and I believe that they have endeavored faithfully and impartially to execute the law. ..... The chief reason, undoubtedly, for the disparity in the number of schools, was the difficulty and often impossibility of procuring qualified teachers for colored schools."[19] Some thirty per cent. of the teachers in the colored schools in 1871 were white. This assistance was available, usually, only in cities. There were two colored normal schools in active operation at this time: The Colored Normal School of Richmond, established in 1867; and the school at Hampton, established in 1868. However, they had been in operation too short a time to be in a position to furnish colored teachers in any considerable number.

The Negroes appreciated the advantages which were offered them. The county superintendents were asked the following question in 1871: "Have the colored people shown any desire for education?" Forty-eight counties reported. In only five cases was it stated that the Negroes exhibited little or no interest in the education of their children.[20]

It was thought at first that the Negroes were taking the same attitude towards the public school system which a child takes in a new toy, and that as soon as the novelty had worn off the attendance would melt away. Novelty may have played some part, but there were deeper feelings involved, as a glance at the results shown in Appendix II makes plain. Mr. Ruffner, himself, was rather uncertain as to the attitude of the Negroes. In 1872, he asked the county superintendents: "Have the colored people continued to manifest a great desire for education?" The county superintendents reported in almost every case that their interest had kept up, and they were eagerly taking advantage of the opportunities offered for education.[21]

The white people were gradually becoming reconciled to Negro education. The Superintendent stated: "It is pleasant to

19. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
21. *Ibid.*, 1872, pp. 34-41

observe that our intelligent citizens are becoming more and more favorable to the education of the Negro ....." [22] The agitation over the "civil rights" bill in Congress during the middle seventies, threatened a reversion of public sentiment. This bill proposed the forcing of equality between whites and blacks in all public places. The reports of the county superintendents reflected the resulting change in the general attitude. They were asked to make reports concerning the history of public sentiment towards free schools in their respective counties during the year. The results follow:[23]

Alexandria City: "Still, in general, favorable, though the enemies of the system, when there was a prospect of the passage of the civil rights bill, expressed their opposition to it more freely and rejoiced at its anticipated destruction."

Brunswick: "There is still some opposition to our school system, but this would die out if the agitation of the civil rights question could be hushed up."

Campbell: "The impending 'Civil Rights Bill' has somewhat checked progress."

Elizabeth City and Warwick: "It is, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the general desire of the colored population to have their schools remain, as at present, separate from the white schools; and it is, on the other hand, the universal determination of all the whites that the operation of the public school system shall come to an end in these counties as soon as the civil rights bill shall become a law."

Franklin: "..... I believe should there be no Federal interference with our school affairs, the time will soon come when all opposition to public education will have vanished from the county. But should the civil rights bill, or any bill providing for mixed schools be passed by Congress, the white people

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22. Report of United States Commissioner Education 1872, p. 341.

23. Virginia School Reports 1874, pp. 42-51. Note: A writer, from Prince Edward County, in the *Planter and Farmer,* for November, 1876, in speaking of the public school system, said: "Having had a fair trial, nothing more can be expected of the system than what it has already accomplished. It has disappointed the expectations of its friends and become more and more loathsome to its enemies." The editor of the *Planter and Farmer* thought that "This conclusion is, by no means, confined to Prince Edward." (*Planter and Farmer,* November, 1876.)

of this county will, with one voice, say, 'Away, away with the public school system.'"

Hanover: "..... the threatened passage of what is known as the 'civil rights bill,' has done more to retard our work and weaken the hold of the schools upon the popular affection, than all the other causes combined."

Reports from Halifax, Henrico, King William, Loudoun, Mecklenburg, Rockbridge, Southampton, and Tazewell counties were of the same tenor. The action of the supreme court in 1883, by which the civil rights bill of 1875 was declared unconstitutional, ended this form of opposition.

It will be noticed in Appendix II that there was a great falling off in the number of schools, and in the enrollment in 1878 and 1879. These years witnessed the escape of the school system from another pitfall. From 1870 there had been a disposition on the part of certain officials to divert some of the tax returns which had been set aside for school purposes, to other uses.[24] The superintendent reported the misapplication of funds in his report for 1876. The diversion continued until by 1878 the trouble had become acute. The superintendent said, in his report for that year: "The diversion of school funds, complained of in my last report, has increased. Previously, we had lost at the rate of about $80,000 annually, but last year over $250,000 of school money was used for other purposes, or about one-half of the proceeds of taxation for school purposes. The result, of course, is a breaking down of the usefulness of the school system."[25] The report for 1879, when conditions were at the worst, was, as Mr. Ruffner said, "melancholy enough." Many schools were compelled to shut down, and funds for the payment of teachers were not available. The superintendent had waged a continuous fight from 1876, and by 1879 the tide had turned in his favor. The people were clamoring for a return of the school money. The final victory for the schools came in 1882 when the United States Supreme Court ruled in favor of

24. The diverted funds were used in making payments on the State debt which amounted to approximately $45,000,000. At this time, and for several years later, there was considerable danger of debt repudiation.

25. Virginia School Report 1878, pp. 5-6.

the Board of Education, on the question of the disposition of the $400,000 obtained from the sale of the State's interest in the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio Railroad.[26] One hundred thousand dollars of this sum was to be applied to the erection of the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute for Colored Persons, to be located on the south side of the James River. Fleets, just across the river from Petersburg, was at last fixed upon as the site, and the building of the college was commenced on July 4, 1883. A building found on the premises, when the State took over the land, was temporarily used for school purposes.[27]

In spite of Mr. Ruffner's efforts for fairness in the apportionment of schools, it is to be feared that the school boards had ideas of their own as to the equality of claims as between whites and blacks on school matters. The disparity in schools was greater than could be accounted for by the teacher problem. Throughout the period from 1871-1880, the ratio in numbers between white and colored schools was three to one, while the population was approximately two to one. The fact that trustees and county superintendents were white made possible the entrance of the human equation. Mr. Ruffner, in 1880, confessed that "It is very likely that some of these boards, perhaps many of them, have not been able to rise to the height of that impartial justice which the law requires ....." However, he goes on to give some reasons why the whites had an advantage: (a) Greater density of white population in most parts of the State; (b) superior financial ability of the whites in supplying school houses and supplementing the pay of teachers; (c) ability to clothe and transport their children; (d) ability to support their families without requiring the aid of the children at home.[28]

Mr. R. R. Farr, who succeeded Mr. Ruffner as State Superintendent of Schools, was more emphatic on the subject of discrimination. In speaking of the percentage of school population enrolled in 1882, which was 54.6 per cent. for whites and

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26. For fuller details concerning the diversion of funds, see Virginia School Reports for 1876-'83.

27. Virginia School Report 1883, pp. 139-140.

28. *Ibid.*, 1880, pp. 127-128.

35.4 per cent. for colored, he says: "The great discrepancy between the per cent. of white and colored enrollment is readily accounted for. Because the whites have been provided with a fair proportion of schools to their school population, the blacks have not." He goes on to show that the whites had an average of 77.5 pupils of school age to each school while the blacks had but one school to every 158 pupils of school age.[29]

In 1880, county superintendents were asked to report as to the effects of the school system during the decade it had been in operation. They were asked to answer as to white and colored respectively. One hundred and five counties and cities gave favorable answers. Three couties and cities reported unfavorably for colored. The following abstracts are typical:[30]

Albemarle: "The school system has had, I think, decidedly beneficial effect on the population generally, white and colored, in promoting an appreciation and desire for education."

Amherst: ".....With the colored I may almost say that we see civilization supplanting barbarism, certainly virtue supplanting vice, and education ignorance."

Bedford: "The colored population manifest great anxiety to be educated, and have made commendable progress considering disadvantages."

Clarke: "The colored population of this county greatly appreciate the public schools. They greatly desire that their children shall derive all possible advantages from the system."

Fairfax: "There seems to be a marked improvement in the youth of both races, especially the colored; the latter being more careful than formerly, are husbanding their means, and investing in small tracts in different parts of the county; thereby obtaining for themselves a solidarity which it is impossible to obtain as tenants and day laborers."

Gloucester: "From my observation, crime has diminished,

29. *Ibid.*, 1882, pp. 58-59. Note: Mr. Farr was a product of the "Readjuster" spoils system, and there is a grave suspicion that he was biased in his opinions. He was a man of much lower general mentality than his predecessor, Mr. Ruffner. However, in the above quotation his figures are approximately correct.

30. Tenth Annual Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, pp. 64-89.

particularly among the colored; and the colored people seem to have a clearer idea of what education is, and a higher appreciation and desire for education."

Henrico: "Especially have the colored people advanced in civilization. The slovenly, ragged, unwashed personal appearance has given place to tidy, nicely patched clothes. The general order in their homes and cabins betokens a self-reliance and respect for the proprieties of life, which but few ever accorded to the race."

Nelson: "The colored population show a great desire to educate their children and will make any sacrifice to accomplish it. Their improvement in morals, truthfulness, honesty and industry during the last ten years has been very marked, and is due, in large degree, to the influence of their schools."

The increase in colored enrollment during the period from 1871-1880, as shown in Appendix II, was not at the expense of the private schools for they more than held their own. Table II shows the status of private schools from 1871-1880:[31]

TABLE II: NUMBER OF TEACHERS AND ENROLLMENT IN COLORED PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN THE YEARS 1871, 1875, AND 1880.

	Number of Teachers	Pupils Enrolled
1871	69	3,758
1875	90	3,819
1880	125	4,710

A few of the Negroes enjoyed the seeming distinction of sending their children to private schools even when they were in reach of public schools which offered better facilities. Thus of the 4,710 pupils enrolled in private schools in 1880, 4,616 were of primary grade. This work could just as well have been done in the public schools, although, it is true, in many cases the parents would have been at the inconvenience of sending their children several miles in order to reach a public school. Only 94 of the colored students enrolled in private schools were attending high schools or colleges.

31. Virginia School Reports 1871, 1875, and 1880.

The American Annual Cyclopedia reports for 1883-'84: "An examination of the school statistics reveals that the educational inequality between the two races (in Virginia) is lessening." They find by a consideration of Amelia, Appomattox, Brunswick, Campbell, Charlotte, Halifax, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Pittsylvania, and Prince Edward Counties, which contained one-fourth of the colored school population of the State, that "55 per cent. of the white school population is enrolled, but only 41 per cent. of the colored." They were quite perturbed over finding that there was "one school for every 70 white children, but only one for every 128 colored" in the State. However, they advise us that "in five years, the number of colored children in daily average attendance has trebled, while the number of white children has only doubled." [32] The persons making the report in the cyclopedia, in this instance, handled their figures rather freely, as may be seen by a reference to Appendix II.

By 1885, the colored people had several schools doing other than primary work. Some worthy of special mention are:

Bishop Payne Divinity School, established in 1878 at Petersburg, by the Protestant Episcopal Church, for the purpose of training men for the ministry.

The Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute (now called Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute), a State secondary school which was founded in 1882, in the neighborhood of Petersburg (see page 53). It was meant to afford an opportunity for higher education to colored young men and women, primarily to supply much needed teachers for the colored public schools of the State. By the close of 1884, the Public Superintendent reported that it had already furnished twenty teachers. Prior to 1902, this school confined its courses to normal, academic, and college work.

Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was opened in 1868 at Hampton. This is a secondary school which has always placed emphasis on vocational training for the purpose of educating teachers for industrial, agricultural, and academic subjects. This school began laying the basis for the industrial and

32. The American Annual Cyclopedia, Volume X, 1885, p. 778.

agricultural work which, during recent years, is receiving increasing attention in Virginia, as will be noted further on in our discussion. During 1871, Hampton already had eighty-five pupils preparing to teach. By 1880 the enrollment had increased to 316, while in 1886 there were 693 pupils in attendance. The staff had grown from twenty-four in 1878 to seventy in 1886. The endowment during the same period advanced from $65,819 to $107,770. Of the 540 living graduates in 1889, three-fourths were teachers.[33] The Superintendent of Public Instruction reported, in 1884, that Hampton had supplied 242 teachers to the public schools of Virginia. He said: "Hampton Normal, in its short life, has furnished more teachers to our public schools than all the leading colleges combined, which fact demonstrates, in connection with other things, the fact that it is the business of normal schools to furnish teachers to the public schools, and it performs its duty." [34] Hampton, according to its charter of June 4, 1870, passed at that time into the control of a non-denominational board. In 1873, one-third of the proceeds of the sale of landscrip, $95,000, was set aside for Hampton, under the following provisions, "The leading object shall be the instruction in such branches of learning as relate especially to agricultural, mechanical, and military tactics." There were to be five curators of the fund (soon changed to six)—three of whom must be Negroes. Not less than one hundred students were to be selected with reference to character and proficiency from the colored free schools of the State. These students could be charged no tuition or fees.[35] Outside of the interest on the landscrip, the school was dependent for its income, at this time, on returns from its endowment and general donations. In later days, its income has increased in amount and is drawn from a wider variety of sources.[36] Hampton, now (1922) boasts of

33. Francis Peabody, Education for Life, p. 179.

34. Fourteenth Report Superintendent of Public Instruction, pp. 169, 171.

35. Code of Virginia 1873, pp. 672, 673, 676.

36. The income is largely from endowment funds, general donations, endowed scholarships (230), General Education Board, Federal funds, and Slater Fund. The income for the year ending June 30, 1922, was $460,970. Among the expenditures for that year were: Home Economics School,

2,291 graduates and over 8,000 ex-students. It owns 1,000 acres of land and 140 buildings. The total enrollment, including normal, summer school, and extension students in 1921-'22 was over 2,000. Thirty-one of these were college students, and 1,297 in secondary courses. Hampton is the parent from which have sprung Tuskegee, Mt. Meigs, Calhoun, and other Negro institutions. We must be content with the above description of Hampton in this monograph, not because we underrate its importance, but because its outstanding position has caused it to be the subject of discussion by numerous writers already.

Hartshorn Memorial College is a Baptist elementary and secondary school founded in 1884 at Richmond. This school was intended to train colored girls for the teaching profession. It originally gave instruction in sewing and cooking to supplement its academic training. The domestic science feature has since been abandoned. From its foundation it has played an important part in colored female education.

Richmond Theological Seminary was founded in 1865 as a Baptist school for the education of ministers. Training was given in secondary and college courses. In 1899, this school united with Wayland Seminary of Washington to form what has since been known as Virginia Union University at Richmond. The theological side of its curriculum has been of minor importance as compared to the opportunity it offered the colored youth of Virginia for higher education in preparation for teaching.

Other institutions of relatively less importance were:

Thyne Institute, a Presbyterian school at Chase City, Virginia, which was founded in 1876. Elementary and secondary courses were offered.

Christiansburg Industrial Institute, a school founded and maintained by the Friends Association of Philadelphia (1865). This school has been largely elementary but offered some secondary work. Manual training and agriculture were embraced in the curriculum.

$19,023; Agricultural School, $48,178; Industrial Department, $64,760. The total assets at this time amounted to $7,072,238. (Fifty-fourth Annual Report of Treasurer, the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.)

Norfolk Mission College was founded in 1883, as a coeducational institution, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church. The work was of elementary and secondary grade with some attention to industrial training.

The Colored Normal School of Richmond was opened in 1867 by the Freedman's Bureau, as a teachers' training school. This school was free to its pupils. The funds for current expenses were derived from charitable sources. The Peabody Fund contributed some $800 annually for several years. In 1884, the Superintendent of Public Instruction reports it as having supplied sixty-seven teachers to the Virginia public schools since their organization.[37]

In connection with the public schools of Virginia was the plan for teachers' institutes. From the beginning of the system it had been Mr. Ruffner's idea to have institutes each year in all counties of the State, in order to develop esprit de corps and diffuse knowledge among the teachers. He recognized that such work was vastly inferior to a regular normal school course, but he also knew that he could not hope to see any great number of normal trained teachers in his schools for many years to come. A large per cent. of the county superintendents made at least a nominal attempt to meet Mr. Ruffner's wishes in regard to the institutes, and many of them, if we are to judge from their reports, were quite enthusiastic over the results. He had hoped to get together a body of trained men to travel over the State and hold the county institutes, or at least the "Summer Normal Institutes," but owing to the lack of funds this proved impossible. However, in 1880, he said: "The number of qualified instructors for institutes is constantly increasing; these being raised up from among the teachers themselves chiefly."

In 1880, the plan was conceived of having normal institutes each summer at which all teachers in the State could gather. Thus in that year, a normal institute was held at the University

37. Prior to 1885, St. Stephens Normal School, at Petersburg, and the Bluestone Mission School, at Abbyville, were in active operation. These schools had large student bodies and efficient teaching staffs but offered little or no work above the elementary grade. (See Annual Reports of United States Commissioner of Education.)

of Virginia for the white teachers and one at Lynchburg for colored teachers. The meeting at Lynchburg continued for six weeks and had an enrollment of 240. The results were so satisfactory that the State Institute thenceforth became a yearly event. What Mr. Ruffner considered their chief importance was "..... in showing to our teachers, and to the public generally, the importance of professional study, and our own deficiencies." [38] The Superintendent and the teachers themselves had insisted that the State make appropriations for summer schools, so that they would not be dependent on the charity of the Peabody Fund. Such appropriations had been prohibited. The law had stated: "The Board of Education shall have power, at its discretion, to invite and encourage meetings of teachers at convenient places, and to procure addresses to be made before such meetings, touching the process of school organization, discipline, and instruction; *provided that no public money shall be expended for the purpose of this section.*" [39] Finally, in 1884, a law was passed which provided for a regular summer session for colored teachers at the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute. It ordered the president and faculty of said institution to conduct "during each and every year, a normal course of instruction for the benefit of the colored teachers in the public schools of this State, or those who expect to make teaching a profession, the said normal course to commence on some day between the eighteenth and twenty-fifth days of July, to be fixed by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and continue for eight weeks." [40]

The Peabody Fund has been a factor of some importance in the development of education in Virginia and the South. This fund of a true value of $2,000,000, all told, was donated by Mr. George Peabody, then of London, but formerly from Massachusetts, for the purpose of the ".....promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, or industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the South." Only

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38. Virginia School Report 1880, pp. 101, 106.
39. Code of Virginia 1873, p. 690.
40. Acts of Assembly 1883-'84, Chapter 340.

the income, amounting to about $120,000 per year was to be touched during the first thirty years. Dr. Sears, General Agent of the Fund, said the object of the fund was "Free schools for the whole people, neither more nor less." During the early period, Virginia got more than her proportional share of the income from this gift. Thus from 1868-1884, Virginia received $251,959 out of a total of $1,476,579.[41]

Prior to 1880, the Superintendent of Public Instruction was allowed to use this fund just about as he saw fit. At any rate, his recommendations were invariably followed.

Negro schools in the State received a share of the Virginia allotment, but hardly the amount they should have been given on the basis of need. Hampton Normal School, and Richmond Colored Normal School were the largest gainers, but there was a considerable number of smaller colored public schools receiving support up to 1880. After this time, the donations were confined largely to providing teachers' institutes. Hampton still continued to receive a generous portion.

The Slater Fund was established in 1882 by John F. Slater of Connecticut. The original gift amounted to $1,000,000 and was to be used solely for Negro education in the South. Dr. James H. Dillard of Charlottesville, Virginia, as Director, deserves much of the credit for the successful work of this foundation. In 1914, when the Peabody Fund was broken up, $350,000 of this money was turned over to the agents of the Slater Fund. Some of the proceeds from the Slater gift have been used in the encouragement of normal and industrial training in the colored private institutions of the State. The trustees are now seeking to promote teachers' institutes, county training schools, and colored rural school supervision. A few of the schools which have received assistance are: Caroline County Training School, Hampton Institute, Christiansburg Industrial Institute, Nottoway County Training School, York County Training School.

A number of other funds, established at later dates, have encouraged Negro education to a marked degree. We shall note these in the proper connection.

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41. Virginia School Report 1885, Part II, p. 32.

The continued improvement in Negro education is shown by Appendix II. The per cent. of school population enrolled has seen an almost uninterrupted increase from the beginning of the system. Still, the Negroes are even yet failing to make the most of their school opportunities. The enrollment is now better than sixty-five per cent. of the school population, but this is much too small. However, the reports show a considerable gain on the whites during the past five years. One of the discouraging features lies in the fact that of those enrolled, only two-thirds are in average daily attendance. The Negroes have not been improving in the matter of attendance in all counties of the State, as may be shown by the experience in Albemarle County. In 1910, with 1,916 Negro pupils enrolled the average daily attendance was 1,371, while in 1920, with 1,921 pupils enrolled the attendance was 1,243, a decrease of about seven in percentage of attendance.[42] We are glad to say that the figures for the State as a whole are much better—an increase of over 4 per cent. from 1910 to 1920. Irregular attendance is a very great source of damage to the schools. It disheartens the teacher, retards the progress of classes, and renders proficiency on the part of the delinquent virtually hopeless. Thoughtlessness on the part of the colored parent is to some extent responsible for this condition. They yield to the temptation to remove their children from school in order that they may take some small job, from which a pittance is derived to help the family budget. This accounts for the number of absences being greater during periods of good business. The school term is short at best (the Virginia colored school average is 135 days). It would certainly behoove the Negroes to make a great effort to send their children for the whole period. Those who attend fairly well in the lower grades, gradually drop out in a progressively larger ratio as they reach the higher classes. The Virginia Public School Survey states: "Colored children in the rural schools begin to leave school when they are in grade four. By the time the seventh

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42. A. L. Bennett, Superintendent of Schools in Albemarle County, in University of Virginia Record, October, 1922.

grade is reached, but one-fifth are left in the rural schools and two-fifths in the city schools.[43]

An additional reason for the poor daily attendance of Negro pupils in some localities is found in the unattractiveness of the schools. Only too often the school building is poorly constructed and kept, and lacking in school equipment—including proper sanitary arrangements.[44] In the opinion of the author this is a very unfortunate condition. The school should be a pattern for the community as a whole. Environment is one of the greatest factors in character building, and if the school fails to exert an elevating influence on its students during the early period of their lives, when they are most susceptible, it deserves the condemnation of society, however much of the so-called book learning it has enabled its students to obtain. The best claim which the public school has on the State support is that it makes better citizens. Now the teacher may seek to teach hygiene, industry, respect for government, morality, etc., by precept, to the best of her ability, but if the students are not set an example by the school her efforts are largely wasted. A well kept school does something for the child which the teacher cannot. Unknowingly, the pupil, as it were, absorbs the atmosphere of his surroundings and takes a laboratory course not included in the curriculum. It is to be feared that the sub-conscious laboratory course as offered in the Virginia colored schools, leaves something to be desired.[45]

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43. Virginia Public School Survey, Part II, Vol. VIII, p. 26.

44. There are many white schools in Virginia of which the same thing could be said.

45. W. T. B. Williams, Field Agent of the Slater Fund, made the following observations concerning the colored public schools of Virginia and North Carolina, in 1912: "While the counties of Virginia and North Carolina furnish desks and blackboards, such apparatus as maps and globes must be supplied by the teachers themselves. In comparatively few cases did I see any efforts towards making the grounds and exterior of the buildings attractive or towards using the grounds for such practical ends as school gardening. In fact the approaches to most of these schools varied from untidy to positively filthy. Ash heaps often adorned the front yards, and torn bits of paper feathered the ground, while at barely respectful distances leaned ugly outhouses in unscreened and shamfeul impudence. Their interiors were too often unspeakable. Within the schools

A great deal of improvement has been made under the direction of the industrial supervisors in the last few years, but, even at present, no one would dare hold up the average colored rural school as an example of cleanliness and industry. The lack of space for playgrounds has done much to decrease the attractiveness of the school in the eyes of the pupils. The vast majority of the colored public schools of the State own less than half an acre of land. Those which have really ample playground are indeed a rarity. The Rosenwald authorities are setting a fine example by insisting on at least two acres of land for schools which they aid. But, even two acres is too small for any schools having more than two rooms. The Public Survey in Virginia, in 1919 gave the majority of Negro schools very low ratings in almost every detail of grounds and buildings.

One of the greatest difficulties confronting the colored schools of Virginia since the foundation of the system, has been the shortage of colored teachers. During the first ten years, quite a large per cent. of the teachers in colored schools were white (in 1875, only fifty per cent. of the teachers were colored). However, the opposition to white teachers and the increasing dislike of white teachers for work in the colored schools, caused a substitution of colored teachers as rapidly as they became available, until by 1910 only one per cent. remained. The exchange, although desirable, was too swiftly carried out for the good of the colored schools. Superintendent Farr stated in 1882 that ".....whilst there are many thoroughly proficient and accomplished colored teachers in our State, there needs must be a greater proportion of indifferent ones, who, for the chance they have had, are miracles of intelligence.....The marvel is not that more colored teachers were not employed, but is rather, where those came from who were." [46] The same condition has continued through the intervening years. In 1918, Superintendent Stearnes said: "The shortage of colored teachers, which has been peculiarly acute during the session of 1917-'18, has brought

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themselves there was little that was inviting—almost nothing to suggest that this was a place to live in." (Department of Interior Bulletin, No. 38, p. 32.)

46. Virginia School Report 1882, p. 64.

to the front the serious inadequacy of the facilities for training colored teachers. There are hundreds of colored teachers at work in Virginia schools today who have never taken as much as one year of genuine high school work or anything pretending to give even an element of teacher training." [47] A glance at Appendix III reveals perhaps one reason for the shortage of well-trained teachers in white as well as colored schools. The salaries of white teachers are far too low, but the salaries of colored teachers are much worse. Many students trained at Hampton and colored schools of that rank, and really prepared for the teaching profession, could not make up their minds to undergo the financial sacrifice involved. They could make a great deal more as window trimmers, mechanics, carpenters, nurses, and even as day laborers. The natural result was to drain off into trade channels the efficient ones among them, and leave the less capable to act as community leaders. The superintendents have constantly struggled for better remuneration for their teachers and, in recent years, there has been a considerable improvement in the white schools, but the colored school salaries have failed to keep pace. When the increased cost of living is considered, the relative salaries of colored teachers have been practically at a standstill since the beginning of the public school system. This is the same sort of economy which would prompt a man to purchase a good of inferior quality at a low price because one of better grade cost somewhat more, and then pride himself on his thrift. Alfred Marshall, the greatest living authority in the field of economics, condemns such false economy in these words: "The title 'economist' has been assumed by the opponents of generous expenditure on the education of the masses of the people, in spite of the fact that living economists with one consent maintain that such expenditure is a true economy." [48]

The salaries of colored male teachers have been approximately one-half of the amount received by white male teachers while that of the women teachers has been about at the ratio of 3 to 2. Not only have the salaries of colored teachers been

47. *Ibid.*, 1917-'18, p. 53.
48. Marshall, Principles of Economics, Eighth edition, p. 47.

smaller actually, but the difference as gauged on the relative school populations is conspicuous. Table III gives a comparison between the salaries of white and colored teachers during the year 1918-1919.

TABLE III: PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR TEACHERS' SALARIES IN VIRGINIA DURING THE SCHOOL YEAR 1918-1919.[49]

	Total Amount Paid in Teachers' Salaries	School Population	Per Capita Expenditure
White	$5,313,175	443,358	$12.00
Colored	848,623	214,234	4.00

The Virginia Public School Survey reports in 1919 that the average annual salary for colored teachers in counties was $183 and for whites $349. The average for cities was $461 for colored and $734 for whites. This report also shows that the average number of pupils enrolled per teacher employed in the State, was 32 for the white and 45 for the colored.[50] There is wide variation in the number of Negro pupils per teacher in different portions of the State. Thus in 1921, the average number of Negro pupils enrolled per teacher was 22 in Dickenson County, 27 in Albemarle County, and 85 in Accomac County.[51] The first and last are the extreme cases.

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49. Virginia School Report 1918-'19, pp. 61-63, 154. Note: In the session of 1920-'21, there were 132,167 white students and 94,135 colored students enrolled in one and two room schools. The white teachers were paid a total of $1,683,003 or $12.70 for each pupil enrolled. The Negro teachers were paid $564,462 or $6.00 per pupil enrolled. (Virginia School Report 1920-'21, pp. 113-114.) The total average expenditure for schools per child of school age in 1921-'22 in Virginia, was $20.55 for white and $5.60 for colored. The per capita expenditure for colored schools has, ordinarily, been much less in the black counties (over 50 per cent. colored) than in counties where the proportion of Negroes was smaller. (See map 2 in Appendix.)

50. Virginia Public School Survey, Part I, pp. 393-400.

51. A. L. Bennett, Superintendent of Albemarle County Schools, in University of Virginia Record, October, 1922.

If, however, salaries had been raised in Virginia to a reasonable standard, there would still have been a dearth of well trained colored teachers owing to a lack of schools equipped for secondary work. The half-dozen colored public high schools, and dozen or so private schools which offered teacher training courses prior to 1916, could by no means have satisfied the requirements for teacher replacement (about twenty per cent.). Since this time the county training schools have multiplied sufficiently as to bid fair to change the situation for the better. Table IV as reported by the Virginia Public School Survey, gives a good indication of the preparation of Virginia teachers. The

TABLE IV: RELATIVE NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF TEACHERS HOLDING VARIOUS KINDS OF CERTIFICATES IN 1918-'19.[52]

Kind of Certificate	Number		Per Cent.	
	White	Colored	White	Colored
Collegiate Professional	18	1	1.3	.1
Collegiate	106	4	7.5	.4
Normal Professional	197	24	13.9	2.6
Elementary Professional	333	254	23.5	27.5
Special	168	25	11.9	2.7
First Grade	253	178	17.9	19.2
Second Grade	171	232	12.1	25.1
Local Permit	168	207	11.9	22.4

actual complete returns for the Negro public school teachers of Virginia, for 1921, show that 2,390 out of 3,155 held a second or third grade certificate.

County training schools were started in 1911. As a result of correspondence between the Slater Fund and Superintendent A.

52. This table as reported by the Public School Survey does not claim to be based on complete returns for the whole State, but the selection of schools was large enough and sufficiently representative to insure reasonable accuracy. The "Survey," to which we have on several occasions referred, reported on schools which served 15,000 colored children in eighteen counties, and 25,000 colored children in all cities of the State.

C. Lewis of Louisiana, the Slater Fund agreed to contribute $500 towards teachers' salaries, under the following conditions: [53]

1. The school property shall belong to the State, county, or district, and the school shall be a part of the public school system.

2. There shall be an appropriation for salaries of not less than $750 from public funds raised by State, county, or district taxation.

3. The length of the school term shall be at least eight months.

4. The teaching shall extend through the eighth year, with the intention of adding at least two years as soon as it shall be possible to make such extension.

The purpose of the training schools was to offer the counties assistance in providing a central school with advanced courses and thorough work; to provide industrial training, more especially in home and farm work; and to furnish training for rural elementary school teachers. The General Education Board in 1915-'16 agreed to assist these schools by making appropriations for buildings and equipment. Thus there were three bodies cooperating in this field: The Slater Fund, General Education Board, and the State Department.

The Superintendents of Public Instruction in Virginia have not been slow in seeing the advantages to be derived from training schools. Thus the "Report" for 1912-'13 states: "..... Very recently we have begun to establish teacher training departments in all colored high schools having two years or more of high school work, provided the work is partly of an industrial character."

"I feel great interest in this work and shall foster and develop it as rapidly as possible. The idea impresses me as being really of a constructive nature, and I am sure that after a few years we may eliminate emergency certificates even from the ranks of the colored teachers." [54]

By the close of the session of 1915-'16, training schools had been established in the counties of Alleghany, Caroline, Nottoway, Roanoke, and York. Speaking of these colored schools,

53. Proceedings and Report of Slater Fund for 1921, p. 12.
54. Virginia School Report for 1912-'13, p. 21.

Superintendent Stearnes said: "They have nine and in some cases ten grades and include in the last two years definite courses in elementary teacher-training. Much industrial work has been included in the curriculum, the aim being to make these schools articulate as completely as possible with the life of the people." [55] Each county training school was equipped, through the assistance of the General Education Board, to teach sewing, cooking, carpentry, shoemaking, agriculture, etc. The attendance of these schools at this time was 161, but the pupils were still all of elementary grade.

The training schools continued to grow so that by 1919, there were sixteen of them in operation in Virginia. The amount contributed for their support that year was $54,775, of which $7,500 was from the Slater Fund, $10,775 from the General Education Board, and $36,500 from local funds.

The Report for 1920-'21 shows how rapidly training schools have grown in popular favor. There were then twenty-three schools with 116 teachers, and an enrollment of 4,542. Three hundred and thirty students were doing high school work and the average term of school was eight months. The total training school expenditures were $95,794, of which $3,892 came from the Smith-Hughes appropriations. Superintendent Hart said: "Some of these schools are already furnishing a goodly number of teachers for their respective counties." [56]

Hampton, and Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute are greatly helping in the preparation of teachers. Thus in 1921, the total number of teachers in the teachers' training course, including the summer session, was 697 at Hampton and 778 at Petersburg. The course at Petersburg ran for three months while Hampton held for six weeks. Hampton now has a summer session of three months. Besides these regular summer sessions, there were five institutes: Manassas, Lawrenceville, Norfolk, Roanoke, and Danville. The total attendance at the institutes was 517.

Doubtless, in a few years these agencies will be able to sup-

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55. *Ibid.*, for 1915-'16, p. 35.
56. *Ibid.*, 1920-'21, p. 72.

ply the county elementary schools with a full quota of better prepared teachers, provided the State becomes more generous in the matter of salaries.[57] This will result in holding down the loss from the ranks and at the same time give an incentive to men and women to prepare themselves for the service. In this way, one more serious stumbling block may be removed from the path of educational progress in Virginia.

There have always been grave doubts in the minds of white people, both North and South, as to the virtue of a strictly academic training for Negroes. With a few notable exceptions, the Negroes themselves have, until lately, insisted on literary courses for their children and have shown a strong leaning towards Latin and Greek in the more advanced classes. When there was talk of industrial training, they had an idea that this was some secret plan of the whites to discriminate against the Negro. The colored parent wanted his child to have a training identical with that of white students and, if anything, was ultra-conservative in the matter of new ideas.

For many years, the leaders of educational thought have seen that the need of the masses, white as well as black, is for an education which will fit them to become more intelligent producers, and which will raise the dignity of manual labor more nearly to a parity with mental exertion in the eyes of the public. Seligman, the well-known American economist, remarks that "The gist of the Negro problem in the South is seen by all careful

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57. It has been argued that the Negroes are only entitled to a small part of the public school money since their direct contributions to the school fund, through taxation, are still relatively small. J. D. Eggleston, State Superintendent of Schools, estimated in 1907 that the Negroes of Virginia paid into the State educational fund less than $87,000 of the $500,000 which was spent on their schools (Virginia Journal of Education, February, 1910, pp. 288-291). Dr. George Ferguson, in 1920, made the following estimate: "The colored schools of Virginia receive approximately 12 per cent. of the total school revenue. The colored population of Virginia pays approximately 4 per cent. of the taxes." (School and Society, September 4, 1920, p. 173) Mr. Eggleston and Dr. Ferguson were not arguing against liberality towards the Negro schools. The idea that a pupil should receive only in proportion to what the parent can give is contrary to the fundamental principles of the public school system.

thinkers to consist in the increase of productive efficiency through an appropriate education of the Negro." [58] The proper groundwork has been furnished by the public schools, but the job was left half finished or, what was nearly as bad, the student went off on a tangent towards increased academical training, and the educational structure became all foundation. The demand is now for an education which teaches a man to do as well as to know—an education "for life." This demand is in process of being satisfied by vocational and industrial courses. As Dr. Davenport, of Cornell University, once put it, we are trying to "see to it that no individual shall be obliged to choose between an education without a vocation and a vocation without an education." The urgency of the need is greater in the case of the blacks than of the whites. The Negroes are beginning to realize that higher education is not, necessarily, in itself a panacea for their troubles. Daniel Webster Davis, the Negro poet, expresses the feeling well in these words:

"To fill de hed wid larnin'
Dat de fingers kan't express,
To dis poor ig'nunt brudder
Don's seem to be de bes';
To git de edikashun
An' larn to work ez well,
Seems to my 'umble judgment,
De thing dat's gwine to tell." [59]

In 1900, industrial schools in considerable numbers were open for colored students in Virginia. The following schools were the most important:

Danville Industrial Institute, Danville, Virginia.
Dinwiddie Industrial School, Dinwiddie, Virginia.
Gloucester Agricultural and Industrial School, Cappahoosic, Va.
Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Virginia.
Ingleside Seminary, Burkeville, Virginia.
Manassas Industrial School, Manassas, Virginia.

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58. Seligman, Principles of Economics, p. 292.
59. Daniel Webster Davis, Weh Down Souf, "Stickin' to De Hoe," pp. 58 and 59.

Norfolk Mission College, Norfolk, Virginia.
St. Paul Normal and Industrial School, Lawrenceville, Virginia.
Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute, Petersburg, Virginia.
Virginia Collegiate and Industrial Institute, Lynchburg, Virginia.

Altogether, there were probably over two thousand Negro pupils getting some industrial or agricultural training. The actual amount was, in many cases, very limited. But the fact that the industrial feature was included in the curriculum at all, shows what was in the minds of the founders.

In March 1908, in Henrico County, Virginia, a meeting took place which resulted in a great advance in Negro education in the South. It was here that the plan for supervising industrial teachers for Negro rural schools originated.[60] As there were no county funds available for such work, an appeal was made to Dr. James H. Dillard, President of the Jeanes Fund, for assistance.[61] He agreed to pay the salary of a supervising teacher in Henrico County, where the experiment was to be tried out under the direction and with the assistance of Mr. Jackson Davis, a staunch friend of Negro education. The results in Henrico were very encouraging, and the extension of rural supervision became the principal policy of the trustees of the Jeanes Fund.

The report of the State Superintendent for 1908-'09 says: "There has been considerable improvement in the Negro schools during the past two years, through the introduction of agricul-

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60. Hampton had previously done some extension work along this line in the schools of Gloucester County.

61. The Jeanes Fund was founded by Miss Anna T. Jeanes, a Quaker lady of Philadelphia, who in 1907 gave $1,000,000 for the purpose of aiding Negro rural schools in the South. Prior to this time she had already given subscriptions for the same purpose, amounting to $220,000. This fund is in charge of a board of trustees composed of five Southern men, five Northern men, and five colored leaders. The greater part of the resources of this fund is employed in providing county supervisors and industrial teachers, who are generally young colored women, graduates of the important Negro schools (in the case of Virginia, Hampton and Petersburg).

tural and industrial work. In Henrico, a supervisor was employed through the aid of the Jeanes Fund to introduce simple forms of industrial work, including agriculture, cooking, sewing, etc. This work is now being introduced in Sussex, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Prince Edward, Albemarle, Nansemond, and several other counties." [62] The "Report" for 1910, says: "The aid granted by the Jeanes Fund gave us a number of local supervisors in Negro schools, and improvements on every hand gladden many hearts interested in the uplift of the colored race."

In 1912, Jackson Davis, State Supervisor of Colored Rural Elementary Schools, [63] reports that "The plan of employing supervising industrial teachers for the Negro rural schools, so successful in its earlier demonstrations in Henrico, Gloucester, and other counties, has continued to meet with favor and encouragement. Through the cooperation of the Jeanes Fund Board, Hampton Institute, the division superintendents and school boards, in the session of 1911-'12, seventeen supervising industrial teachers were employed for the Negro schools of eighteen counties, one teacher did work in two counties." [64] His statistical summary shows that in these eighteen counties there were 469 Negro schools, 299 of which were visited regularly by the industrial teachers; 121 schools lengthened their term on an average of one month (making seven months); 9 buildings were erected and 12 buildings were enlarged; 12 buildings painted and 69 whitewashed; 37 sanitary outhouses built; improvement leagues formed; $13,744 raised by Negroes for these various improvements. In eight counties, the supervising teacher with the aid of the farm demonstration agent gave, during the sum-

62. Virginia School Report for 1907-'08-1908-'09, p. 62.

63. The office of State Supervisor (white) of the Colored Rural Elementary Schools was made possible through the coöperation of the General Education Board of New York with the State Department of Education. The General Education Board had an endowment of over $30,000,000 in 1915. Mr. John D. Rockefeller was the principal donor to this fund. Relatively little of the foundation has been used in aiding Negro schools, but, besides assisting in the matter of State Supervisors in the South, it has given financial assistance to the Jeanes Fund for industrial supervision, and to the Slater Fund for county training schools.

64. Virginia School Report for 1911-'12, p. 64.

mer months, instruction in cooking, sewing, gardening, and home improvement. Thus help was given both to pupils and parents.

The system of rural supervision grew rapidly in popularity. Superintendent Stearnes paid the supervisors this tribute in 1914: "The most remarkable features of rural supervision, however, unquestionably are found in the colored schools. Several counties pay part of their expense, but the bulk of the money is provided by the extension department of Virginia Polytechnic Institute,[65] the Jeanes Fund, and Hampton Institute. Thirty-five colored supervisors, under the direction of a state inspector, have raised from private contributions much more than the entire cost of the system, and they have revolutionized Negro school and home life in Virginia. 'This work has elevated the schools in the estimation of patrons 100 per cent.' is the way the superintendent of Caroline County puts it, and the superintendent of Prince George and Sussex, dwelling on the same subject, remarks cogently and with an evident note of regret: 'Only in colored schools, its advantages may be clearly seen in the quality of the work.' If the advantages of expert and closer supervision can be brought home to the Virginia people by the humble efforts of these colored supervisors, the little band of thirty-five, directly or indirectly, will return to the Virginia people in ten years, more millions of dollars in material prosperity alone, than all of the colored schools of Virginia have cost since the public school system was inaugurated." [66]

During 1915, six hundred and seventeen Negro schools were

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65. The money used for this purpose was appropriated under the Smith-Lever act. The Smith-Lever bill was enacted into law in May, 1914. This is the first Federal act which has been of major importance to Negro education in Virginia. This bill offered Federal aid to the State Agricultural Colleges for the purpose of "giving instruction and practical demonstrations in Agriculture and Home-Economics to persons not attending or resident in said colleges in the several communities, and imparting to such persons information on said subjects through field demonstrations, publications, and otherwise." The State Agricultural Colleges (so-called A. & M. Colleges) were to coöperate in this work with the United States Department of Agriculture.

66. Virginia School Reports for 1913-'14, p. 22.

visited regularly by supervising industrial teachers. Five hundred and forty of these schools extended their terms by private subscription, and the amount raised in cash from among the Negroes, for the various improvements, was $46,739. Forty school houses were painted, 95 whitewashed, and 199 sanitary outhouses were built. Work in the homes was continued and a new feature, care of delinquent children, was added to the social activities of the teachers. Mr. Davis reported 600 delinquent or destitute children placed in county homes in 1915.

The work continued to grow until by 1918 fifty counties were employing supervising teachers and the results were proportionally larger. Mr. Stearnes, in speaking of them at this time, says: "Fundamental in the whole scheme of education for the colored people is the work of the supervising industrial teachers, who are, as one of their interested friends has so well put it 'ambassadors of racial good will'." [67]

The last "Report" available (1920-'21) shows that at that time there were 54 supervisors. Approximately $93,000 was raised for improvements. Mr. Hart was as forcefully impressed with the work of the supervising teachers as had been his predecessor. He reported that "The good work of the supervising industrial teachers must be especially commended. They have almost all rendered invaluable service in their respective counties along educational lines. Their exhibits have been good, and it has been really wonderful to see what useful things the children have been taught to do with their hands." [68]

We have discussed the work of the county training schools and the supervising industrial teachers somewhat at length because these furnish two especial examples of really constructive work in Negro education, which has taken place in the last few years. The work in both cases, it is true, was started by private agencies, but public support was forthcoming as soon as the people had had a chance to see the good results. This is where the private funds can be of greatest benefit to the Negroes. They are not financially able to carry on large scale work alone for any length of time, but they can conduct experiments and

67. Virginia School Report for 1917-'18, p. 52.
68. *Ibid.*, 1920-'21, p. 71.

then trust to the cooperation of the public gradually to relieve them of the burden. Thus in 1921, of the $41,955 spent for supervision, $14,330 came from local funds, $12,000 from State funds, $13,000 from Jeanes Fund, $900 from the Crane Fund, and $1,725 from Hampton. Of the $95,859 spent on teachers' training schools in 1921, $51,000 came from public funds.

The remarkably generous spirit which the Negroes have displayed in answering the call of the supervisors, for funds and labor in school improvement, is very significant. It shows that they have the matter of education as deeply at heart as the whites, and should go far towards silencing the tongues of the few people who still disparage the part which the Negroes are willing to play in helping themselves, and who insinuate that the Negro is largely a charity ward of the State.

The work of the industrial supervisors should stimulate an interest in manual training and agriculture which will tend to furnish recruits for the central training schools and the other schools giving advanced work in these fields. The central schools would serve as a sifter by means of which, pupils with especial talent could be sorted out from their fellows and given collegiate advantages. Did they but learn to use a few simple machines, or the fundamentals of agriculture, together with an appreciation of hygiene and sanitation, the efforts would yield a bounteous harvest.

Under the terms of the Smith-Hughes act,[69] Charles City

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69. The Smith-Hughes law became effective in February, 1917. Under the terms of this act the Federal government agreed to assist the States in providing vocational education, under certain conditions. The most important conditions are: courses must be less than college grade and open to persons over fourteen years of age, who may or may not be enrolled in the public schools. Two-type courses of study may be used, one with the vocational half-day given over entirely to home economic subjects, and the other with the vocational half-day given over to home economics and related subjects. Modern and ancient languages are left out of the curriculum, but English, history, civics, mathematics, science, and related subjects are provided for. Particular emphasis is placed on practical work in agriculture, home economics, or industries suited to the environment and needs of the pupils. This act allowed Virginia $32,850 in 1917-'18, but the amount is gradually increased until 1926-'27, when Vir-

County Training School, Albemarle County Training School, Caroline County Training School, Nottoway County Training School, and Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute (engaged in the preparation of vocational teachers for other schools) have been carrying on vocational agriculture since 1919. Eighty-two pupils were enrolled in this department in the various schools. At the same time, evening classes were held in home economics and in "trades and industries" for the colored public in the schools of Richmond and Norfolk. These classes were for grown people and large numbers took advantage of them. In 1920 there were eighty-six colored students studying vocational agriculture; 114 projects were carried on in plant husbandry, horticulture, animal husbandry, poultry raising, etc.; and 70 acres of land were under cultivation by these students. In 1921 the enrollment had increased to 100; 127 projects were conducted; and 211 acres of land were cultivated. The Armstrong High School of Richmond had a regular day school in home economics for 88 pupils. The evening classes, begun in 1919, were continued with larger attendance, as the Negroes were becoming quite enthusiastic. The Superintendent of Public Schools reports in this year that "there is a widespread interest among colored educators and other leaders of the race, in promoting better farming conditions through the medium of the agricultural high school. Negro farmers, at first sceptical of the value of instruction given by agricultural teachers, are rallying to their support. This is evidenced by their frequent visits to the schools, their requests of the teachers for agricultural information, and, at some schools, by enrolling as members of the evening classes." [70]

The census reports for 1920 show that there are 47,690 Negro farmers in Virginia who as managers, owners, or tenants, control 2,257,953 acres of Virginia soil, valued at $100,839,641.[71]

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ginia's portion will be as much as $152,300. The State Board of Education acts as agent for the Federal government in Virginia. Hence all applications for assistance, under the terms of the Smith-Hughes act, must pass through the hands of the State Superintendent of Education.

70. Virginia School Report for 1920-'21, p. 45.

71. Bureau of the Census, Agricultural Bulletin, 1920, p. 5.

Now, if by means of agricultural lectures and cooperative council we can raise the average efficiency of the Negro farmer, it would certainly be of great benefit to the State. Ignorant and careless methods have already resulted in an enormous and irreparable destruction of Virginia resources. Erosion, much of which could have easily been prevented, has changed great tracts of originally fertile soil into barren wastes. We cannot afford to assume a laissez-faire attitude and leave the next generation a yet larger legacy of ruined soil. As a mere matter of self-interest and common patriotism, the teaching of agriculture in the Negro public schools should be encouraged. A little has already been done and there is promise of much more. The public must awake to the urgency of the situation and insist that the progress be rapid.

Mention has already been made of some of the "funds" which have been active in promoting various phases of Negro education in Virginia. There are, however, several others which are of no mean importance although less conspicuous in their contributions. Among these should be listed:

1. The Rosenwald Fund.

This foundation began operations in 1914. Mr. Julius Rosenwald of Chicago at that time announced his intention of giving money to aid in the construction of rural school buildings for Negroes. Operations were begun in Virginia in 1916, after Mr. Rosenwald had placed $11,100 in the hands of the inspector of colored schools. The Rosenwald authorities before allowing any assistance to a building project require a definite plan of construction, a school lot of at least two acres, and an equal donation from the school officers. Their gifts increase from $500 to a one-teacher structure to $1,600 for a six-teacher school. The maximum sum allowed to any one school is $1,600. The greater part of the proceeds from this foundation has been used in Alabama but since 1920 Virginia has been receiving increasing attention. There have been, up to 1922, more than 100 school houses, either erected or now in process of construction in Virginia, toward which the Rosenwald Fund has contributed a total of $100,000. The greatest benefit, perhaps, has been in awakening an appreciation for scientifically built and attractive

school houses. The Negroes of many communities are contributing freely from their own pockets in order to help satisfy the requirements of the Rosenwald authorities. The net result seems to be a greater personal interest and sense of responsibility for the public schools, on the part of the Negroes.

2. The Phelps-Stokes Fund.

The money for this fund was bequeathed by Miss Caroline Phelphs-Stokes of New York, in 1909. It originally amounted to $900,000. It was not intended to limit the benefaction to any single race, but to aid in "the education of Negroes, North American Indians, and deserving white students." In their desire to help the Negro, the trustees conceived it to be their first duty to investigate the real status of Negro education in all of the States. An exhaustive report in two volumes, published in 1916, is the result of the cooperative endeavors of the United States Bureau of Education and the Phelps-Stokes Fund. At present, the Board is seeking, primarily, to increase the general knowledge in regard to Negro education and activities, but they stand ready to make appropriations to aid other constructive movements looking towards the improvement of the Negro race.

3. The Daniel Hand Fund.

This fund, which has an endowment of $1,500,000, was established in 1888 by Daniel Hand of Connecticut. The income was to be used exclusively for educating the Negroes of the South. The American Missionary Society, a non-sectarian organization, was designated as trustee. Gloucester Agricultural and Industrial School at Cappahoosic is the only school in Virginia which is now a recipient of their bounty.

A statistical survey of the private schools for Negroes is shown in Appendix IV. The smaller ones among them have quite largely outlived their necessity, if not their usefulness, and might be said to be traveling on the momentum which they gained in the period immediately following the Civil War. They have held their own absolutely, but relatively they have decreased greatly in importance since the founding of the public school system. Their greatest contribution has been in the field of secondary education which has been woefully neglected

in the Negro public schools of the State. At first glance, one is struck with the attention seemingly given to industrial courses and agriculture in the private schools. As a matter of fact, these features, in too many cases, have been included in the curriculum so as to attract the eye of the charitably inclined and are not sufficiently emphasized in practice. In cases where public schools of suitable grade are lacking, the private schools should be encouraged in their work, but wasteful duplication of effort is an expensive luxury when funds for Negro education are as low as at present. It would be far better in the interest of improvement, if it could be arranged, to turn buildings and equipment over to the State, and use the existing endowment or future donations to supplement allotments from the public treasury.

The decrease in the number of Negro illiterates, in Virginia, since the beginning of the public school system, has been remarkable. Appendix I shows this decrease in graphical form. The estimated number of Negro illiterates, ten years of age and over, in 1870, was 322,236 or 86 per cent. of the Negro population falling within this age group. In 1920, on the same basis, the illiterates numbered only 122,232 or 23.5 per cent.[72] We recognize the fact that the United States Census Bureau is very liberal in its interpretation of the term "illiterate",[73] however, their standard will serve as a satisfactory basis for comparison. A stricter guage would show approximately the same percentage decrease during the period under consideration.

In conclusion we may say that considering the insufficient

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72. United States Census statistics. Note: Dr. George Oscar Ferguson found, as a result of his investigations at Camp Lee, Virginia, during 1918, that "two-thirds of the colored drafted men from Virginia were so illiterate that they could not read a newspaper and write a letter, while one-fourth of the white drafted men were illiterate to the same extent." (Ferguson, The Intelligence of Negroes of Camp Lee, Va., "School and Society," June 14, 1919, p. 775.)

73. The United States Census Bureau bases its determination of literacy on a person's ability to write some language. It is immaterial whether or not the subject can read. Therefore, those who can read but not write are classed as illiterate. Persons who can merely write their names usually report themselves as able to write.

training of the average colored teacher, the short term, scarcity of schools, and the poor equipment, there is small wonder the State Survey in 1919, reported from 93 to 94 out of every hundred Negro students in rural schools, and from 77.5 to 85 per cent in city schools as over age when measured by the national standard.[74] No one could seize on these findings to bolster an argument in regard to hereditary endowments or cranial capacity. The educational progress already attained has been notable, and there are still brighter prospects for the future. Whether or not the Negro has increased in wisdom as a result of his education, and whether his economic improvement warrants continued and greater outlays for colored schools, the reader may decide from a consideration of the facts adduced in the following chapters.

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74. The national standard fixes six as the proper age for first grade pupils, and seven years for second grade, etc.

CHAPTER V.

The Negro Farmer and Landowner.

From the division of large farms and the enormous decrease in land values which occurred after 1865 it would seem that an opportunity was given the Negroes to acquire land—not as they had fondly hoped, and as the carpet baggers had promised them, through the gift of the Federal government, but through the better means of industry and thrift on their own part.[1] But during the disturbed period of the Reconstruction there was no great increase in land ownership among the Negroes in spite of the continual fall in land values in Virginia.[2] As a result of slavery, few Negroes were in a position to pay even the trifling sum which the planters, especially throughout the southern and eastern part of the State, in the Black Belt, would have gladly accepted for their once profitable farms.[3] The high rate of taxation and the relative scarcity of efficient labor had made the cost of production on farms of a large scale too great to allow a margin of profit. As one old gentleman told a Federal officer, "If you had taken our land and left us our Negroes, we would have been much better off than we are, for we might have worked or sold the Negroes, whereas we can neither work the land nor sell it." [4]

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1. The idea of giving Negroes forty acres of confiscated land was never more than a day dream. Approximately, 100,000 acres was the largest area at any time in the hands of the Freedman's Bureau in Virginia. (Executive Documents, Numbers 5-49, 1st Session, 39th Congress, Report of the Freedman's Bureau, p. 6.)

2. The average value per acre of farm land in Virginia was $13.79 in 1860 and $10.85 in 1870. The use of State averages is in this case rather misleading as the different portions of the State were very unequally affected. (See Census Reports for 1860 and 1870.)

3. The Freedman's Bureau paid out several million dollars in bonuses to the Negroes who had served as soldiers during the Civil War. Some of this money was invested in land. It is not possible to obtain accurate data as to the extent of this investment in Virginia.

4. Thomas Nelson Page, The Old Dominion, p. 355.

Bruce characterizes the twenty years succeeding the Civil War as the "golden period of the Negro with respect to his ability to secure valuable tracts," yet he found that very few Negroes acquired land during this time. Especially was this true of the younger generation who had hardly felt the shackles of slavery. He says in 1889 that "In wide sections of country, where, in the aggregate, a considerable extent of soil is held by the blacks, there are few landowners to be found who have not passed their fiftieth year, unless they have inherited their little farms or plantations from their fathers who were once slaves." [5]

The Black-belt of Virginia which had been the most prosperous part of the State before the Civil War, was slower than the rest in its recovery from the war and its aftermath of Reconstruction. Page often traveled through this section in the early eighties and he says that more than once he had traveled entirely across it and outside of the towns had never seen a single farm animal.[6]

The vast majority of Negroes were celebrating their new found freedom by refusing anything savoring of steady employment at manual labor. Those who consented to work spasmodically to satisfy the pressing necessities of existence demanded a relatively high rate of wages, that is, high in proportion to the work done. The nominal rate of wages was about the same in 1867 as it was in 1860. Thus in 1860 the average annual rate of pay for male farm labor was $105, rations and clothes, while in 1867 and 1868, it was quoted at $102 and rations, without clothes.[7] At a meeting of the James River farmers, held at Turkey Island, Henrico County, January 5th, 1866, the following rates of pay with rations were adopted as standard: "A first class field hand shall be paid by the year $130; a first class field hand shall be paid by the month $10; a second class field hand shall be paid by the year $105; a second class field hand shall be paid by the month $8; a third class field hand shall be paid by the year $70; a third class field hand shall be paid by the month $5; a first class woman (field hand) shall be

5. Bruce, The Plantation Negro as a Freeman, pp. 223-225.
6. Thomas Nelson Page, The Old Dominion, p. 296.
7. Report of Department of Agriculture 1867, p. 416.

paid by the month $5; a second class woman by the month $3. Deductions, in the nature of fines, were to be imposed for insubordination, absence without leave, and injury to stock or tools.[8] The rate in Lunenburg at about this time was fifty to sixty cents per day, without board, for farm labor in the summer.[9] The trouble then was not in the rate of wages but in the loss of efficiency. The "Planter and Farmer," in 1874, was of the opinion that one good white hand, such as could be hired in other States for fifteen dollars per month, would be worth more than two hands such as could be hired in Virginia for from eight to ten dollars.[10]

The following extract from a letter dated 1872 is a fair sample of the numerous complaints from farmers as to the labor situation obtaining at this time: "As to Negro labor, I will say with a view to being as emphatic as possible, I would not take the best estate in Eastern Virginia, and plenty of capital to work it, as a gift, and be obliged to tend old style tilled crops with such help as we have in abundance here, for their laziness and shirking, their trifling and delays, their cunning and thieving would provoke a more patient man than Job or a meeker than Moses to do something wicked or drive them crazy and there is no redress. They are all banded together determined to do as little as possible. There are exceptions of course, but they are exceptions. All this notwithstanding that I was never an admirer of the slave system, and have no desire save that all should have fair play." [11] It amounted indeed to a general passive strike of the labor class and one which the employers in their already impoverished condition were in no shape to combat. The farmers became land poor and were ready to dispose of at least part of their holdings at virtually any price.

In regard to the fall in land values, a farmer writing in 1879 tells us that "The lands of Tidewater Virginia which in 1860

8. *Richmond Times,* January 9th, 1866.
9. *Planter and Farmer, February,* 1874.
10. *Ibid.*, July, 1874.
11. *Ibid.,* September, 1874. Note: The newspapers published during the period of Reconstruction fairly bristle with accounts of Negro criminality.

readily sold at an average of $22.88 in less than ten years were freely offered for $8 per acre and it is well known that there has been a continual decline up to this day. Of the two and one-half million acres of what is classed as 'improved land' it would be safe to say that two million have been unsalable upon the market for the past ten years at one-fourth the ante-bellum figure." [12] Many Negroes had the inclination to own land and looked forward with joy to the day when they expected their old masters' land to be divided among them. They would probably have bought more freely but for the fact that their only plentiful medium of exchange was labor. With the gradual return of their inclination to work there came a decreased wage through competition and as farming once more became profitable, land again increased in market price. Still, the Negro at least had more ability to save than in slavery days and the more prudent among them had a will to save which has since resulted in their increasing land and capital ownership, in the face of increased prices.

The eagerness of the Negroes to acquire land was demonstrated as early as 1866. We are told that "Some three hundred of the freedmen in Elizabeth City County, Virginia, have formed a combination, and have concluded negotiations for the purchase of a large and valuable estate in that county, paying for it $30,000 in cash, which amount they have in hand as a result of their savings." [13]

After the formation of the Freedman's Bureau many Negroes temporarily flocked to the cities and camps. Others migrated north or south.[14] The Superintendent of the Census in his report for 1870 comments on the tendency to congregate in cities and camps. The towns and cities in the Black-belt of Virginia show an enormous increase in colored population between the years 1860 and 1870. When we consider this drift to cities in connection with the heavy migration out of the State during the same period, we can imagine the labor conditions on the large plantations. A writer in the Planter and Farmer in June, 1874,

12. Journal of Agriculture, November, 1879.
13. *Richmond Times,* January 6, 1866.
14. The American Annual Cyclopedia, 1866, p. 765.

says: "The demand for labor and the higher prices paid in the cotton states has induced a constant stream of emigration southward ever since the War. The public works, mines, and quarries, paying higher wages than the farmer could afford to pay, have drawn many others away, leaving generally upon the farm the laziest and least enterprising and hence the least efficient class of laborers." [15]

In order to relieve the labor situation and to create a demand for farm land, attempts were made for many years to promote immigration to Virginia from foreign countries. A board of immigration was created by an act of March 3, 1866. Various other acts were passed to encourage immigration.[16] In spite of continual agitation for many years, not a great deal came of it. G. Tochman, General State Agent of Immigration, in 1872 reported 329 agents in Germany and 250 in Great Britain.[17] There seemed to be almost as many agents as there were immigrants, although contemporary Virginia newspapers made much ado over the bright prospects for large immigration, Virginia was obliged to remain dependent on Negro and native white labor.

Virginia passed a vagrancy law in 1866 the avowed intention of which was to force the Negroes to go to work.[18] But Major General Terry, Military Commandant of the Virginia Department, argued that wages were unreasonably depressed by the farmers' organizations and that "the ultimate effect of the statute will be to reduce the freedmen to a condition of servitude worse than that from which they have been emancipated." He ordered that the statute should be null and void so far as the Negro was concerned.[19] The Freedman's Bureau insisted that the Negroes were at work. Thus it reported that "while a few of the freedmen are careless and unconcerned about the future,

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15. *Planter and Farmer,* June, 1874.

16. Acts of Assembly, 1865-'66, pp. 287-293.

17. *Planter and Farmer,* February, 1874. Note: There were 350 immigrants to Albemarle County between the years 1876-1881. Nine-tenths of these were said to be English. (Pollard, Land Book of Virginia, p. 92.)

18. Acts 1865-'66, Chapter 28, pp. 91-93.

19. *Richmond Times,* January 26, 1866.

the majority have made contracts for the year and are at work, receiving fair compensation for their labor." [20]

In 1866, it was reported among the Negroes, on doubtful proof, that some men in Surry County had been hung up by their thumbs because they refused to work for the wages offered. The Negroes complained of a lack of schools in Surry, and were said to be willing to work provided they could get fair wages.[21]

Had it not been for the demoralizing influences of Reconstruction the freedmen would probably have settled down on the old plantations as hired laborers. The owners would have gladly allowed them the use of the slave cabins or land on which they could build for themselves. Farm economy would have remained much the same as before the War. For the first few months after peace was declared, this seemed to be what was going to happen. Many Negroes returned to work for their previous masters.[22] Land rose in value and preparations were made to plant large crops. However, the interference of the Freedman's Bureau destroyed these rosy dreams of prosperity and a period of stagnation and unrest was ushered in.

It was a slow process, but the Negroes gradually recovered from their disorganization and realized that politics was an unreliable source of income. The complaints about the low efficiency of Negro labor had lost much of their bitterness by 1880, partly because the subject had become stale, but in part also because of improvement in the quality of the labor.[23] The farms of the State had decreased in size from 245.7 acres in 1870 to 167.4 acres in 1880 while there had been an increase of 45,000 in

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20. *Ibid.*, February 22, 1866. Note: There were 11,622 Negro dependents receiving rations from the Freedman's Bureau at the close of 1865. (Executive Documents, Numbers 5-49, 1st Session, 39th Congress, Report of Freedman's Bureau, pp. 16, 25.

21. *Richmond Times*, February 5, 1866.

22. See Report of Department of Agriculture, 1st Session, 39th Congress, 1865-1866, p. 136.

23. Pollard, speaking of labor conditions in Virginia, in 1881, said: "Agricultural labor is supplied chiefly by the Negro, and he has no superior as a farm laborer." He seemed to think that the whole class of Negroes had been judged by street corner loafers. (Pollard, Land Book of Virginia, p. 45.)

the number of farms. This breaking up of the large plantations and the creation of a body of small farmers had lessened the demand for hired labor. The increase in the value of farm property in Virginia since 1870 is illustrated by Table V. The greatest improvement has taken place in the last twenty years. Thus the increase in value of all farm property was 93.3 per cent. for the decade 1910-1920. The average size of Virginia farms has

TABLE V: COMPARATIVE VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY IN VIRGINIA IN 1870 AND 1920.[24]

	1870	1920
Land and Buildings	$170,416,676	$1,024,435,025
Implements and Machinery	3,939,229	50,151,466
Live Stock	22,550,135	121,969,281
Total Value	$196,906,040	$1,196,555,772

decreased from 245.7 acres in 1870 to 99.7 acres in 1920, a decrease of almost three acres per year. However, the average value of all farm property has increased from $10.85 per acre to $64.50 per acre, and the average value per farm from $2,666 to $6,425 between the years 1870 and 1920. This rapid increase in the value of farm property shows how quickly Virginia has been able to recover from the devastating effects of the Civil War, in which Thomas Nelson Page tells us: "Not only property values were swept away but everything except the bare land from which property value can be created had been extirpated." [25]

The Negroes were beginning to acquire land quite freely prior to 1880. The United States Census returns do not distinguish between white and colored farmers until the report of 1890, and no extensive surveys were conducted by private individuals. However, T. C. Walker tells us that where the Negroes of Glou-

24. 1870 was the first Census year in which separate returns were given for Virginia and West Virginia.

25. Thomas Nelson Page, The Old Dominion, p. 319. Note: Appendix V gives the Census statistics for Virginia farms for the years 1860-1890. We may see from these statistics that Mr. Page's statement must not be taken literally.

cester County owned 537 acres of land in 1865, their holdings had increased to at least 2300 acres in 1880.[26]

For purposes of our investigation it is of more importance to ascertain the degree of progress which the Negroes have made in the last generation since they have had an opportunity to demonstrate the results of education. Table VI shows the general trend:

TABLE VI: VALUE OF REAL ESTATE (OTHER THAN MINERAL LANDS AND STANDING TIMBER) OWNED BY COLORED FARMERS, AT SPECIFIED YEARS, AS ASSESSED ON VIRGINIA LAND BOOKS.[27]

Year	No. of Acres	Land Value	Val. of Land and Bldg's.	Val. Lots and Bldg's.	Total Val. Land, Lots, and Bldg's.
1891	698,074	$ 2,938,064	$ 4,331,830	$ 4,663,684	$ 8,995,514
1895	833,147	3,450,247	5,359,401	5,400,147	10,759,548
1900	993,541	4,066,913	6,264,124	5,769,864	12,033,988
1905	1,292,697	5,640,239	9,311,772	7,287,380	16,599,152
1910	1,551,153	6,565,622	10,718,435	9,309,692	20,028,127
1915	1,765,822	9,072,635	14,920,423	12,168,677	27,089,100
1920	1,836,423	11,545,192	19,042,559	16,149,885	35,192,444

Reassessments are made in Virginia every five years so variations in the amount and value of land are most significant at these periods. The accuracy of reports of this kind are often questioned and of course there can be no claim to precision for any specific year. The cause of this is in the fact that land, the title of which had been disputed, was often reported to the credit of two or more owners, each disputant finding it discreet to pay taxes until a settlement had been reached. Such conflicting claims have been numerous in Virginia owing to overlapping Colonial land grants. In some cases, then, more land was reported than was actually in existence. To further complicate matters, much very poor or waste land is not reported in the land books. The next question to be decided is what ratio does the assessment

26. T. C. Walker, Negro Property Holding in Tidewater Virginia, p. 28, in Volume 49, Annals American Academy.

27. Compiled from the Virginia State Auditor's Reports.

bear to market value. The Virginia Tax Commission decided that on the average the ratio for Virginia was 1-3. Tipton R. Snavely, as a result of his investigations, decided that in the case of Negroes the assessment in counties is 45.3 per cent. of the selling value.[28] Whatever our ratio of comparison, these figures are convincing evidence of progress. The Negroes have been acquiring land at the rate of 38,000 acres per year, while the white acreage of course suffered a corresponding reduction. However, the rate at which they are accumulating this, the only fixed agent of production, has slowed down especially during the last five years. The United States Census report shows a loss in land ownership during the period 1910-1920. The value of land and the value of buildings owned by Negroes in the country have each more than quadrupled during the last thirty years.[29] Nor was this increase at the expense of their city holdings, for the value of lots and buildings has at the same time increased in almost equal proportion.

Table VII gives a complete return of property ownership in

TABLE VII: POPULATION AND PROPERTY OWNERSHIP IN VIRGINIA IN 1891.[30]

White Population	1,020,122
Colored Population	635,858
Assessed Value of Real Estate Owned by Whites	$286,192,615
Assessed Value of Personal Property Owned by Whites	93,516,029
Assessed Value of All White Property	$379,708,644
Assessed Value of Real Estate Owned by Negroes	$ 8,995,514
Assessed Value of Personal Property Owned by Negroes	3,094,451
Assessed Value of All Negro Property	$ 12,089,965
Percentage of Property Owned by Whites	97.0
Percentage of Property Owned by Colored	3.0
Per Capita Ownership of Whites	$372.22
Per Capita Ownership of Colored	19.01

28. Tipton R. Snavely, Taxation of the Negro in Virginia, pp. 74 and 75.
29. The United States Census Reports indicate an even greater ratio.
30. Virginia Auditor's Report, 1891.

Virginia in 1891 and permits a comparison with the whites for the same period.

There were 13,715 colored farm owners in 1890. 13,133 of these were free owners and 582 were encumbered. The colored farm tenants at this time numbered 18,180.[31] 1890 is the last census year in which the tenants formed a majority. The colored farmers rapidly passed through the tenancy stage and acquired small tracts of their own. The land which they accumulated was oftentimes the poorest or the least desirable, but at any rate it was their own.

The number of colored[32] farmers in Virginia in 1900 was 44,834 or 26.7 per cent. of the total farmers of the State. By 1910 the number was larger, 48,114, but the percentage had decreased to 26.1. The census of 1920 shows a decrease in the number of colored farmers, both absolutely and relatively. There were at that time only 47,786, forming 25.7 per cent. of the total for Virginia. The decrease in percentage alone would be in no wise exceptional for the percentage of Negroes in the population had likwise decreased in even larger ratio. Negroes made up 35.7 per cent. of the total population of the State in 1900, 32.6 per cent. in 1910, and 29.9 per cent. in 1920. However, the Negro population had an increase of 18,921, so an absolute decrease in the number of farmers would seem to indicate a falling off of interest in agriculture, rather than being merely a result of migration.[33] We shall discuss this more at length in another connection.

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31. United States Census Report, 1890, Farms and Owners, pp. 558-581.

32. In the tables and statistics quoted from time to time, frequently no distinction will be made between "Negroes" and "Colored," as the number of non-whites, other than Negroes, in Virginia, is negligible.

33. In 1910, 28.9 per cent. of the Negroes born in Virginia were living in other States, while Virginia had received but seven per cent. of her Negroes from other States, leaving a net loss of 21.9 per cent. Of the 28.9 per cent. who had migrated, Pennsylvania had received 5.6 per cent., New York 3.3 per cent., District of Columbia 3.2 per cent., West Virginia 3.1 per cent., New Jersey 2.4 per cent, and Maryland 2.3 per cent. The remainder were widely scattered. Migration was much accelerated during the World War. 265,816, or 30.1 per cent. of the Negroes born in Virginia, were living in other States in 1920. Virginia had lost a larger number (by 55,000) of Negroes by

The largest percentage of Negro farmers are found on farms [34] of small size. The average Negro farm in Virginia in 1900 consisted of 49.7 acres. The acreage per Negro farm has been about holding its own in subsequent years. Table VIII gives a comparison of Negro farms with those of the whites, from which we can see that the tendency towards equalization is quite obvious. In the twenty year period, 1900-1920, the average white farm decreased twenty-six acres while the average Negro farm

TABLE VIII: AVERAGE ACREAGE FOR WHITE AND NEGRO FARMS FOR THE YEARS 1900-1920.[35]

	White Farms (in acres)	Negro Farms (in acres)
1900	143.7	49.7
1910	127.0	46.5
1920	117.7	47.5

diminished by only 2.2 acres. Table IX shows the number of colored farmers operating farms of various sizes in the years

TABLE IX: COLORED FARMS BY SIZE AT DIFFERENT CENSUS YEARS.[36]

Size in Acres	1900	1910	1920
Under 3	832	44	85
3-9	6,300	6,979	5,592
10-19	9,274	10,079	9,796
20-49	14,300	16,431	17,200
50-99	7,686	8,685	9,401
100-174	4,367	4,166	4,134
175-259	1,158	1,070	997
260-499	697	530	431
500-999	193	112	131
1,000 and over	27	18	19

migration than any other State. The decrease in the number of farmers, noted above, is partly accounted for by the fact that of those who migrated males were in the majority.

34. A "farmer" is any person who directs the operation of a farm. A "farm," from the census standpoint, is taken to be a tract of three or more acres used for agricultural purposes, and also any tract of less than three acres which gives a yield of $250 worth of produce, or requires the continuous services of at least one person.

35. United States Census Reports, 1900, 1910, 1920.

36. *Ibid.*

1900-1920. In 1920 there were 15,473 colored farms and 20,929 white farms in Virginia of less than twenty acres, while there were 5,732 colored farms in contrast to 55,530 white farms of more than 100 acres. The whites still operated over 97 per cent. of the tracts containing 1,000 acres or over.

The farm tenant system became very popular in Virginia during the period of cheap land and poor labor which followed the Civil War. The laborer was thrown quite largely on his own resources and a direct incentive given to production. However, there has always been considerable dissatisfaction with the Negro as a tenant, for white land owners soon found that in the majority of cases they were compelled to maintain careful supervision over them in order to secure successful cultivation. The Negroes were careless with their equipment and farm animals (whether their own or their landlords), neglected their crops, and only in very rare cases made any pretense at keeping up the land. The more industrious and conscientious Negroes merely used the tenancy system as a stepping stone to ownership and soon left the lazy and indifferent ones behind.

The four principal forms of tenancy which have been devised to meet varying conditions are "share tenancy," "cropping," "cash tenancy," and "share-cash." The share tenant pays a proportionate part of the product, generally one-half or one-third, but furnishes his own work animals and implements. The cropper differs from the share tenant only in that the landlord supplies the equipment. The cash tenant pays a definite sum for the use of the land, either in money, produce, or labor. The share-cash tenant contracts to pay a fixed amount in money or in kind and also agrees to share the produce with his landlord.

The share or cropper systems of tenancy have always been the most popular forms among the Negroes in Virginia as this relieved them of considerable responsibility. However, the cash payment plan has been widely used by the Negroes in the counties of Accomac, Dinwiddie, Southampton, Greensville, Hanover, Isle of Wight, Lancaster, and Sussex. The relative proportion of the different classes of farmers at the last three census years is shown in Table X. This table shows that between 1900 and 1910, colored farm owners increased by 5,662, while the number of tenants decreased by 2,324. In the following

decade the situation was reversed as the owner class lost 1,279 members and tenancy registered a gain of 934. Share tenants and croppers increased by 3,015 but cash and share-cash tenants lost 1,724. The figures for the last three census years indicate a decreasing popularity of cash tenancy, the highest grade of

TABLE X: COLORED FARMERS BY TENURE IN 1900, 1910, AND 1920.[37]

	Owners		Managers	Tenants			
	Whole	Part		Share and Cropper	Share Cash	Cash	Unspecified
1900	22,943	3,623	238	11,139 (a)	—	6891 (b)	—
1910	26,820	5,408	180	10,906	382	3661	757
1920	25,520	5,429	197	13,921	72	2247	400

(a) Includes unspecified.
(b) Includes share-cash.

tenancy, among both whites and colored. The loss in farm owners among the Negroes in 1910-1920 was not shared by the whites as in their case, there was a net gain of 3,978 owners.

A comparison between the percentage of colored tenants to all colored farmers in the different counties reveals the fact that the proportion of tenants runs much higher in the Black-belt than in the counties of the State where the white population is in the majority. Thus in the counties of Charles City, Cumberland, Dinwiddie, Greensville, Norfolk, Southampton, Sussex, and Warwick, where the Negro population is largest, there were 6,300 colored farmers in 1920. 3,021 of these or 48 per cent. were tenants. The percentage of colored tenants to colored farmers for the whole State, in the same year, was 34.8. But in the case of Charles City County, alone, there were only 32 colored tenants out of 395 colored farmers—approximately 8 per cent. In that county, colored farm owners possess 58.3 per cent. of all the farms.

The use of managers has grown less common in Virginia as tenancy increased. Managers are of value only on the largest farms or in cases where absentee landlordism is practiced. The

37. Arranged from United States Census Reports.

majority of farm managers in Virginia have always been white and the Negroes are not encroaching on this prerogative.

Facts in regard to farm acreage and value of farm land must be considered in connection with the number of colored farmers before justifiable conclusions may be drawn as to the part they play in the economic life of the State. Table XI shows the number of acres in colored farms, the amount of improved land, and the value of land and buildings controlled by Negroes by tenure classes. It will be seen that of all land in farms operated by

TABLE XI: ACREAGE, TYPE OF LAND, AND VALUE OF REAL ESTATE OPERATED BY COLORED FARMERS IN VIRGINIA, BY TENURE, IN YEARS 1900-1920.[38]

	All Land in Farms (in Acres)		
	1920	1910	1900
Owners	1,373,761	1,381,223	1,031,331
Managers	31,294	29,985	34,960
Tenants	858,364	827,012	1,162,827
Total	2,263,419	2,238,220	2,229,118

TABLE XI (Continued).

	Improved Land in Farms (in acres)		
	1920	1910	1900
Owners	654,218	669,358	540,719
Managers	17,155	14,046	15,095
Tenants	433,088	427,804	569,644
Total	1,104,461	1,111,208	1,125,458

TABLE XI (Continued).

	Value of Land and Buildings		
	1920	1910	1900
Owners	$ 57,085,473	$ 28,059,534	$ 10,100,600
Managers	2,333,049	1,330,815	561,340
Tenants	41,573,389	15,834,155	9,310,510
Total	$100,991,911	$ 45,224,504	$ 19,982,450

38. Arranged from United States Census Statistics.

colored farmers of Virginia in 1900, 46.3 per cent. was operated by owners and 52.2 per cent. was in charge of tenants. In 1910, 61.7 per cent. was operated by owners and tenancy had decreased to 36.9 per cent. In 1920, 60.7 per cent. was owner operated and 37.9 per cent. was worked by tenants. In 1910, 49.6 per cent. of the colored farm land was improved as compared to 48.8 per cent. in 1920. The per cent. of improved land on white farms showed an increase from 50.8 per cent. in 1910 to 51.3 per cent. in 1920. Although there was a slight decrease in the number of acres of improved land on colored farms between 1910-1920, the total acreage of all colored farm land increased by 25,199 while the acreage in all white farms decreased by 959,723 acres during the same period. Of the improved land on colored farms in 1920, we find that 59.2 per cent. was held by owners, and 39.2 per cent. by tenants as compared to 60.2 for owners and 38.5 for tenants in 1910. Taking the total value of land and buildings in colored farms in 1920, we find that 56.5 per cent. was owned and 41.2 per cent. on tenant farms as compared to 62 per cent. for owners and 35 per cent. for tenants in 1910. These figures would seem to indicate that relatively fewer tenants were graduating into ownership than in the previous decade. There was a decrease in the number of colored owners and also a decline in total owned acreage, as well as a falling off in the amount of improved land owned by colored farmers. On the other hand, the total value of land and buildings more than doubled between 1910 and 1920, as it did also in the previous decade. The greater part of this increase was the result of unearned increment and operated for the whites in about the same proportion. We must of course not forget to take into account the fact that the last census was taken during a period of artificial inflation and therefore subject to considerable discount.

There has always been much inclination to berate the Negro for his supposedly thriftless and untrustworthy habits. The proverbially transient colored cook and housemaid have served to give the race a bad name in this respect. The Virginia Negro farmers, as a whole, do not deserve the reputation. Table XII gives a classification of colored farms by tenure and term of occupancy in 1910. It reveals evidence that the Negro farmers

display a fair disposition to maintain a settled status. Tenants are naturally freer to shift around than owners, but their average does not suffer by a comparison with that of the white tenant.

TABLE XII: COLORED FARMS IN VIRGINIA, CLASSIFIED BY TENURE AND TERM OF OCCUPANCY IN 1910.[39]

	Owners Free	Owners Mortgaged	Part Owners	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants	Managers
Less than 1 Year.....	317	145	206	529	2,055	16
1 Year	516	223	326	624	1,759	15
2 to 4 Years.....	2,717	880	1,080	1,472	4,120	69
5 to 9 Years.....	3,963	919	1,051	842	1,628	46
10 Years and over....	11,906	1,918	2,426	770	1,221	23
Not Reported	2,801	515	319	181	505	11

A comparison of the different tenure groups shows that of those remaining less than four years, share tenants furnish an average of 70 per cent., cash tenants 59 per cent., part owners 30 per cent., mortgaged owners 27 per cent., and free owners 11.5 per cent. On taking the average for all colored farmers, we find that only 35.5 per cent. remain less than four years.

A review of statistics shows a higher yield per acre on white farms than on colored farms.[40] This is largely due to superior land, but partly also to more scientific methods of cultivation. We likewise find a slightly higher yield per acre on the farms of colored share tenants than on owned farms. This in itself would not show that the owners are any less generally careful of their crops, as has been suggested by some writers, but could quite as easily be accounted for by saying that the average tenant has at his disposal a better grade of land than the average Negro farm owner has thus far acquired. However, the supervision of the tenant often helps the more ignorant farmer, and acts as a spur to the slothful. Unfortunately, both of these

39. Bureau of the Census, Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915, p. 639.

40. See Table XIII, p. 98.

types are by no means rare among the colored farmers of Virginia.

The principal crops which the Negro farmers of Virginia raise, should be listed in the order of their importance about as follows: Corn, tobacco, wheat, peanuts, hay and forage, oats, and potatoes. Table XIII shows the acreage, yield, and value of these crops in 1909.

TABLE XIII: ACREAGE, YIELD, AND VALUE OF CROPS OF VIRGINIA COLORED FARMERS, ALSO PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL FOR ALL FARMERS OF THE STATE IN 1909.[41]

Crops	Acres	Per Cent. of Total Acreage on All Farms	Yield in Bushels	Per Cent. of Total Yield in Virginia	Val. of Crop
Corn	338,378	18.2	4,966,904	13.0	$4,011,144
Tobacco	59,051	31.8	37,568,274 a	28.2	3,274,760
Wheat	58,293	8.4	509,787	6.3	526,592
Peanuts	55,134	38.0	1,404,523	32.8	1,390,104
Hay and Forage	36,027	4.7	34,609 b	4.2	469,902
Oats	18,021	8.8	192,882	6.7	118,527
Potatoes (1)	16,501	19.0	1,318,800	15.0	895,815
Potatoes (2)	13,094	32.1	1,409,041	26.7	721,405

(1) Irish Potatoes.
(2) Sweet Potatoes.

a Pounds.
b Tons.

The Census Bureau did not compile separate crop statistics for white and colored farmers in 1920, so it will be impossible to get a comparison for the past decade. The colored acreage in corn increased by 11,000, tobacco 12,000, hay and forage 12,000, Irish potatoes 10,000, sweet potatoes 3,000, while the acreage in oats decreased by 8,500, and wheat by 3,500 between the years 1899 and 1909.

Negroes are fast learning more scientific methods of agriculture and adopting the use of better implements and expensive machinery. In this respect at least, the Negro farmer seems to have become able properly to weigh future benefits against

41. Bureau of the Census, Negro Population 1790-1915, pp. 594-602.

present pleasures. Hence, Table XIV is indicative of increasing thrift and improved methods as well as a mere increase of capital.

TABLE XIV: VALUE OF IMPLEMENTS AND MACHINERY ON WHITE AND COLORED FARMS IN THE YEARS 1900, 1910, AND 1920.[42]

	1900	1910	1920	Per Cent. Increase 1900-1910	1910-1920
White	$8,979,760	$16,263,380	$45,381,173	81	179
Colored	931,280	1,852,503	4,770,293	99	157

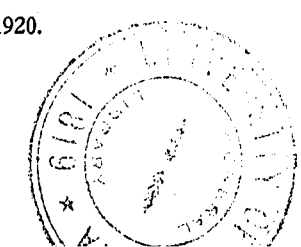
The old time Negro farmer whose inventory of live stock consisted oftentimes largely of dogs and possibly one poorly kept horse or mule, is rapidly disappearing. The present generation of Negroes is buying more and a better grade of livestock. Of the 48,114 colored farms in 1910, 27,370 reported horses, 32,459 reported cattle, 6,246 had mules, 35,398 owned hogs and pigs, and 43,307 raised poultry. The value of livestock has been increasing relatively faster on colored than on white farms. Table XV shows the value of livestock on white and colored farms at the last three census years.

TABLE XV: VALUE OF LIVESTOCK ON WHITE AND COLORED FARMS 1900-1920.[43]

	1900	1910	1920	Per Cent. Increase 1900-1910	1910-1920
White	$38,411,451	$67,219,538	$108,406,418	75	61
Colored	3,615,286	7,671,900	13,562,863	112	77

Land controlled by Negroes is on the whole much less valuable than that in the hands of the whites. Thus in Virginia the average value of land (not including buildings) per acre, in 1920, was $32.51 for colored and $41.89 for whites. Likewise,

42. United States Reports, 1900, 1910, and 1920.
43. *Ibid.*



the value of all property per farm, at this census, was $2,497 for colored and $7,780 for whites. Such comparisons, however, are less important for the Negro than those based on his own record in previous years. Table XVI shows the average value of land and buildings for Negro farmers in Virginia from 1900 to 1920. These figures call for no comment.

TABLE XVI: AVERAGE VALUE OF LAND AND BUILDINGS ON NEGRO FARMS, PER FARM AND PER ACRE, 1900-1920.[44]

	Per Farm			Per Acre		
	1900	1910	1920	1900	1910	1920
All Farms	$446	$940	$2,113	$8.96	$20.21	$44.62
Owned Farms	381	871	1,844	9.80	20.31	41.55

The conclusion would seem to be justified that the farm Negro has been progressing rapidly towards a position of economic independence. His labor has added millions annually to the wealth of the State. If the work of agricultural education and farm demonstration is encouraged, additional millions will be added to the State's income. Increased yields of 10 bushels of corn per acre, 5.7 bushels of oats, and 5.5 bushels of wheat, have been secured on large tracts, under the supervision of Negro demonstration agents. This has been done with no great increase of labor or fertilizer. The value of crop rotation, seed selection, fall plowing, and cover crops, has been demonstrated. These extension teachers have been doing a great work in speeding the day when Negro farmers will understand how to make the land produce more abundantly without at the same time destroying its fertility.

It is indeed significant that 65 per cent. of all colored farmers in Virginia are owners, as compared to 76 per cent. for whites. Considering the uneven start less than sixty years ago, the comparison is not disadvantageous to the Negro.

The progress of the Negro in farm ownership and farm activity was interrupted during the World War. Many who

44. United States Census Statistics.

would have become farmers were attracted to the cities by the prevailing high wages. The number of Negroes who will remain on the farm will be dependent on farm conditions. If the people of Virginia desire the Negro to remain on the farm, no better means can be found than to teach him how farming can be made to pay. The traveling teacher whom we call the farm demonstrator can do this. He can also organize farm clubs, county fairs, etc., which, with the help of the church, would tend to satisfy the Negro's social needs. If the Negroes are also provided with good school accommodations for their children, in reach of the farms, the importance of the results will become evident with each future census farm enumeration.

CHAPTER VI.

Home Ownership Among the Negroes of Virginia.

Of prime importance in any plan for the improvement of the Negro race is the ownership of property, preferably the home. Criminality and Bolshevism are least developed among people who have a tangible interest, even though small, in the community wealth. As the Charlottesville Police Justice, a man of long experience with criminals in this city, has stated: "In only very rare instances do property owning Negroes, or Negroes of any education, appear as defendants in my court. The vast majority can hardly write their own names and are devoid of property." [1]

The farm Negro, as we have pointed out, has acquired property, but what about the city Negro who, to a greater extent than the farm type, needs a moral brace to aid him in combating stronger corrupting influences.

Practical social workers and groups having the true interests of the Negro at heart have long emphasized the importance of home ownership. Hampton Institute, recognizing this need, in 1889 started the People's Building and Loan Association of Hampton. During the next twenty years this stock company loaned $375,000 to the Negroes around Hampton, and aided them in acquiring 375 houses and lots.[2] It might be added that in 1909, Negroes owned $117,000 of the total capital stock of $158,000. The records of the company, at this date (1923), show that it has received in cash over $1,600,000, made loans of approximately $800,000, and earned dividends of nearly $300,000 during the thirty-four years of its life. The present assets of the organization amount to $300,000.[3] Mr. Augustus Stroud, of Norfolk, Virginia, is a firm believer in the moral value of home ownership. Mr. Stroud is not merely a theoretical exponent of the doctrine, but he has demonstrated its value in the Negro community of Titustown, a suburb of Norfolk. Here

1. Personal conversation with writer.
2. Hampton Institute Bulletin, 1909, "Some Results of Hampton's Work," p. 7.
3. The Southern Workman, Vol. LII, No. 7, p. 370.

he has made it possible for Negroes to acquire homes at a reasonable price. Loans have been made to desirable Negro home seekers, and thus hundreds have been enabled to build attractive homes with modern conveniences, amid healthful and attractive surroundings. As a result, the Negroes of Titustown have an exceptional record for an industrious and law-abiding character.

Many mutual Negro "Building and Loan" Associations, such as the Norfolk Home Building and Loan Association (resources over $50,000) have helped Negroes acquire property in numerous localities.[4] Yet, the vital part of any improvement has been and must be dependent on individual Negroes working out their own economic salvation as the result of a desire sufficiently powerful to create a spirit of temporary self-sacrifice.

The need for more and better Negro homes for the sake of the general health, white as well as colored, is immediately evident to anyone who chances to visit the Negro district of the majority of towns, especially in the eastern section of Virginia —It is not intended to magnify conditions in Virginia, as they are no worse than, possibly not as bad as in some other states. We still often find in Virginia homes a confused jumble of Negroes, some related and some comparative strangers, and frequently with individuals among them suffering from contagious or infectious diseases. The moral and physical results of this contact is so obvious as to need no elaboration.[5]

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4. Booker T. Washington quotes a statement to the effect that "one-half of the homes owned by Negroes in Virginia were built by the aid of building and loan associations." (Booker T. Washington, The Negro in Business, p. 161.)

5. The comparative death rates in the cities of Virginia having the largest colored population, Norfolk and Richmond, in 1900, 1910, and 1920 were as follows:

	Death rate per 1,000 population					
	1900		1910		1920	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
Norfolk	38.1	18.8	31.0	16.5	20.8	11.8
Richmond	37.7	23.7	30.3	18.2	23.3	13.5

The figures, quoted above, taken from the United States Census

Conditions, as we have found them, are much worse in the Blackbelt than in the western counties, and far worse in the towns and cities than in the country districts. Census figures tend to confirm this observation. Take, for example, nine counties in which the proportion of Negroes was highest (over 60 per cent.), in 1910: Amelia, Charles City, Cumberland, Dinwiddie, Greenville, Norfolk, Southampton, Sussex, and Warwick. With a total Negro population of 93,247, there were only 19,084 Negro homes, of which 6,381 were owned. In other words, only 33.4 per cent. of Negro homes were owned, and the population per owned home was 15. For the State as a whole, 41.3 per cent. of the Negroes owned their homes and an average of 12 inhabitants lived in each home. In the eleven cities of the State which had a population of 2,500 or more Negroes in 1910,—Alexandria, Charlottesville, Danville, Lynchburg, Newport News, Norfolk, Petersburg, Portsmouth, Richmond, Roanoke, and Suffolk, there was a total Negro population of 134,777 living in 32,366 homes of which 5,565 were owned. Thus less than 18 per cent. of the homes were owned, and the population per owned home was 24. The number of inhabitants living in homes possessed by Negroes varied greatly in the different cities of the State. Norfolk showed but one Negro home owned for every 92 inhabitants (the poorest showing of any southern municipality), while Petersburg, with one home owned to every 13 inhabitants, leads the southern cities falling in the 10,000-25,000 class.[6]

The country Negro evidently has come much nearer to a solution of the housing problem than has his city brother. Still, this has not deterred the Negro from going to the city, as the proportion between urban and rural population has been rapidly changing in favor of the former during the past twenty years.

Reports and the Annual Report of the State Board of Health for fiscal year 1921, Table II. Note: In 1920, out of 1,399 Negro children born in Richmond City, 281 or 20.1 per cent. were illegitimate. During the same year, in Norfolk City, with a total of 1,032 births, 181 or 17.7 per cent. were illegitimate. (Annual Report of the State Board of Health and the State Health Commissioner for fiscal year 1921, p. 177.)

6. Bureau of the Census, Negro Population in the United States 1790-1915, pp. 459-501.

The Negro rural population in Virginia was 535,923 in 1900, 512,878 in 1910, and 480,883 in 1920. The Negro urban population was 124,799 in 1900, 158,208 in 1910, and 209,134 in 1920.

Negro homes are increasing in size as well as in numbers. Weatherford said, in 1912: "I drove three days through Gloucester County, Virginia, and in all that time I did not see a single one-room cabin occupied. Most of the people have built four, five, and six room houses."[7] He could now duplicate that feat in many other counties of the State.

Negro homes are improving, but the majority are yet far from what they ought to be. From a survey of conditions in the Negro settlements of Charlottesville, the writer found in many cases an absolute disregard for appearances and apparent apathy to suggestions for improvement. In other cases, the houses were well built and cared for, yards scrupulously clean, while the occupants were neatly dressed, courteous in demeanor, and conveyed the impression of intelligence and, in speech, at least a fair understanding of fundamental grammatical rules.

The better class of Negro homes in Charlottesville were usually found well separated from the homes belonging to those of the lower strata, and there seemed to be very little social intercourse between the various classes. Many of the white men of the city with whom I have talked, profess to disbelieve that there are any social distinctions among Negroes. More careful observation will serve to discredit this belief.

The owned home in Charlottesville graded much better in the matter of cleanliness than the rented home, although it was oftentimes cheaper in construction. The home owner usually seemed to take great pride in being able to announce his ownership, were the home ever so humble. In several cases the desire for ownership seemed to have become so strong in the heart of tenant occupants that they claimed a title which was wholly imaginary. At least their neighbors seemed to think so.

The Negroes of Charlottesville, now (1922), own lots and buildings of an assessed valuation of $336,500[8] on which they

7. Weatherford, Present Forces in Negro Progress, p. 14.

8. The ratio of assessment to true value in Charlottesville is about

pay the city $5,772 in taxes, as compared to an assessment of $185,800 (reassessment $199,700) with $1,361 in taxes in 1910. There has been no corresponding increase in population.[9] The value of personal property in the same period more than trebled.[10]

Tables XVII and XVIII show the improvement in home ownership during the past thirty years.

TABLE XVII: NEGRO INHABITANTS PER OWNED HOME AND PERCENTAGE OWNED OF NEGRO HOMES IN VIRGINIA, 1890-1920.[10]

	Negro Inhabitants Per Owned Home	Percentage Owned of Negro Homes
1890	21	26.6
1900	14	36.0
1910	12	41.3
1920	11.3	41.3

TABLE XVIII: ALL HOMES OWNED, ENCUMBERED, AND RENTED BY THE NEGROES OF VIRGINIA, 1890-1920.[11]

	Owned				Rented		Total for
	Free	Encumbered	Doubtful	Total	Known	Doubtful	State
1890	28,621	1,267	———	29,888	82,516	———	112,404
1900	34,234	9,054	2,980	46,268	75,895	6,367	128,530
1910	45,267	10,259	1,407	56,933	77,048	3,790	137,771
1920	46,999	12,500	1,808	61,307	84,071	3,277	148,655

There were 12 Negro inhabitants per owned home in Virginia in 1910,—the best showing made by any southern State. The

1-2. The figures above are for only four wards, and do not include Districts 1 and 2, annexed in 1916. These were purposely omitted in order to get the comparative improvement in the last twelve years.

9. City Land Books, 1922. The United States Census returns show a Negro population in Charlottesville of 2,524 in 1910, and 2,947 in 1920. The latter figure includes all wards and annexed districts.

10. United States Census statistics.

11. *Ibid.*

figures ran as high as 30 for the State of Georgia. From 1890 to 1910, the number of Negro owned farm homes increased from 13,678 to 32,528, an increase of approximately 138 per cent. The number of homes, other than farm homes, increased from 16,210 to 24,405, an increase of only 50 per cent.[12] The increase in the number of all owned homes was 90.5 per cent. This shows the better economic position of the farm Negro. In order to get the fairest idea of the change for the better in home ownership, we should strike an average for the three ten year periods. The unwonted shifting of the colored population during the World War, together with the high prices of building materials and houses, effectively prevented any increase in percentage of owned homes. However, between 1910 and 1920 there was an absolute increase of 4,374 in the total number of all Negro owned homes in the State. This was not a bad showing considering general conditions. Since the Fourteenth Census was taken there has been renewed activity among the Negroes in all parts of the State with respect to home buying and building.

12. See Appendix VII.

CHAPTER VII.

The Employment of Negroes in Virginia.

At the time of emancipation, as we have mentioned, the Negroes held a commanding position in Virginia in the ranks of labor, both skilled and unskilled[1]. Immigration made no serious threat of competition at that time, nor has it in later years. The only competitors whom the Negro has had reason to fear were native white men, and those largely of Virginia parentage. Men from the poorer class, whom the Negroes often contemptuously designated as "Poor White Trash", were unable to compete with the Negro as a slave, but with the free Negro they were on more equal terms. The Negro, with his lower standard of living, would still have had an enormous advantage had he been disposed to make the most of his opportunities. However, the temptation to follow a political mirage proved to be the beginning of what some think will be his economic displacement. At any rate, many white men who would in earlier years have migrated to other States found employment at home in the market deserted by the Negroes.

The Negro after Reconstruction had not only to begin anew to build up his "good will" among the whites, but it was necessary for him to develop initiative and thrift, qualities which he had not acquired in slavery days. He was also lacking in reliability when left to his own devices. These moral failings of the Negro have greatly interrupted his economic advance. The white laborer is no paragon of virtue. Numerous individual

1. Thomas Marshall, speaking in the Virginia House of Delegates on January 20, 1832, said: "The slaves themselves of course never make mechanics except of the coarsest description. Although the whites in the cities are not entirely averse to becoming artisans, yet, in the country, the natural policy of the rich planters to have mechanics among their slaves, to do all the needful business on their estates, deprives the white mechanics of their chief encouragement to perfect themselves in their trades, diminishes the demand for their services, and generally has the effect of expelling them from one neighborhood to another until they finally expatriate themselves." (African Repository, March, 1883, p. 6.)

white cases could be cited that show no advance over the poorest Negro laborer, while many Negroes have reputations for industry and reliability of which any white man would be proud. But, on the whole, the white laborer has had the decided advantage. An education to raise the standard of Negro labor, must embrace not only strictly industrial training but also a training which will improve his moral character.

Although a large per cent. of the Negroes are engaged in agricultural pursuits, we find a diversification of employment in the State. Thus in Tidewater Virginia we find them in the fish and oyster industry, or, if in the cities of Norfolk, Portsmouth, or Newport News, in the shipping industries. Danville, Lynchburg, and Richmond use them in the tobacco factories. Roanoke employs them in the railroad repair and maintenance service. In fact a list of the activities of Negro employees would be but a list of the State's enterprises, from mining in the western counties of Wise and Tazewell to strawberry culture in Accomac. Hence, in considering the question as to whether and to what extent the Negro is being displaced in industry, and as to the attitude of the white employee towards him, the quoting of an example from any specified trade is apt to be misleading. The diversification of industry is constantly increasing. Therefore, we find a consequent shifting of labor from one trade to another, generally allied closely to it.

A study of the Census reports for 1890 will convince the most sceptical student that by this year the majority of Negroes had gone back to work. Although the Negroes in 1890 comprised only 38.4 per cent. of the population, they furnished 43.7 per cent. of the total number of persons in gainful occupations. 76.92 per cent. of the Negro males ten years of age and over, and 30.52 per cent. of the Negro women were reported as actively engaged in production. This compares quite favorably with the whites at the same Census. The 241,095 Negroes employed were distributed among the following occupations:

Agriculture, Fisheries, and Mining	103,913
Domestic and Personal Service	95,383
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	23,326
Trade and Transportation	15,907
Professional Services	2,566

While the largest percentage of Negroes were laborers, servants, railroad employees, tobacco factory operatives, or laundresses, there were 31,000 of the farmer and overseer class, 2,000 carpenters, 745 masons, 403 coopers, 1,459 teachers, 747 clergymen, 1.068 of the merchant class, 39 physicians, 38 lawyers, 835 barbers, and a fair number of representatives of almost every occupation. The total number of Negro artisans, male and female, at this time was 34,082.

The classification by occupations in the 1920 census was somewhat different from that employed in 1890. But it affords a satisfactory basis for purposes of comparison. The 277,340 Negroes employed were distributed as follows:

Agriculture (including forestry and animal husbandry) and Mining	98,887
Domestic and Personal Service	66,268
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	63,325
Trade and Transportation	35,296
Professional Service	5,085
Public Service (not elsewhere classified)	6,745
Clerical Occupations	1,734

In connection with the discussion of the number of Negroes engaged in general occupations, we should consider Table XIX which shows the number and percentage of Negro males and females employed at the last four census years. The changes which have occurred in the past ten years do not follow the largely routine development shown by previous censuses.

TABLE XIX: TOTAL NUMBER AND NUMBER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED OF NEGRO MALES IN VIRGINIA, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, IN CENSUS YEARS 1890-1920.[2]

	1890 (a)	1900	1910	1920
Total Number	220,431	233,473	243,957	258,723
Number Employed	169,555	187,726	205,093	200,136
Per Cent. Employed	76.9	80.4	84.1	77.4

(a) Colored.

2. United States Census Statistics.

TABLE XIX (Continued): TOTAL NUMBER AND NUMBER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED OF NEGRO FEMALES IN VIRGINIA, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, IN CENSUS YEARS 1890-1920.[3]

	1890 (a)	1900	1910	1920
Total Number	235,251	245,448	252,461	261,934
Number Employed	71,797	80,239	102,729	77,204
Per Cent. Employed	30.5	32.7	40.7	29.0

(a) Colored.

A comparison of the years 1890 with 1920 by specific occupations, shows us beyond peradventure that there has been a declining interest among Negroes in farm labor and domestic service, and a corresponding increase in the industries of manufacturing and transportation.

There was a marked decrease from 1910 to 1920 in the number and the proportion of Negroes 10 years of age and over gainfully employed in the State of Virginia. For the Negroes to have merely held their average for 1910 there should have been over 217,000 Negro males and 106,000 Negro females occupied in 1920.

The main decrease from 1910 to 1920 was in the ranks of farm labor in the case of Negro males, and in farm labor, dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory), in home laundresses, and in servants, in the case of Negro females. Thus, the total number of Negro males employed as farm and dairy farm laborers decreased by 22,244 between 1910 and 1920. But for the decrease in these occupations, there would have been a larger percentage of Negro males employed in 1920 than in any previous year. Likewise, the number of Negro females employed in this work decreased by 11,544. Negro female dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory) decreased by 745; home laundresses decreased by 8,882; and the number of servants decreased by 7,336. The net decrease in the number of females in the occupations mentioned was 28,507. This more than accounts for the smaller percentage in the total number employed.

3. *Ibid.*

Of the decrease in Negro farm and dairy laborers in the last census period, 9,869 were among males 10 to 15 years of age, while 5,701 of the total loss of 28,507 Negro females employed as farm and dairy laborers, dressmakers and seamstresses, laundresses (home), and servants were among those from 10 to 15 years of age. The smaller proportion of Negro women and children who were employed in 1920 is not undesirable as children from 10-15 should be in school, and the mothers need more of their time to attend to the home. At any rate, the better wages paid Negro men in 1920, made the work of the women and children less essential for the support of the family.

There was no change from 1910 to 1920 in the basis of enumeration except that "it was emphasized in 1920 more than in 1910 that only women and children somewhat regularly occupied at agricultural work, should be returned by the enumerators as gainfully employed." There was a large over-enumeration in this class in 1910. The fact must also be observed that the census was taken during the busy farming season (April 15) in 1910, and in a dull farming season (January 1) in 1920. This would indicate an under-enumeration at the last census.[4]

With all due allowances, farm employment and domestic service are undoubtedly losing their appeal to the Negro. Manufacturing establishments, and transportation companies offer higher wages, appeal to the group instinct, and their employees have a better social standing among their own race than farm laborers or domestic servants. If the Fourteenth Census had been taken two years earlier, the returns obtained would have indicated a still greater employment of Negroes in manufactures than was shown by the 1920 census, for large numbers of them had been employed in producing strictly war materials. Hence, when the war was over, these workmen were thrown out of employment. The United States Department of Labor tells us that "The cessation of war industries and changes in factory processes and products, meant the permanent dismissal of many of these Negro industrial workers."[5]

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4. The United States Census Bureau in a personal letter has kindly furnished me the facts incorporated in this and the two preceding paragraphs. I have quoted very freely from this letter.

5. United States Department of Labor Bulletin, 1921, "The Negro

The increase in business activity which has taken place in 1922 and 1923 is resulting in more Negroes being called back into industrial fields. The restrictive immigration laws now in force have measurably increased the demand for Negro labor to take the places which otherwise would have been filled by immigrants from Southern Europe. The migration of Negro labor toward the North will doubtless gather momentum as the scarcity of unskilled labor becomes more pronounced.

Home laundry work will not soon again regain its importance as a means of livelihood for Negro women. Many white families have now installed expensive mechanical devices in their homes and are no longer dependent on the colored wash woman.

Although Negro female farm laborers, dressmakers, laundresses, and housekeepers are decreasing in number, the number of Negro women employed as hotel and restaurant keepers, clerical workers, retail dealers, trained nurses, and semi-skilled operatives in tobacco factories have had a steady increase.

Carpenters, coopers, masons, bricklayers, blacksmiths, machinists, painters, shoemakers, plasterers, and workmen of this class, have just about held their own (absolutely) in the last thirty years. There was a considerable nominal increase shown in the Census report for 1920. However, many of these craftsmen could claim the title only because of the exigencies of war. Since the return of normal conditions, the less efficient have reverted to the ranks of common labor although still claiming the title of their war trade. Negro workmen in the various trades ordinarily enjoy the patronage of the whites, but their general wage rate is lower than for their white competitors.[6]

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at Work During the World War and During Reconstruction," pp. 40 and 126.

6. The following table of average wages, per eight hour day, in building operations is quoted from p. 9, Report of the Commissioner of Labor of Virginia, 1921:

	White	Colored
Carpenters	$6.00	$4.50
Bricklayers	9.00	8.50
Painters and Decorators	6.25	5.00
Plasterers	7.50	7.50
Cement Workers	7.00	6.25
Laborers	3.40	3.20

The most significant change in the last generation is the increase among the Negroes of physicians, dentists, lawyers, contractors, electricians, merchants, bankers, jewelers, manufacturers, and clerks. The increase is not large but it is sufficient to show a decided tendency. What is more to the point, the quality of service rendered is getting constantly higher, and can stand the test of critical scrutiny and comparison with whites in the same business or profession.

The reason why Negroes have been unable to gain ground in many of the skilled trades is due partly to poor apprenticeship opportunities, partly to trade union opposition, but largely to moral drawbacks, and to inferior physical dexterity.[7]

The argument that white employers through race prejudice are inclined to discriminate against Negro labor, as such, is not tenable in Virginia. If an employer refuses to employ Negro labor when it is available, it is because of his conviction that it is less profitable than white labor at the same or even higher price. Some of these employers made the experiment themselves while others profited by the experience of men who had. In any case their course of action was finally determined by their business judgment. Many employers at all forms of labor were driven to substitute white for Negro labor in the late sixties and seventies while the Negroes were refusing employment. Men who otherwise would doubtless have been content by force of habit to continue to employ Negroes at a comparative loss, tried out white labor and thereafter refused to revert to Negro labor when it became available in larger quantity. Some employers prefer colored labor. Others refuse to consider it. Many white men still prefer the colored barber, carpenter, mechanic, blacksmith, shoe repairer, mason, plasterers, etc., while others deal only with white workmen. But the efficiency of the service, and the reputation ac-

7. There are many cases on record in which individual Negroes have demonstrated great skill. For instance, Charles Knight, a Virginia Negro, while working for the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, drove 4,875 three-quarter inch rivets in a nine hour day. This broke the previous world's record of 4,442 which was made by a workman in a Scottish shipyard. (United States Department of Labor Bulletin, 1921, The Negro at Work During the World War and During Reconstruction, p. 63.)

quired thereby, determine the action in the greatest majority of cases. Usually there is active race prejudice in professional service. Here the Negro cannot depend on getting patrons save from among Negroes. Likewise in transportation occupations there has been some opposition, especially from trade unions. In domestic and personal service the prejudice is in the Negro's favor. In manufacturing and mechanical pursuits and in agriculture, the opportunity for all races has been practically equal in Virginia.

A new field is fast opening up for the Negro in dealing with those of his own color. Until the last ten years, the Negro was prejudiced against his own race. He preferred the white lawyer, the white doctor, the white banker, the white merchant, and the white employer. There was a lack of the spirit of cooperation and mutual trust which is necessary for racial self-help. This spirit of jealousy and distrust is dying out, and the Negroes are becoming increasingly independent. Given a firm foothold on the soil, the primary source of wealth, the Negro can practically defy competition.[8] This is not the only recourse open to him in Virginia today. He still holds a strong position in the industrial circles of the white man, and there is no sound reason why he should not maintain his position in the future if he can rouse himself to meet the keener economic competition which follows a growing population. It would be a mistake for the Negro to fall back on his last defense when the struggle is but beginning. He can enjoy his advantage, one which the Chinese and Japanese in certain sections of this country have employed successfully, without arousing any great antagonism on the part of white men. That the Negro is awakening to an appreciation of this opportunity is evidenced by the growth of Negro insurance companies, Negro banks, Negro restaurants, Negro theaters, and Negro business leagues.[9] Segregation fairly car-

8. W. E. B. Dubois has long been a proponent of a "group economy" for Negroes. He emphasizes this point in his discussion of "The Economic Future of the Negro" in "Publications of the American Economic Association," February, 1906, pp. 219-242.

9. Virginia has five Negro Medical Associations, eleven Negro newspapers, two Negro owned theaters, and five Negro towns.

ried out would be advantageous in the development of such a group economy.

A long step forward in racial cooperation was made in 1900, when, under the leadership of Booker T. Washington, the National Negro Business League was organized. Since this time, annual meetings have been held in selected places throughout the country. Successful Negro business men from all over the United States have thus been enabled to get together and compare experiences. Open discussion is the order of the day in these meetings. All the gatherings have been enthusiastically attended from the very beginning, and are a great source of inspiration and education for the Negro business men. Virginia has had a State Negro Business League since 1914. There are now nineteen chartered local leagues in various cities and towns of the State.

Charlottesville furnishes a good example of the development of self-sufficiency among Negroes. On main street, in the center of the city, may be found a practically continuous stretch of two and one-half blocks of Negro business establishments. Among these are a colored drug store (pharmacist in charge a graduate of Howard University), dry goods stores, grocery stores, pool room, barber shops, restaurants, undertaking establishment, insurance offices, dentist's office (Howard graduate), and a physician's office (Howard graduate). Here also is headquarters for a Negro capitalist who owns property in Charlottesville of an assessed valuation of $50,000. The true value of course would easily reach $100,000. This Negro during the past year paid into the public treasury over $800 in taxes.[10] The major part of his capital is invested in land and buildings, but some also in stocks, bonds, and miscellaneous securities.

A development similar to that in Charlottesville is found in any of the Virginia towns with a considerable Negro population. This shows that there are entrepreneurs among the Negroes and that they are well backed by the people of their own race.

Virginia born Negroes are well represented in businesses outside of the State. A good example of this is seen in the city of

10. Charlottesville Property and Land Books, 1922.

Philadelphia. An extensive investigation by the Armstrong Association of that city, in 1916, revealed the fact that nearly twenty per cent. of the Negro business men of Philadelphia were born in Virginia.[11]

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11. The Negro in Business in Philadelphia, p. 5.

CHAPTER VIII.

Instances of the Negro's Progress in Business.

While the Negroes had training in slavery days which at least partially equipped them for becoming independent agriculturists and small entrepreneurs, they were in most cases totally without training which would tend to fit them for large scale business.[1] Combined with a deficiency in moral qualifications was an ignorance of business men and methods which effectually precluded their making much headway in this field for many years.

It is unfair to assume that Negroes at the time of emancipation started from a base line of zero in land ownership and skilled occupations.[2] Nor is it safe to consider that advances in business in Virginia represent a positive gain equal to the present status. However, such an assumption would not lead us far astray.

One of the most conspicuous advances made by the Negroes

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1. There were many Negro slaves in Virginia during the fifty years preceding the Civil War who had already arrived at the status of independent entrepreneurs. The claims of the masters were satisfied by a small payment in money or "in kind." There is record of one Negro in a southern Virginia county who, by about 1850, collected an estate worth $25,000. (Forrest, Historical and Descriptive Sketches of Norfolk, p. 417.) We must also not forget that during the twenty years just preceding the Civil War, there were approximately 50,000 free Negroes in Virginia. Tradesmen of all kinds were represented in this group.

2. A memorial presented by the Richmond and Manchester Colonization Society to the legislature of Virginia in January, 1825, in regard to free Negroes, reads as follows: "Their condition is perhaps sufficiently illustrated by the fact that in Virginia, the most agricultural State in the Union, although not debarred from holding land, not 200 out of 37,000 are proprietors of land." (Eighth Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color, 1825, p. 55.) There were 191 colored people in Norfolk County in 1860 who owned property, real and personal, worth $46,543, an average of $243 each. (Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary, Vol. III, p. 68.)

is in banking. The first experience[3] which the race had with a bank for Negroes was a rather discouraging one. The memory of the losses which they suffered in the Freedmen's Savings Bank for long afterwards almost destroyed their confidence in all institutions of this type.

The Freedmen's Savings Bank and Trust Company was a corporation chartered by Congress in 1865 for the specific purpose of receiving deposits from slaves and their descendents.[4] Various branches were established throughout the country, principally in the South. There were three of these branch banks in Virginia, one each in Norfolk, Richmond, and Lynchburg. The Richmond branch, organized in 1865, was the most important of the three. The total deposits in this bank up to July 1, 1870, were $318,913. The average amount deposited per customer was nearly $284. It is said that "about 70 per cent. of the money drawn from these banks was invested in real estate and in business."[5] Table XX shows the relative importance of the three Virginia branches. A comparison of the undrawn balance in the years 1870-1872 shows the rapidity with which these banks grew in favor, and the interest taken by the Negroes in building up bank accounts. The Freedman's Bank claimed to have the backing of the Federal government, and therefore all confidence was placed in it. However, after the

TABLE XX: DATES OF OPENING OF BRANCH OFFICES, BALANCE DUE DEPOSITORS AT THE END OF EACH FISCAL YEAR, MARCH, 1870-March, 1872.[6]

	Date of Organization	Bal. due 1870	Bal. due 1871	Bal. due 1872
Lynchburg	June, 1871	———	———	$ 12,742
Norfolk	June 3, 1865	$89,206	$105,536	123,447
Richmond	October 13, 1865	53,702	84,993	130,984
Total		$142,908	$190,529	$267,172

3. During the Civil War there was a military bank at Norfolk for the convenience of the colored troops.

4. United States Statutes at Large, Vol. 13, Chap. XCII, pp. 510-513.

5. Virginia School Report, 1871, p. 119.

6. Senate Reports, Vol. 3, 1879-1880, Appendix, pp. 41 and 22.

amendment to the bank's charter in 1870[7] wild speculation ensued with a resultant failure in 1874. The depositors lost very heavily in the transaction. Table XXI shows the number of depositors, the amount of the original deficit and refunds made prior to May, 1879. Additional payments have been made in later years, but only the larger depositors have reaped much benefit from them.

TABLE XXI: NUMBER OF ACCOUNTS, BALANCE DUE DEPOSITORS, AND THE REFUNDS MADE TO DEPOSITORS AFTER THE FAILURE OF THE FREEDMEN'S BANK.[8]

	Number of Accounts	Bal. Due Depositors July 11, 1874	Refunds Made up to May 1879
Lynchburg	469	$ 15,503	$ 4,204
Norfolk	2,399	108,801	29,510
Richmond	3,655	140,341	40,342
Total	6,523	$264,645	$74,056

For fourteen years after the collapse of the Freedmen's Savings Bank, there was nothing in the nature of a bank for Negroes in Virginia. Many deposits were made with white companies, or earnings were held in trust by employers. More frequently any surplus cash was banked in the ground.

In 1888, the Virginia legislature granted a charter to the Savings Bank of the Grand Fountain United Order of True Reformers.[9] This was the first true Negro bank in the State, as it was run by Negroes for Negroes. Headquarters were at Richmond. The charter called for a capital stock of $10,000-$100,-

7. United States Statutes at Large, Vol. 16, Chap. XC, p. 119. See Fleming, The Freedmen's Savings Bank, Yale Review, May and August, 1906.

8. Senate Reports, Vol. 3, 1879-1880, Appendix, pp. 41 and 22.

9. Acts of Assembly, 1887-1888, Chap. 350, pp. 423-424. House Journal and Documents, 1887-1888, pp. 161, 293, 410, 422.

000 in $5.00 shares.[10] This bank did a good business, but finally failed in 1910.

Negro banks did not multiply very rapidly, but by the close of 1903, there were five incorporated Negro banks operating in Virginia,—Galilean Fishermen's Bank, of Hampton; and the Savings Bank of the Grand Fountain, the Nickel Savings Bank, The Mechanics Savings Bank, and St. Luke's Penny Savings Bank, of Richmond. W. P. Burrell, Grand Secretary of the True Reformers, in July of that year (1903), reported a combined deposit of $350,000 in Virginia Negro banks. He said that dividends paid to stockholders ranged from ten to twenty per cent.[11]

There are now a large number of Negro banks in the State. Table XXII shows a list of the more important in operation in 1921. The capitalization and surplus indicate a sound backing,

TABLE XXII: CAPITAL, SURPLUS (INCLUDING UNDIVIDED PROFITS), AND TOTAL DEPOSITS OF THE MORE IMPORTANT BANKS IN VIRGINIA IN 1921.[12]

	Capital	Surplus	Deposits
Commercial Bank and Trust Co., Richmond..	$ 52,025	$ 1,075	$ 73,660
Community Savings Bank, Portsmouth.....	39,410	374	57,429
Crown Savings Bank, Newport News.....	35,000	12,540	91,926
Mechanics Savings Bank, Richmond.....	34,870	27,108	445,942
Metropolitan Bank and Trust Co., Norfolk..	150,000	57,021	553,280
Peoples Bank of Petersburg, Petersburg.....	15,275	482	17,775
Phœnix Bank of Nansemond, Suffolk.....	31,700	5,365	74,662
Peoples Dime Savings Bank and Trust Co., Staunton	5,085	1,000	50,218
Savings Bank of Danville, Danville.....	27,900	2,701	108,997
Second Street Savings Bank, Richmond.....	25,950	2,336	98,531
Sons and Daughters of Peace, Penny, Nickel, and Dime Savings Bank, Newport News....	10,000	11,467	97,072
St. Luke's Penny Savings Bank, Richmond....	50,000	18,459	446,727
Total.....	$477,215	$139,928	$2,116,219

10. Booker T. Washington gives a very interesting discussion of the circumstances leading up to the foundation of this bank. (Booker T. Washington, Story of the Negro, Vol. II, pp. 215-216.)

11. The Hampton Negro Conference, Number VII, p. 51.

12. Report of Banking Division, State Corporation Commission, 1921.

and the deposits, a surprisingly large annual business. In every case, the actual value of the bank stock is well above par. The Metropolitan Bank and Trust Company of Norfolk is the the most important Negro bank in the State, and with the exception of the "Trust Company of Norfolk," is the largest State bank in the city of Norfolk. This company was only organized in 1909, yet its deposits are now (January 1923) $695,-585. As is the case with the other Negro banks, nearly 100 per cent. of its depositors are Negroes. It is worth noting that the stock of these banks is distributed among a large number of shareholders. In only exceptional cases, are the shares of greater than $10.00 par value. The opportunity this offers to the small investor is a stroke of good business on the part of the bank, and a moral lever for the Negro race.

Negro Insurance.

Prior to the Civil War, there were forms of Negro insurance in Virginia. Masters for their own protection insured their slaves; secret societies were formed among free Negroes for mutual protection in case of sickness or death. But these benevolent societies were greatly hampered in their development by the stringent laws passed prohibiting Negroes from congregating in secret.[13]

After emancipation, Negro benevolent societies multiplied rapidly in all parts of the State. The Negro "joiner" who could boast of the widest society membership became the most popular member in colored social circles. The fees charged by these societies soon proved to be too small to meet the various obligations, especially as no attempt was made to restrict the membership of a society so as to include the physically fit. Hence, the benevolent society was driven out of existence or forced to limit its activities.

The next step, patterned after the methods of white companies dealing with Negro insurance, but with smaller premium charges, was to operate independent Negro companies. They were usually connected with existing secret orders. Many of these

13. See Chapter III.

companies also failed because of unscientific premium adjustment, and the acceptance of bad risks. Adverse selection soon left a company burdened with a constantly increasing sickness and death rate.[14]

The first Negro insurance company of any consequence was organized in January, 1881, by the Grand Fountain of the United Order of True Reformers, as a fraternal, beneficial institution. According to the terms of its charter, dated April 4, 1883, the capital stock was to be from $100 to $10,000 in $5.00 shares. In 1898, the charter was amended to permit the holding of real estate up to a valuation of $500,000. The growth of the company is indicated by the fact that it had paid $2,106,000 in sickness and death claims prior to December, 1901.[15]

By 1900, Negro insurance business had grown to large proportions. Table XXIII, quoted from a report of W. P. Burrell, is abundant evidence of this fact.

TABLE XXIII: NUMBER OF CERTIFICATES WRITTEN AND THEIR VALUE, TOGETHER WITH THE NUMBER OF CERTIFICATES IN FORCE AND THEIR VALUE, IN THE YEAR 1902.[16]

Association	Certificates Written	Value of Insurance	Certificates in Force	Value of Insurance
American Benefit	19,146	$ 653,521	18,030	$ 617,106
Richmond Benefit	6,699	221,945	14,820	434,970
Southern Aid Society	4,657	395,680	6,808	500,311
United Aid	6,380	268,615	3,627	132,062
Benevolent Aid and Relief Association	700	25,957	697	25,875
Grand Fountain United Order True Reformers	15,740	1,883,434	64,537	7,715,702
Total	53,322	$3,449,170	108,339	$9,426,026

14. For a discussion of early Negro insurance in Virginia, see W. P. Burrell, The Negro in Insurance, Report of Hampton Negro Conference, Number VIII, pp. 12-32.

15. Labor Department Reports, Vol. 7, 1902, Bulletin 41, The True Reformers, p. 808.

16. Hampton Negro Conference, Number VII, 1903, pp. 50-51.

On March 15, 1904, a law was passed which proved the death blow of the smaller Negro insurance companies. By the terms of this act, insurance companies were required to make a minimum deposit of $10,000 in bonds, with the State Treasurer, as security for their policies.[17] Whatever the intention of this act may have been, it resulted in the strengthening of the insurance companies which survived.

As late as 1908, Negro insurance was still run very frequently on an unbusinesslike basis. Fraternal societies were the worst offenders in neglecting proper medical examination for applicants. Premium rates were fixed with little regard for actuarial statistics. The accounting, also, was very crudely done. Hampton about this time formed the Federated Insurance League to which all insurance companies in the State were eligible. After much hesitation, many of the Negro companies joined the league and were induced to improve their methods, and to cooperate with each other.

Fraternal organizations remained in the field and did a big business. Wm. S. Dodd, of Hampton Institute, organizer of the Federated Insurance League, reported that 37 fraternal organizations in Virginia in 1909 did a business of $1,500,000.[18]

There are two independent Negro companies in Virginia today which are conspicuous for the size of their business. These are the Richmond Beneficial Insurance Company, and the Southern Aid Society, both with headquarters at Richmond. The former company has been in business since 1894, and the latter since 1893. In 1918, the Southern Aid Society of Virginia took over the business of the Virginia Beneficial Insurance Company, of Norfolk, while in 1921, the Richmond Beneficial Insurance Company assumed control of the American Beneficial Insurance Company, of Richmond. Since these amalgamations, the Southern Aid Society, and the Richmond Beneficial Insurance Company have been the outstanding examples of Negro enterprise in the field of insurance. Table XXIV shows the amount of business done by these companies in 1921. These figures are quite impressive evidence of a grow-

17. Acts of Assembly, 1904, Chapter 203.

18. Fourteenth Annual Report of Hampton Negro Conference, p. 41.

ing racial trust. They also show that a fair proportion of Negroes are not altogether improvident. These two companies, during 1921, paid back to their policy holders in death and other

TABLE XXIV: CAPITAL, INCOME, AND TOTAL ASSETS OF THE TWO LARGEST NEGRO INSURANCE COMPANIES OF VIRGINIA IN 1921.[19]

	Capital	Income	Total Assets
Richmond Beneficial Life Insurance Co.....	$25,000	$ 348,003	$140,251
Southern Aid Society of Virginia.....	30,000	754,757	571,633
Total.....	$55,000	$1,102,760	$711,884

claims, approximately $500,000. Most of the payments which the companies took in were in small installments. Thus they not only afforded protection, but served as savings banks for their policy holders.

A rather startling feature of Negro insurance is the enormous amount of lapsed policies. This has been offered by white insurance companies as an objection to the taking of Negro risks. Numerous agents must be kept continually in the field to make collections. An instance in point is that of the Southern Aid Society of Virginia which reports 81,933 Negro policy holders in 1922 and 53,187 cases of lapse.[20]

Thirty-six Virginia colored fraternal orders had certificates in force of over $9,000,000 at the close of 1920. Approximately $2,000,000 in insurance was written, transferred, revived, or increased in 1920 as against $900,000 terminated. $155,495 was paid in claims during that year. The total admitted assets of these orders was $600,604, and the total liabilities $133,773.[21]

In addition to the insurance companies mentioned, there are

19. Sixteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Insurance for Virginia; pp. 282-289.

20. Information furnished by W. R. Allen, Assistant Auditor of Southern Aid Society.

21. See Fifteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Insurance, pp. 166-177, for a complete report on the Fraternal Orders in Virginia.

a number of colored insurance companies and societies from other states which do business in Virginia. There are also many Negro policies in white companies. Thus, Louis Dublin, Statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York, said in 1923, that 1,800,000, or about one-sixth of the Negroes in the United States, were policy holders in the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Approximately 70,000 Negroes in Virginia hold policies from this company.[22]

22. Louis I. Dublin in personal letter to writer.

CHAPTER IX.

Conclusions.

The purpose of the foregoing chapters has been to trace the development of the education of Negroes in Virginia, and to point out its relationship to their economic and social progress. That it is difficult to show direct correlation between these factors is apparent. On the other hand, the steady progress of the Negro population in thrift and industry, in the accumulation of wealth, in home and farm ownership, in the establishment of a wide variety of business enterprises, and in habits of reliability and truth, must be attributed in considerable measure to the State's Public School System. The present movement in the State to improve the efficiency of the School System, alike for Negroes and whites, is an unconscious tribute to the benefits which have been received from the public schools thus far.

No more practical plan for aiding the Negroes has yet been proposed than that of Booker T. Washington for increased agricultural and industrial education. The economic status of Negroes must undergo further improvement before there is any great demand for strictly cultural training. As this improvement takes place there will be, of course, a correspondingly greater demand for professional and business leaders. However, it would be well to avoid "putting the cart before the horse" as those would have us do who insist on an immediate expansion of the facilities for higher education for Negroes, regardless of more pressing calls.

Granting for the sake of argument that the Negro is fighting a losing battle in Virginia and the South, as he most certainly is outside of the South,[1] what are we going to do about it? As Dr. James H. Dillard has said, we have the Negroes and in all human probability will continue to have them indefinitely. Since this is the case it would be infinitely better to be able to

1. There is an interesting discussion of this point by Alfred Holt Stone, in "Publications of the American Economic Association, Third Series, Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 243-294.

number them with the producing element of the population than as a race of partial paupers and a burden on the State.[2]

It has been argued that the Negro has had educational opportunities, and has yet failed to do more than hold his own in the struggle for survival. This will doubtless continue to be true so long as we at the same time make better provision for his competitors. As a matter of fact, the Negro race has had fair opportunities to acqire an elementary education in Virginia, and the way is rapidly being prepared so that a high school education and industrial training will also be available for the masses. A considerable number of so-called industrial schools in Virginia have existed for many years but, as was pointed out in another connection, very few of these schools did any serious industrial work. Certainly the training was insufficient to enable their students to take a place in the ranks of skilled labor. There has been in the last few years a notable improvement and extension of the curriculum in schools of this class.

The training given in the Negro industrial school should not be so narrow as to fail to include courses designed to improve the students' moral character, and by this we mean moral in the widest sense of the word. The fact has been emphasized that the most serious obstacle which the Negro has had to overcome is his tendency toward improvidence, irresponsibility, lack of industry, and business judgment.

The Negro has been too much inclined to believe that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." As Alfred Marshall points out[3], the proper method of increasing a man's willingness to labor is to increase the variety of his wants. New wants give rise to new activities while the new activities in turn react to increase the wants in an ever greater ratio. Therefore the best way in which to reach the Negro is by increasing his wants, or

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2. The Honorable William H. Taft, in his inaugural address of March 4, 1909, said: "If nothing is done to prevent it, a better feeling between the Negroes and whites in the South will continue to grow, and more and more of the white people will come to realize that the future of the South will be much benefited by the industrial and intellectual progress of the Negro." (Wm. H. Taft, Presidential Addresses and State Papers, p. 66.)

3. Marshall, Principles of Economics, Eighth Edition, pp. 86-91.

substituting higher for lower wants, and no one will doubt that education tends to do this.[4] However, certain types of education present drawbacks which largely offset their advantages.

The fact that education has a tendency to make the Negro dissatisfied has been noted with severe disapproval by some writers. This is readily agreed to be the case. For employers who have their eyes blinded by their pocket books, or are disposed towards the immediate exploitation of Negro labor regardless of future considerations, this is a serious and irrefutable argument against Negro education in any form. Yet, it will be found in the long run that this temporary evil is but the beginning of a great improvement in the character of Negro labor. If a man's incentive to labor is merely a desire for food, a little clothing, and some place to sleep, when this desire is satisfied, we may expect rapidly declining industry. The inelasticity of wants on the part of Negro labor accounts for the frequent holidays and general irregularities of which many employers still complain.

The Negroes are fast overcoming their improvident habits, and learning to lay by something for the future. This was a store they did not need when a master could be relied on to take care of them. The bank deposits now carried by Negroes show convincingly that they are appreciating the necessity of providing for anticipated future wants. Can it not be said that this is partly the result of hard experience and in part a product of education? The ignorant man discounts far too much a future benefit, and will seize a present satisfaction at the expense of a pressing necessity not yet upon him. The element of uncertainty which is a strong factor in the discouragement of saving is not apt to be a great hindrance to the well informed.

As civilization advances, mere manual labor is becoming of less importance. Machinery is taking over the lowest forms of labor and general intelligence is increasingly essential for an efficient laborer. Stages of education which in this country were formerly a luxury are rapidly becoming a necessity. The education which the Negro must have in the future will need to

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4. Booker T. Washington has brought out this point very effectively in certain speeches and publications.

make rapid strides in order for his relative position merely to remain unchanged.

Education as a factor in moral improvement has been emphasized in the State penitentiary since 1920, when an investigation showed that 80 per cent. of the Negro inmates had only been through four or less school grades.[5] The American Prison Association once adopted a resolution that "Education is a vital force in the reformation of fallen men and women. Its tendency is to quicken the intellect, inspire self-respect, excite to higher aims, and afford a healthful substitute for low and vicious amusements. Education is therefore a matter of primary importance in prisons, and should be carried to the utmost extent consistent with the other purposes of such institutions."[6] This statement is as true to-day as when uttered. And, if education is a good agent for reformation among persons who are already inmates of a penitentiary, it would seem rational to believe that it might also tend to act as a preventive as well as a cure. Not that there is some sort of magic talisman in the mere ability to read and write which will transform a criminal into a law abiding citizen. Nor, on the other hand, will it change a well-disposed person into a criminal as some would have us believe. The training which paves the way for earning an honest livelihood is not the training which breeds Bolshevists, murderers or thieves.[7] The only education which might have a tendency in this direction is the education which blindly trains a man for a service which does not exist. It would probably be a mistake to give a large number of Negroes an extensive literary training, for there is as yet only a small demand for the service which they would be prepared to render. There is an almost unlimited demand for skilled farmers, mechanics, tradesmen, etc., who by their labor

5. Report of Penitentiary, 1921, p. 29. The figures were compiled from the prisoners' own statements. Hence, in some cases there was found to be an over-estimate, while in other cases there was an under-estimate. The percentage in each case was approximately the same.

6. Report of Penitentiary, 1921, p. 26.

7. It is reported on good authority that the Russian Soviet government has recently appropriated $400,000 for the purpose of stirring up disaffection among the Negroes in the South.

could add enormously to the sum total of the wealth of the communities in which they live. Virginia has an abundance of natural resources and a good potential labor supply. But her labor force is largely untrained and hence inefficient. This condition can be remedied by an increase in industrial training for all her laborers.

The educational "Survey" in its report for 1919, states that, "the colored third of the population of Virginia must be trained so as to become economically productive; to become healthy enough to eliminate present unhygienic conditions and safeguard themselves and their white neighbors from disease; to become morally and socially sound; and to supply their own trained leaders in the ministry, in teaching, and other fields on which their racial integrity and their living depend."[8]

The suggestion of the Southern Education Association in 1907 that "———in the secondary education of Negro youth emphasis should be placed on agriculture and the industrial occupations, including nurse training, domestic science, and home economics"[9] is one with which the writer heartily agrees.

If agriculture and industrial courses are given an important place in the course of study of Negro schools, interest will be aroused on the part of the pupils. The mere fact that they are emphasized in the curriculum, will lend dignity to them in the eyes of the students. We should try to make the name farmer, artisan, etc., badges of distinction. In this way we can increase the number entering these employments, and give them honest pride in their calling.

There will be the same result if Negro girls are taught domestic science and domestic art. Domestic service will no longer be held in contempt, but will be placed once more on the high plane which it occupied in slavery days when only the most intelligent Negroes were favored by being given a position in the "Big House."

We should multiply schools of the same character as Hampton which, as Walker tells us, is "the greatest agency employed in the development of the Tidewater counties, in fact of the

8. Education Commission Survey and Report, Part I, p. 199.
9. Department of Interior Bulletin, 1916, No. 38, p. 25.

State of Virginia in educational and material conditions."[10] Kelsey noted a general social and moral improvement in Gloucester County when he was making his survey. He says: "It is a pleasure to find that one of the strongest factors in their (the Negroes') improvement is due to the presence in the county of a number of graduates of Hampton, who, in their homes, their schools, and in their daily life have stood for better things."[11] Other writers tell the same story. No one has yet accused Hampton's graduates of being too proud to work. However, Hampton with its 2000 students (enrollment in 1921-1922) cannot satisfy the State's requirements. It is being assisted in the work by a number of smaller schools but these are hampered in their development by insufficient funds, and need more encouragement and assistance from the State. May the public soon awake to the needs of the Negro and take the steps which will make more rapid the advance of the State in moral and material prosperity.

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10. T. C. Walker, Development in the Tidewater Counties of Virginia, Annals American Academy, Vol. 49, p. 30.

11. Kelsey, The Negro Farmer, p. 35.

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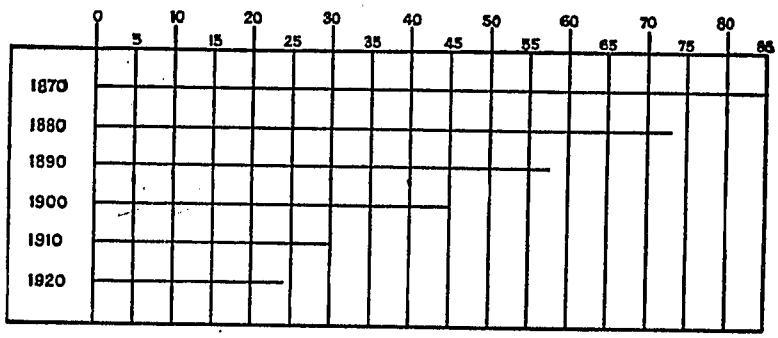
APPENDIX I.

Proportion of illiterates among the colored population ten years of age and over,—showing the decrease since the beginning of the public school system.[1]



The table given below shows the actual number of illiterates among the Negro population in Virginia during the various years.

Year	Number	Per Cent.
1870	322,236	86 (estimated)
1880	315,660	73.7
1890	260,678	57.2
1900	213,960	44.6
1910	148,950	30.0
1920	122,322	23.5

Note:—Prior to 1890, the figures for Negro population were not listed separately from colored population. In general, however, members of colored races other than Negro were very scarce in Virginia. so that for practical purposes it may be assumed that all were Negro.

1. Compiled from United States Census Reports.

APPENDIX II.

Record of Public School Education for Negroes in Virginia.

Year	No. of Teachers	Enrollment	No. of Schools	Per Cent. of School Population Enrolled Colored	Per Cent. of School Population Enrolled White	Aver. Daily Attendance	No. Studying Higher Branches
1870	——	8,000–12,000	——	——	——	——	——
1871	482	38,554	706	23.4	37.6	23,452	——
1872	360	46,736	907	28.6	48.4	26,372	——
1873	379	47,596	909	27.7	44.8	26,466	——
1874	490	52,086	994	29.3	47.3	28,928	——
1875	539	54,941	1,064	27.1	46.2	29,871	136 (?)
1876	636	62,178	1,181	30.7	49.1	34,722	492
1877	671	65,043	1,230	32.1	49.9	35,814	628
1878	673	61,772	1,146	30.4	50.0	34,300	672
1879	415	35,768	675	17.6	25.7	21,231	489
1880	785	68,600	1,256	28.5	48.3	38,764	635
1881	927	76,959	1,443	31.9	51.5	41,565	609
1882	1,059	85,328	1,525	35.4	54.6	46,907	665
1883	1,277	90,948	1,715	37.7	56.3	48,850	801
1884	1,588	103,310	1,873	43.0	56.0	56,462	1,024
1885	1,661	109,108	1,917	45.0	62.0	60,845	1,342
1886	1,734	111,114	1,981	44.0	58.0	58,667	1,022
1887	1,856	115,546	2,093	45.0	59.0	62,949	1,356
1888	1,909	118,831	2,115	45.0	61.0	64,422	1,721
1889	1,951	119,172	2,142	45.0	63.0	65,618	1,336
1890	1,973	122,059	2,153	46.0	64.0	68,317	1,002
1891	2,008	123,579	2,183	44.8	58.2	66,688	2,368
1992	2,041	116,700	2,193	42.0	56.0	62,481	839
1893	2,064	120,775	2,223	43.7	60.3	63,745	873
1894	2,100	121,277	2,254	44.0	61.0	66,423	873
1895	2,081	120,453	2,243	45.0	59.0	64,700	946

APPENDIX II (Continued).

Year	No. of Teachers	Enrollment	No. of Schools	Per Cent. of School Population Enrolled Colored	Per Cent. of School Population Enrolled White	Aver. Daily Attendance	No. Studying Higher Branches
1896	2,097	121,777	2,255	45.3	60.5	67,703	883
1897	2,127	123,234	2,279	45.8	61.5	68,203	935
1898	2,171	126,237	2,317	47.0	63.0	69,806	1,031
1899	2,165	117,129	2,314	44.0	61.0	61,754	1,003
1900	2,393	119,898	2,335	45.0	59.0	66,549	1,063
1901	2,199	123,339	2,311	46.5	60.6	69,440	1,176
1902	2,197	122,482	2,312	46.0	61.0	67,456	1,018
1903	2,173	118,463	2,227	45.0	61.0	67,694	865
1904	2,147	114,814	2,239	44.0	59.0	64,449	1,251
1905	2,180	110,059	2,233	51.0	68.6	62,521	1,103
1906	2,203	115,889	2,241	54.0	71.0	67,495	1,040
1907	2,220	111,677	2,284	52.0	70.0	63,676	910
1908	2,248	113,147	2,285	53.0	72.0	65,758	1,313
1909	2,339	117,577	2,370	54.9	75.6	72,667	1,405
1910	2,393	119,657	2,391	55.0	70.9	73,155	2,752
1911	2,402	120,564	2,415	55.0	72.0	73,855	2,561
1912	2,441	117,017	2,421	54.0	73.5	70,947	688
1913	2,448	121,373	2,493	55.0	77.0	76,123	1,407
1914	2,547	125,649	2,527	58.0	79.6	80,073	1,388
1915	2,664	131,051	2,706	59.0	79.0	83,483	1,549
1916	2,813	137,947	2,855	62.0	81.3	91,039	1,125
1917	2,905	138,713	2,910	62.4	82.0	87,865	1,909
1918	2,910	132,316	2,883	60.0	80.0	82,361	——
1919	2,850	134,031	2,866	60.3	79.0	84,763	2,687
1920	3,063	144,249	1,892	65.0	78.4	94,237	1,983 (H.S.)
1921	3,155	149,066	1,921	67.5	81.4	99,212	2,430 "

Note:—Prior to 1905 the per cent. of school population enrolled was figured on the basis of population between 5-21 years of age. After 1905, school population included children 7-20 years of age.

These statistics were compiled from the Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction from 1871-1921.

APPENDIX III.

Average monthly salaries of colored teachers in the public schools as compared with the whites for the same period.[1]

Year	Whites		Colored	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1905	$32.39	$28.77	$27.78	$23.02
1906	47.78	30.28	28.53	23.80
1907	50.91	32.59	29.29	25.27
1908	48.54	38.37	30.87	27.76
1909	54.09	40.27	30.44	27.20
1910	56.90	40.96	31.25	27.75
1911	61.44	41.72	32.19	26.85
1912	63.30	43.31	32.24	26.88
1913	66.03	44.82	36.77	30.21
1914	69.75	44.16	34.38	29.73
1915	72.91	46.10	34.15	30.70
1916	73.77	48.29	36.08	31.73
1917	76.03	48.98	38.20	31.72

1. Taken from Virginia School Reports.

APPENDIX IV.

Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in Virginia, 1916.[1]

Kind of School	Attendance				No. of Schools
	Elementary	Sec.	Colleg.	Total	
Independent Schools	1,257	428	0	1,685	11
White Denominational Schools	3,206	739	51	3,996	34
Negro Denominational Schools	532	155	0	687	10
State School	282	291	0	573	1
Totals	5,277	1,613	51	6,941	56

Teachers:—	White	Colored	Total
	262	342	604

The work of these teachers is divided as follows:—

Academic	332
Industrial	129
Agriculture	24
All other	119

Value of Property	$6,468,221
Total Income	564,085

1. Department of Interior Bulletin No. 38. See also Va. School Report for 1916-17, pp. 427-435.

APPENDIX V.

Farm Status in Virginia between the Years 1860-1890. (All Farms.)

	1860	1870
Number of Farms	92,605	73,849
Number of Acres in Farms	31,117,036	18,145,911
Average Area of Farms (in Acres)	336	245.7
Number of Acres of Improved Land	11,437,821	8,165,040
Per Cent. of Farm Land Improved	36.8	45.0
Value of Implements and Machinery	$ 9,392,296	$ 3,939,229 (a)
Value of Livestock on Farms	47,803,049	22,550,135 (a)
Value of All Farm Property	428,957,006	196,906,040 (a)

	1880	1890
Number of Farms	118,517	127,600
Number of Acres in Farms	19,835,785	19,104,951
Average Area of Farms (in Acres)	167.4	149.7
Number of Acres of Improved Land	8,510,113	9,125,545
Per Cent. of Farm Land Improved	42.9	47.8
Value of Implements and Machinery	$ 5,495,114	$ 6,593,688
Value of Livestock	25,953,315	33,404,281
Value of All Farm Property	247,476,536	294,488,569

Since the figures for Virginia in 1860 include data for West Virginia, it would be necessary to make a correction in order to make them comparable with later census years. It is impossible to determine exactly how much this correction would be, but the returns for West Virginia separately in the 1870 census gives a fair idea.

Farm Status in West Virginia in Census Year 1870. (All Farms.)

	1870
Number of Farms	39,773
Number of Acres in Farms	8,528,394
Number of Acres of Improved Land	2,580,254
Value of Implements and Machinery	1,690,350 (a)
Value of Livestock	13,740,336 (a)
Value of All Farm Property	96,714,190 (a)

(a) Figures for 1870 are on the basis of gold value, one-fifth less than currency value in that year.

APPENDIX VI.

Negro Population in Virginia in Various Years.[1]

	Percentage Negro in the Population	Total Negro Population	Free Negroes	Slaves
1790	43.4	300,213	12,254	287,959
1800	44.7	358,222	19,598	338,624
1810	47.3	410,972	29,292	381,680
1820	48.0	445,499	35,470	410,029
1830	48.1	497,265	45,181	452,084
1840	47.1	477,308	46,809	430,499
1850	45.0	503,279	51,251	452,028
1860	43.3	527,763	55,269	472,494
1870	41.9	512,841	———	———
1880	41.8	631,616	———	———
1890	38.4	635,438	———	———
1900	35.7	660,722	———	———
1910	32.6	671,096	———	———
1920	29.9	690,017	———	———

1. Compiled from United States Census Reports. Note: The figures quoted for the years 1790-1860 do not include the returns for the part of Virginia which has since become West Virginia.

APPENDIX VII.

Number of Negro Farm Homes in Virginia, Owned, Encumbered, and Rented in the Years 1890-1920.

	Owned Farm Homes				Rented Farm Homes		Total Farm
	Free	Encumbered	Doubtful	Total	Known	Doubtful	Homes
1890	13,097	581	(a)	13,678	18,161	(a)	31,839
1900	21,113	5,121	1,216	27,450	18,812	279	46,541
1910	26,972	5,420	136	32,528	15,793	89	48,410
1920	——	——	——	31,000	17,000	——	48,000 (b)

Number of Negro Homes, Other than Farm Homes, in Virginia, Owned, Encumbered, and Rented in the Years 1890-1920.

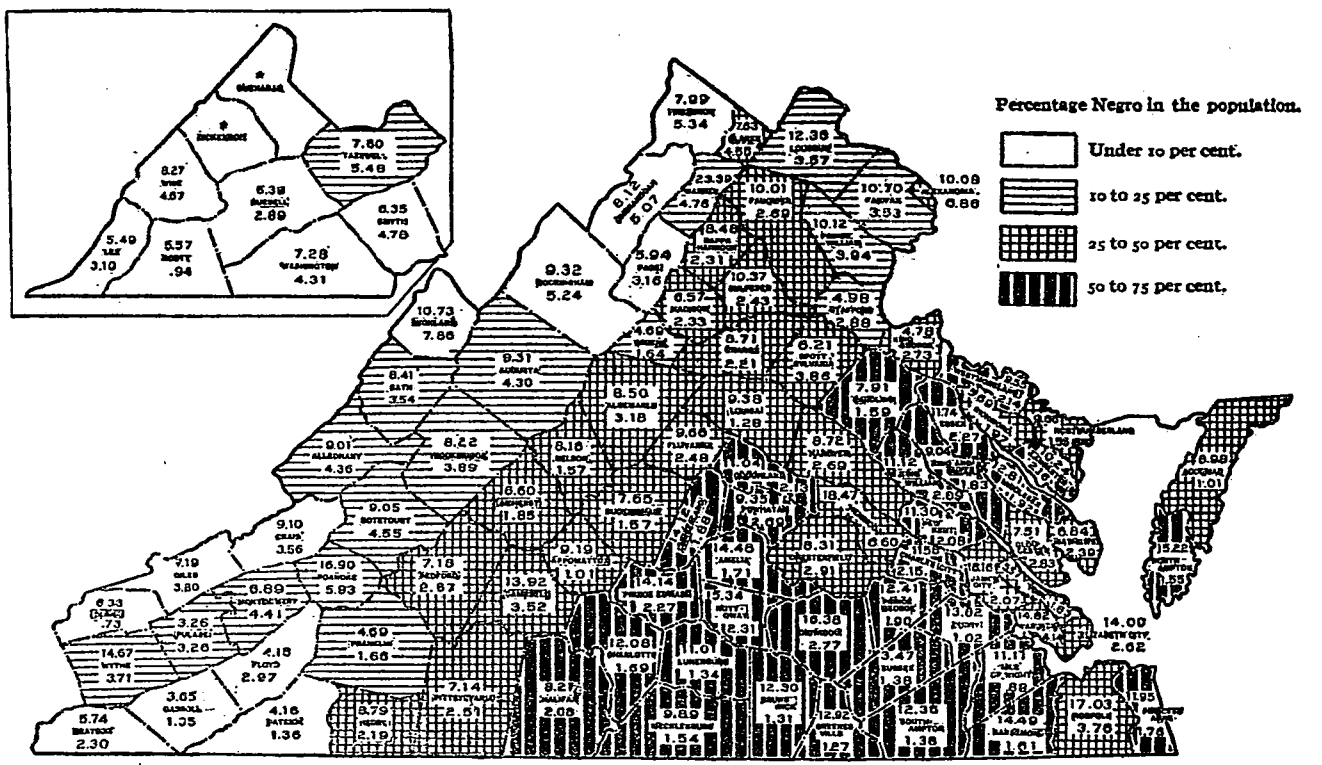
	Owned Homes				Rented Homes		Total Homes Other
	Free	Encumbered	Doubtful	Total	Known	Doubtful	than Farm
1890	15,524	686	(a)	16,210	64,355	(a)	80,565
1900	13,121	3,933	1,764	18,818	57,083	6,088	81,989
1910	18,295	4,839	1,271	24,405	61,255	3,701	89,361
1920	——	——	——	30,000	67,000	——	97,000 (b)

(a) In 1890, in cases where ownership was not reported, an apportionment was made by the Census Bureau, on a percentage basis, derived from ownership reports received.

(b) The Census of 1920 did not distinguish between farm homes and other homes, hence the figures we quote are an approximation. However, it is unlikely that there is any great difference between farms owned and farm homes owned, or between total farms and total farm homes. Corrections were applied which we believe made the percentage of error very small.

MAP 1.

Taken from United States Census Report, 1920.



MAP 2—PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN IN VIRGINIA ON THE BASIS OF TEACHERS' SALARIES. The upper figure in each county is for white children, the lower for colored. The shading indicates the percentage of Negroes in the total population. (Department of the Interior Bulletin, 1916, Vol. II.)