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Democracy and Education
by John Dewey
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Chapter One: Education as a Necessity of Life
1. Renewal of Life by Transmission. The most notable distinction between living and the living thing may easily be crushed by superior force
As long as it endures

in

In all the higher forms this process cannot be kept up indefinitely. After a while they succumb; they die. The creature is not equal to the task of indefinite self-renewal. But continuity of the life is maintained by the transmission of life to the young.

We have been speaking of life in its lowest terms -- as a physical thing. But we use the word "life" in a much broader sense. We employ the word "experience" in the same pregnant sense. And to it we add the word "culture".

The primary ineluctable facts of the birth and death of each one of the constituent members of a society are the same. Society exists through a process of transmission quite as much as biological life. This is the case with the life of a nation.

If a plague carried off the members of a society all at once the society would cease to exist. Education and Communication. So obvious is the fact that a society cannot be passed on by physical transmission that sociologists say. Such things cannot be passed physically from one to another. Persons do not become a society by living in physical proximity. We are thus compelled to recognize that within even the most social group there are individuals who are not in contact with the group.

Not only is social life identical with communication but it is also a process of learning. In final account the life of a society is a process of learning. The Place of Formal Education. There is a very important fact which we must recognize. But in dealing with the young we are led to distinguish between the life of a society and the life of an individual. But as civilization advances the life of a society becomes more and more a process of learning. Without such formal education the life of a society would be impossible. But there are conspicuous dangers attendant upon the transition from indirect to formal education. But in an advanced culture much which has to be learned is stored in symbols. It is hence one of the weightiest problems with which the philosophy of education has to deal.

Summary. It is the very nature of life to strive to continue in being. Since this is the case, the life of a society is a process of learning. Chapter Two: Education as a Social Function

1. The Nature and Meaning of Environment. We have seen that a community or society is a process of learning.

in

in

\par ---Thomas Wentworth Higginson
\par
\par TRANSCRIBER'S NOTE
\par As is well documented
\par
\par In the second series of poems published
\par
\par There came a day - at Summer's full -
\par Entirely for me -
\par I thought that such were for the Saints -
\par Where Resurrections - be -
\par
\par The sun - as common - went abroad -
\par The flowers - accustomed - blew
\par As if no soul - that solstice passed -
\par Which maketh all things - new -
\p©«îar
\par The time was scarce profaned - by speech -
\par The falling of a word
\par Was needless - as at Sacrament -
\par The _Wardrobe_ - of our Lord!
\par
\par Each was to each - the sealed church -
\par Permitted to commune - _this_ time -
\par Lest we too awkward show
\par At Supper of "the Lamb."
\par
\par The hours slid fast - as hours will -
\par Clutched tight - by greedy hands -
\par So - faces on two Decks look back -
\par Bound to _opposing_ lands.
\par
\par A^a-înd so
\par Without external sound
\par Each bound the other's Crucifix -
\par We gave no other bond -
\par
\par Sufficient troth - that we shall _rise_
\par Deposed - at length the Grave -
\par To that new marriage -
\par _Justified_ - through Calvaries - of Love!
\par
\par From the handwriting
\par «î
\par However
\par
\par ---JT
\par
\par This is my letter to the world

in

\par That never wrote to me
\par The simple news that Nature told
\par With tender majesty.
\par
\par Her message is committed
\par To hands I cannot see;
\par For love of her
\par Judge tenderly of me—@i!
\par
\par I.
\par
\par
\par LIFE.
\par
\par I.
\par
\par SUCCESS.
\par

in

in

\par

±³\par Then a silence suffuses the story

\par And a softness the teller's eye;

\par And the children no further question

\par And only the waves reply.

\par

\par VI.

\par

\par If I can stop one heart from breaking

\par I shall not live in vain;

\par If I can ease one life the aching

\par Or cool one pain

\par Or help one fainting robin

\par Unto his nest again

\par I shall not live in vain.

\par

\par VII.

\par

\par ALMOST!

\par

\par Within my reach!

²~\par I could have touched!

\par I might have chanced that way!

\par Soft sauntered through the village

\par Sauntered as soft away!

\par So unsuspected violets

\par Within the fields lie low

\par Too late for striving fingers

\par That passed

\par

\par VIII.

\par

\par A wounded deer leaps highest

\par I've heard the hunter tell;

\par 'T is but the ecstasy of death

\par And then the brake is still.

\par

\par The smitten rock that gushes

\par The tr³μîampled steel that springs;

\par A cheek is always redder

\par Just where the hectic stings!

\par

\par Mirth is the mail of anguish

\par In which it cautions arm

\par Lest anybody spy the blood

\par And "You're hurt" exclaim!

\par

\par IX.

\par

in

\par The heart asks pleasure first
\par And then
\par And then
\par That deaden suffering;
\par
\par And then
\par And then
\par The will of its 'Inquisitor
\par The liberty to die.
\par
\par X.
\par
\par IN A LIBRARY.
\par
\par A precious
\par To meet an antique book
\par In just the dress his century wore;
\par A privilege
\par
\par His venerable hand to take
\par And warming in our own
\par A passage back
\par To times when he was young.
\par
\par His quaint opinions to inspect
\par His knowledge to unfold
\par On what concerns our mutual mind
\par The literature of old;
\par
\par What interested scholars most
\par What competitions ran
\par When Plato was a certainty.
\par And Sophocles a man;
\par
\par When Sappho was a living girl
\par And Beatrice wore
\par The gown that Dante deified.
\par Facts
\par
\par He traverses familiar
\par As one should come to town
\par And tell you all your dreams were true;
\par He lived where dreams were sown.
\par
\par His presence is enchantment
\par You beg him not to go;
\par Old volumes shake their vellum heads
\par And tantalize
\par

in

\par XI.

\par

\par Much madness is divinest sense

\par To a discerning eye;

\par Much sense the starkest madness.

\par 'T is the majority

\par In this

\par Assent

\par Demur

\par And handled with a chain.

\par

\par XII.

\par

\par I asked no other thing

\par No other was denied.

\par 'Til offered Being for it;

\par The mighty merchant smiled.

\par

\par Brazil? He twirled a button

\par Without a glance my way:

\par "But

\par That we can show to-day?"

\par

\par XIII.

\par

\par EXCLUSION.

\par

\par The soul selects her own society

\par Then shuts the door;

\par On her divine majority

\par Obtrude no more.

\par

\par Unmoved

\par At her low gate;

\par Unmoved

\par Upon her mat.

\par

\par I've known her from an ample nation

\par Choose one;

\par Then close the valves of her attention

\par Like stone.

\par

\par XIV.

\par

\par THE SECRET.

\par

\par Some things that fly there be

\par Birds

\par Of these no elegy.

in

\par
\par Some things that stay there be
\par Grief
\par Nor this behooveth me.
\par
\par There are
\par Can I expound the skies?
¹»î\par How still the riddle lies!
\par
\par XV.
\par
\par THE LONELY HOUSE.
\par
\par I know some lonely houses off the road
\par A robber 'd like the look of
\par Wooden barred
\par And windows hanging low
\par Inviting to
\par A portico
\par Where two could creep:
\par One hand the tools
\par The other peep
\par To make sure all's asleep.
\par Old-fashioned eyes
\par Not easy to surprise!
\par
\par How orderly the kitchen 'd look by night
\par With j^o¼îust a clock
\par But they could gag the tick
\par And mice won't bark;
\par And so the walls don't tell
\par None will.
\par
\par A pair of spectacles ajar just stir --
\par An almanac's aware.
\par Was it the mat winked
\par Or a nervous star?
\par The moon slides down the stair
\par To see who's there.
\par
\par There's plunder
\par Tankard
\par Earring
\par A watch
\par To match the grandmamma
\par Staid s»½îleeping there.
\par
\par Day rattles
\par Stealth's slow;

in

\par The sun has got as far
\par As the third sycamore.
\par Screams chanticleer
\par "Who's there?"
\par And echoes
\par Sneer -- "Where?"
\par While the old couple
\par Fancy the sunrise left the door ajar!
\par
\par XVI.
\par
\par To fight aloud is very brave
\par But gallanter
\par Who charge within the bosom
\par The cavalry of woe.
\par
\par Who win
\par Who fall
\par Whose dying eyes no country
\par Regards with patriot love.
\par
\par We trust
\par For such the angels go
\par Rank after rank
\par And uniforms of snow.
\par
\par XVII.
\par
\par DAWN.
\par
\par When night is almost done
\par And sunrise grows so near
\par That we can touch the spaces
\par It 's time to smooth the hair
\par
\par And get the dimples ready
½¿\par And wonder we could care
\par For that old faded midnight
\par That frightened but an hour.
\par
\par XVIII.
\par
\par THE BOOK OF MARTYRS.
\par
\par Read
\par Till we are stouter;
\par What they renounced
\par Till we are less afraid;
\par How many times they bore

in

\par The faithful witness
\par Till we are helped
\par As if a kingdom cared!
\par
\par Read then of faith
\par That shone above the fagot;
\par Clear strains of hymn
\par The river could not drown;
\par Brave names of men
\par And celestial women
\par Passed out of record
\par Into renown!
\par
\par XIX.
\par
\par THE MYSTERY OF PAIN.
\par
\par Pain has an element of blank;
\par It cannot recollect
\par When it began
\par A day when it was not.
\par
\par It has no future but itself
\par Its infinite realms contain
\par Its past
\par New periods of pain.
\par
\par XX.
\par
\par I taste a liquor never brewed
\par From tankards scooped in pearl;
\par Not all the vats upon the Rhine
\par Yield such an alcohol!
\par
\par Inebriate of air am I
\par And debauchee of dew
\par Reeling
\par From inns of molten blue.
\par
\par When landlords turn the drunken bee
\par Out of the foxglove's door
\par When butterflies renounce their drams
\par I shall but drink the more!
\par
\par Till seraphs swing their snowy hats
\par And saints to windows run
\par To see the little tippler
\par Leaning against the sun!
\par

in

\par XXI.

\par

\par A BOOK.

\par

\par He ate and drank the precious words

\par His spirit grew robust;

\par He knew no more that he was poor

\par Nor that his frame was dust.

\par He danced along the dingy days

\par And this bequest of wings

\par Was but a book. What liberty

\par A loosened spirit brings!

\par

\par XXII.

\par

\par I had no time to hÃ¡Ã¡ate

\par The grave would hinder me

\par And life was not so ample I

\par Could finish enmity.

\par

\par Nor had I time to love; but since

\par Some industry must be

\par The little toil of love

\par Was large enough for me.

\par

\par XXIII.

\par

\par UNRETURNING.

\par

\par 'T was such a little

\par That toddled down the bay!

\par 'T was such a gallant

\par That beckoned it away!

\par

\par 'T was such a greedy

\par That licked it from the coast;

\par Nor ever guessed the stately sails

\par My little craft was lost!

\par

\par XXIV.

\par

\par Whether my bark went down at sea

\par Whether she met with gales

\par Whether to isles enchanted

\par She bent her docile sails;

\par

\par By what mystic mooring

\par She is held to-day

\par This is the errand of the eye

in

\par Out upon the bay.

\par

\par XXV.

\par

\par Belshazzar had a letter

\par He neveÃir had but one;

\par Belshazzar's correspondent

\par Concluded and begun

\par In that immortal copy

\par The conscience of us all

\par Can read without its glasses

\par On revelation's wall.

\par

\par XXVI.

\par

\par The brain within its groove

\par Runs evenly and true;

\par But let a splinter swerve

\par 'T were easier for you

\par To put the water back

\par When floods have slit the hills

\par And scooped a turnpike for themselves

\par And blotted out the mills!ÃÆî

\par

\par II.

\par

\par LOVE.

\par

\par I.

\par

\par MINE.

\par

\par Mine by the right of the white election!

\par Mine by the royal seal!

\par Mine by the sign in the scarlet prison

\par Bars cannot conceal!

\par

\par Mine

\par Mine

\par Titled

\par Mine

\par

\par II.

\par

\par BEQUEST.

\par

\par You left me

\par A legacy of love

\par A Heavenly Father would content

in

\par Had He the offer of;
\par
\par You left me boundaries of pain
\par Capacious as the sea
\par Between eternity and time
\par Your consciousness and me.
\par
\par III.
\par
\par Alter? When the hills do.
\par Falter? When the sun
\par Question if his glory
\par Be the perfect one.
\par
\par Surfeit? When the daffodil
\par Doth of the dew:
\par Even as herself
\par I wÆËÏll of you!
\par
\par IV.
\par
\par SUSPENSE.
\par
\par Elysium is as far as to
\par The very nearest room
\par If in that room a friend await
\par Felicity or doom.
\par
\par What fortitude the soul contains
\par That it can so endure
\par The accent of a coming foot
\par The opening of a door!
\par
\par V.
\par
\par SURRENDER.
\par
\par Doubt me
\par Why
\par With but a fraction of the love
\par ÇÉÏPoured thee without a stint.
\par The whole of me
\par What more the woman can
\par Say quick
\par With last delight I own!
\par
\par It cannot be my spirit
\par For that was thine before;
\par I ceded all of dust I knew

in

\par What opulence the more
\par Had I
\par Whose farthest of degree
\par Was that she might
\par Some distant heaven
\par Dwell timidly with thee!
\par
\par VI.
\par
\par IF you were coming in the fall
\par I'd brush the summer by
\par With half a smile and half a spurn
\par As housewives do a fly.
\par
\par If I could see you in a year
\par I'd wind the months in balls
\par And put them each in separate drawers
\par Until their time befalls.
\par
\par If only centuries delayed
\par I'd count them on my hand
\par Subtracting till my fingers dropped
\par Into Van Diemen's land.
\par
\par If certain
\par That yours and mine should be
\par I'd toss it yonder like a rind
\par And taste eternity.
\par
\par But now
\par Of time's uncertain wing
\par It goads me
\par That will not state its sting.
\par
\par VII.
\par
\par WITH A FLOWER.
\par
\par I hide myself within my flower
\par That wearing on your breast
\par You
\par And angels know the rest.
\par
\par I hide myself within my flower
\par That
\par You
\par Almost a loneliness.
\par
\par VIII.

in

\par
\par PROOF.
\par
\par That I did always love
\par I bring thee proof:
\par That till I loved
\par I did not love enough.
\par
\par That I shall love always
\par I offer thee
\par That love is life
\par And life hath immortality.
\par
\par This
\par Then have I
\par Nothing to show
\par But Calvary.
\par
\par IX.
ÉÍ\par
\par Have you got a brook in your little heart
\par Where bashful flowers blow
\par And blushing birds go down to drink
\par And shadows tremble so?
\par
\par And nobody knows
\par That any brook is there;
\par And yet your little draught of life
\par Is daily drunken there.
\par
\par Then look out for the little brook in March
\par When the rivers overflow
\par And the snows come hurrying from the hills
\par And the bridges often go.
\par
Ï\par And later
\par When the meadows parching lie
\par Beware
\par Some burning noon go dry!
\par
\par X.
\par
\par TRANSPLANTED.
\par
\par As if some little Arctic flower
\par Upon the polar hem
\par Went wandering down the latitudes
\par Until it puzzled came
\par To continents of summer

in

\par To firmaments of sun
\par To strange
\par And birds of foreign tongue!
\par I say
\par To Eden wandered in --
\par What then? Why
\par Your inference therefrom!
\par
\par XI.
\par
\par THE OUTLET.
\par
\par My river runs to thee:
\par Blue sea
\par
\par My river waits reply.
\par Oh sea
\par
\par I'll fetch thee brooks
\par From spotted nooks
\par
\par Say
\par Take me!
\par
\par XII.
\par
\par IN VAIN.
\par
\par I CANNOT live withîÐî you
\par It would be life
\par And life is over there
\par Behind the shelf
\par
\par The sexton keeps the key to
\par Putting up
\par Our life
\par Like a cup
\par
\par Discarded of the housewife
\par Quaint or broken;
\par A newer Sevres pleases
\par Old ones crack.
\par
\par I could not die with you
\par For one must wait
\par To shut the other's gaze down
\par You could not.
\par
\par And I

in

\par And see you freeze
ĩÑĩ\par Without my right of frost
\par Death's privilege?
\par
\par Nor could I rise with you
\par Because your face
\par Would put out Jesus'
\par That new grace
\par
\par Glow plain and foreign
\par On my homesick eye
\par Except that you
\par Shone closer by.
\par
\par They'd judge us -- how?
\par For you served Heaven
\par Or sought to;
\par I could not
\par
\par Because you saturated sight
\par And I had no more eyes
\par For sordid excelÐÕñlence
\par As Paradise.
\par
\par And were you lost
\par Though my name
\par Rang loudest
\par On the heavenly fame.
\par
\par And were you saved
\par And I condemned to be
\par Where you were not
\par That self were hell to me.
\par
\par So we must keep apart
\par You there
\par With just the door ajar
\par That oceans are
\par And prayer
\par And that pale sustenance
\par Despair!
\par
\par XIII.
\par
\par RENUNCIATION.
\parÑÕî
\par There came a day at summer's full
\par Entirely for me;
\par I thought that such were for the saints

in

\par Where revelations be.
\par
\par The sun
\par The flowers
\par As if no soul the solstice passed
\par That maketh all things new.
\par
\par The time was scarce profaned by speech;
\par The symbol of a word
\par Was needless
\par The wardrobe of our Lord.
\par
\par Each was to each the sealed church
ÔÔ
\par Permitted to commune this time
\par Lest we too awkward show
\par At supper of the Lamb.
\par
\par The hours slid fast
\par Clutched tight by greedy hands;
\par So faces on two decks look back
\par Bound to opposing lands.
\par
\par And so
\par Without external sound
\par Each bound the other's crucifix
\par We gave no other bond.
\par
\par Sufficient troth that we shall rise --
\par Deposed
\par To that new marriage
\par Through Calvaries of Love!
\par
\par XIV.
\par
\par LOVE'S BAPTISM.
\par
\par I'm ceded
\par The name they dropped upon my face
\par With water
\par Is finished using now
\par And they can put it with my dolls
\par My childhood
\par I've finished threading too.
\par
\par Baptized before without the choice
\par But this time consciously
\par Unto supremest name
\par Called to my full

in

\par Existence's whole arc filled up
\par With one small diadem.
\par
\par My second rank
\par Crowned
\par A half unconscious queen;
\par But this time
\par With will to choose or to reject.
\par And I choose -- just a throne.
\par
\par XV.
\par
\par RESURRECTION.
\par
\par 'T was a long parting
\par For interview had come;
\par Before the judgment-seat of God
\par The last and second time
\par
\par These fleshless lovers met
\par A heaven in a gaze
\par A heaven of heavens
\par Of one another's eyes.
\par
\par No lifetime set on them
\par Apparelled as the new
\par Unborn
\par Born everlasting now.
\par
\par Was bridal e'er like this?
\par A paradise
\par And cherubim and seraphim
\par The most familiar guest.
\par
\par XVI.
\par
\par APOCALYPSE.
\par
\par I'm wife; I've finished that
\par That other state;
\par I'm Czar
\par It's safer so.
\par
\par How odd the girl's life looks
\par Behind this soft eclipse!
\par I think that earth seems so
\par To those in heaven now.
\par
\par This being comfort

in

\par That other kind was pain;
\par But why compare?
\par I'm wife! stop there!
\par
\par XVII.
\par
\par THE WIFE.
\par
\par She rose to his requirement
\par The playthings of her life
\par To take the honorable work
\par Of woman and of wife.
\par
\par If aught she missed in her new day
\par Of amplitude
\par Or first prospective
\par In using wore away
\par
\par It lay unmentioned
\par Develops pearl and weed
\par But only to himself is known
\par The fathoms they abide.
\par
\par XVIII.
\par
\par APOTHEOSIS.
\par
\par Come sloøÚwly
\par Lips unused to thee
\par Bashful
\par As the fainting bee
\par
\par Reaching late his flower
\par Round her chamber hums
\par Counts his nectars -- enters
\par And is lost in balms!
\par
\par III.
\par
\par NATURE.
\par
\par I.
\par
\par New feet within my garden go
\par New fingers stir the sod;
\par A troubadour upon the elm
\par Betrays the solitude.
\par
\par New children play upon the grÛÛreen

in

\par New weary sleep below;
\par And still the pensive spring returns
\par And still the punctual snow!
\par
\par II.
\par
\par MAY-FLOWER.
\par
\par Pink
\par Aromatic
\par Covert in April
\par Candid in May
\par
\par Dear to the moss
\par Known by the knoll
\par Next to the robin
\par In every human soul.
\par
\par Bold little beauty
\par Bedecked with thee
\par Nature forswears
\par Antiquity.
\par
\par ÚÛ III.
\par
\par WHY?
\par
\par THE murmur of a bee
\par A witchcraft yieldeth me.
\par If any ask me why
\par 'T were easier to die
\par Than tell.
\par
\par The red upon the hill
\par Taketh away my will;
\par If anybody sneer
\par Take care
\par That's all.
\par
\par The breaking of the day
\par Addeth to my degree;
\par If any ask me how
\par Artist
\par Must tell!
\par
\par IV.
\par
\par Perhaps you'd like to ÚÝ buy a flower?
\par But I could never sell.

in

\par If you would like to borrow
\par Until the daffodil
\par
\par Unties her yellow bonnet
\par Beneath the village door
\par Until the bees
\par Their hock and sherry draw
\par
\par Why
\par But not an hour more!
\par
\par V.
\par
\par The pedigree of honey
\par Does not concern the bee;
\par A clover
\par Is aristocracy.
\par
\par VI.
\par ÜPî
\par A SERVICE OF SONG.
\par
\par Some keep the Sabbath going to church;
\par I keep it staying at home
\par With a bobolink for a chorister
\par And an orchard for a dome.
\par
\par Some keep the Sabbath in surplice;
\par I just wear my wings
\par And instead of tolling the bell for church
\par Our little sexton sings.
\par
\par God preaches
\par And the sermon is never long;
\par So instead of getting to heaven at last
\par I'm going aÝÛill along!
\par
\par VII.
\par
\par The bee is not afraid of me
\par I know the butterfly;
\par The pretty people in the woods
\par Receive me cordially.
\par
\par The brooks laugh louder when I come
\par The breezes madder play.
\par Wherefore
\par Wherefore
\par

\par VIII.

\par

\par SUMMER'S ARMIES.

\par

\par Some rainbow coming from the fair!

\par Some vision of the world Cashmere

\par I confidently shall see!

\par Or else a peacock's purple train

\par Feather by feather

\par Fritters itself away!

\par

\par The dreamy butterflies bestir

\par Lethargic pools resume the whir

\par Of last year's sundered tune.

\par From some old fortress on the sun

\par Baronial bees march

\par In murmuring platoon!

\par

\par The robins stand as thick to-day

\par As flakes of snow stood yesterday

\par On fence and roof and twig.

\par The orchis binds her feather ßáïon

\par For her old lover

\par Revisiting the bog!

\par

\par Without commander

\par The regiment of wood and hill

\par In bright detachment stand.

\par Behold! Whose multitudes are these?

\par The children of whose turbaned seas

\par Or what Circassian land?

\par

\par IX.

\par

\par THE GRASS.

\par

\par The grass so little has to do

\par A sphere of simple green

\par With only butterflies to brood

\par And bees to entertain

\par

\par And stir all day to pretty tunes

\par The breezes fetch along

\par And hold the sunshine in its lap

\par And bow to everything;

\par

\par And thread the dews all night

\par And make itself so fine

\par A duchess were too common

in

\par For such a noticing.

\par

\par And even when it dies

\par In odors so divine

\par As lowly spices gone to sleep

\par Or amulets of pine.

\par

\par And then to dwell in sovereign barns

\par And dream the days away

\par The grass so little has to do

\par I wish I were the hay!

\par

\par X.

\par

\par A little road not made of man

\par Enabled of the eye

\par Accessible to thill of bee

\par Or cart of butterfly.

\par

\par If town it have

\par 'T is that I cannot say;

\par I only sigh

\par Bears me along that way.

\par

\par XI.

\par

\par SUMMER SHOWER.

\par

\par A drop fell on the apple tree

\par Another on the roof;

\par A half a dozen kissed the eaves

\par And made the gables laugh.

\par

\par A few went out to help the brook

\par That went to help the sea.

\par Myself conjectured

\par What necklaces could be!

\par

\par The dust replaced in hoisted roads

\par The birds jocosely sung;

\par The sunshine threw his hat away

\par The orchards spangles hung.

\par

\par The breezes brought dejected lutes

\par And bathed them in the glee;

\par The East put out a single flag

\par And signed the fete away.

\par

\par XII.

in

\par
\par PSALM OF THE DAY.
\par
\par A something in a summer's day
\par As slow her flambeaux burn away
\par Which solemnizes me.
\par
\par A something in a summer's noon
\par An azure depth
\par Transcending ecstasy.
\par
\par And still within a summer's night
\par A something so transporting bright
\par I clap my hands to see;
\par
\par Then veil my too inspeæïcting face
\par Lest such a subtle
\par Flutter too far for me.
\par
\par The wizard-fingers never rest
\par The purple brook within the breast
\par Still chafes its narrow bed;
\par
\par Still rears the East her amber flag
\par Guides still the sun along the crag
\par His caravan of red
\par
\par Like flowers that heard the tale of dews
\par But never deemed the dripping prize
\par Awaited their low brows;
\par
\par Or bees
\par Some rumor of delirium
\par No summer could for them;
\par
\par Or Arctic creature
\par By tropic hint
\par Imported to the wood;
\par
\par Or wind's bright signal to the ear
\par Making that homely and severe
\par Contented
\par
\par The heaven unexpected came
\par To lives that thought their worshipping
\par A too presumptuous psalm.
\par
\par XIII.
\par

in

\par THE SEA OF SUNSET.

\par

\par This is the land the sunset washes
\par These are the banks of the Yellow Sea;

\par Where it rose

\par These are the western mystery!

\par

\par Night after night her purple traffic
\par Strews the landing with opal bales;
\par Merchantmen poise upon horizons

\par Dip

\par

\par XIV.

\par

\par PURPLE CLOVER.

\par

\par There is a flower that bees prefer
\par And butterflies desire;
\par To gain the purple democrat
\par The humming-birds aspire.

\par

\par And whatsoever insect pass
\par A honey bears away
\par Proportioned to his several dearth
\par And her capacity.

\par

\par Her face is rounder than the moon
\par And ruddier than the gown
\par Of orchis in the pasture
\par Or rhododendron worn.

\par

\par She doth not wait for June;
\par Before the world is green
\par Her sturdy little countenance
\par Against the wind is seen

\par

\par Contending with the grass
\par Near kinsman to herself
\par For privilege of sod and sun
\par Sweet litigants for life.

\par

\par And when the hills are full
\par And newer fashions blow
\par Doth not retract a single spice
\par For pang of jealousy.

\par

\par Her public is the noon
\par Her providence the sun
\par Her progress by the bee proclaimed

in

\par In sovereign
\par
\par The bravest of the host
\par Surrendering the last
\par Nor even of defeat aware
\par When cancelled by the frost.
\par
\par XV.
\par
\par THE BEE.
\par
\par Like trains of cars on tracks of plush
\par I hear the level bee:
\par A jar across the flowers goes
\par Their velvet masonry
\par
\par Withstands until the sweet assault
\par Their chivalry consumes
\par While he
\par To vanquish other blooms.
\par
\par His feet are shod with gauze
\par His helmet is of gold;
\par His breast
\par With chrysoprase
\par
\par His labor is a chant
\par His idleness a tune;
\par Oh
\par Of clovers and of noon!
\par
\par XVI.
\par
\par Presentiment is that long shadow on the lawn
\par Indicative that suns go down;
\par The notice to the startled grass
\par That darkness is about to pass.
\par
\par XVII.
\par
\par As children bid the guest good-night
\par And then reluctant turn
\par My flowers raise their pretty lips
\par Then put their nightgowns on.
\par
\par As children caper when they wake
\par Merry that it is morn
\par My flowers from a hundred cribs
\par Will peep

in

\par
\par XVIII.
\par
\par Angels in the early morning
\par May be seen the dews among
\par Stooping
\par Do the buds to them belong?
\par
\par Angels when the sun is hottest
\par May be seen the sands among
\par Stooping
\par Parched the flowers they beaïfir along.
\par
\par XIX.
\par
\par So bashful when I spied her
\par So pretty
\par So hidden in her leaflets
\par Lest anybody find;
\par
\par So breathless till I passed her
\par So helpless when I turned
\par And bore her
\par Her simple haunts beyond!
\par
\par For whom I robbed the dingle
\par For whom betrayed the dell
\par Many will doubtless ask me
\par But I shall never tell!
\par
\par XX.
\par
\par TWO ïWORLDS.
\par
\par It makes no difference abroad
\par The seasons fit the same
\par The mornings blossom into noons
\par And split their pods of flame.
\par
\par Wild-flowers kindle in the woods
\par The brooks brag all the day;
\par No blackbird bates his jargoning
\par For passing Calvary.
\par
\par Auto-da-fe and judgment
\par Are nothing to the bee;
\par His separation from his rose
\par To him seems misery.
\par

\par XXI.

\par

\par THE MOUNTAIN.

îðî\par

\par The mountain sat upon the plain

\par In his eternal chair

\par His observation omnifold

\par His inquest everywhere.

\par

\par The seasons prayed around his knees

\par Like children round a sire:

\par Grandfather of the days is he

\par Of dawn the ancestor.

\par

\par XXII.

\par

\par A DAY.

\par

\par I'll tell you how the sun rose

\par A ribbon at a time.

\par The steeples swam in amethyst

\par The news like squirrels ran.

\par

\par îñîThe hills untied their bonnets

\par The bobolinks begun.

\par Then I said softly to myself

\par "That must have been the sun!"

\par

\par * * *

\par

\par But how he set

\par There seemed a purple stile

\par Which little yellow boys and girls

\par Were climbing all the while

\par

\par Till when they reached the other side

\par A dominie in gray

\par Put gently up the evening bars

\par And led the flock away.

\par

\par XXIII.

\par

\par The buttððîerfiy's assumption-gown

\par In chrysoprase apartments hung

\par This afternoon put on.

\par

\par How condescending to descend

\par And be of buttercups the friend

\par In a New England town!

in

\par

\par XXIV.

\par

\par THE WIND.

\par

\par Of all the sounds despatched abroad

\par There's not a charge to me

\par Like that old measure in the boughs

\par That phraseless melody

\par

\par The wind does

\par Whose fingers brush the skyñóî

\par Then quiver down

\par Permitted gods and me.

\par

\par When winds go round and round in bands

\par And thrum upon the door

\par And birds take places overhead

\par To bear them orchestra

\par

\par I crave him grace

\par If such an outcast be

\par He never heard that fleshless chant

\par Rise solemn in the tree

\par

\par As if some caravan of sound

\par On deserts

\par Had broken rank

\par Then knit

\par In seamless company.

\par

\par XXV.

\par

\par DEATH AND LIFE.

\par

\par Apparently with no surprise

\par To any happy flower

\par The frost beheads it at its play

\par In accidental power.

\par The blond assassin passes on

\par The sun proceeds unmoved

\par To measure off another day

\par For an approving God.

\par

\par XXVI.

\par

\par 'T WAS later when the summer went

\par Than when the cricket came

\par And yet we knew that gentle clock

in

óõñ\par Meant nought but going home.
\par
\par 'T was sooner when the cricket went
\par Than when the winter came
\par Yet that pathetic pendulum
\par Keeps esoteric time.
\par
\par XXVII.
\par
\par INDIAN SUMMER.
\par
\par These are the days when birds come back
\par A very few
\par To take a backward look.
\par
\par These are the days when skies put on
\par The old
\par A blue and gold mistake.
\par
\par Oh
\par Almost thy plausibility
\par Induces my belief
\par
\par Till ranks of seeds their witness bear
\par And softly through the altered air
\par Hurries a timid leaf!
\par
\par Oh
\par Oh
\par Permit a child to join
\par
\par Thy sacred emblems to partake
\par Thy consecrated bread to break
\par Taste thine immortal wine!
\par
\par XXVIII.
\par
\par AUTUMN.
\par
\par ð÷îr The morns are meeker than they were
\par The nuts are getting brown;
\par The berry's cheek is plumper
\par The rose is out of town.
\par
\par The maple wears a gayer scarf
\par The field a scarlet gown.
\par Lest I should be old-fashioned
\par I'll put a trinket on.
\par

\par XXIX.

\par

\par BECLOUDED.

\par

\par The sky is low

\par A travelling flake of snow

\par Across a barn or through a rut

\par Debates if it will go.

\par

\par

\par A narrow wind complains all day

\par How some one treated him;

\par Nature

\par Without her diadem.

\par

\par XXX.

\par

\par THE HEMLOCK.

\par

\par I think the hemlock likes to stand

\par Upon a marge of snow;

\par It suits his own austerity

\par And satisfies an awe

\par

\par That men must slake in wilderness

\par Or in the desert cloy

\par An instinct for the hoar

\par Lapland's necessity.

\par

\par The hemlock's nature thrives on cold;

\par The gnash of northern winds

\par Is sweetest nutriment to him

\par His best Norwegian wines.

\par

\par To satin races he is nought;

\par But children on the Don

\par Beneath his tabernacles play

\par And Dnieper wrestlers run.

\par

\par XXXI.

\par

\par There's a certain slant of light

\par On winter afternoons

\par That oppresses

\par Of cathedral tunes.

\par

\par Heavenly hurt it gives us;

\par We can find no scar

\par But internal difference

in

\par Where the meanings are.
\par
\par None may teach it anything
\par ' T is the seal
\par An imperial affliction
\par Sent us of the air.
\par
\par When it comes
\par Shadows hold their breath;
\par When it goes
\par On the look of death.
\par
\par IV.
\par
\par TIME AND ETERNITY.
\par
\par I.
\par
\par One dignity delays for all
\par On ùîe mitred afternoon.
\par None can avoid this purple
\par None evade this crown.
\par
\par Coach it insures
\par Chamber and state and throng;
\par Bells
\par As we ride grand along.
\par
\par What dignified attendants
\par What service when we pause!
\par How loyally at parting
\par Their hundred hats they raise!
\par
\par How pomp surpassing ermine
\par When simple you and I
\par Present our meek escutcheon
\par And claim the raúûink to die!
\par
\par II.
\par
\par TOO LATE.
\par
\par Delayed till she had ceased to know
\par Delayed till in its vest of snow
\par Her loving bosom lay.
\par An hour behind the fleeting breath
\par Later by just an hour than death
\par Oh
\par

in

\par Could she have guessed that it would be;
\par Could but a crier of the glee
\par Have climbed the distant hill;
\par Had not the bliss so slow a pace
\par Who knows but this surrendered face
\par Were undefeated still?
\par
\par Oh
\par Any forgot by victory
\par In her imperial round
\par Show them this meek apparelled thing
\par That could not stop to be a king
\par Doubtful if it be crowned!
\par
\par III.
\par
\par ASTRA CASTRA.
\par
\par Departed to the judgment
\par A mighty afternoon;
\par Great clouds like ushers leaning
\par Creation looking on.
\par
\par The flesh surrendered
\par The bodiless begun;
\par Two worlds
\par And leave the soul alone.
\par
\par IV.
\par
\par Safe in their alabaster chambers
\par Untouched by morning and untouched by noon
\par Sleep the meek members of the resurrection
\par Rafter of satin
\par
\par Light laughs the breeze in her castle of sunshine;
\par Babbles the bee in a stolid ear;
\par Pipe the sweet birds in ignorant cadence
\par Ah
\par
\par Grand go the years in the crescent above them;
\par Worlds scoop their arcs
\par Diadems drop and Doges surrender
\par Soundless as dots on a disk of snow.
\par
\par V.
\par
\par On this long storm the rainbow rose
\par On this late morn the sun;

in

\par The clouds
\par Horizons straggled down.
\par
\par The birds rose smiling in their nests
\par The gales indeed were done;
\par Alas! how p̄heedless were the eyes
\par On whom the summer shone!
\par
\par The quiet nonchalance of death
\par No daybreak can bestir;
\par The slow archangel's syllables
\par Must awaken her.
\par
\par VI.
\par
\par FROM THE CHRYSALIS.
\par
\par My cocoon tightens
\par I'm feeling for the air;
\par A dim capacity for wings
\par Degrades the dress I wear.
\par
\par A power of butterfly must be
\par The aptitude to fly
\par Meadows of majesty concedes
ÿî
\par And easy sweeps of sky.
\par
\par So I must baffle at the hint
\par And cipher at the sign
\par And make much blunder
\par I take the clew divine.
\par
\par VII.
\par
\par SETTING SAIL.
\par
\par Exultation is the going
\par Of an inland soul to sea
\par Past the houses
\par Into deep eternity!
\par
\par Bred as we
\par Can the sailor understand
\par The divine intoxication
\par Of the firs̄t league out from land?
\par
\par VIII.
\par

in

\par Look back on time with kindly eyes
\par He doubtless did his best;
\par How softly sinks his trembling sun
\par In human nature's west!

\par

\par IX.

\par

\par A train went through a burial gate

\par A bird broke forth and sang

\par And trilled

\par Till all the churchyard rang;

\par

\par And then adjusted his little notes

\par And bowed and sang again.

\par Doubtless

\par To say good-by to men.

\par

\par X.

\par

\par I died for beauty

\par Adjusted in the tomb

\par When one who died for truth was lain

\par In an adjoining room.

\par

\par He questioned softly why I failed?

\par "For beauty

\par

\par How many times these low feet staggered

\par Only the soldered mouth can tell;

\par Try! can you stir the awful rivet?

\par Try! can you lift the hasps of steel?

\par

\par Stroke the cool forehead

\par Lift

\par Handle the adamantine fingers

\par Never a thimble more shall wear.

\par

\par Buzz the dull flies on the chamber window;

\par Brave shines the sun through the freckled pane;

\par Fearless the cobweb swings from the ceiling --

in

\par Indolent housewife

\par

\par XII.

\par

\par REAL.

\par

\par I like a look of agony

\par Because I know it 's true;

\par Men do not sham convulsion

\par Nor simulate a throe.

\par

\par The eyes glaze once

\par Impossible to feign

\par The beads upon the forehead

\par By homely anguish strungî.

\par

\par XIII.

\par

\par THE FUNERAL.

\par

\par That short

\par That each can make but once

\par That bustle so illustrious

\par 'T is almost consequence

\par

\par Is the eclat of death.

\par Oh

\par That not a beggar would accept

\par Had he the power to spurn!

\par

\par XIV.

\par

\par I went to thank her

\par But she slept;

\par Her bed a funnelled stone

\par With nosegays at the head and foot

\par That travellers had thrown

\par

\par Who went to thank her;

\par But she slept.

\par 'T was short to cross the sea

\par To look upon her like

\par But turning back 't was slow.

\par

\par XV.

\par

\par I've seen a dying eye

\par Run round and round a room

\par In search of something

in

\par Then cloudier become;
\par And then
\par And then be soldered down
\par Without disclosing what it be
\par 'T were blessed to have seen.
î\par
\par XVI.
\par
\par REFUGE.
\par
\par The clouds their backs together laid
\par The north begun to push
\par The forests galloped till they fell
\par The lightning skipped like mice;
\par The thunder crumbled like a stuff --
\par How good to be safe in tombs
\par Where nature's temper cannot reach
\par Nor vengeance ever comes!
\par
\par XVII.
\par
\par I never saw a moor
\par I never saw the sea;
\par Yet know I how the heather looks
\par And what a wave must be.
\par
\par I never spoke with God
\par Nor visited in heaven;
\par Yet certain am I of the spot
\par As if the chart were given.
\par
\par XVIII.
\par
\par PLAYMATES.
\par
\par God permits industrious angels
\par Afternoons to play.
\par I met one
\par All
\par
\par God calls home the angels promptly
\par At the setting sun;
\par I missed mine. How dreary marbles
\par After playin
îg Crown!
\par
\par XIX.
\par
\par To know just how he suffered would be dear;

in

\par To know if any human eyes were near
\par To whom he could intrust his wavering gaze
\par Until it settled firm on Paradise.
\par
\par To know if he was patient
\par Was dying as he thought
\par Was it a pleasant day to die
\par And did the sunshine face his way?
\par
\par What was his furthest mind
\par Or what the distant say
\par At news that he ceased human nature
\par On such a day?
\par
\par And wishes
\par Just his sigh
\par Had been legible to me.
\par And was he confident until
\par Ill fluttered out in everlasting well?
\par
\par And if he spoke
\par What first
\par What one broke off with
\par At the drowsiest?
\par
\par Was he afraid
\par Might he know
\par How conscious consciousness could grow
\par Till love that was
too blest to be
\par Meet -- and the junction be Eternity?
\par
\par XX.
\par
\par The last night that she lived
\par It was a common night
\par Except the dying; this to us
\par Made nature different.
\par
\par We noticed smallest things
\par Things overlooked before
\par By this great light upon our minds
\par *Italicized*
\par
\par That others could exist
\par While she must finish quite
\par A jealousy for her arose
\par So nearly infinite.
î

in

\par
\par We waited while she passed;
\par It was a narrow time
\par Too jostled were our souls to speak
\par At length the notice came.

\par
\par She mentioned
\par Then lightly as a reed
\par Bent to the water
\par Consented
\par
\par And we
\par And drew the head erect;
\par And then an awful leisure was
\par Our faith to regulate.

\par
\par XXI.
\par
\par THE FIRST LESSON.

\par
\par Not in this world to see his face
\par Sounds long
\par Where this is said to be
\par But just the primer to a life
\par Unopened
\par Clasped yet to him and me.
\par
\par And yet
\par I would not choose a book to know
\par Than that
\par Might some one else so learned be
\par And leave me just my A B C
\par Himself could have the skies.

\par
\par XXII.
\par
\par The bustle
in a house
\par The morning after death
\par Is solemnest of industries
\par Enacted upon earth
\par
\par The sweeping up the heart
\par And putting love away
\par We shall not want to use again
\par Until eternity.

\par
\par XXIII.
\par

in

\par I reason
\par And anguish absolute
\par And many hurt;
\par But what of that?
\par
\par I reason
\par The best vitality
\par Cannot excel decay;
\par But what of that?
\par
\par I reason that in heaven
\par Somehow
\par Some new equation given;
\par But what of that?
\par
\par XXIV.
\par
\par Afraid? Of whom am I afraid?
\par Not death; for who is he?
\par The porter of my father's lodge
\par As much abasheth me.
\par
\par Of life? 'T were odd I fear a thing
\par That comprehendeth me
\par In one or more existences
\par At Deity's decree.
\par
\par Of resurrection? Is the east
\par Afraid to trust the morn
\par With her fastidious forehead?
\par As soon impeach my crown!
\par
\par XXV.
\par
\par DYING.
\par
\par The sun kept setting
\par No hue of afternoon
\par Upon the village I perceived
\par From house to house 't was noon.
\par
\par The dusk kept dropping
\par No dew upon the grass
\par But only on my forehead stopped
\par And wandered in my face.
\par
\par My feet kept drowsing
\par My fingers were awake;
\par Yet why so little sound myself

in

\par Unto my seeming make?
\par
\par How well I knew the light before!
\par I could not see it now.
\par 'T is dying
\par I'm not afraid to know.
\par
\par XXVI.
\par
\par Two swimmers wrestled on the spar
\par Until the morning sun
\par When one turned smiling to the land.
\par O God
\par
\par The stray ships passing spied a face
\par Upon the waters borne
\par With eyes in death still begging raiseîd
\par And hands beseeching thrown.
\par
\par XXVII.
\par
\par THE CHARIOT.
\par
\par Because I could not stop for Death
\par He kindly stopped for me;
\par The carriage held but just ourselves
\par And Immortality.
\par
\par We slowly drove
\par And I had put away
\par My labor
\par For his civility.
\par
\par We passed the school where children played
\par Their lessons scarcely done;
\par îWe passed the fields of gazing grain
\par We passed the setting sun.
\par
\par We paused before a house that seemed
\par A swelling of the ground;
\par The roof was scarcely visible
\par The cornice but a mound.
\par
\par Since then 't is centuries; but each
\par Feels shorter than the day
\par I first surmised the horses' heads
\par Were toward eternity.
\par
\par XXVIII.

in

\par
\par She went as quiet as the dew
\par From a familiar flower.
\par Not like the dew did she return
\par At the accustomed hour!
\par
\par She dropt as softly as a star
\par From out my summer's eve;
\par Less skilful than Leverrier
\par It's sorer to believe!
\par
\par XXIX.
\par
\par RESURGAM.
\par
\par At last to be identified!
\par At last
\par The rest of life to see!
\par Past midnight
\par Past sunrise! Ah! what leagues there are
\par Between our feet and day!
\par
\par XXX.
\par
î
\par Except to heaven
\par Except for angels
\par Except to some wide-wandering bee
\par A flower superfluous blown;
\par
\par Except for winds
\par Except by butterflies
\par Unnoticed as a single dew
\par That on the acre lies.
\par
\par The smallest housewife in the grass
\par Yet take her from the lawn
\par And somebody has lost the face
\par That made existence home!
\par
\par XXXI.
\par
\par Death is a dialogue betweenî
\par The spirit and the dust.

\par "Dissolve
\par
\par Death doubts it
\par The Spirit turns away

in

\par Just laying off
\par An overcoat of clay.
\par
\par XXXII.
\par
\par It was too late for man
\par But early yet for God;
\par Creation impotent to help
\par But prayer remained our side.
\par
\par How excellent the heaven
\par When earth cannot be had;
\par How hospitable
\par Of our old neighbor
\par
\par XXXIII.
\par
\par ALONG THE POTOMAC.
\par
\par When I was small
\par To-day her only boy
\par Went up from the Potomac
\par His face all victory
\par
\par To look at her; how slowly
\par The seasons must have turned
\par Till bullets clapt an angle
\par And he passed quickly round!
\par
\par If pride shall be in Paradise
\par I never can decide;
\par Of their imperial conduct
\par No person testified.
\par
\par But proud in apparition
\par That woman and her boy
\par Pass back and forth before my brain
\par As ever in the sky.
\par
\par XXXIV.
\par
\par The daisy follows soft the sun
\par And when his golden walk is done
\par Sits shyly at his feet.
\par He
\par "Wherefore
\par "Because
\par
\par We are the flower

in

\par Forgive us
\par We nearer steal to Thee
\par Enamoured of the parting west
\par The peace
\par Night's possibility!
\par
\par XXXV.
\par
\par EMANCIPATION.
\par
\par No rack can torture me
\par My soul's at liberty
\par Behind this mortal bone
\par There knits a bolder one
\par
\par You cannot prick with saw
\par Nor rend with scymitar.
\par Two bodies therefore be;
\par Bind one
\par
\par The eagle of his nest
\par No easier divest
\par And gain the sky
\par Than mayest thou
\par
\par Except thyself may be
\par Thine enemy;
\par Captivity is consciousness
\par So's liberty.
\par
\par XXXVI.
\par
\par LOST.
\par
\par I lost a world the other day.
\par Has anybody found?
\par You'll know it by the row of stars
\par Around its forehead bound.
\par
\par A rich man might not notice it;
\par Yet to my frugal eye
\par Of more esteem than ducats.
\par Oh
\par
\par XXXVII.
\par
\par If I should n't be alive
\par When the robins come
\par Give the one in red cravat

in

\par A memorial crumb.
\par
\par If I could n't thank you
\par Being just asleep
\par You will know I'm trying
\par With my granite lip!
\par
\par XXXVIII.
\par
\par Sleep is supposed to be
\par By souls of sanity
\par The shutting of the eye.
\par
\par Sleep is the station grand
\par Down which on either hand
\par The hosts of witness stand!
\par
\par Morn is supposed to be
\par By people of degree
\par The breaking of the day.
\par
\par Morning has not occurred!
\par That shall aurora be
\par East of eternity;
\par
\par One with the banner gay
\par One in the red array
\par That is the break of day.
\par
\par XXXIX.
\par
\par I shall know why
\par And I have ceased to wonder why;
\par Christ will explain each separate anguish
\par In the fair schoolroom of the sky.
\par
\par He will tell me what Peter promised
\par And I
\par I shall forget the drop of anguish
\par That scalds me now
\par
\par XL.
\par
\par I never lost as much but twice
\par And that was in the sod;
\par Twice have I stood a beggar
\par Before the door of God!
\par
\par Angels

in

in

\par But I

\par XIV.

\par The thought beneath so slight a film\line Is more distinctly seen

\par XV.

\par The soul unto itself\line Is an imperial=?? friend

\par Secure against its own

\par XVI.

\par Surgeons must be very careful\line When they take the knife!\line Underneath their fine incisions\line Stirs the culprit

\par XVII.

\par THE RAILWAY TRAIN.

\par I like to see it lap the miles

\par Around a pile of mountains

\par To fit its sides

\par And neigh like Boanerges;\line Then

\par XVIII.

\par THE SHOW.

\par The show is not the show

\par XIX.

\par Delight becomes pictorial\line When viewed through pain

\par The mountain at a given distance\line In amber lies;\line Approached

\par XX.

\par A thought went up my mind to-day\line That I have had before

\par Nor where it went

\par But somewhere in my soul

\par XXI.

\par Is Heaven a physician?\line They say that He can heal;\line But medicine posthumous\line Is unavailable.

\par Is Heaven an exchequer?\line They speak of what we owe;\line But that negotiation\line I 'm not a party to.

\par XXII.

\par THE RETURN.

\par Though I get home how late

Transporting must the moment be

\par To think just how the fire will burn

\par XXIII.

\par A poor torn heart

Of latitudes unknown.

\par The angels

Lead the wandering sails.

\par XXIV.

\par TOO MUCH.

\par I should have been too glad

in

\par I should have been too saved

\par Great Britain disapproves "the stars;"\line Disparagement discreet

\par XXX.

\par Faith is a fine invention\line For gentlemen who see;\line But microscopes are prudent\line In an emergency!

\par XXXI.

\par Except the heaven had come so near

\par But just to hear the grace depart\line I never tJLîhought to see

\par XXXII.

\par Portraits are to daily faces\line As an evening west\line To a fine

\par XXXIII.

\par THE DUEL.

\par I took my power in my hand.\line And went against the world;\line 'T was not so much as David had

\par I aimed my pebble

\par XXXIV.

\par A shady friend for torrid days\line Is easier to find\line Than one of higher temperature\line For frigid hour of mind.

\par The vane a little to the east\line Scares muslin souls away;\line If broadcloth breasts are firmer\line Than those of organ

\par Who is to blame? The weaver?\line Ah! the bewildering thread!\line The tapestries of paradise\line So notelessly are mac

\par XXXV.

\par THE GOAL.

\par Each life converges to some centre\line ExpresLNîsed or still;\line Exists in every human nature\line A goal

\par Admitted scarcely to itself

\par Adored with caution

\par Yet persevered toward

\par Ungained

\par XXXVI.

\par SIGHT.

\par Before I got my eye put out

\par But were it told to me

\par The meadows mine

in

\par The motionsNPî of the dipping birds

\par So safer

\par XXXVII.

\par Talk with prudence to a beggar\line Of 'Potosi' and the mines!\line Reverently to the hungry\line Of your viands and your

\par Cautious

\par XXXVIII.

\par THE PREACHER.

\par He preached upon "breadth" till it argued him narrow

\par Simplicity fled from his counterfeit presence\line As gold the pyrites would shun.\line What confusion would cover the inn

\par XXXIX.PRî

\par Good night! which put the candle out?\line A jealous zephyr

\par It might have been the lighthouse spark\line Some sailor

\par XL.

\par When I hoped I feared

\par XLI.

\par DEED.

\par A deed knocks first at thought

\par It then goes out an act

\par XLII.

\par TIME'S LESSON.

\par Mine enemy is grRTîowing old

\par Let him be quick

\par XLIII.

\par REMORSE.

\par Remorse is memory awake

\par It's past set down before the soul

\par Remorse is cureless

\par XLIV.

\par THE SHELTER.

\par The body grows outside

\par Ajar

\par XLV.

\par Undue significance a starving manTVî attaches\line To food\line Far off; he sighs

\par Partaken

\par XLVI.

\par Heart not so heavy as mine

\par A careless snatch

\par It was as if a UWîbobolink

\par It was as if a chirping brook\line Upon a toilsome way\line Set bleeding feet to minuets\line Without the knowing why.

\par To-morrow

\par XLVII.

\par I many times thought peace had come

\par And struggle slacker

\par XLVIII.

\par Unto my books so good to turn\line Far ends of tired days;\line It half endears the abstinence

\par As flavors cheer retarded guests\line With banquetings to be

\par It may be wilderness without

\par I thank these kinsmen of the shelf;\line Their countenances bland\line Enamour in prospective

\par XLIX.

in

\par This merit hath the worst

\par The maimed may pause and breathe

\par L.

\XZ\par HUNGER.

\par I had been hungry all the years;\line My noon had come

\par 'T was this on tables I had seen

\par I did not know the ample bread

\par The plenty hurt me

\par Nor was I hungry; so I found\line That hunger was a way\line Of persons outside windows

\par LI.

\par I gained it so

\par I said I gained it

\par LII.

\par To learn the transport by the pain

\par To stay the homesick

\par This is the sovereign anguish

\par Ascend in ceaseless carol

\par LIII.

\par RETURNING.

\par I years had been from home

\par Stare vacant into mine\line And ask my business there.\line My business

\par I fumbled at my ner\^ive

\par I laughed a wooden laugh\line That I could fear a door

\par I fitted to the latch\line My hand

\par I moved my fingers off\line As cautiously as glass

\par LIV.

\par PRAYER.

\par Prayer is the little implement\line Through which men reach\line Where presence is denied them.\line They fling their spe

\par By means of it in God's ear;\line If then He hear

\par LV.

\par I know that he exists\line Somewhere

\par 'T is an instant's play

\par But should the play\line Prove piercing earnest

\par Would not the fun\line Look too expensive?\line Would not the jest\line Have crawled too far?

\par LVI.

\par MELODIES UNHEARD.

\par Musicians wrestle everywhere:\line All day

\p_a\ar It is not bird

\par Some say it is the spheres at play!\line Some say that bright majority\line Of vanished dames and men!\line Some think it

\par LVII.

\par CALLED BACK.

\par Just lost w`b\ihen I was saved!\line Just felt the world go by!\line Just girt me for the onset with eternity

\par Therefore

\par Next time

\lac\par Next time

\par II.

\par LOVE.

\par I.

\par CHOICE.

in

\par Of all the souls that stand create\line I have elected one.\line When sense from spirit files away

\par When that which is and that which was\line Apart

\par When figures show their royal front\line And mists are bd̂carved away

\par II.

\par I have no life but this

\par Nor tie to earths to come

\par III.

\par Your riches taught me poverty.\line Myself a millionaire\line In little wealths

\par You drifted your domceinions\line A different Peru;\line And I esteemed all poverty

\par Of mines I little know

\par So much that

\par I 'm sure 't is India all day\line To those who look on you\line Without a stint

\par I 'm sure it is Golconda

\par At least

\par It 's far

\par IV.

\par THE CONTRACT.

\par I gave myself to him

\par The wealth might disappoint

\par Depreciate the vision;\line But

\par At least

fhî

\par V.

\par THE LETTER.

\par "GOING to him! Happy letter! Tell him --\line Tell him the page I did n't write;\line Tell him I only said the syntax

\line And then you wished you had eyes in your pages

\par "Tell him it was n't a practised writer

Tell him -- No

\par "Tell him night finished before we finished

hji

But if he ask where you are hid\line Until to-morrow

\par VI.

\par The way I read a letter 's this:\line 'T is first I lock the door

\par And then I go the furthest off\line To counteract a knock;\line Then draw my little letter forth\line And softly pick its lock.

\par Then

\par Peruse how infinite I am\line To -- no one that you know!\line And sigh for lack of heaven

\par VII.

\par Wild nights! Wild nights!\line Were I with thee

\par Futile the winds\line To a heart in port

\par Rowing in Eden!\line Ah! the sea!\line Might I but moor\line To-night in thee!

\parjli VIII.

\par AT HOME.

\par The night was wide

\par The wind pursued the little bush

\par No squirrel went abroad;\line A dog's belated feet\line Like intermittent plush were heard\line Adown the empty street.

\par To feel if blinds be fast

\par The housewife's gentle task.\line "How pleasanter

\par IX.

\par POSSESSION.

in

\par Did the harebell loose her girdle\line To the lover bee

\par Did the paradise

\par X.

\par A chalnîrm invests a face\line Imperfectly beheld

\par But peers beyond her mesh

\par XI.

\par THE LOVERS.

\par The rose did caper on her cheek

\par Her fingers fumbled at her work

\par Till opposite I spied a cheek\line That bore another rose;\line Just opposite

\par A vest that

\par XII.

\par In lands I never saw

\par Menpîek at whose everlasting feet\line A myriad daisies play.\line Which

\par XIII.

\par The moon is distant from the sea

\par He never misses a degree;\line Obedient to her eye

\par Oh

\par XIV.

\par He put the belt around my life

\par Yet not too far to come at call

For whom I must decline?

\par XV.

\par THE LOST JEWEL.

\par I held a jewel in my fingers\line And went to sleep.\line The day was warm

\par I woke and chid my honest fingers

\par XVI.

\par What if I say I shall not wait?\line What if I burst the fleshly gate\line And pass

\par They cannot take us any more

\par III.

\par NATURE.

\par I.

\par MOTHER NATURE.

\par Nature

\par In forest and the hill\line By traveller is heard

\par How fair her conversation

\par Her voice among the aisles\line Incites the timid prayer\line Of the minutest cricket

\par When all the children sleep\line She turns as long away\line As will suffice to light her lamsuîps;\line Then

\par With infinite affection\line And infiniter care

\par II.

\par OUT OF THE MORNING.

\par Will there really be a morning?\line Is there such a thing as day?\line Could I see it from the mountains\line If I were as tall

\par Has it feet like water-lilies?\line Has it feathers like a bird?\line Is it brought from famous countries\line Of which I have never

\par Oh

\par III.

\par At half-past three a single bird\line Unto a silent sky\line Propounded but a single term\line Of cautious melody.

\par At half-past four

\par At half-past seven

in

\par IV.

\par DAY'S PARLOR.

\par The day came slow

\par The purple could not keep the east

\par The happy winds their timbrels took;\line The birds

\par The orchard sparkled like a Jew

\par V.

\par THE SUN'S WOOING.

\par The sun just touched the morning;\line The morning

\par She felt herself supremer

\par Trailed slow along the orchards\line His haughty

\par The morning fluttered

\par VI.

\par THE ROBIN.

\par The robin is the one\line That interrupts the morn\line With hurried

\par The robin is the one\line That overflows the noon\line With her chexzîrubic quantity

\par The robin is the one\line That speechless from her nest\line Submits that home and certainty\line And sanctity are best.

\par VII.

\par THE BUTTERFLY'S DAY.

\par From cocoon forth a butterfly\line As lady from her door\line Emerged -- a summer afternoon --\line Repairing everywhere

\par Without design

\par Her pretty parasol wasy{î seen\line Contracting in a field\line Where men made hay

\par Where parties

\par And notwithstanding bee that worked

\par Till sundown crept

\par VIII.

\par THE BLUEBIRD.

\par Before you thought of spring

\par With specimens of song

\par IX.

\par APRIL.

\par An altered look about the hills;\line A Tyrian light the village fills;\line A wider sunrise in the dawn;\line A deeper twilight on

A spider at his trade again;\line An added strut in chanticleer;\line A flower expected everywhere;\line An axe shrill singing in t

A furtive look you know as well

\par X.

\par THE SLEEPING FLOWERS.

\par "Whose are the little beds

\par }{BELT}"T is daisy in the shortest;\line A little farther on

\par "'T is iris

\par Meanwhile at many cradles\line Her busy foot she plied

\par "Hush! Epigea wakens! --\line The crocus stirs her lids

\par Then

\par XI.

\par MY ROSE.

\par Pigmy seraphs gone astray

Of a tint so lustrous meek.\line Never such an ambuscade\line As of brier□□î and leaf displayed\line For my little damask mai

Than be Duke of Exeter\line Royalty enough for me\line To subdue the bumble-bee!

\par XII.

in

\par THE ORIOLE'S SECRET.

\par To hear an oriole sing\line May be a common thing

\par It is not of the bird\line Who sings the same

\par The fashion of the ear\line Attireth that €,"it hear\line In dun or fair.

\par So whether it be rune

\par The "tune is in the tree

\par XIII.

\par THE ORIOLE.

\par One of the ones that Midas touched

\par So drunk

\par A pleader

\par The Jesuit of orchards

\par The splendor of a Burmah

\par I never thought that Jason sought\line For any golden fleece;\line But then I am a rural man

\par But if there were a Ja,"ison

\par XIV.

\par IN SHADOW.

\par I dreaded that first robin so

\par I thought if I could only liveline Till that first shout got by

\par I dared not meet the daffodils

\par I wished the grass would hurry

\par I could not bear the bees should come

\par They 're here

\par Each one salutes me as h,"f'e goes

\par XV.

\par THE HUMMING-BIRD.

\par A route of evanescence\line With a revolving wheel;\line A resonance of emerald

\par XVI.

\par SECRETS.

\par The skies can't keep their secret!\line They tell it to the hills --\line...\$† The hills just tell the orchards --\line And they the d

\par A bird

\par I think I won't

\par So keep your secret

\par XVII.

\par Wh†^o robbed the woods

What will the fir-tree say?

\par XVIII.

\par TWO VOYAGERS.

\par Two butterflies went out at noon\line And waltzed above a stream

\par And then together bore a†%o^way\line Upon a shining sea

\par If spoken by the distant bird

\par XIX.

\par BY THE SEA.

\par I started early

\par And frigates in the upper floor\line Extended hempen hands

\par But no man moved me till the tide\line Went past my simple shoe

\par And made as he would eat me up\line As wholly as a dew\line Upon a dandelion's sleeve --\line And then I started too.

\par And he -- he followed close behind;\line I felt his silver heel\line Upon my ankle

\par Until we met the solid town

in

\par XX.

\par OLD-FASHIONED.

\par Arcturus is his other name

\par I pull a flower from the woods

\par Whereas I took the butterfly\line Aforetime in my hat

\par What once was heaven

\par What if the poles should frisk about\line And stand upon their heads!\line I hope I 'm ready for the worst

\par Perhaps the kingdom of Heaven 's changed!\line I hope the children there\line Won't be new-fashioned when I come

\par I hope the father in the skies\line Will lift his little girl

\par XXI.

\par A TEMPEST.

\par An awful tempest mashed the air

\par The creatures chuckled on the roofs\line And whistled in the air

\par The morning lit

\par XXII.

\par THE SEA.

\par An everywhere of silver

\par XXIII.

\par IN THE GARDEN.

\par A bird came down the walk:\line He did not know I saw;\line He bit an angle-worm in halves\line And ate the fellow

\par And then he drank a dew\line From a convenient grass

\par He glanc□□ied with rapid eyes\line That hurried all abroad

\par Like one in danger; cautious

\par Than oars divide the ocean

\par XXIV.

\par THE SNAKE.

\par A narrow fellow in the grass\line Occasionally rides;\linŽ□ie You may have met him

\par The grass divides as with a comb

\par He likes a boggy acre

\par Have passed

\par Several of nature'□'s people\line I know

\par But never met this fellow

\par XXV.

\par THE MUSHROOM.

\par The mushroom is the elf of plants

\par As if it tarried always;\line And yet its whole career\line Is shorter than a snake's delay

\par 'T is vegetation's juggler

\par I feel as if the grass were pleased\line To have it intermit;\line The surreptitious scion\line Of summer's circumspect.

\par Had nature any outcast face

\par XXVI.

\par THE STORM.

\par There came a wind like a bugle;\line It quivered through the grass

That very instant passed.\line On a strange mob of panting trees

How much can come\line And much can go

\par XXVII.

\par ""THE SPIDER.

\par A spider sewed at night\line Without a light\line Upon an arc of white.\line If ruff it was of dame\line Or shroud of gnome

\par XXVIII.

\par I know a place where summer strives\line With such a practised frost

in

\par But when the south wind stirs the pools\line And struggles in the lanes
\par Into the lap of adamant
\par XXIX.
\par The one that could repeat the summer day\line Were greater than itself
When Orient has been outgrown
\par XXX.
\par THE WIND'S VISIT.

in

in

\par XLIX.

\par NOVEMBER.

\par Besides the autumn poets sing

\par A few incisive mornings

\par Still is the bustle in the brook

\par Perhaps a squirrel may remain

\par L.

\par THE SNOW.

\par It sifts from leaden sieves

\par It 'makes an even faceline Of mountain and of plain

\par It reaches to the fence

\par On stump and stack and stem

\par It ruffles wrists of posts

\par LI.

\par THE BLUE JAY.

\par No brigadier throughout the year\line So civic as the jay.\line A neighbor and a warrior too

\par Pursuing winds that censure us\line A February day

\par The snow and he are intimate;\line I 've often seen them play\line When heaven looked upon us all\line With such severity

\par I felt apology were due\line To an insulted sky

\par The pillow of this daring head\line Is pungent evergreens;\line His larder -- terse and militant --\line Unknown

\par His character a tonic

\par IV.

\par TIME AND ETERNITY.

\par I.

\par Let down the bars

\par This is the stillest night

\par II.

\par Going to heaven!\line I don't know when

\line Unto the shepherd's arm!

\par Perhaps you 're going too!\line Who knows?\line If you should get there first

\par The smallest "robe" will fit me

\par I 'm glad I don't believe it

I left them in the ground.

\par III.

\par At least to pray is left

\par Thou stirrest earthquake in the South

\par IV.

\par EPITAPH.

\par Step lightly on this narrow spot!\line The broadest land that grows\line Is not so ample as the breast\line These emerald s

\par Step lofty; for this name is told\line As far as cannon dwell

\par V.

\par Morns like these we parted;\line Noons like these she rose

\par Never did she lisp it

\par Till the evening

\par VI.

\par A death-blow is a life-blow to some\line Who

\par VII.

\par I read my sentence steadily

\par The date

in

\par I made my soul familiar\line With her extre^oimity

\par But she and Death

\par VIII.

\par I have not told my garden yet

\par I will not name it in the street

\par The hillsides must not know it

\par Nor lisp it at the table

\par IX.

\par THE BATTLE-FIELD.

\par They dropped like flakes

\par They perished in the seamless grass

\par X.

\par The only ghost I ever saw\line Was dressed in mechlin

Or

\par His conversation seldom

\par XI.

\par Some

\par Never the treasures in her nest\line The cautious grave exposes

\par This covert have all the childr²en\line Early aged

\par XII.

\par As by the dead we love to sit

\par In broken mathematics\line We estimate our prize

\par XIII.

\par MEMORIALS.

\par Death sets a thing significant\line The eye had hurried by

\par To ponder little workmanships\line In crayon or in wool

\par XVI.

\par There is a shame of nobleness\line Confronting sudden pelf

\par A best disgrace a brave man feels

\par XVII.

\par TRIUMPH.

\par Triumph may be of several kinds.\line There 's triumph in the room\line When that old imperator

\par There 's¹ triumph of the finer mind\line When truth

\par A triumph when temptation's bribe\line Is slowly handed back

\par Severer triumph

\par XVIII.

\par Pompless no life can pass away;\line The lowliest career\line To the same pageant wend,^ois its way\line As that exalted

\par XIX.

\par I noticed people disappeared

in

\par Now know I they both visited\line And settled regions wild

\par XX.

\par FOLLOWING.

\par I had no cause t¹»ïo be awake

\par But called the others clear

\par I looked at sunrise once

\par 'T was such an ample peace

\par So choosing but a gown\line And taking but a prayer

\par XXI.

\par If anybody's friend be dead

\par Their costume

\par How warm they were on such a day:\line You a»½ïlmost feel the date

\par How pleased they were at what you said;\line You try to touch the smile

\par You asked the company to tea

\par Past bows and invitations

\par XXII.

\par THE JOURNEY.

\par Our journey had advanced;\line Our feet were almost comel\line To that odd fork in Being's road

\par Our pace took sudden awe

\par Retreat was out of hope

\par XXIII.

\par A COUNTRY BURIAL.

\par Ample ½ïmake this bed.\line Make this bed with awe;\line In it wait till judgment break\line Excellent and fair.

\par Be its mattress straight

\par XXIV.

\par GOING.

\par On such a night

\par So quiet

\par On such a dawn

\par For chanticleer to wake it

\par There was a little figure plump\line For every little knoll

\par Playmates

\par XXV.

\par Essential oils are wrung:\line The attar from the rose\line Is not expressed by suns alone

\par The general rose decays;\line But this

\par XXVI.

\par I lived on dread; to those who know\line The stimulus there is\line In danger

\par As 't were a spur uÂÂïpon the soul

\par XXVII.

\par If I should die

on\line From enterprise below!\line 'T is sweet to know that stocks will stand\line When we with daisies ÁÂïlie

That gentlemen so sprightly\line Conduct the pleasing scene!

\par XXVIII.

\par AT LENGTH.

\par Her final summer was it

\par A further force of life\line Developed from within

\par We wondered at our blindness

\par When

\par XXIX.

in

\par GHOSTS.

\par One need not be a chamber to be haunted

\par Far safer

\par Far safer through an Abbey gallop

\par Ourselves

\par The prudent carries a revolver

\par XXX.

\par VANISHED.

\par She died

\par Her little figure at the gate\line The angels must have spied

\par XXXI.

\par PRECEDENCE.

\par Wait till the majesty of Death\line Invests so mean a brow!\line Almost a powdered footman\line Might dare to touch it now

\par Wait till in everlasting robes\line This democrat is dressed

\par Around this quiet courtier\line Obsequious angels wait!\line Full royal is his retinue

in

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

î Real\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

der! are you with the man-stealers in sympathy and purpose

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

vigilant

înner which you unfurl to the breeze

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo O\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo N WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!"

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

WM. LLOYD GARRISON BOSTON

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

LETTER

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\foî

BOSTON

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo My Dear Friend:

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo You remember the old fable of "The Man and the Lion

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo I am glad the time has come when the "lions write history." We have been left long enough t
r the character of slav

îery from the involuntary evidence of the masters. One might

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo w\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ed in every instance. Indeed

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

r the results of the West India experiment

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ther it has increased the produce of sugar

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo I was glad to learn

eglected of God's children waken to a sense of their rights

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo g\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e the wretchedness of the slave

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo In connection with this

ble

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo imagination may task her powers to add dark lines to the picture

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Again

dence in your truth

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo c\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

omplaints

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

enjoy at the North

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo In reading your liffe\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo the lot of every slave. They are the essential ingredients
\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo After all
remember I stopped you

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

when I reflected that it was still dangerous

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo h\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo I have often been utterly astonished
the north

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

sorrows of his heart; and he is relieved by them

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo k\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

e uncommon to me while in the jaws of slavery. The singing of a man cast away upon a desolate island might be as appropri

Y[\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ed by the same emotion.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo CHAPTER III

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Colonel Lloyd kept a large and finely cultivated garden

atest attraction of the place. Z\ During the summer months

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

outh. This garden was not the least source of trouble on the plantation. Its excellent fruit was quite a temptation to the hungre

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Scarcely a day passed

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ce all around; after which

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d well; the slaves became as fearful of tar as of the lash. They seeme

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The colonel also kept a splendid riding equipage. His stable and car]_riage-house presented

of our large city livery establishments. His horses were of the finest form and noblest blood. His carriage-house contained thre

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo This establishment was\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

under the care of two slaves--old Barney and young Barney--father and son. To attend to this^ establishment was their sole

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

s. The slightest inattention to these was unpardonable

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ion which he frequently indulged

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

eserving it. Every thing depended upon the looks of the horses

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

epers. It was painful to stand near the stable-door

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

operly fed; his food was too wet or too dry; he got it too soon or too late; he was too hot or too cold; he had too much hay

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo v\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ery improperly left it to his son." To all these complaints

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

erally the case. I have seen Colonel Lloyd make old Barney

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Colonel Lloyd had three sons--Edward

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

wn to William Wilkes

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo To describe the wealth of Colo\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

nel Lloyd would be almost equal to describing the riches of Job. He kept from ten to fifteen house-servants. He was said to c

in

hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo h\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
en he saw them; nor did all the slaves of the out-farms know him.egî It is reported of him
hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo u\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

th: "Well

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The colonel

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

matter

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo w\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

arning

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fhjî0 It is partly in con\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

sequence of such facts

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ling it

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\afjfi23\loch\fo

d a kind master

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

laveholders around us. Moreover

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

s of other slaves; and this

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

his own over that of the otlnîhers. At the very same time

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

masters; Colonel Lloyd's slaves contending that he was the richest

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo il\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

lity to whip Colonel Lloyd. These quarrels would almost always end in a fight between the parties

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo el\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo lves. It was considered as being bad enough to be a slave; but to be n

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

CHAPTER IV

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Mr. Hopkins remained but a short time in the office of overseer. Why his career was so sho

o not know

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo .\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Gore had served Colonel Lloyd

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Mr. Gore was proud

and obduraprîte. He was just the man for such a place

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ol\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ok

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo al\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

xim laid down by slaveholders

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ol\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

thing

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo tl\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

he fortune to do either
thing short of the highest rank of overseers
voice of a reproving conscience. He was

\par

Mr. Gore was a grave man
ty word
he seemed to do so from a sense of duty
ss and stone-like coolness.

\par

His savage barbarity was equalled only by the consummate coolness with which he committed
the name of Demby. He had given Demby but few stripes
and that
ion with any one
he had stood.

\par

A thrill of horror flashed through every soul upon the plantation
(as well as I can remember
d order upon the plantation. He argued that if one slave refused to be corrected
e's defence was satisfactory. He was continued in his station as overseer upon the home plantation. His fame as an overseer
they of course could neither institute a suit
el's
load.

\par

I speak advisedly when I say that his
killed with a hatchet
n others would do as much as he had done

\par

The wife of Mr. Giles Hicks

en up and examined by the coroner

in

the baby cried. She

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

with it broke the girl's nose and breastbone

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t issued for her arrest

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Whilst I am detailing bloody deeds which took place during my stay on Colonel Lloyd's planV

tation

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Colonel Lloyd's slaves were in the habit of spending a part of their nights and Sundays in fish

ficiency of their scanty allowance. An old man belonging to Colonel Lloyd

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo me down to the shore

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Mr. Bondly came over to see Colonel Lloyd the next day

in

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 The hearth is desolate. The children
ce sang and danced in her presence

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

grave is at the door. And now

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 m\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

ost needful time

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

dim embers. She stands--she sits--she staggers--she falls--she groans--she dies --and there are none of her children or grand

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 a righteous God vi   sit for these things?

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 In about two years after the death of Mrs. Lucretia

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

Not long after his marriage

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

r

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

d a disastrous change in the characters of both   ; so that

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

I had received many good lessons from them

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 . The barrier betwixt himself and brother he considered impassable.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 I then had to regret that I did not at least make the attempt to carry out my resolution to run a

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

I sailed from Baltimore for St. Mi   chael's in the sloop Amanda

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

t they went up the bay

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 etermined to be off.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

CHAPTER IX

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 I have now reached a period of my life when I can give dates. I left Baltimore

e I lived with him    in the family of my old master

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

ly so of mine. A very short time

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 p\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

ace of more than seven years

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

a sufficiency. It was tenfold harder after living in Masti   fer Hugh's family

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

aggravated development of meanness even among slaveholders. The rule is

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 y\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

exceptions. Master Thomas gave us enough of neither coarse nor fine food. There were four slaves of us in the kitchen--my

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

y little else

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

in

in the time of need

the fact; and yet that mistress and her husband would kneel every morning

Bad as all slaveholders are

one of this rare sort. I do not know of one single noble act ever performed by him. The leading trait in his character was meanness

He was cruel

mistaken for an inquirer who had lost his way. He did nothing of himself. He might have passed for a lion

roars

any

and

as a slaveholder without the ability to hold slaves. He found himself incapable of managing his slaves either by force

or

Master would keep this lacerated young woman tied up in this horrid situation four or five hours before breakfast; leave her

to bite a child

her hands were so burnt that she never got the use of them. She could do very little but bear heavy burdens. She was to master

in

in

âch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo an apostrophe to the moving multitude of ships:--

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "You are loosed from your moorings

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

els

#

înd under your protecting wing! Alas! betwixt me and you

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo u\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ld I but swim! If I could fly! O

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo"

\$

îh\fo

God? Why am I a slave? I will run away. I will not stand it. Get caught

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ed miles straight north

%

îshall yet bear me into freedom. The steamboats steered in a north-east course from

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo N\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

orth Point. I will do the same; and when I get to the head of the bay

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

but the first opportunity offer

&

îand

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo to some one. It may be that my misery in slavery will only increase m

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Thus I used to think

,

îto speak to myself; goaded almost to madness at one moment

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo I have already intimated that my condition was much worse

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

h in my humble history. You have seen how a man was mad&

(

îe a slave; you shall see how a slave was made a man. On one of the hottest days of the month of August

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Hughes was clearing the fanned wheat from before the fan. Eli was turning

)

îwork

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

. About three o'clock of that day

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

top work. I stood as long as I could stagger to the hopper with grain. When I could stand no l(

*

îonger

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ther

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Mr. Covey was at the house

+

îastily inquired what

in

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
the matter was. Bill answered that I was sick
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
then asked where I was. He was told by one of the hands. He came to the spot

ît was the matter. I told him as well as I could
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
nd told me to get up. I tried to do so
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af+

-
î23\loch\fo
nd fell. While down in this situation
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
told me to get up. I made no effort to comply

î Mr. Covey had now left me to my fate. At this moment I resolved
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo g\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
o to my master
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo h\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
ich I received

/
îvere fit of sickness to which I had been subjected. I
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo h\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
e woods

îy feeble state would allow; and thinking I might b
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
overhauled by him if I kept the road
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
down

îrom the wound on my head. For a time I thought I should bleed to death; and think now that I should have done so
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo h\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
ere about three quarters of an hour

îve hours t
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
perform it
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
. I suppose I looked like a man who had escaped a den of wild beasts

îte I appeared before my master
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
uld
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo 2

î \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
again
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

that he could not think of taking me from him; that

îear

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
or that he would himself GET HOLD OF ME. After threatening me thus
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
and that 4

îif I did not

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo h\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
at night

îkin

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
ded in getting to the cornfield; and as the corn was very high
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
I must come home for something to eat; he would g6

îive himself no further trouble in looking for me. I spent that day mostly in the woods

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
That night

îumstances

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo y\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
invited me to go home with him. I went home with him
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
before I went

:

îain ~root

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo p\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
me. He said he had carried it for years; and since he had done so
\hich\af0\9

;

îdbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

d said

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
This was Sunday morning. I immediately started for home; and upon entering the yard gate

<

îing. He spoke to me very kindly

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo u\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

lar conduct of Mr. Covey really made me begin to think that there was something in the ROOT which Sandy had given me; and

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\l;

=

îoch\fo

s it was

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ry

>

îtable with a long rope; and just as I was half out of the loft

in

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
gs

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo h\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
is moment-- from whence came th=
?

îe spirit I don't know--I resolved to fight; and

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Covey seemed taken all aback. He trembled like a leaf. This gave me assurance
@

îughes for help. Hughes came

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
held me

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo f\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
not only weakening Hughes

A

îover with pain

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo l\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
was determined to be used so no longer. With that

B

îr

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

brought him by a sudden snatch to the ground. By this time

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo This battle with Mr. Covey was the turning- point in my career as\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
a slave. It rekindled the few expiring embers of freedom

E

îfidence

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
full compensation for whatever else might follow

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
ion

F

îfrom the tomb of slavery

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo v\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e in fact. I did not hesitate to let it be known of me
\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo E

G

î0 From this time I was never again what might be called fairly whipped

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo It was for a long time a matter of surprise to me why Mr. Covey did not immediately have me
nd against a white man in defF

in

H

ence of myself. And the only explanation I can now think of does not entirely satisfy me; but such as it is

It was of considerable importance to him. That reputation was at stake; and had he sent me--a boy about sixteen years old--

I

reputation

\par

\par My term of actual service to Mr. Edward Covey ended on Christmas day

is time we regarded as our own

J

rs; and we therefore used or abused it nearly as we pleased. Those of us who had families at a distance

spent in various ways. The staid

K

ares

by far the larger part engaged in such sports and merriments as playing ball

A slave who would work during the holidays was considered by our masters as scarcely deserving the

L

im. He was regarded as one who rejected the favor of his master. It was deemed a disgrace not to get drunk at Christmas; and

who had not provided himself with the necessary means

\par

\par From what I know of the effect of these holidays upon the slave

M

means in the hands of the slaveholder in keeping down the spirit of insurrection. Were the slaveholders at once to abandon this practice

ty-valves

N

esperation; and woe betide the slaveholder

him that

\par

\par The holidays are part and parcel of the gross fraud

O

by the benevolence of the slaveholders; but I undertake to say

ng its continuance

P

es spend those days just in such a manner as to make them as glad of their ending as of their

beginning. Their object seems to be

him drunk. One plan is

Q

in

î

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo v\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
eholder

R

îpposed; many of us were led to think that there was li
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
tle to choose between liberty and slavery. We felt
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo -\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo -feeling

S

î had deceived us into a belief was freedom

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo I have said that this mode of treatment is a part of the whole system of fraud and inhumanity
. The mode here adopted to disgust the slave with freedom

T

îwn

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo u\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
antity; he returns

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
nce. A slave runs through his allowance

U

îbut

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
nnot eat it

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo aT

V

îf23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo actice is a very common one.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo On the first of January

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

e was what would be called an educated southern gentleman. Mr. Covey

W

îslave-driver. The former (slaveholder though he was) seemed to possess some regard for honor

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

respect for humanity. The latter seemed totally insensible to all such sentiments. Mr. Freeland had many of the faults peculi

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

X

î23\loch\fo

e from those degrading vices to which Mr. Covey was constantly addicted. The one was open and frank

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ningly-devised frauds. Another advantage I gained in my new master was

Y

îgreat advantage. I assert most unhesitatingly

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

vering for the most horrid crimes

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

n. Were I to be again reduX

Z

îced to the chains of slavery

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

are the worst. I have ever found them the meanest and basest

[
if such religionists. Very near Mr. Freeland lived
the Rev. Daniel Weeden
s

\

religious~ wretch. He used to hire hands. His maxim was
as his theory
par

Mr. Hopkins was even worse than Mr. Weeden. His chief boast was his ability to manage sla
]

ivance of deserving it. He always managed to have

one or more of his slaves to whip every Monday morning. He did this to alarm their fears
me excuse for whipping a slave. It would astonish one

^

see with what wonderful ease a slave- holder can find things
r want of power
]

3\loch\fo -\loch\fo
minded

\loch\fo \loch\fo
t? Then he is guilty of impudence
,

ent mode of doing things from that pointed out by his master? He is indeed presumptuous
d nothing less than a flogging will do for him. Does he
o\loch\fo o\loch\fo

—

a

↑

justify the use of the lash
here was not a man any where round

b

ings

\loch\fo n\loch\fo d longer
par

But to return to Mr. Freeland
eals. He worked us hard

c

always between sunrise and sunset. He required a good deal of work to be done
neighbors. My treatment
par

in

Mr. Freeland was himself the owner of
d
if but two slaves. Their names were Henry Harris and John Harris. The rest of his household he hired. These consisted of myself
and the others also. They very soon mustered up some old children
e
spelling-books
of them knew his letters when I went there. Some of the slaves of the neighboring farms found what was going on
f
it be as little
display about it as possible. It was necessary to keep our religious masters at St. Michael's unacquainted with the fact
; for they had much

par

*This is the same man who gave me the

g

roots to prevent my being whipped by Mr. Covey. He was "a clever soul." We used frequently to talk about the fight with Covey
of the roots which he gave me. This superstition is very common among the more ignorant slaves. A slave seldom dies but

h

the

the Sabbath school

i

digressing.

par

I held my Sabbath school at the house of a free colored man
should it be known

the

j

the

men and women. I look back to those Sundays with an amount of pleasure not to be expressed. They were great days to my
and to leave them at the close of the Sabbath was a severe cross indeed. When I think that these precious souls are to-day shut

k

in

in

\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo In coming to a fixed determination to run away
Henry

\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Sandy


|
îe of our number
us. Our company then consisted of Henry Harris

\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Th\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
e plan we finally concluded upon was

}
îilton
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo i\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
les from where we lived

|
~
î\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
hoped to be regarded as fishermen; whereas

\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The week before\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo our intended start


îthe following words

\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "This is to certify that I

\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "WILLIAM HAMILTON

\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Near St. Michael's

\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ~

€
î We were not going to Baltimore; but

\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo As the time drew near for our departure
ly tested. At this time

□
în explaining every difficulty
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
the move; we had talked long enough; we were now ready to move; if not now

,
î This
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
to acknowledge. Every man stood firm; and at our last meeting
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
were to be off. We went

f
îhighly agitated with thoughts of our truly hazardous undertaking. We tried to conceal our feelings as much as possible; and I

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo After a pai\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
nful waiting

"

îse

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

t

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
never to again. Early in the morning

...

î

in

in

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo -\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
-"Halloo

îforward."--"I say

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo !\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo --Hold on where you are! Damn you

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo This was my school for eight months; and I might have remained there longer

i

î my left eye was near\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ly knocked out

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

eemed to be very well satisfied. Many of the black carpenters were freemen. Things seemed to be going on very well. All at

ç

îce

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

was

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23;

£

î\loch\fo

rdner's necessities

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

them to work with me. They began to put on airs

α

îneyemen

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

and sometimes striking me. I

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

eparately. They

¥

î length combined

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo i\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ther side

!

î lay on for a while

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo i\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

nstant

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo l\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

eft me. With this I seized the handspike

§

îm. But here the carpenters interfered

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo y\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Upon receiving this certificate
the steamboat John W. Richmond for Newport

â

fort and obtain further assistance; but upon our

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo *She was free.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo +I had changed my name from Frederick BAILEY to that of JOHNSON.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo arrival at Newport

stage

ã

and promise to pay when we got to New Bedford. We were encouraged to do this by two excellent gentlemen

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

our circumstances

ä

ing New Bedford

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo b\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

y whom we were kindly received

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e

â

the debt. I had but to mention the fact to Mr. Johnson

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo We now began to feel a degree of safety

in

in

\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The Christianity of America is a Christianity

\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Dark and terrible as is this picture
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
churches? They would be shocked at the proposition of fellowshipping a SHEEP-stealer; and at the same time they hug to t
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo c\hich\af0\dbch\
îaf23\loch\fo
tness to the outward forms of religion
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo h\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
om they have not seen
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
d totally neglect the heathen at their own doors. Such is
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo h\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
e words

\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo I conclude these rem\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

arks by copying the following portrait of the religion of the south

\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo A PARODY
\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Come
down to hell
\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "They'll c\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo hurch you if you sip a dram
\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "They'll loudly talk of Christ's reward
\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "They'll read and sing a sacred song
\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "We wonder how such saints can sing
\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "They'll raise tobacco

in

a fugitive slave
and the lapse of time
I have sometimes thought it well enough to
by saying that while slavery existed there were good reasons for not tel
had ceased to exist
as far as I can
anything very heroic or thrilling in the incidents connected with
tell; and yet the courage that could risk betrayal and the bravery
freedom
address rather than
courage
who were making laws to hold and bind me more securely in slavery.

¶

It was the custom in the State of Maryland to require the free
These instruments they were required to renew very often
time to time were collected by the State. In these papers the name
together with any scars or other marks upon his person which
defeated itself--since more than one man could be found to answer
general description. Hence many slaves could escape by personating th
as follows: A slave

he could escape to a free State
the lender as well as for the borrower. A failure on the part of
and the discovery of the papers in possession of the wrong man
an act of supreme trust on the part of a freeman of color thus to
liberty that another might be free. It was
I was not so fortunate as to resemble any of my free acquaintances
d--a sailor--who owned a sailor's protection
and certifying to the fact that he was a free American sailor.
it the appearance at once of an authorized document.
its bearer very accurately. Indeed
have caused my arrest at the start.

¶

In order to avoid this fatal scrutiny on the part of railroad
to bring my baggage to the Philadelphia train just on the moment
Had I gone into the station and offered to purchase a ticket
In choosing this plan I considered the jostle of the train
in a train crowded with passengers
to do the rest. One element in my favor was the kind feeling which prevailed
46

to the sea in ships." "Free trade and sailors' rights" just then expressed
the sentiment of the country. In my clothing I was rigged out in sailor style.
in sail for fashion carelessly and loosely about my neck. My knowledge
from stem to stern
y to Havre de Grace before the conductor
the papers of his black passengers. This was a critical moment in the drama.
Agitated though I was while this ceremony was proceeding
He went on with his duty--examining several colored passengers
in manner until he reached me
produce my free papers
ing toward the others:

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f9;î0 "I suppose you have your free papers?"

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 To which I answered:

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 "No sir; I never carry my free papers to sea with me."

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 "But you have something to show that you are a freeman

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 "Yes

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 With this I drew from my deep sailor's pocket my seaman's protection

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 and he took my fare and went on \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 about his business. This moment\hic

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 Had the conductor looked closely at the paper

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 person from myself

to arrest me on the instant

that I was all right

and subject to arrest at any moment. I saw on the train\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 several persons

in

in

the passengers alighted for breakfast
We took no breakfast

I expected some objection to this on his part

including three music-books

by paying to him the amount due for our rides. This was soon done

but

Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Johnson reached a good

from their labors. I am under many grateful obligations to them. They

The reader may be surprised at the impressions I had in some way conceived

I had no proper idea of the wealth

vxî

My "Columbian Orator

in

which I saw in the frame when I went into a store to brace up my saw in the frame

in

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Years have passed away since then
-ten

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Take any shape but that
\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The Nation has not yet found peace from its sins; the freedman has not yet found in freedom
a deep disappointment reŷists upon the Negro people

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The first decade was merely a prolongation of the vain search for freedom
the boon that seemed ever barely to elude their grasp

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

d the contradictory advice of friends and foes

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

hese the Fifteenth Amendment gave him. The ballot

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

s made war and emancipated millions? Had not votes enfranchised the freedmen? Was anything impossible to a power that

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo v\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

olution of 1876 came

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

guide the unguided

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t last seemed to have been discovered the mountain path to Canaan;

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Up the new path the advance guard ŷtoiled
doggedly; only those who have watched and guided the faltering feet

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

wrote down the inches of progress here and there

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

the vistas disclosed as yet no goal

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo z\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ation

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

o attain his place in the world

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo y\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

; without a cent

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ight of his ignorance

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in of bastardy

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo st the obliteration of the Negro home.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo A people thus handicapped ought not to be asked to race with the world
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

is prostitutes

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

gainst crime

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo b\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

eisance. But before that nameless prejudice that leaps beyond all this he stands helpless

in

of fancy

î-pervading desire to inculcate disdain for everything black

scourage any nation save that black host to whom "discouragement" is

But the facing of so vast a prejudice could not but bring the inevitable self-questioning and breed in an atmosphere of contempt and hate. Whisperings and portents came home upon the four winds: Lo! we are dis

And the Nation echoed and enforced this self-criticism

îr culture for half-men? Away with the black man's ballot

out of the evil came something of good

So dawned the time of Sturm und Drang

: storm and stress to-day rocks our little boat on the mad waters of the world- sea; there is within and without the sound of cor

deals of the past

s over-simple and incomplete

ing of the schools w

îe need to-day more than ever

save us from a second slavery? Freedom

ly but together

ents of the Negro

sadly lack. We the darker ones come even now not altogether empty-handed: there are to-day no truer exponents of the pure

s of the Negro slave; the American fairy tales and folklore are Indian and African; and

I dyspeptic blundering with light-hearted but determined Negro humility

Merely a concrete test of the underlying principles of the great rep

s' fathers

And now what I have briefly sketched in large outline let me on coming pages tell again in ma

Of the Dawn of Freedom

Careless seems the great Avenger; History's lessons but record One death-grapple in the d

LOWELL.

in

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line America and the islands of the sea. It was a phase of this problem that caused the Civil War; and however much they who m

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

knew

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

han this old question

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo nd the War Amendments made the Negro problems of to-day.

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo It is the aim of this essay to study the period of history from 1861 to 1872 so far as it relates to t of men called the Freedmen's Bureau

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The war has naught to do with slaves

President

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ck horizon: old men and thin

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo h\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ods of treating these newcomers seemed equally logical to opposite sorts of minds. Ben Butler

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

I law. Butler's action was approved

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo It was a Pierce of Boston who pointed out the way etary Chase; and when

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

had captured Hilton Head

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

m the hands of the over-burdened Treasury Department and given to the army officials. Already centres of massed freedmen

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

yal. Army chaplains found here new and fruitful fields; "superintendents of contrabands" multiplie "id

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Then came the Freedmen's Aid societies

of the touching appeals from Pierce and from these other centres of distress. There was the American Missionary Associatio

\hich\af0\#fdbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

n

in

ported as "too appalling for belief

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All these experiments

nd to attract and perplex the government and the nation. Directly after the Emancipation Proclamation

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ointed by the Secretary of War

\par

Some half-hearted steps were taken to accomplish this

charge of the special Treasury agents. Laws of 1863 and 1864 directed them to take charge of and lease abandoned lands

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reedmen. Most of the army officers greeted this as a welcome relief from perplexing "Negro affairs

in

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo This last compromise was a hasty bit of legisl35âtation

in outline. A Bureau was created

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

On May 12

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

nage

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo -\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

-for a government it really was--issued its constitution; commissioners wer;=fê to be appointed in each of the seceded states

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo No sooner was the work thus started

I system and local organization in some measure begun

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

essed theory of the North that all the chief problems of Emancipation might be settled by establishing the slaves on the forfeit

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

confiscation of private property in the South

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

edmen's@Bî Bureau melted quickly away. The second difficulty lay in perfecting the local organization of the Bureau through

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

rm is no child's task; but this task was even harder

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in an army still busy with war operations

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

even more difficult to grasp and solve than at BDîthe beginning. Nevertheless

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo h\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e farm; and

in

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The annals of this Ninth Crusade are yet to be written
d the mists of ruin and rapine waved the calico dresses of women who dared
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo f\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
more than these

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Evidently

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ook up the matter

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo i\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

nned enough to allow a clearer concep- tion of the work of Emancipation. The champions of the bill argued that the strength

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

dment

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

clearly unconstitutional in timG life of peace

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo y\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

powers of the Bureau threatened the civil rights of all citizens; and the other that the government must have power to do wha

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ally passed enlarged and made permanent the Freedmen's Bureau. It was promptly vetoed by President Johnson as "uncons

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo To understand and criticise intelligently so vast a work

tant the drift of things in the later sixties. Lee had surrendered

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo i\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ding

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo NPî

aming wealth

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

dded the spite and hate of conflict

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo me of the Bureau stood for a thing in the South which for two centuries

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The agents that the Bureau could command varied all the wa\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

y from unselfish philanthropPRîists to narrow-minded busy- bodies and thieves; and even though it be true that the aver- age

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Then amid all crouched the freed slave

lided be- tween friend and foe. He had emerged from slavery

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

which

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

lavery under which the black masses

several friends stood ready to use them as a club for driving the recalcitrant South back into loyalty. So the cleft between the white

incongruous elements were left arrayed against each other

of his wife and the other

of that woful day; and no man clasped the hands of these two passing

Here

since

millions of men. The deeds of these rulers fall mainly under seven heads: the relief of physical suffering

of justice

Up to June

free ratio of men were distributed at a cost of over four million dollars. Next came the difficult question of labor. First

new way of working. Plain instructions went out from Washington: the laborers must be free to choose their employers

toto caelo in capacity and character

ts were written

beyond the dreams of thoughtful men. The two great obstacles which confronted the officials were the tyrant and the idler

of st

In the work of establishing the Negroes as peasant proprietors

as long as they remained in the hands of the Bureau

to the very few freedmen who had tools and capital. But the vision of "forty acres and a mule"--the righteous and reasonable

to bitter disappointment. And those men of marvellous hindsight who are today seeking to preach the Negro back to the present

on that day when the Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau had to go to South Carolina and tell the weeping freedmen

ed three hundred and fifty thousand acres of land

The greatest success of the Freedmen's Bureau lay in the planting of the free school among Negroes

education among all classes in the South. It not only called the school-mistresses through the benevolent agencies and built the

in

Cravath. The opposition to Negro education in the South was at first bitter

and the opposition of men always has had

such a character

that it is not surprising to find

an opposition to human training which still to-day lies smouldering in the South

and of which the freedmen themselves gave of their poverty.

¶

Such contributions

labor in the army

and the contributions of the

South

amounted to five thousand claimants

and

¶

The most perplexing and least successful part of the Bureau's work lay in the exercise of its judicial functions. The regular Bureau court

was not a judicial court and the regular Bureau court could not

exercise a perfectly judicial attitude

and

therefore the doubt to much injustice and annoyance. On the other hand

the

¶

and

insolently over the half-shorn strength of the strong

and

former slaves were intimidated

and

of blacks. Almost every law and method of ingenuity could devise was employed by the legislatures to reduce the Negroes to slavery

and

in

in

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Among his own people
y continuing strong and insistent even though largely silenced in outward expres-
sion by the public opinion of the nation. So
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
aside from this
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
his sincerity of purpose
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo w\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loc“•ih\fo er that

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo But the hushing of the criticism of honest opponents is a dangerous thing. It leads some of the
nce and paralysis of effort
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
of democracy and the safeguard of modern society. If the best of the American Negroes receive by outer pressure a leader w
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo f\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
that peculiarly valuable•—î educa-
tion which a group receives when by search and criticism it finds and commissions its own
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
ecord of such group-
leadership; and yet how infinitely changeful is its type and character! And of all types and kinds
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo negative and actual advance be relative retrogression. All this is the s

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Now in the past the American Negro has had instructive experience in the choosing of group l
the light of present conditions is worth while studying.—™î When sticks and stones and beasts form the sole environment of
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
ded an environment of men and ideas
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
If-realization and self-development despite environing opinion. The influ-
ence of all of these attitudes at various times can be

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Before 1750
African freedom still burned in the veins of the slaves
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
fear of insurrection. The liberalizing tendencies of the latter half of the eighteenth century brought
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo he earnest songs of Phyllis

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Stern financial and social stress after the war cooled much of the \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
previous humanitarian ardor. The disappointment and impatience of the Negroes at the persistence of slavery and serfdo>□î
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
attempts at insurrection
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dœžibch\af23\loch\fo
Philadelphia and New York color-prescription led to a withdrawal of Negro communicants from white churches and the forma
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo olling in its various branches over a million of men.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Walker's wild appeal against the trend of the times showed how the □Ÿî world was changing a
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
ughly cowed into submission. The free Negroes of the North
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo u\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
ght assimilž fation and amalgamation with the nation on the same terms with other men. Thus
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

in

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo IV

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Of the Meaning of Progress

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Willst Du Deine Macht verkunden
n Deinem ew'gen Haus! Deine Geister sende aus! Die Unsterblichen

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo SCHILLER.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Once upon a time I taught school in the hills of Tennessee
he broad dark vale of the Mississippi begins to roll and crumple to greet the Alleghanies. I was a Fisk student then
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t the county school-commissioners. Young and happy

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo First
hers fractions and spelling and other mysteries

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo There came a day when all the t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
eachers left the Institute and began the hunt for schools. I learn from hearsay (for my mother was mortally afraid of firearms)
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
ry school has something to learn of the pleasures of the chase. I see now the white
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo h\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Little Doc

ook me horseback down the creek next morning toward Farmer Dowell's. The road and the stream were battling for mastery

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo m\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

e where Simon Thompson had bought a bit of ground and a home; but his daughter Lap

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

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\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

after the chores were done. Uncle Bird was grayer

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Fanny and Fred were gone; a shadow hung over the other daughter

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r home over yonder

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo My journey was done

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Death. How shall man measure Progress there where the dark-faced Josie lies? How many heartfuls of sorrow shall balance

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ure

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Thus sadly musing

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo V

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Of the Wings of Atalanta

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo O black boy of Atlanta! But half was spoken; The slave's chains and the master's

Al\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ike are broken; The one curse of the races Held both in tether; They are rising--all are rising-- The black and white together

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo WHITTIER.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo South of the North

e past into the promise of the future. I have seen her in the morning

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo am of whistle bro

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Once

anies

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo and toiled for her daily bread; toiled steadily

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo It is a hard thing to live haunted by the ghost of an untrue dream; to see the wi\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
de vision of empire fade into real ashe

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo k\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
is and dirt; to feel the pang of the conquered

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
now that with the Right that triumphed

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
excuse for sulking

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo listless waiting.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Such are not men of the sturdier make; they of Atlanta turned resolutely toward the future; and that future held aloft vistas of p

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

the new Lachesis

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
crowned her hundred hills with factories

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo striving.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Perhaps Atlanta was not christened for the winged maiden of dull Boeotia; you know the tale

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
ines laid three apples of gold in the way. She fl

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ed like a shadow

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
they were cursed. If Atlanta be not named for Atalanta

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Atalanta is not the first or the last maiden whom greed of gold has led to \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

defile the temple of Love; and not maids alone

\hich\af0\

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

common is this that one-half think it normal; so unquestioned

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a new city

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo It was n

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbc
to maiden's idle whim that started this hard racing; a fearful wilderness lay about the feet of that city after the War
tate

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbc

\h\af23\loch\fo of sun-baked clay! How fleet must Atalanta be if she will not be tempted by gold to profane the Sanctuary!

\par

in

in

is that rises before these dark eyes has in it nothing mean or selfish. Not at Oxford or at Leipzig
an air of higher resolve or more unfettered striving; the determination to realize for men
burden of the!

#

is talk and dream. Here

led by the springs and breezes of Parnassus; and here men may lie
par

par "E"

\$

intbehen sollst du

par

par They made their mistakes

Atlanta before the smoke of battle had lifted; they made their mistakes

par r

e

%

issooth

en the broad foundation- stone on which is built the kindergarten's A E
par

par But these builders did make a mistake in minimizing the gravity of th\$

&

is problem before them; in thinking it a matter of years and decades; in therefore building quickly and laying th
their foundation carelessly

par h

e rule of inequality:--that of the mi%

,

million black youth

par d

be college men nor all artisans

(

is silly as the more modern scheme of makin

par g the scholar a blacksmith; almost

par

par The function of the university is not simply to teach bread- winning

par

tment between real life and the growing knowl- edge of life

)

is tment which forms the secret of civiliza- tion. Such an institution the South of to-day sorely needs. She has religion

par i

ts the sixth

*

ing

par

she may apply to the thousand problems of real life to-day confronting her. The need of the South is knowledge and culture

par t all the Apples of Hesperides

+

is ers.

par

in

The Wings of Atalanta are the coming universities of the South. They alone can bear the main burden; they will not guide her flying feet away from the cotton and gold; for--ah

Humanity

and even since the war they have fought a failing fight for life in the tainted air of social unrest and commercial selfishness

by the death of criticism

danger

y

.

!

the temptation of numbers. Why not here

/

the South a few white men and a few black men of broad culture

ance

par

Patience and tolerance

from knowledge and culture

par

Teach workers to work when said of Negro boys

st must have the carefulest training to think aright.

If these things are so

rs of carpenters

if fools. Nor can we pause here. We are training not isolated men but a living group of men

t nor a brickmason

hinker must t

h

ink for truth

and the industrial school on the common school; and weaving thus a s

!a birth

par

When night falls on the City of a Hundred Hills its bidding

in

\hich\af0\dbch\af3

î23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n apples. Fly

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo VI

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Of the Training of Black Men

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Why

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo 4

îOMAR KHAYYAM (FITZGERALD).

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo From the shimmering swirl of waters where many

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

d over- seas

îhe ends of earth nearer

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo While most fair-minded men would recognize this as ex-\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
treme and overdrawn

ork? Does it not have the effect of diss

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

tisfying the young Negro with his environment? And do these graduates succeed in real life? Such natural questions cannot b

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo i\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

nquiry and patient open- ness to conviction. We must not forget that most A^

mericans answer all queries regarding the Negro a priori

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The advocates of the higher education of the Negr\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

o would be the last to deny the incompleteness and glaring defects of the present system: too many institutions have attempted

a

imes been s

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ught. But all this can be said of higher education throughout the land; it is the almost inevitable incident of educational growth

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo u\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

estion can be settled in but one way

b

stitutions which have not actually graduated stu- dents from a course higher than that of a New England high school

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo g\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

es; if then we take the thirty-four remaining institutions

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo And first we may say that a

c

of this type o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

f college

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo w\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo hich graduates of Atlanta University have placed there

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "GRATEFUL MEMORY OF THEIR FORMER TEAb

d

ACHER AND FRIEND AND OF THE UNSELFISH LIFE HE LIVED

MIGHT BE BLESSED."

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

This was the gift of New England to the freed Negro: not alms

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\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

a gift which to-day only their own kindred and race can bring to the masses

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

greed and cheap vainglory. The teachers in these institutions came not to keep the Negroes in their place

f

places where slavery had wallowed them. The colleges they founded were social settlements; homes wh

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

re the best of the sons of the freedmen came in close and sympathetic touch with the best traditions of New England. They li

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo oubleless old-fashie

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ioned

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo From such schools about two thousand Negroes have gone forth with the bachelor's degree. enough to put at rest the argument that too large a proportion of Negroes are receiving higher training. If the ratio to populati

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nted

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo us "it must be increased to five times its present average" to equal the

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Fifty years ago the ability of Negro students in any appre- ciable numbers to master a modern oved by the fact that four hundred Negroes

i

as brilliant students

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo g\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

radu- ates

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\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

t testimony by any generally acceptable criterion of suc- cess. In 1900

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ting answers from nearly two-thirds of the liv- ing. The direct testimony was in almost all cases corroborated by ti

k

he reports of the colleges where they graduated

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

duates were teachers

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\afj

l

\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

t were merchants

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

f these graduates

m

them and some of the pupils whom they have taught

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

d at life through their eyes. Comparing them as a class with my fellow students in New England and in Europe

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

or with moreonsel

n

crated determi- nation to succeed in the face of bitter difficulties than among Negro college-bred men. They have

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

portion of them; they have not that culture of manner which we instinctively associate with university men

o

generation re- moved from slavery can escape a certain unpl

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo asant rawness and gaucherie

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo With all their larger vision and deeper sensibility

have worked steadily and faithfully in a thousandn

p

communities in the South. As teachers

in

by side with white college graduates at Hampton; almost from the beginning the backbone of Tuskegee's teaching force has

q
is

of the principal down to the teacher of agriculture

the devastations of disease

r
property of the toiling masses. All this is needful work. Who would do it if Negroes did not? How could Negroes do it if they

f

white people need colleges to furnish teachers

par

If it is true that there are an appreciable number of Negro youth in the land capable by charac-

s
talent to receive that higher training

gher training

elopment of the South ought the Negro college and college-bred man to occupy? That the present social separation and ac-

t
the race-sensitiveness must eventually yield to the influences of culture

m
ation calls for singular wisdom and patience. If

s
u

ubtly and si- lently separate in many matters of deeper human intimacy

e
st in modern history. It will demand broad-minded

v
ar as white men are con- cerned

p
y renaissance of university education seems imminent. But the very voices that cry hail to this good work are

par

par Strange to relate! for this is certain

lization can bu

w
e built in the South with the Negro as an ignorant

w
ill not cease attempting to read the riddle of the world. By taking away their best equipped teachers and lead- ers

x

ter minds

h
you not rather transfer their leading from the hands of men taught to think to the hands of untrained demagogues? We ought

f
or higher training steadily increases among Negro youthw

y

h: there were

r
e were

in

Z

hide their yearning and

contentedly become hewers of wood and drawers of water?

par

No. The dangerously clear logic of the Negro's position will more and more loudly assert itself

ing

{

the of energy cannot be spared if the South is to catch up with civilization. And as the black third of the land grows in thrift and

s

larger philosophy

hich

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revels all too clearly the anomalies of their position and the moral crookedness of yours. You may marshal strong indictments against

the

and

y ignore

}

the vision of intermarriage

And if in just fury you accuse their vagabonds of violating women

And if in just fury you accuse their vagabonds of violating women

And if in just fury you accuse their vagabonds of violating women

~

mulattoes

mulattoes

yet it is they which in this land receive most unceasing condemnation

par

I will not say such arguements

DEL

are wholly justified

f Negroes in this nation

of

of the past and

€

the difficulties of the present

the

closer knitting of the Negro to the great industrial possibilities of the South is a great truth. And this the common schools and

□

but these alone are not enough. The foundations of knowledge

in this race

the

the true valuing of the things of life; and all these and other

the

,

for inevitable problems of civilization the Negro must meet and solve largely for himself

the

appeal to the rich experience of the past? Is there not

f

we have wit enough

the

in

h to found a Negro college so manned and equipped as to steer successfully between the dilettante and the fool. We shall ha

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

that the paths of peace winding between honest toil and dignified manhood call for the guidance of s,

"
îkilled thinkers

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The function of the Negro \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
college

\hich\af0\df

...

îbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

n. Above our modern socialism

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ld about it; that seeks a freedom for expansion and self- development; that will love and hate and labor in its own way

†

îed alike by old and new. Such souls afore- time have inspired and guided worlds

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo i\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

negold

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\lo...

‡

îch\fo

make their loving

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo being black.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

I sit with Shakespeare and he winces not. Across the color line I move arm in arm with Balzac and Dumas

^

îng men and welcoming women glide in gilded halls. From out the caves of evening that swing between the strong- limbed e

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

and the tracery of the stars

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo the life you long to c‡

%

îhange into the dull red hideousness of Georgia? Are you so afraid lest peering from this high Pisgah

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo VII

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Of the Black Belt

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo I am black but comely

rusalem

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îsun hath looked upon me: My mother's children were angry with me; They made me the keeper of the vineyards; But mine ov

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo .

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo THE SONG OF SOLOMON.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Out of the North the train thundered

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in

surely at the depot

which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

s; then again came the stretch of pines and clay. Yet we did not nod

which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

at Sea; and he and his foot-sore captives disappeared yonder in the grim forests to the west. Here sits Atlanta

Œ

a hundred hills

which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

a is the land of the Cherokees and to the southwest

which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af2<

□

î3\loch\fo the slave-trade.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Not only is Georgia thus the geographical focus of our Negro population

which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Negroes among its citizens

Ž

îr this host of Africans. Oglethorpe thought slavery against law and gospel; but the circumstance

which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

which gave Georgia its first inhabitants were not calculated to furnish citizens over-nice in their ideas about rum and slaves.

which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo i\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

r own hands; and so□

□

î pliant were the judges

which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo more.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Down in Darien

□

î and the Moravians of Ebenezer did not like the system. But not till the Haytian Terror of Toussai

which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

nt was the trade in men even checked; while the national statute of 1808 did not suffice to stop it. How the Africans poured in

which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo S\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

o the thirty thousand Negroes of Georgia in 179□

,

î0 doubled in a decade

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo But\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

we must hasten on our journey. This that we pass as we near Atlanta is the ancient land of the Cherokees

,

înment drove them beyond the Mississippi.

which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

f you wish to ride with me you must come into the "Jim Crow Car." There will be no objection

which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo O\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo f course this car is not so good as the other

“

îfortable. The discomfort lies chiefly in the hearts of those four black men yonder--and in mine.

\par

in

We rumble south in quite a business-like way. The bare red clay and pines of Northern Georgia begin to disappear

and more into

resting

turns to the world beyond. The "Jim Crow Car" grows larger and a shade better; three rough field-hands and

two or three white loafers accompany us

entry as we enter it

At Albany

is west of the Atlantic

the Chattahoochee and the sea. Andrew Jackson knew the Flint well

That was in 1814

Flint in Dougherty County

—

That was in 1814

Flint in Dougherty County

—

Flint in Dougherty County

—

the planters from the impoverished lands of Virginia

red miles about Albany

TM

It is here the corner-stone of the Cotton Kingdom was laid.

Albany is to-day a wide-streeted

wide-streeted

longed naps. But on Saturday

§

§

§

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§

considerable quantities of whiskey

get very drunk; they talk and laugh loudly at times

exactly happy

§

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§

Thus Albany is a real capital

their market for buying and selling

in

□

It. Now the wo

It has well-nigh forgotten what the country is

and gloomy soil.

\par

It gets pretty hot in Southern Georgia in July

It gets pretty hot in Southern Georgia in July

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It

It might see this unknown world. Finally we started. It was about ten in the morning

It was about ten in the morning

It

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It

in

in

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

With such foundations a kingdom must in time sway and fall. The masters moved to Macon and Augusta

À

î such ruin as this

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

d of lawn

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo f\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

illed now with the grandchildren of the slaves who once waited on its tableÀ

Â

îs; while the family of the master has dwindled to two lone women

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

homes

Ã

îin

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo her ancient coach each day.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo This was indeed the Egypt of the Confederacy

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

re

Ä

îe of the land began to tell. The red-clay sub-soil already had begun to peer above the loam. The harder the slaves were dri

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

fatal was their farming. Then came the revolution of war and Emancipation

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo It is a land of rapid conÃ

Å

îtrasts and of\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

curiously mingled hope and pain. Here sits a pretty blue-eyed quadroon hiding her bare feet; she was married only last week

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Gatesby

Æ

îh shop

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

a Rhode Island county

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\foÅ

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in wages. When now we turn and look five miles above

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

in

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
The cotton looked tall and rich
Ú

icious. Then he con- tinued

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Quite a contrast to the southwestern part of Dougherty County is the northwest. Soberly timb

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\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

omantic past

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

the richer land nor the signs of neglect so often seen

á

îthe notice of the slave-baron

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

zed it. The returns of the farmer are too small to allow much for wages

in

in

with Mary. No cere- mony was necessary

notion to sell the slave

ars. To-day Sam's grandson "takes up" with a woman without license or ceremony; they live together de- cently and honestly

ily quarrels

monies are per- formed by the pastors. Nevertheless

Lo

oking now at the county black population as a whole

d ignorant. Perhaps ten per cent compose the well-to-do and the best of the laborers

degree shiftless

o-thirds of them cannot read or write. This but partially expresses the fact. They are ignorant of the world about them

ily all those things wh

ch slavery in self-defence had to keep them from learning. Much that the white boy imbibes from his earliest social atmospher

It

is easy for us to lose ourselves in details in endeavoring to grasp and comprehend

the real condition of a mass of human beings. We often forget that each unit in the mass is a throbbing human soul. Ignoran

ious in limb and ways and thought; and yet it loves and hates

ality lazy; they are improvident and careless; they insist on breaking the monotony of toil with a glimpse at the great town-wor

urn

ver eighty-eight per cent of them--men

in

in

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Meat and meal

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Ten cent\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s a pound." It could have been bought for six or seven c

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "And the meal?"

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Two dollars." One dollar and ten cents is the cash price in town. Here was a man paying five
aised for one dollar or one dollar and a half.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Yet it is not wholly his fault. The Negro farmer started behind

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo tragedies

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo In the year of low-priced cotton

d and seventy-five ended their year's work in debt to the extent of fourteen thousand dollars; fifty cleared nothing

\h&iich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo w\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

hole county must have been at least sixty thousand dollars. In a more prosperous year the situation is far better; but on the a

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo i\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo c organiza- tion is radically wrong. Whose is the blame?

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The underlying causes of%î this situation are complicated but discernible. And one of the chi
nion among the merchants and employers of the Black Belt that only by the slavery of debt can the Negro be kept at work. W

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich&(\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

o-day the mass of the Negro laborers need stricter guardianship than most Northern labor- ers. Behind this honest and wides

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

obvious fact that a slave ancestry and a system of unrequited toil has not improved the efficiency or temper of the mass of bl

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ound-down peasantries. Such is the situation of the mass of the Negroes in the Black Belt to-day; and they are thinking about

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

itting on a log(*î

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo w\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

rong." And what do the better classes of Negroes do to improve their situation? One of two things: if any way possible

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo w\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

n-life

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo h\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

eld at forced labor practically without wages. Especia*

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo f\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

such a peon should run away

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

cure his return. Even if some unduly officious person insist upon a trial

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

parts of the South

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo asant; and in a study of the rise and condition of the Negro freeholder

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Even in the better-ordered country districts of the South the free movement of agricultural labor

in

gration-agent laws. The "Associated Press" recently in- formed the world of the arrest of a young white man in Southern Geo
>@\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Taking

in

r ideal

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\par ?A\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo A "submerge\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
d tenth" of croppers

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo p\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

pers are entirely without capital

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

s from a third to a half of the crop. Out of his share

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\AC\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ' wages. It is an unsatisfactory arrangement

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Above the croppers come the great mass of the black population who work the land on their o
ent in cotton and supported by the crop-mortgage system. After the war this system was attractive to the freedmen on account

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ion of the land

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

n hCE\ave stripped them well-nigh of all

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo v\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

e. On the other hand

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo f\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

the price of cotton in market and of the strivings of the tenant has been taken advantage of by the landlords and merchants

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo f\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ollowed reluctantly. If the tenant worked EG\hard and raised a large crop

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo i\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ndness and forbearance; but in the vast majority of cases the rule was

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The average metayer pays from twentFH\y to thirty per cent of his crop in rent. The result of s

in

in

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo And yet\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo this does not touch the kernel of the problem. Human advancement is not a mere'¶i question of almsgiving \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r striving for the good and noble and true

\par

\par \hich\afμ·i0\dbch\af23\loch\fo I have sought to \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo paint an average picture of real relations between the sons of master and man in the South. I have not glossed over matters \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t no unfair exaggerations creep in. I do not doubt that in some Southern communities conditions are better th¶,ïan those I ha

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Nor does the paradox and danger of this situ\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ation fail to interest and perplex the best conscience of the South. Deeply religious and intensely democratic as are the mass \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

and generous people cannot cite the caste-levelling precepts of Christianity

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

to their beliefs and professions. But just as often as they come to this point

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

s or other physical peculiarities

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ns +>ïand survive? and shall we let a mawkish sentiment sweep away the culture of our fathers or the hope of our children? T

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

t the condition of our masses is bad; there is certainly on the one hand adequate historical cause for this

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

by proscription and prejudice

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ry things you complain of

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo i\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

In the face of two such arguments

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

at present the need of uplifting the masses of his people

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

It is not enough for the Negroes to declare that color- prejudice is the sole cause of their ½¿ïsocial condition

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

a change in neither alone will bring the desired effect. Both must change

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch¾¼Âï\af23\loch\fo

nt and retrogression. And the condition of the Negro is ever the excuse for further discrimination. Only by a union of intelligence

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "That\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo mind and soul according well

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo X

\par

\pa¿Áïr \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Of the Faith of the Fathers

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Dim face of Beauty haunting all the world

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo There

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo May white peace be.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Beauty

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Of Ages ground to sand

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo To a little sand.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo F\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo IONA MACLEOD.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

It was out in the country

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

c cadence of song

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

formal as they in Suffolk of olden time; yet we were very quiet and subdued

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

o most striking to me

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

a demoniac possession

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

-cheeked brown woman beside me suddenly leaped straight into the air and shrieked like a lost soul

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Those who have not thus witnessed the \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

frenzy of a Negro revival in the untouched backwoods of the South can but dimly realize the religious feeling of the slave; as c

\hich\af0\dbc\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 This deep religious fatalism

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 For fifty years Negro religion thus transformed itself and \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 identified itself with the dream of Abolition

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 ilhich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

teral Coming of the Lord. His fervid imagination was stirred as never before

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

Was it not the Lord's doing

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 It is difficult to explain clearly th\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

e present critical stage of Negro religion. First

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

irectly by all the religious and ethical forces that are to-day moving the United States. These questions and movements are

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 ulhich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

in

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo XI

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Of the Passing of the First-Born

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo O sister

cling and the feet that follow

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo SWINBURNE.

\par

in

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Blithe was the morning of his burial
en sat with hushed faces. And yet it seemed a ghostly uínreal day
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t say much

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo We could not lay him in the ground there in Georgia
lowers and his little folded hands. In vain

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo All that day and all that night there sat an awful gl\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

in

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

said his wife; and Alexander came. Once before

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d dragged it into the middle of the swamp. The black boy trudged awa

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The nineteenth was the first century of human sympathy

dhoppers and peasants

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo So in that little Oneida school there ca/1îme to those school- boys a revelation of thought and

nging beneath one black skin

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ister. It did not wholly fade away

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

d kissed. A vision of life came to the growing boy

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

y

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo A v\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

oice and vision called him to be a priest

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo only there swept across the vision the temptation of Despair.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo They were not wicked men

slowly

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

This was the temptation of Despair; and the young man fought it doggedly. Like some grave shadow he flitted by those halls

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

rke57id him as foolish

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

d themselves toward him from out the depths of that dull morning seemed but parts of the purple shadows. He saw them col

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo I sometimes fancy I can see that tableau: the frail black \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo figure

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

he wide eyes of the Negro wander past the Bishop's broadcloth to where the swinging glass doors of the cabinet glow in the s

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

d sort of way

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo -\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo when lo! it spreads its tiny wings and buzzes merrily across

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Then the full weight of his burden fell upon him. The rich walls wheeled away winding on through life

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbcEGîh\af23\loch\fo swarthy men

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo " . . . bear the whips and scorns of time

in

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Up at the Judge's they rather liked this refrain; for they too had a John--a fair-haired

o its close with his darker namesake. "Yes

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo It seemed to us that the first time life ever struck Jones as a really serious thing was when the

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

in

\par

in

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Perhaps

in

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo He paused and smiled. "I am afraid it does
\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Yes
\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

It was several days later that John walked up to the Judge's house to ask for the privilege of teaching the Negro school.
\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "I am going to accept the situation
\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo It was a full month after the opening of the Negro school that the other John came home
The mother wept
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
not veil his contempt for the little town
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

argument often waxed hot between them. "Good heavens
\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Have you heard him say anything out of the way?"
\par
\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Why
\par

in

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Who is this John?" interrupted the son.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Why

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The young man's face flushed angrily

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Oh

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo But Judge Henderson waited to hear no more. He had been nettled all day

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo For John

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ar and dirty

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo reading showed a little comforting progress. So John settled himself w

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Now

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Naw

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "All right; now let's try again: 'If the man--'

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "John!"

>\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The whole school started in surprise

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

John, this school is closed. You children can go home and get to work. The white people of Altamaha are not spending their

\par

\pœžīar \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Up at the great pillared house the tall young son wandered aimlessly about after his father's abrupt departure. In the house th

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

s and sewing. He tried a nap

\par

in

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo She gazed at him dimly and faltered

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo He looked out where the North Star glistened pale above the waters

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Then

at black stump

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

out

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

f the gilded ceiling of that vast concert hall

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo g\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo He leaned back a;^nd smiled toward the sea

ort he roused himself

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Amid the trees in the dim morning twilight he watched their shadows dancing and §©heard th

ering toward him

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo m burst round him

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo And the world whistled in his ears.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo XIV

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Of the Sorrow Songs

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo I walk through the churchyard To lay this body down; I know moon-rise

I walk in the moonlight

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo NEGRO SONG.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo They that walked in d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

arkness sang songs in the olden days-- Sorrow Songs--for they were weary at heart. And so before each thought that I have

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo .\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Ever since I was a child these songs have stirred me strangely. They came out of the South unknown to me

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

songs towering over the pale city. To me Jubilee Hall seemed ever made of the songs themselves

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo my brothers and sisters

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Little of beauty has America given the world save the rude grandeur God himself stamped on

auty. And so by fateful cha--@ince the Negro folk-song--the rhythmic cry of the slave--stands to-day not simply as the sole An

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

and is

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Away back in the thirties the melod\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

y of these slave songs stirred the nation

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo --the voice of exile.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Ten master songs

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

strains begin this book is "Nobody knows the trouble I've seen." When

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo m\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo an on the outskirts of the throng began singin»½îg this song; all the n

\par

in

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The third song is the cradle-song of death which all men know

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo There are many others of the Negro folk-songs as striking and characteri\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo stic as these

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo y\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

pes: there is the maze-like medley

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo These represent a third step in the development of the slave song
y" are the second. The first is African music

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

s are both Negro and Caucasian. One might go further and find a fourth step in this development

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

nd "Old Black Joe." Side by side

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo l\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo f and never find the real Negro melodies.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo In these songs

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ve displaced the older senti- ment. Once in a while we catch a strange word of an un- known tongue

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The monotonous toil and exposure is painted in many words. One sees the ploughmen in the

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "Dere's no rain to wet you

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The bowed and bent old man cries

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "O Lord

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Yet the soul-hunger is there

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo My soul wants something that's new

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

Over the inner thoughts of the slaves and their relations one with another the shadow of fear ever hung

ive and weary wanderer call for pity and affection

\par

"Yonder's my ole mudder

\par

Elsewhere comes the cry of the "motherless" and the "Farewell

\par

Love-songs are scarce and fall into two categories--the frivolous and light

t

\par

Poor Rosy

\par

A black woman said of the song

\par

Of death the Negro showed little fear

it familiarly and even fondly as simply a crossing of the waters

\par

"Dust

\par

But the Lord shall bear my spirit home."

\par

The things evidently borrowed from the surrounding world undergo characteristic change when

\par

As in olden time

leading minstrel of the religious band. The circumstances of the gathering

are

or longer tales

or

fittingly said

\p

And the other earlier and homelier picture from the low coast lands

\par

Michael, haul the boat ashore,

Then you'll hear the horn they blow, Then you'll hear the trumpet sound, Trumpet sound

me.

\par

in

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\ÑÓif0

Through all the sorrow of the Sorrow Songs there breathes a hope--a faith in the ultimate justice of things. The minor cadence

metimes assurance of boundless justice in some fair world beyond. But whichever it is

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

The silently growing assumption of this age is that the probation of races is past

ignorant of the deeds of men. A thousand years ago such aóÕin assumption

aces ever leading civilization. So wofully unorganized is sociological knowledge that the meaning of progress

nce. Why should AEschylus have sung two thousand years before Shake- speare was born? Why has civilization flourished

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 Your country? How came it yours? Before the Pilgrims landed we were here. Here we have

two hundred years earlier than your weak hands could have done it; the third

all that was worst; fire and blood

ery warp and woof of this nation

then with a curse. Our song

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 Even so ilhich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

s the hope that sang in the songs of my fathers well sung. If somewhere in this whirl and chaos of things there dwells Eternal

as the sunshine trickling down the morning into these high windows of mine

dren

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 Let us cheer the wea-ry trav-el-ler

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 And the traveller girds himself

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 The Afterthought

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 Hear my cÛÝîry

ed to reap the harvest wonderful. Let the ears of a guilty people tingle with truth

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 THE END

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

\par }}

in

\red0\green128\blue128;\red0\green0\blue128;\red255\green255\blue255;\red192\green192\blue192;\red128\green128\blue128

Unfolding

it remains \plainf1\fs24\cf0 outwardly unchanged. Otherwise
it none the less tries to turn \plainf1\fs24\cf0 the energies which act upon it into means of its own further existence. If it cannot

it struggles to use surrounding energies in its own behalf. It uses \plainf1\fs24\cf0 light

in

as the geological record shows

individual and racial. When we see a book called the Life of Lincoln we do not expect to find within its cover

as well as to life in the bare physiological sense

there is the contrast between the immaturity of the new-born members of the group -- its future

thinking

it is obvious that the group would be permanently done for. Yet the death of each of its constituent member

indeed

by communication

like bricks; they cannot be shared as persons would share a pie by dividing it into physical

any more than a man ceases to be socially influenced by being so many feet or miles removed from others.

without reference to the emotional and intellectual disposition and consent of those used. Such uses express

but all communication (and hence all genuine social life) is educative. To be a recipient of a communication

then

accordingly

the fact of association itself as an immediate human fact

within the broad educational process which we have been so far considering

the gap between the capacities of the young and the concerns of adults widens. Learning by direct sharing

it is not possible to transmit all the resources and achievements of a complex society. It also opens a way to

whether directly or vicariously in play

it is artificial. For this measure is connection with practical concerns. Such material exists in a world by

the incidental and the intentional

life is a self-renewing process. What nutrition and reproduction are to physiological life

and that this renewal takes place by means of the educational growth of the immature members of the group

in

in

Emily Dickinson's poems were edited in these early editions by her friends

a facsimile of her "handwritten poem which her editors titled "Renunciation" is given

when all the time had leaked

it is not always clear which are dashes

this transcription may be compared with the edited version in the main text to get a flavor of the changes made in these early

in

--

sweet countrymen

in

the author's fellow-townswoman and friend.]

\par

\par Success is counted sweetest

\par By those who ne'er succeed.

\par To comprehend a nectar

\par Requires sorest need.

\par

\par Not one of all the purple host

\par Who took the flag to-day

\par Can tell the definition,

\par So clear, of victory,

\par

\par As he, defeated, dying,

\par On whose forbidden ear

\par The distant strains of triumph

\par Break, agonized and clear!

\par

\par II.

\par

\par Our share of night to bear,

\par Our share of morning,

\par Our blank in bliss to fill,

\par Our blank in scorning.

\par

\par Here a star, and there a star,

\par Some lose their way.

\par Here a mist, and there a mist,

\par Afterwards -- day!

\par

\par III.

\par

\par ROUGE ET NOIR.

\par

\par Soul, wilt thou toss again?

\par By just such a hazard

\par Hundreds have lost, indeed,

\par But tens have won an all.

\par

\par Angels' breathless ballot

\par Lingers to record thee;

\par Imps in eager caucus

\par Raffle for my soul.

\par

\par IV.

\par

\par ROUGE GAGNE.

\par

\par 'T is so much joy! 'T is so much joy!

\par If I should fail, what poverty!

\par And yet, as poor as I

\par Have ventured all upon a throw;

\par Have gained! Yes! Hesitated so --

\par This side the victory!

\par

\par Life is but life, and death but death!

\par Bliss is but bliss, and breath but breath!

\par And if, indeed, I fail,

\par At least to know the worst is sweet.

\par Defeat means nothing but defeat,

\par No drearier can prevail!

\par

\par And if I gain, -- oh, gun at sea,

\par Oh, bells that in the steeples be,

\par At first repeat it slow!

in

an hour ago.

in

excuse from pain;
those little anodynes

to go to sleep;
if it should be

mouldering pleasure 't is

I think

or two

centuries before

¶,↑

just so.

in

as all
and you are sane;
-- you're straightway dangerous

madam

she notes the chariot's pausing
an emperor is kneelin, °fg

--
hours

in

--
hills

that resting

--

--

-- where?
or spoon
or stone
some ancient brooch

too

in

trains away

just astir

I know

and $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ nations do not see
and none observe

in plumed procession

with even feet

sweet

in

or if there were

enlightened to perceive

through endless summer days

in

because

I thought

little boat

gallant sea

“greedy wave

--

in

--

here in vision and in veto!
by the grave's repeal
confirmed
while the ages steal!

sweet

in

O friend!

my dim companion!
God would be content

forever
--
that I may dower thee

--

in

a humble maiden

when this life was out

all ignorant of the length

like the goblin bee

unsuspecting

fading from your vase
unsuspecting

in

dost thou doubt

so still it flows

in August it may be

lest this little brook of life

in

bright crowds of flowers

as if this little flower

nothing

wilt welcome me?

look graciously!

--

sea

his porcelain

--

could I stand by

in

than he

you know

I would be

I here

in

as common
accustomed

as at sacrament

as hours will

when all the time had failed

at length
justified

I've stopped being theirs;

in the country church

and the string of spools

of ÖÖgrace

the crescent dropped

in

too small the first
crowing on my father's breast

adequate

but the time

the privilege

except they had beheld

the host

I'm woman now:

then

in

dropped

or awe
or the gold

as the sea

Eden!

sip thy jasmines

in

small
low

for God is here

who drew me so

in

from clover rows

I will lend until just then

any time

-- a noted clergyman

mine eyes
O summer's day?

in

on the plain

one by one

Don the Sun

countless

--

like pearls

--

in

to pass

--

beyond itself

-- no vehicle

Were they pearls

in

--
a wordless tune

shimmering grace

that thought the summer's name

dimly stirred
-- some travelled bird

known

in

or whither it rushes

and vanish with fairy sails.

èêî

in

swerveless tune.

victorious

a single onyx
inlaid.

for a bee's experience

and prance again.

in

plucking

plucking

so ashamed!

struggling

in

--

I know not.

in

working like a hand

with tufts of tune

of summer boughs

in the sky

and pòôîassed

in

a bird or two

old sophistries of June

fraud that cannot cheat the bee

sacrament of summer days
last communion in the haze

in

the clouds are mean

like us

--
the bald

like the weight

in

despair

the landscape listens

't is like the distance

and footmen

also

--

lagging yesterday!

in

--

if there may departing be

up-cancelled

like audiences

and roof of stone.

--

what sagacity perished here!

and firmaments row

in

like listless elephants

colors tease

if at last

--
past the headlands

among the mountains

in

and quivered

hîe thought it meet of him

but was scarce

I replied.

\par "And I for truth, -- the two are one;

\par We brethren are," he said.

\par

\par And so, as kinsmen met a night,

\par We talked between the rooms,

\par Until the moss had reached our lips,

\par And covered up our names.

\par

\par XI.

\par

\par "TROUBLED ABOUT MANY THINGS.

hot so often

if you can

in

in daisies lain!

and that is death.

potential stir

thou unknown renown

alive

as it seemed

in

obscure with fog

-- forgot my school-mates
for him

in

part content
or different;

of home

had he any?
accented

what name was best

or tranquil?

and love

--

as 't were.

in

and forgot;

shivered scarce
and was dead.

we placed the hair

until I read the place

rare

my primer suits me so

be sweeter wise;

--

in

earth is short

we could die:

it will be even

setting still;

--

dropping still;

drowsing still

in

I am doing; but

the other one!

he knew no haste
and my leisure too

in

the lamps upon thy side

past the morning star!

she is nought;
lone;

provincial;

says Death. The Spirit, "Sir,
\par I have another trust.

argues from the ground.

in

for evidence

then
God!

a woman died.

waking
marauder
sir

Thou the sun!

in

if as days decline

--

the flight

and one will flee.

find it

in

--

when time is over

for wonder at his woe

that scalds me now.

twice descending

in

banker

in

in

grown shrewder

--\line As laces just reveal the surge

--\line Or the most agonizing spy\line An enemy could send.

\line No treason it can fear;\line Itself its sovereign

-- Life!

\line And lick the valleys up

\line And

and crawl between

punctual as a star

\lin?Aîe But they that go.\line Menagerie to melline My neighbor be.\line Fair play --\line Both went to see.

--\line More fair

the amber flits a little

\line But did not finish

nor why it came\line The second time to me

I know\line I 've met the thing before;\line It just reminded me -- 't was all --\line And came my way no more.

how late!\line So I get home

\line Brewed from decades of agony!

\line Just how long-cheated eyes will turn\line To wonderBDî what myself will say

a tattered heart

happening that way

I see

in

I see

--\line There 's something in their attitude\line That taunts her bayonet.

\line So seemed to choose my door

\line Afflicts me with a double loss;\line 'T is lost

pedantic sunshine\line In a satin vest.

\line But I was twice as bold.

but myself\line Was all the one that fell.\line Was it Goliath was too large

it may be

as a brittle heaven

surer for the distance;\line How high\line Unto the saints' slow diligence\line The sky!

it may be

\line I liked as well to see\line As other creatures that have eyes

to-day

the mountains mine

in

\line The lightning's jointed road
guess

hint to any captive\line You have passed enfranchised fOQîeet!\line Anecdotes of air in dungeons\line Have sometimes prov

--\line The broad are too broad to define;\line And of "truth" until it proclaimed him a liar

not a doubt.\line Ah! friend
rowing in the dark

\line Since I hoped I QSîdared;\line Everywhere alone\line As a church remain;\line Spectre cannot harm

\line And then it knocks at will.\line That is the manufacturing spot
\line Or is entombed so still\line That only to the ear of God\line Its doom is audible.

--\line I have at last revenge.\line The palate of the hate departs;\line If any would avenge
the viand flits

\line Her companies astir
\line And lighted with a match
-- the disease\line Not even God can heal;\line For 't is his institution

--\line The more convenient way
secure

and therefore hopeless
it relieves indeed

\line Wending late home
a ballad
\line Sauntering this way

night will come again

\line When peace was far away;\line As wrecked men deem they sight the land\line At centre of the sea
but to prove

\line And pain is missed in praise.
\line So spices stimulate the time\line Till my small library.
\line Far feet of faWYîiling men
\line And satisfy

in

--\line It cannot be again.\line When Fate hath taunted last\line And thrown her furthest stone
\line And glance securely round.\line The deer invites no longer\line Than it eludes the hound.

to dine;\line I
\line When turning
\line 'T was so unlike the crumb\line The birds and I had often shared\line In Nature's dining-room.
't was so new
\line The entering takes away.

\line By climbing slow
--\line This was all.\line Look

\line As blind men learn the sun;\line To die of thirst
homesick feet\line Upon a foreign shore\line Haunted by native lands
\line This
\line Inaudible

\line And now
-- just a life I left
\line I scanned the windows near;\line The silence like an ocean rolled
\line Who danger and the dead had faced
with trembling care
\line And held my ears

\line This sums the apparatus\line Comprised in prayer.

in silence.\line He has hid his rare lifeline From our gross eyes.
\line 'T is a fond ambush
\line Should the glee glaze\line In death's stiff stare

among the crowded air
it has no nest;\line Nor band
with late

\line When breath blew back
as one returned
to stay!\line Next time
to tarry

in

\line And subterfuge is done;
intrinsic
--\line Behold the atom I preferred\line To all the lists of clay!

\line To lead it here;\line Nor any death
\line Nor action new

-- as girls could boast
\line For life's estate with you.
myself
did I meet the queen
without a blame
\line Beyond my power to deem
it solaces to know\line That there exists a gold
far treasure to surmise

\line Aegînd took himself for pay.\line The solemn contract of a life\line Was ratified this way.
\line Myself a poorer prove\line Than this great purchaser suspect
till the merchant buy
't is mutual risk

\line And left the verb and the pronoun out.\line Tell him just how the fingers hurried
\line So you could see what moved them so.
\line You guessed
you may quibble there
\line And the old clock kept neighing 'day!'\line And you got sleepy and begged to be ended --\line What could it hinder so

-- happy letter!\line Gesture

\line And push it with my fingers next

glancing narrow at the wall
-- but not\line The heaven the creeds bestow.

\line Wild nights should be\line Our luxury!
--\line Done with the compass

and furnished scant\line With but a single star
\line And drove away the leaves\line November left; then clambered up\line And fretted in the eaves.

\line And closer to the fire\line kmîHer little rocking-chair to draw
said she\line Unto the sofa opposite,\line "The sleet than May -- no thee!

in

\line Would the bee the harebell hallow\line Much as formerly?
persuaded

--\line The lady dare not lift her veil\line For fear it be dispelled.
\line And wishes

\line Her bodice rose and fell
--\line Her needle would not go;\line What ailed so smart a little maid\line It puzzled me to know
another speech\line That like the drunkard goes;
like the bodice

they say
sir

\line And yet with amber hands\line She leads him
\line He comes just so far toward the town
Signor

--\line I heard the buckle snap

\line And do the little toils\line That make the circuit of the rest

and winds were prosy;\line I said: "'T will keep."
--\line The gem was gone;\line And now an amethyst remembrance\line Is all I own.

escaped
--\line Dungeons may call

the gentlest mother
\line Restraining rampant squirrel\line Or too impetuous bird.
\line A summer afternoon
\line The most unworthy flower.
bending from the sky
\line Her golden finger on her lip

some scholar! Oh

experiment\line Had subjugated test
element\line Nor implement was seen

in

till five o'clock
\\line The sunrise shook from fold
in docile rows
--\\line How mighty 't was

happy thing
--\\line A raised
spangled hems
staggered

few
\\line An April but begun.

that I could trace
then struggling hard\\line With an opposing cloud
phantom as herself
\\line And flower that zealous blew
a steady tide

\\line Except as a surmise
\\line As if for you to choose

--\\line All this
\\line And Nicodemus' mystery\\line Receives its annual reply.

I asked,\\line "Which in the valleys lie?"\\line Some shook their heads, and others smiled,\\line And no one made reply.
\\par "Perhaps they did not hear," I said;\\line "I will inquire again.\\line Whose are the beds, the tiny beds\\line So thick upon the
\\line Nearest the door to wake the first
sir
\\line Humming the quaintest lullaby\\line That ever rocked a child.
\\line Rhodora's cheek is crimson
turning from them

\\line Velvet people from Vevay

in

\line Or only a divine.
unheard

\line Or whether it be none
\line The sceptic showeth me;\line "No, sir! In thee!

\line Who failed to touch us all
he disavows it\line With badinage divine;\line So dazzling
a fî dissembler
\line He cheats as he enchants\line Of an entire attar\line For his decamping wants.
\line The meteor of birds
\line With thoughts that make for peace.
\line Tradition suffer me\line Behold his lost emolument\line Upon the apple-tree.

\line But he is mastered now
\line Not all pianos in the woods\line Had power to mangle me.
\line For fear their yellow gown\line Would pierce me with a fashionf... \line So foreign to my own.
\line So when 't was time to see
\line I wished they 'd stay away\line In those dim countries where they go:\line What word had they for me?
though; not a creature failed
\line And I my childish plumes\line Lift

\line A rush of cochineal;\line And every blossom on the bush\line Adjusts its tumbled head

by chance
however
Father!\line I would not

\line The trusting woods?\line The unsuspecting trees\line Brought out their burrs and mosses\line His fantasy to please.\line

\line Then stepped straight through the firmament\line And rested on a beam;
--\line Though never yet
\line If met in ether sea\line By frigate or by merchantman

took my dog
\line Presuming me to be a mouse\line Aground
\line And past my apron and my belt

-- then my shoes\line Would overflow with pearl.
\line No man he seemed to know;\line And bowing with a mighty look\line At me

in

--\line I'd rather call him star!\line It's so unkind of science\line To go and interfere!
--\line A monster with a glass\line Computes the stamens in a breath
\line He sits erect in cabinets
isŠCEî zenith now.\line Where I proposed to go\line When time's brief masquerade was done
\line Whatever prank betides!
\line And laugh at me
--\line Old<□î-fashioned

\line The clouds were gaunt and few;\line A black
\line And shook their fists and gnashed their teeth.\line And swung their frenzied hair.
the birds arose;\line The monster's faded eyes\line Turned slowly ŒŽîto his native coast

\line With ropes of sand\line To keep it from effacing\line The track called land.

raw.

\line And then hopped sidewise to the wall\line To let a beetle pass.
--\line They looked like frightened beads
\line I offered him a crumb
\line Too silver for a seam

-- did you not

\line A spotted shaft is seen;\line And then it closes at your feet\line And opens further on.
\line A floor too cool for corn.\line Yet when a child
I thought
and they know me;\line I feel for them a transport\line Of cordiality;
\line Attended or alone

\line At evening it is not;\line At morning in a truffled hut\line It stops upon a spot
\line And fleeter than a t□îfare.
\line The germ of alibi;\line Doth like a bubble antedate

\line Could she a son contemn

\line And a "îgreen chill upon the heat\line So ominous did pass\line We barred the windows and the doors\line As from an er
\line And fences fled away
\line And yet abide the world!

\line Himself

\line She each year leads her daisies back

in

Her heart misgives her for her vow
And spices

though he Minutest of mankind might be.
And who could reproduce the sun
And Occident becomes— unknown

in

in

\line A few prosaic days\line A little this side of the snow\line And that side of the haze.
\line A few ascetic eyes
\line Sealed are the spicy valves;\line Mesmeric fingers softly touch\line The eyes of many elves.
\line My sentiments to share.\line Grant me

\line It powders all the wood
--\line Unbroken forehead from the east\line Unto the east again.
\line It wraps it
--\line The summer's empty room
\line As ankles of a queen

\line With shrill felicity
\line The brother of the universe\line Was never blown away.

\line Whose p^{er}omptuous frown was nutriment\line To their temerity.
refreshing things;
\line His future a dispute;\line Unfair an immortality\line That leaves this neighbor out.

O Death!\line The tired flocks come in\line Whose bleating ceases to repeat
\line Thine the securest fold;\line Too near thou art for seeking thee

\line Pray do not ask me how

\line Save just a little place for me\line Close to the two I lost!
\line And just a bit of "crown;"\line For you know we do not mind our dress\line When we are going home.
\line For it would stop my breath

is left.\line O Jesus! in the air\line I know not which thy chamber is
\line And maelstrom in the sea;\line Say

\line Or flag subsist

\line Fluttering first
\line And 't was not for me;\line She was mute from transport
nearing

till they died

\line Reviewed it with my eyes
and manner of the shame;\line And then the pious form\line That "God have mercy" on the soul\line The jury voted him.

in

\\line That at the last it should not be\\line A novel agony
acquainted

\\line Lest that should conquer me;\\line I have not quite the strength now\\line To break it to the bee.
\\line For shops would stare
\\line Where I have rambled so
\\line Nor heedless by the way\\line Hint that within the riddle\\line One will walk to-day!

they dropped like stars

--\\line "No eye could find the place;\\line But God on his repealless list\\line Can summon every face.

-- so;\\line He wore no sandal on his foot
haply

\\line His laughter like the breeze\\line That dies away in dimples\\line Among the pe±³insive trees.\\line Our interview was transi

too fragile for winter winds

\\line Building where schoolboy dare not look\\line And sportsman is not bold.
and often cold

\\line Become so wondrous dear
\\line Vast

\\line Except a p³µêrished creature\\line Entreat us tenderly

\\line With "This was last her fingers did

--\\line A finer shame of ecstasy\\line Convicted of itself.
\\line Acknowledged of the brave

Death

affronted long

\\line One eye upon the heaven renounced\\line And one upon the rack.
by himself\\line Experienced

--\\line A miracle for all!

\\line When but a little child

in

\line But did because they died

\line My best was gone to sleep
\line And passed their curtains by.\line Sweet morning
\line And then I looked at them
\line It could not hold a sigh
\line The only raiment I should need

\line It 's sharpest of the theme\line The thinking how they walked alive
of a Sunday
\line So short way off it seems; and now
\line And dip your fingers in the frost:\line When was it
\line Acquaintance
\line Past interview

\line Eternity by term.
\line Our feet reluctant led.\line Before were cities
--\line Behind

\line Be its pillow round;\line Let no sunrise' yellow noise\line Interrupt this ground.

or such a night
oh
or such a dawn
--\line Or stirring house below
\line Busy needles
and holidays

\line It is the gift of screws.
in lady's drawer

other impetus\line Is numb and vital-less.
\line A fear will urge it where\line To go without the spectre's aid\line Were challenging despair.

\line And you should live
\line That commerce will continue

\line And yet we guessed it not;\line If tenderer industriousness\line Pervaded her
--\line When Death lit all the shortness up
--\line When nothing was to see\line But her Carrara guide-post
duller than our dulness

in

\\line One need not be a house;\\line The brain has corridors surpassing\\line Material place.
of a midnight meeting\\line External ghost
\\line The stones achase
behind ourself concealed
\\line He bolts the door

-- this was the way she died;\\line And when her breath was done
\\line Since I could never find her\\line Upon the mortal side.

\\line Then prate about "preferment"\\line And "station" and the rest!
\\line Full purple is his state!

in

in

or on the side of their down-trodden victims? If with the former

be untiring in your efforts to break every yoke
as your religious and political motto--"NO COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY! NO UNI

~May~ 1

ESQ.

APRIL 22

where the lion complained that he should not be so misrepresented "when the lions wrote history.

indeed

those who stare at the half-peck of corn a week

before they could come into our ranks. Those "results" have come long ago; but
--and to hate slavery for other reasons than because it starves men and whips women

in your story

and of the injustice done them. Experience is a keen teacher; and long before you had mastered your A B C
not by his hunger and want

there is one circumstance which makes your recollections peculiarly valuable and renders your early insight the more remarkable. You come from that part of the country where we are told slavery appeared
as she travels southward to that (for the colored man) Valley of the Shadow of Death

we have known you long
candor

--but strict justice done

with that "noon of night" under which they labor south of Mason and Dixon's line. Tell us whether

no one can say that we have unfairly picked out some rare specimens of cruelty. We know that the bitter drops

in

not the occasional results

I shall read your book with trembling for you. Some years ago
and preferred to remain ignorant of all. With the exception of a vague description
which I do not know
in Massachusetts

in

in

since I came to which to find persons who could speak of the singing

only as an aching heart is relieved by its tears. At least

as the singing of a slave; the songs of the one and of the other are promp

which afforded almost constant employment for four men
people came from far and near--from Baltimore

as well as the older slaves

during the summer

if a slave was caught with any tar upon his person

three or four gigs

and was visited upon those

and one which

and the state of Colonel Lloyd's own mind when his horses were brought to him for use. If a horse did not move fast enough

and hear the various complaints against the keepers when a horse was taken out for use. "This horse has not had proper at

and not enough of grain; or he had too much grain

no matter how unjust

a man between fifty and sixty years of age

Murray

the coach-driver. I have seen Winder make one of the house-servants stand off from him a suitable distance to be touched w

and I think this estimate quite within the truth. Colonel Lloyd owned so many that he did not know them w

in

that

boy

after ascertaining where the slave belonged

until two or three weeks afterwards. The poor man was then informed by his overseer thgîat

he was snatched away

that slaves

to ascertain their views and feelings in regard to their condition. The frequency of this has had the effect to establish ikîamor

and in so doing prove themselves a part of the human family. If they have any thing to say of their masters

and do not remember ever to have given a negative answer; nor did I

slaves are like other people

too

they mutually execrate their masters when viewed separately. It was so on our plantation. When Colonel Lloyd's slaves met

and Mr. Jepson's slaves that he was the smartest

and those that whipped were supposed to have gained the point at issue. They seemed to think that the greatness of their m

I d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

but suppose he lacked the necessary severity to suit Colonel Lloyd. Mr. Hopkins was succeeded by Mr. Austin Gore in the capacity of overseer

ambitious

and it was just the place for such a man. It afforded scope for the full exercise of all his powers

word

-- "It is better that a dozen slaves should suffer under the lash

when accused by Mr. Gore of any misdemeanor.rî To be accused was to be convicted

in

under the overseership of Mr. Gore. He was just proud enough to demand the most debasing homage of the slave and persevering enough to reach the height of his ambition. He was cruel enough to inflict the severest punishment of all the overseers

and

even with the slaves; not so with Mr. Gore. He spoke but to command
and feared no consequences. He did nothing reluctantly

by

when
if he did not come out at the third call

not even giving Demby an additional call

excepting Mr. Gore. He alone seemed cool and collected. He was asked by Colonel Lloyd and my old master) that Demby had become unmanageable. He was setting a dangerous example to the other slaves and escaped with his life

and

nor testify against him; and thus the guilty perpetrator of one of the bloodiest and most foul murders goes unwhipped of justice

Talbot county

--that killing a slave

by knocking his brains out. He used to boast of the commission of the awful and bloody deed. I have heard him do so laugh we should be relieved of "the d----d niggers."

living but a short distance from where I used to live mangling her person in the most horrible manner

who decided that she had come to her death by severe beating. The offence for which this girl was thus murdered was this:-

in

having lost her rest for several nights previous

and thus ended her life. I will not say that this most horrid murder produced no sensation in the community. It did produce
but it was never served. Thus she escaped not only punishment

I will briefly narrate another

and in this way made up the de\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0
while thus engaged
and blew its deadly contents into the poor old man.

whether to pay him for his property

in

in

the unconscious children
are gone. She gropes her way

when weighed down by the pains and aches of old age

the time for the exercise of that tenderness and affection which children only can exercise towards a declining parent--my po

to wipe from her wrinkled brow the cold sweat of death

Master Thomas married his second wife. Her name was Rowena Hamilton. She was the eldest daughter of Mr. William Han

a misunderstanding took place between himself and Master Hugh; and as a means of punishing his brother

was not so severe as the one I dreaded at the division of property; for

as far as they were concerned

and was still receiving them

Captain Edward Dodson. On my passage

in a north-easterly direction. I deemed this knowledge of the utmost importance. My determination to run away was again re

and went to live with Master Thomas Auld

on Colonel Lloyd's plantation. We of course were now almost entire strangers to each other. He was to me a new master

however

made to feel the painful gnawings of hunger--a something which I had not experienced before since I left Colonel Lloyd's plan

where I had always had enough to eat

no matter how coarse the food

my aunt Priscilla

either in the shape of meat or vegetables. It was not enough for us to subsist uponîðî. We were therefore reduced to the wr

in

the one being considered as legitimate as the other. A great many times have we poor creatures been nearly perishing with
and pray that God would bless them in basket and store!

we seldom meet one destitute of every element of character commanding respect. My master was \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\af0
it was made subject to this. He was mean; and

he lacked the ability to conceal his meanness. Captain Auld was not born a slaveholder. He had been a poor man

but cowardly. He commanded without firmness. In the enforcement of his rules

but for his ears. In all things noble which he attempted

and actions of born slaveholders

and being such

fear

and whip he\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\af0
go to his store

she fell into the fire
she was a cons

in

in

and are free; I am fast in my chains

that fly round the world; I am confined in bands of iron! O that I were free! O

the turbid waters roll. Go on

why was I born a man

or get clear

and I am free! Try it? Yes! God helping me

I will turn my canoe adrift

\$

come what will

and thus I used %

and at the next reconci\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ling myself to my wretched lot.

during the first six months of my stay at Mr. Covey's

Smith was feeding

it came very har

I broke down; my strength failed me; I was seized with a violent aching of the head

I fell

and have his own go on at the same time.

about one hundred yards from the treading-yard where we were fanning. On hearing the fan stop

in

and there was no one to bring wheat to the fan. I had by this time crawled away under the side of the post and rail-fence by
and

for I scarce had strength to speak. He then gave me a savage kick in the side
but fell back in the attempt. He gave me another kick

Mr. Covey took up the hickory slat with which Hughes had been striking off the half-bushel measure
having now made up my mind to let him do his worst. In a short time after receiving this blow
for the first time

enter a complaint

as by the s-

however

when Covey discovered me

I walked through the woods

and lay for a considerable time. The blood was yet oozing f/

but that the blood so matted my hair as to stop the wound. After lying t

I nerved myself up again

I arrived at master's store. I then presented an appearance enough to affect any but a heart of iron. From the crown of my h
and barely escaped them. In this sta1

humbly entreating him to interpose his authority for my protection. I told him all the circumstances as well as I c
and it seemed

I should live with but to die with him; that Covey would surely kill me; he was in a fair way for it. Master Thomas ridiculed the

in

should he do so

and that I must go back to him

he gave me a very large dose of salts

he would ~get hold of me

or breakfast that morning. I reached Covey's about nine o'clock; and just as I was getting over the fence that divided Mrs. Ke

to give me another whipping. Before he could reach me

it afforded me the means of hiding. He seemed very angry

having the alternative before me

I fell in with Sandy Jenkins

and he very kindl

and talked this whole matter over

I must go with him into another part of the woods

~ which

he had never received a blow

and was not disposed to take it; but Sandy impressed the necessity with much earnestness

out came Mr. Covey on his way to meet:

bade me drive the pigs from a lot near by

I could have attributed the conduct to no other cause than the influence of that root; and

I was half inclined to think the ~root~ to be something more than I at first had taken it to be. All went well till Monday morning

and feed

he caught hold of my l

in

and was about tying me. As soon as I found what he was up to

suiting my action to the resolution

and I held him uneasy

and

attempted to tie my right hand. While he was in the act of doing so

but Covey also. When he saw Hughes bending ?

his courage quailed. He asked me if I meant to persist in my resistance. I told him I did

he strove to drag me to a stick that was lying just out of the stable door. He meant to knock me down. But just as he was lea

and

Bill came. Covey called upon him for assistance. Bill wanted to know what he could do. Covey said

and revived within me a sense of my own manhood. It recalled the departed self-conc

and inspired me again with a determination to be free. The gratification afforded by the triumph was a

even death itself. He only can understand the deep satisfaction which I experienced

D

to the heaven of freedom. My long-crushed spirit rose
that the white man who expected to succeed in whipping

though I remained a slave four years \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo afterwards. I had several fights

and there regularly whipped for the crime of raising my ha\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

I will give it. Mr. Covey enjoyed the most unbounded reputation for being a first-rate overseer and negro-breaker. his reputation would have been lost; so he suffered me to go unpunished.

1833. The days between Christmas and New Year's day are allowed as holidays; and by the grace of our master were generally allowed to spend the whole six days in their society. This time sober and coons. But wrestling

during the year

I believe them to be among the most effective K

I have not the slightest doubt it would lead to an immediate insurrection among the slaves. These holidays serve as conduct to carry off the rebellious spirit of enslaved humanity. But for these the day he ventures to remove or hinder the operation of those conductors! I warn in such an event wrong

it is the result of selfishness

but because they know it would be unsafe to deprive them of it. This will be seen by the fact

to disgust their slaves with freedom

in

to make bets on their slaves

knowing his ignorance

and very properly too
upon the whole

back to the arms of slavery.

by allowing him to see only the abuse of it

and buys a large q

takes his whip

and applies for more. His master is enraged at him; S

not willing to send him off without food

he is said to be satisfied neither full nor fasting

as I have shown

some reverence for justice

such as being very passionate and fretful; but I must do him the justice to say

and we always knew where to find him. The other was a most artful deceiver

he made no pretensions to

that the religion of the south is a mere c

--a justifier of the most appalling barbarity

next to that enslavement

in

the most cruel and cowardly

and in the same neighborhood lived the Rev. Rigby Hopkins. These were members and ministers in the Reformed Methodist

was kept literally raw

Behave well or behave ill
and such his practice.

and strike terror into those who escaped. His plan was to whip for the smallest offences

unaccustomed to a slave- holding life

of which to make occasion to whip a slave. A mere look

--are all matters for which a slave may be whipped at any time. Does a slave look dissatisfied? It is said

and should be taken down a button-hole lower. Does he forget to pull off his hat at the approach of a white person? Then he

--one of the greatest crimes of which a slave can be guilty. Does he ever venture to suggest a differ^

and getting above himself; a

while ploughing

and he seldom failed to embrace such opportunities. There was not a man in the whole county

who made higher professions of religion

or more devotional in his family

--than this same reverend slave-driver

and to my experience while in his employment. He
but aa

but gave us good tools with which to work. His farm was large
while in his employment

in

Sandy Jenkins

and nothing would do but that I must keep a Sabbath school. I agreed to do so

and also availed themselves of this little opportunity to learn to read. It was understood

that

and as often as we did so

than to see us behaving like intellectua

moral

at St. Michael's--all calling themselves Christians! humble followers of the Lord Jesus Christ! But I am again g

whose name I deem it imprudent to mention; for \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0
it might embarrass him greatly

a

mi

in

in

we did more than Patrick when he resolved upon liberty or death. With us it was a doubtful liberty at most

onz

gave up the notion
John Harris

to get a large canoe belonging to Mr. Ham{
and upon the Saturday night previous to Easter holidays
it was our purpose to turn our canoe adrift

if we should take the land route

I wrote several protections

to wit:--

the undersigned

in Talbot county

in going up the bay

our anxiety became more and more intense. It was truly a matter of life and death with us. The strength of our determination
I was very active

removing every doubt

we never should be; and if we did not intend to move now

none of us were prepared

we pledged ourselves afresh

as usual

in

the Saturday morning

at the head of the whole affair. The responsibility of success or failure lay heavily upon me. The glory of the one

we went

while thus engaged

in

said he, "that thought has this moment struck me." We said no more. I was never more certain of any thing.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The horn was blown as usual, and we went up from the field to the house for breakfast. I went

†

î\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

n for want of any thing to eat that morning. Just as I got to the house, in looking out at the lane gate, I saw four white men, with

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

few moments till they got up to our lane gate. Here they halted, and tied the colored men to the gate-post. I was not yet certain

‡

îmatter was. In a few moments, in rode Mr. Hamilton, with a speed betokening great excitement. He came to the

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo h\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

door, and inquired if Master William was in. He was told he was at the barn. Mr. Hamilton, without dismounting, rode up to the

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo b\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

les rode †

^

îup, and in great haste dismounted, tied their horses, and met Master William and Mr. Hamilton returning from the barn; and a

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

nd Sandy were up at the barn. Mr. Freeland put his head in at the door, and called me by name, saying, there were some ge

%o

î and inquired what they wanted. They at once seized me, and, without

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

giving me any satisfaction, tied me--lashing my hands closely together. I insisted upon knowing what the matter was. They a

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo tion proved false, I should not be hurt.

\par

\p^

Š

îar \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo In a few moments, they succeeded in tying John. They then turned to Henry, who had by this

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

met the consequences of his refusal. "Won't you?" said Tom Graham, the constable. "No, I won't!" said Henry, in a still stronger

<

î their Creator, that they would make h

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo i\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

m cross his hands or kill him. Each cocked his pistol, and, with fingers on the trigger, walked up to Henry, saying, at the same

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

me but once. Shoot, shoot,--and be damned! ~I won't be tied!~" This he said Š

Œ

îin a tone of loud defiance; and at the same time, with a motion as quick as lightning, he with one single stroke dashed the pis

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo his, all hands fell upon him, and, after beating him some time, they fina

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo During the scuffle, I managed, I know not how, to get my pass out, and, without being discov

□

î into the fire. We were all now tied\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

; and just as we were to leave for Easton jail, Betsy Freeland, mother of William Freeland, came to the door with her hands fu

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

sing herself to me, she said, "~You devil! You yellow devil!~ it was you that put it into the heads of Henry aŒ

Ž

înd John to run away. But for you, you long-legged mulatto devil! Henry nor John would never have thought of such a thing."

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

was immediately hurried off towards St. Michael's. Just a moment previous to the scuffle with Henry, Mr. Hamilton suggested

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ,\hi□

□

îch\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

just at the moment he was about carrying his proposal into effect, his aid was needed in helping to tie Henry; and the excitem

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo yet convicted of the intention to run away.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo When we got about half way to St. Michael's, while the constablesŽ

□

î having us in charge were looking ahead, Henry inquired of me what he should do with his pass. I told him to eat it with his b

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

nothing; and we passed the word around, "~Own nothing;~" and "~Own nothing!~" said we all. Our confidence in each other v

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

fo□

,

îr any thing. We were to be dragged that morning fifteen miles behind horses, and then to be placed in the Easton jail. When

in

nigger! come

darky
if you move

but for a most horrid fight I had with four of the white apprentices

and I was horribly mangled in other respects. The facts in the case were these: Until a very little while after I went there

the white carpenters knocked off
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
that if free colored carpenters were encouraged

they broke off

and talk about the "niggers" taking the country

they commenced making my condition as hard as they could
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
of course

however

and came upon me

the one behind ran up with the handspike

gathering strength. In an

I gave a sudden surge

and for a time pursued the

and I thought I might as well give it up. It was impossible to stand my hand against so many. All this took place in sight of no

in

in

and a five-dollar bill from Mr. Ruggles
on our way to New Bedford. Mr. Ruggles gave me a letter to a Mr. Shaw in Newport

we were so anxious to get to a place of safety
á

residents of New Bedford

and gave us such assurance of their friendliness as put us fully at ease in their presence. It was good indeed to meet with su

we were directed to the house of Mr. Nathan Johnson

and hospitably provided for. Both Mr. and Mrs. Johnson took a deep and lively interest in our welfare. They proved themselves
he held on upon our baggage as security for thã

and he forthwith advanced the money.

and to prepare ourselves for the duties and responsibilities of a life \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

in

of whose votaries it may be as truly said

as it was of the ancient scribes and Pharisees

I hold it to be strictly true of the overwhelming mass of professed Christians in America. They strain at a gnat
and brand me with being an infidel

and at the same time neglect the weightier matters of the law

whilst they hate their brother whom they have seen. They love the heathen on the other side of the globe. They can pray for
very briefly

deeds

(which is

saints and sinners

And sing of heavenly union. "They'll bleat and baa

And damn you if you steal a lamb; Yet rob old Tony

And bind his image with a cord

And make a prayer both loud and long

Or praise the Lord upon the wing

corn

in

and cheat

And puill for heavenly union.

ranging

' the preacher said

And dr\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ew the blood at every stroke

And waved their children-stealing paws; There sat their children in gewgaws; By stinting negroes' backs and maws

And entertains their flirts and rakes

and hastening the glad day of deliverance to the millions of my brethrenà in bonds--faithfully relying upon the power of truth
--I subscribe myself

~Mass.

Frederick}\{author Herb R Kraft}\{operator Herb R Kraft}

Frederick. "My Escape from Slavery." \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch "\af23\loch\fo The Century Illustrated Maga

written nearly \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo forty years ago
first

and prevent \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo the future escape of an"\$ÿ who might adopt the same me
if possible

for no other crime than that of giving aid to \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

have

render the caution hitherto observed no longer necessary. But even so

and since slavery

there was no reason for telling it. I shall now

endeavor to satisfy this very natural curiosity. I should

for I am sorry to say I have nothing of that sort to

if need be

were essential features in the undertaking. My success was due to a

to good luck rather than bravery. My means of escape were provided

and by charging a fee for this writing

age

nearly or sufficiently answering the description set forth in the papers
and then

therefore

however

which answered somewhat the purpose of free papers--describing his
which gave

when in my hands

it called for a man much darker than myself

I arranged with Isaac Rolls

and jumped upon the car myself when the train was in motion.

I should have been instantly and carefully examined

and the natural haste of the conductor

and relied upon my skill and address in playing the sailor

to ward "those who go down

and a black cravat tied

for I knew a ship

and from keelson to cross-trees

still

when

as the other colored persons in the car had done

in

haven't you?"

sir

as before described. The merest glance at the paper satisfied him

he could not have failed to discover that it called for a very different-look and in that case it would have been his duty to have sent me back to Baltimore from the first station. When he left me though much relieved

in

in

and paid their fares to the driver. and

but he made none. When --two of them collections by Dyer

for Mr. Nathan Johnson not only received me kindly and hospitably on being informed about our baggage

and now rest

but taught me how to make an honest living. Thus, in a fortnight after

the grand old commonwealth of Massachusetts.

¶

Once initiated into my new life of freedom and assured by Mr. Johnson

question arose as to the name by which I should be known thereafter

was no less pretentious and long than Frederick Augustus Washington

the Augustus Washington, and retained only

Between Baltimore and New Bedford, the better to conceal myself

but in New Bedford I found that the Johnson family was already so numerous

seemed desirable. Nathan Johnson, mine host, placed great emphasis

I conseled, and he called me by my present

I have been known for three and forty years--Frederick Douglass. Mr. J.

and so pleased was he with its great character that he wished me to be

I have often thought that, considering the noble hospitality

far more than I, illustrated the virtues of the Douglas of Scotland.

with a view to my recapture, Johnson would have shown himself like him

¶

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¶

refinement

almost my only book, had done nothing to enlighten me concerning

that slavery was the bottom fact of all wealth. With this foundation idea

I came naturally to the conclusion that poverty must be the genewyir

a white man holding no slaves was usually an ignorant and poverty-str

and men of this class were contemptuously called "poor white trash."

H

poor, and degraded as a class, the non-slave-holders at the North must

in a similar condition. I could have landed in no part of the United States

not only to life generally in the South, but in the condition of the colored

people there, than in New Bedford. I was amazed when Mr. Johnson told me

that would prevent a colored man from being governor of the State,

if

children attended the public schools with the white man's children,

with my security from recapture and return to slavery, Mr. Johnson

that there were men there who would lay down their lives to save me

¶

¶

¶

¶

in

I asked for a "fip's" worth of cord. \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The man behind the counter looked

in

twenty

"d my firm nerves Shall never tremble!"

the shadow of
--a disappointment all the more bitter because the unattained ideal was unbounded save by the simple ignorance of a lowly p

--like a tantalizing will-o'-the-wisp

left the bewildered serf with no new watchword beyond the old cry for freedom. As the time flew

which before he had looked upon as a visible sign of freedom

the re

and left the half-free serf weary

another pillar of fire by night after a clouded day. It was the ideal of "book-learning"; the curiosity
steep and rugged

slowly
the misty minds

noted also where here and there a foot had slipped or some one had fallen. To the tired climbers
no resting-place

self-respect. In those sombre forests of his striving his own soul rose before him

he must be himself

without a home

--not simply of letters

which two centuries of systematic legal defilement of Negro women had stamped upon his race

but rather allowed to give all its time and thought to its own social problems. But alas! while sociologists gleefully count his b

the very soul of the toiling

the "higher" against the "lower" races. To which the Negro cries Amen! and swears that to so much of this strange prejudice

dismayed

in

the cynical ignoring of the better and the boisterous welcoming of the worse
from Toussaint to the devil

self-disparagement
cried the dark hosts; we cannot write

saying: Be content to be servants
by force or fraud

--the more careful adjustment of education to real life

the burning of body and rending of soul; inspiration strives with doubt

--physical freedom

--the dreams of a credulous race-childhood

--the training of deft hands

too

each growing and aiding each

not in opposition to or contempt for other races

all in all

and the spiritual striving of the freedmen's sons is the travail of souls whose burden is almost beyond the measure of their strength
and in the name of human opportunity.

with loving emphasis and deeper detail

Wrong forever on the throne; Yet that scaffold sways the future
And behind the dim unknown Standeth God within the shadow Keeping watch above His own.

in

--the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa
of union and local autonomy as a shibboleth

as we know

newly guised

this tale of the dawn of Freedom is an account of that government

--one of the most singular and interesting of thê attempts made by a great nation to grapple with vast problems of race and s

cried Congress

and the Nation; and yet no sooner had the armies

with gray and tufted hair; women with frightened eyes

in Virginia

but Fremont's was hastily countermanded

and thus became in a sense the founder of the Freedmen's Bureau. He was a firm friend of Sec
in 1861

Pierce was sent there to found his Port Royal experiment of making free workingmen out of slaves. Before his experiment w

Washington

and some attempt at systematic work was made by enlisting the able-bodied men and giving work to the others.

born

sprung from the Amistad

the American Freedmen's Union

in

and the situation was daily growing worse rather than better.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af2"\$\loch\fo And daily, too, it seemed more plain that this was no ordinary matter of temporary relief, but imensions. Masses of Negroes stood idle, or, if they worked spasmodically, were never sure of pay; and if perchance they re \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbc#\%ih\af23\loch\fo edmen. The broader economic organization thus clearly demanded sprang up here and there as accident and local condition \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo g\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ton the military governor, at the urgent appeal of the superintendent, opened confiscated estates to the cultivation of the fugiti \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ess Monroe, and so on, South and West. The government and benevolent societies furnished the means of cultivation, and t \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo nts, like that of Gener%ial Banks in Louisiana, with its ninety thousand black subjects, its fifty thousand guided laborers, and \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ,\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo inquired into grievances and redressed them, laid and collected taxes, and established a system of public schools. So, too, \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo thousand acres of cotton land, and fed ten thousand paupers a year. In South Carolina was General Saxton, with his deep in \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo c\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ouraged schools, and received from Sherman, after that terribly p)ictu

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Three characteristic things one might have seen in Sherman's raid through Georgia, which thro dowy relief: the Conqueror, the Conquered, and the Negro. Some see all significance in the grim front of the destroyer, and s \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo human cloud that clung like remorse on the rear of those swift columns, swelling at times to half their size, almost engulfing a \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo and surged, until they rolled into Savannah, a starved and naked horde of tens of thousands.)+î There too came the charac \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo sea, and the country bordering the St. John's River, Florida, are reserved and set apart for the settlement of Negroes now ma

order*

Representative Eliot had introduced a bill creating a Bureau of Emancipation; but it was never reported. The following June a

reported in favor of a temporary bureau for the "improvement

in part

and to "provide in such leases

and Secretary Fessenden, July 29, 1864, issued an excellent system of regulations, which were afterward closely followed by \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo y agents, large qua.0intities of land were leased in the Mississippi Valley, and many Negroes were em- ployed; but in August, \par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Meanwhile Congress had t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo urned its attention to the subject; and in March the House passed a bill by a majority of two establishing a Bureau for Freedm \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo g\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ht to be under the same department, and reported a substitute for the House bill attaching the Bureau to the Treasury Departm \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo the general question of slavery, without touchin02îg very closely the specific merits of the measure in hand. Then the nation \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo m\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ore seriously. A conference between the two branches of Congress agreed upon a carefully drawn measure which contained \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo i\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo cials. The bill was conservative, giving the new department "general superintendence of all freedmen." Its purpose was to "e \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ir "next friend." There were many limitations attached to the powers thus granted, and th24îe organization was made permane \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo bruary 28, which was whirled through just as the session closed, and

in

vague and uncertain which

to continue during the present War of Rebellion, and for one year thereafter," to which was given "the supervision and man-

," under "such rules and regulations as may be presented by the head of the Bureau and approved by the President." A C4

ident might also appoint assistant commissioners in the seceded States, and to all these offices military officials might be deta-

ty was placed in the hands of the Bureau for eventual lease and sale

Thus did the United States government definitely assume charge of the emancipated Negro a

Here at a stroke of the pen was erected a government of millions of men,--and not ordinary men either, but black men emas-

a time of war and passion, in the midst of the stricken and embittered population of their former masters. Any man might well

no one but a soldier would have answered such a call promptly; and

Less than a month after the weary Emancipator passed to his rest, his succe-

ssor assigned Major-Gen. Oliver O. Howard to duty as Commissioner of the new Bureau. He was a Maine man, then only th-

d to the command of the Department of Tennessee. An honest man, with too much faith in human nature, little aptitude for bu-

of that work it has been truly said that "no approximately correct history of civilization can ever be written which does not

the Freedmen's Bureau.

business speculations

who were to take charge of "all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen

and the gen>@tera

than two grave difficulties appeared which changed largely the theory and outcome of Bureau work. First

--a sort of poetic justice

or vast appropriations. Now Congress had not appropriated a cent

for a new central organization had to be fitted on a heterogeneous and confused but already existing system of relief and cor-

--men in the very nature of the case ill fitted for delicate social work

three things that year's work did

best of all

in

--the tale of a mission that seemed to our age far more quixotic than the quest of St. Louis seemed to his. Behind and after the hoarse mouthings of the field guns rang the rhythm of the alphabet. Rich and poor they were

they came seeking a life work in planting New England schoolhouses among the white and black of the South. They did

Congress must soon legislate again on the hastily organized Bureau

when Senator Trumbull

and was a work of sheer justice to the ex-slave

and was destined to irritate the South and pauperize the freedmen

and that present abandonment of the freedmen meant their practical re-enslavement. The bill which fi

"unnecessary," and "extrajudicial," and failed of passage over the veto. Meantime, however, the breach between Congress and the President began to broaden, and a modified form of the lost bill

The act of 1866 gave the Freedmen's Bureau its final form,--the form by which it will be known to men. It extended the existence of the Bureau to July, 1868; it authorized additional assistant commissioners, the retention of Confederate public property for Negro schools, and a wider field of judicial interpretation and cognizance. The government of the Freedmen's Bureau was now made also assistant commissioner. It was thus that the Freedmen's Bureau became a permanent military command, maintained and used military force, and dictated such measures as it thought necessary and proper for the accomplishment of its purpose. As General Howard has said, "scarcely any subject that has to be legislated

one must not forget an incident which Lincoln was dead

the ever-present flickering after-flame of war

the social uplifting of four million slaves to an assured and self-sustaining place in the body politic and economic would have

the hell of war; when suspicion and cruelty were rife --that life amid free Negroes was simply unthinkable

it was the occasional fly that helped spoil the ointment.

but not the worst slavery in the world

so far as human aspiration and desert were concerned

in

with half-articulate thought

--the North

so intense was the feeling

whose sons lay in nameless graves; who bowed to the evil of slavery because its abolition threatened untold ill to all; who stood

a form hovering dark and mother-like

--aye
hating

then
with some hesitation

the overseeing of the beginnings of free labor
and the financing of all these activities.

thirty thousand black men were transported from the refuges and relief stations back to the farms

no fixed rate of wages was prescribed

where the personnel was continually changing

--fifty thousand in a single State

--the slaveholder who was determined to perpetuate slavery under another name; and
--the Devil and the Deep Sea.

the Bureau was from the first handicapped and at last absolutely checked. Something was done

and a total revenue of nearly half a million dollars derived from black tenants. Some other lands to which the nation had given

which the nation had all but categorically promised the freedmen--was destined in most cases

or ought to know

after their years of toil
it was by grace of his thrift rather than by bounty of the government.

and the idea of free elementary education which he had discovered and supported such apostles of human culture as Edmund Ware

in

and showed itself in ashes

and always will have

but not flaming. Fisk

together with the buying of land and various other enterprises

and his pay and bounty as a soldier. Payments to Negro soldiers were at first complicated by the ignorance of the recipients

unknown to their fellow soldiers. Consequently

and in the end the sum exceeded eight million dollars. Even in this system fraud was frequent; but still the work put needed

one of the Negro

this arrangement would have been ideal

to leave the Negro in the hands of Southern courts was impossible. In a distracted land where slavery had hardly fallen

was a thankless

beaten

--to make them the slaves of the State

in

and gave the freedmen a power and independence which they could not yet use. It is all well enough for us of another generation to see that the man who lost home, fortune, and family at a stroke, and saw his land ruled by "mules and niggers," was re-enforced in his father's head beaten to a jelly and his own mother namelessly assaulted, that the meek shall inherit the earth. Above all, by mistake and blunder what was made.

All this is easy, but it is neither sensible nor just. Someone had blundered, but that was long before there would have been far more than there was. Had that control been from within, the Negro would have been re-enslaved, to a large extent its implied promises to furnish the freedmen with land. Its successes were the result of hard work, supplemented by imperfect agents and questionable methods, the work accomplished with inherent difficulties of the work, and national neglect.

Such was the dawn of Freedom; such was the work of the Freedmen's Bureau, which, summing up a million dollars, beside the sums spent before 1865, and the dole of benevolent societies, this Bureau set going a system of free common school in the South. On the other hand, it failed to begin the establishment of good-will between ex-master and freedman. Such an institution, from its wide powers, great responsibilities, large control of moneys, and attack. It sustained a searching Congressional investigation at the instance of Fernando Wood in 1870. Its archives and few of War Belknap in 1872, on the Secretary's recommendation. Finally, in consequence of grave intimations of wrong-doing on the part of the Freedmen's Bureau was officially exonerated from any wilful misdoing, and his work commended. Nevertheless, many unproven were proved, and other frauds strongly suspected; there were some business transactions which savored of dangerous speculation.

Morally and practically, the Freedmen's Bank was a part of the Freedmen's Bureau, although it had no legal connection with it. With the prestige of the government back of it, and the development of that thrift among black folk which slavery had kept them from knowing. Then in one sad day came the crash of the savings banks chartered by the Nation for their especial aid. Where all the blame should be placed, combinations of its foes, perhaps even time will never reveal, for here lies the bitterest were those who attacked so much its credit at all. Such attacks came primarily from the Border States and the South; and they were summed up by Senator Davis, of Kentucky, "The argument gathered tremendous strength South and North; but its very strength was its weakness. If the Freedmen's Bureau were to stand guardian over its helpless wards, then there is left but one alternative,--to make those wards their own guardians by arm and law. If we cannot peacefully reconstruct the South with white votes, we certainly cannot do so with black votes. The alternative thus offered the nation was not between full and restricted Negro suffrage; else the South and white, would easily have chosen the latter. It was rather a choice between suffrage and slavery, after endless blood and suffering, to the polls; not a single Southern legislature believed free Negro labor was possible without a system of restrictions that too often proved its practical nullification as a duty. In such a situation, the granting of the ballot to the black man was a necessity, the very least that could be done. Thus Negro suffrage ended a civil war by beginning a race feud. And some felt gratitude toward the race thus sacrificed in the name of Freedom. Had political exigencies been less pressing, the opposition to government guardianship of Negroes less bitter, and the attachment to the system of Negro schools; a carefully supervised employment and labor office; a system of impartial protection before the regular courts. All this vast expenditure of money and brains might have formed a great school of prospective citizenship, and solved in a way that such an institution was unthinkable in 1870.

in

however
of course

there is among educated and thoughtful colored men in all parts of the land a feeling of deep regret

and are willing to forgive much to honest endeavor which is doing something worth the doing. They cooperate with Mr. Wash- ington steering as he must between so many diverse interests and opinions

and others to burst into speech so passionately and intemperately as to lose lis- teners. Honest and earnest criticism from the

manifestly there is here a certain palpable gain. Yet there is also irreparable loss

what can be more instructive than the leadership of a group within a group?-- tha--t curious double movement where real pro-

founding thus a peculiar dynasty which in\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

their attitude is largely one of determined opposition to and conquest of natural forces. But when to earth and brute is a

then the attitude of the imprisoned group may take three main forms

and in the evolution of his successive leaders.

while the fire of \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

there was in all leadership or™>î attempted leadership but the one motive of revolt and revenge

along with kindlier relations between black and white

in the martyrdom of Attucks

aroused undoubtedly by vague rumors of the Haytian revolt

--in 1800 under Gabriel in Virginia

--an organization still living and con- t

and the slaves thoro

inspired by the mulatto immigrants from the West Indies

Forten and Purvis of Philadelphia

in

not as "Negroes." The trend of the times, however, refused them recognition save in individual and exceptional cases, considering their rights they formerly had of voting and working and moving as freemen. Schemes of migration and colonization arose among

Here, led by Remond, Nell, Wells-Brown, and Douglass, a new period of self-assertion and self-development dawned. To be sure, ultimate freedom, and John Brown's raid was the extreme of its logic. After the war and emancipation, the great form of Frederick Douglass's programme, and behind Douglass came Elliot, Bruce, and Langston, and the Reconstruction politicians, and, less conspicuous

Then came the Revolution of 1876, the suppression of the Negro votes, the changing and shifting of ideals, and the seeking of new lights in the great night. Douglass, in his old days. For a time Price arose as a new leader, destined, it seemed, not to give up, but to re-state the old ideals in a form less repulsive to leaders by the silent suffrage of their fellows, had sought to lead their own people alone, and were usually, save Douglass, little known between the South, the North, and the Negro. Naturally the Negroes resented, at first bitterly, signs of compromise which

The rich and dominating North, however, was not only weary of the race problem, but was investing largely in Southern enterprises. The voice of criticism was hushed.

Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission; his programme naturally takes an economic cast, becoming a gospel of Work and Money. As the races are coming in closer contact with the less developed races, and the race-feeling is therefore intensified; and Mr. Washington's sentiment of war time has given impetus to race-prejudice against Negroes, and Mr. Washington withdraws many of the principles which have been called forth; at this period a policy of submission is advocated. In the history of nearly all other races and peoples that have voluntarily surrendered such respect, or cease striving for it, are not

In answer to this, it has been claimed that the Negro can survive only through submission. Mr. Washington

First, political power,

Second, insistence on civil rights,

Third, higher education of Negro youth,-- and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South. This policy has been courageously and insistently advocated for over twenty years. The return? In these years there have occurred:

1. The disfranchisement of the Negro.

2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro.

3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro.

These movements are not, to be sure, direct results of Mr. Washington's teachings; but his propaganda has, without a shadow of doubt, made effective progress in economic lines if they are deprived of political rights, made a servile caste, and allowed only to make a living by their own hands, it is an emphatic NO. And Mr. Washington thus faces the triple paradox:

1. He is striving nobly to make Negro artisans business men and property-owners; but it is utter folly for property-owners to defend their rights and exist without the right of suffrage.

2. He insists on thrift and self-respect, but at the same time counsels a silent submission to civil inferiority.

3. He advocates common-school and industrial training, and depreciates institutions of higher learning; but neither the Negro nor the white man can make effective progress in economic lines if they are deprived of political rights, made a servile caste, and allowed only to make a living by their own hands, it is an emphatic NO. And Mr. Washington thus faces the triple paradox:

in

Wahle sie die frei von Sunden
die Reinen

where
and all Fisk men thought that Tennessee--beyond the Veil--was theirs alone
I too went

there was a Teachers' Institute at the county-seat; and there distinguished guests of the superintendent taught the teachers
--white teachers in the morning

but I am sure that the man who has never hunted a coun

hot roads lazily rise and fall and wind before me under the burning July sun; I feel the deep weariness of heart and limb as te

in

Got a teacher? Yes." So I walked on and on--horses were too expensive--until I had wandered beyond rÖÖrailways, beyond
stranger was an event, and men lived and died in the shadow of one

Sprinkled over hill and dale lay cabins and farmhouses, shut out from the world by the forests
toward the east. There I found at last a little school. Josie told me of it; she was a thin, homely girl of twenty, with a dark-

o the little cabin in the lot where Josie was resting on her way to town. The gaunt farmer made me welcome, and Josie, hearing
she herself longed to learn,--and thus she ran on, talking fast and loudly

Next morning I crossed the tall round hill, lingered to look at the blue and yellow mountains str
the wood, and came out at Josie's home. It was a dull frame cottage with four rooms, perched just below the brow of the

-strong, bustling, and energetic, with a quick, restless tongue, and an ambition to live "like folks." There was a crowd of children
younger, quicker, and better looking; and two babies of indefinite age. Then there was Josie herself. She seemed to be the

er, yet faithful, too, like her father. She had about her a certain fineness, the shadow of an unconscious moral heroism that was
and grew to love them for their honest efforts to be decent and comfortable, and for their knowledge of their own ignorance.

for carelessness; and all knew that it was a hard thing to dig a living

I secured the school. I remember the day I rode horseback out to the commissioner's house w
he road ran down the bed of a stream; the sun laughed and the water jingled, and we rode on. "Come in," said the commissio

The schoolhouse was a log hut, where Colonel Wheeler used to shelter his corn. It sat in a lo
gs. There was an entrance where a door once was, and within, a massive rickety fireplace; great chinks between the logs

ritical points, and my chair, borrowed from the landlady, had to be returned every night. Seats for the children--these puzzled
without backs, and at times without legs. They had the one virtue of not

It was a hot morning late in July when the school opened. I trembled when I heard the patter
et down the dusty road, and saw the growing row of dark solemn faces and bright eager eyes facing me. First came Jos

ild-woman amid her work and worry, and she studied doggedly. There were the Dowells from their farm over toward Alexand
road.

There were the Burkes,--two brown and yellow lads, and a tiny haughty-eyed girl. Fat Reuben's little chubby girl came, with g

ly dipped snuff and looked after her little bow-legged brother. When her mother could spare her, Tildy came,--a midnight
; the lazy Neills, unfathered sons of mother and daughter; Hickman,

There they sat, nearly thirty of them, on the rough benches, their faces shading from a pale cr
swinging, the eyes full of expectation, with here and there a twinkle of mischief, and the hands grasping Webster's blue-black

read and spelled together, wrote a little, picked flowers, sang, and listened to stories of the world beyond the hill. At times
y little Lugene, whose flaming face seemed ever ablaze with the dark-red hair uncombed, was absent all last week, or why I m

the crops needed the boys; and the thin, slovenly mother, whose face was pretty when washed, assured me that Lugene must
learning had conquered again, and so, toiling up the hill, and getting as far into the cabin as possible, I put Cicero "pro Archi

On Friday nights
I often went home with some of the children,--sometimes to Doc Burke's farm. He was a great, loud, thin Black, ever working

ite folks would get it all." His wife was a magnificent Amazon, with saffron face and shining hair, uncorseted and barefooted

g. The front room was full of great fat white beds, scrupulously neat; and there were bad chromos on the walls, and a tired ce

t" and corn pone, string-beans and berries. At first I used to be a little alarmed at the approach of bedtime in the one lone be
pile of goose feathers: next the mother and the father discreetly slipped away to the kitchen while I went to bed: then, bl

in

the boy born since the time of my school
and the stream had the better of it. We splashed and waded

a plump

but the boy insisted that it was "Uncle Bird's." The farm was fat with the growing crop. In that little valley was a strange stillness

and his eyes did not see so well

and when it lifted she was to go to Nashville to school.

and as night fell

to escape the blows of her husband. And next morning she died in the home that her little bow-legged brother

and behind me lay hill and dale

and yet how human and real! And all this life and love and strife and fate
--is it the twilight of nightfall or the flush of some faint-dawning day?

I rode to Nashville

yet north of the South

when the first flush of day had half-roused her; she lay gray and still on the crimson soil of Georgia; then the blue smoke began

the rattle and roar of busy life slowly gathered and swelled

they say

until the iron baptism of war awakened her with its sullen waters

till the city rose like a widow and cast away her weeds
toiled cunningly

in

and yet know that with all the Bad that fell on one black day
triumphed something of Wrong
and brooding

Queen of the cotton kingdom; Atlanta
spinner of web and woof for the world. So the city
and stored her shops with cunning handiwork

--how swarthy Atlanta

paused
and looking on each other
she ought to have been.

but men in the race of life

that we almost fear to question if the end of racing is not gold
lest Atlanta

--feudalism
serf- dom

in

in

not at Yale or Columbia
both black and white

amid a wide desert of caste and proscription
and learn of a future fuller than the past

sollst entbehren."

those who planted Fisk and Howard and
but those mistakes were not the things at which we lately laughed somewhat uproariously. They were right when they sought

for

shall we ground knowledge save on the broadest and deepest knowledge? The roots of the tree

and lowering the standard of knowledge

some were fitted to know and some to dig; that some had the talent and capacity of university men
but that the one should be made a missionary of culture to an untaught people

but not quite.

or to furnish teachers for the public schools or to be a centre of polite society; it is

an adjective

earnest

seventh

which

--not in dainty limited quantity
be they golden and jewelled

in

thoughtful Hippomenes!--do not the apples lie in the very Way of Life? But they will guide her over and beyond them

virgin and undefiled. Sadly did the Old South err in human education

stunted +

and starving for lack of broadly cultured men. And if this is the white South's need and

how much heavier the danger and need of the freedmen's sons! how pressing here the need of broad ideals and true culture

Georgia

and perhaps elsewhere

catholic tol
and trained ability

Humility

--all these spring f.

the children of the university. So must men and nations build

--a wise saying; wise when applied to German boys and American girls; wiser \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
for they have less knowledge of working and none to teach them. Teach thinkers to think

how foolish to ask what is the best education for one or seven or sixty million souls! shall we teach them trades

and philosophers of philoso- phers

--nay

but a man. And to make men

not for fame. And all this is gained only by human strife and longing; by ceaseless training and education; by founding Right
not a distortion

not an abortion.

a wind gathers itself from the seas and comes murmuring westward. And at\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
the smoke of the drowsy factories sweeps down upon the mighty city and covers it like a pall

in

my maiden

if the Soul can fling the Dust aside

many thoughts ago the slave-ship first saw the square tower of Jamestown

saying

and all men

in

in

still without doubt many are asking

nor on the other hand must a Nation naturally skeptical as to Negro ability assume an unfavorable answer without careful

and that the least that human courtesy can do is to listen to evidence.

the work in some cases has not been thoroughly done

and leaves the deeper question of the legitimate demand for the higher training of Negroes untouched. And this latter question
--by a first-hand study of the facts. If we leave out of view all in`

even though they be called colleges

we may clear up many misapprehensions by asking searchingly

including Atlanta

--

AND THE NOBLE WORK HE WROUGHT; THAT THEY

but a friend; not cash

but which once saintly souls brought to their favored children in the crusade of the sixties

but to raise them out of the defilement of the

studied and worked

in

but in educational power it was supreme

in both college and secondary training

Commissioner Harris assures

many of whom have been reported g

have received the bachelor's degree from Harvard

of whom the crucial query must be made

the Conference at Atlanta University undertook to study these graduates

so that in the main the reports were worthy of credence. Fifty-three per cent of these gr

--presidents of institu- tions

farmers

and have corresponded with more than a thousand; through others I have followed carefully the life-work of scores; I have ta

lived in homes which they have builded

I cannot hesitate in saying that nowhere have I met men and women with a broader spirit of helpfulness

to be sure

forgetting that in reality it is the heritage from cultured homes

despite the best of training.

these men have usually been conservative

they have given the South a commendable system of city schools and large numbers of private normal-schools and academi

in

from the energetic wife

including nearly half of the executive council and a majority of the heads of departments. In the professions and beginning to furnish legal protection for the liberty and p

minis- ters

the end of which is culture

as the South grows civi- lized

while the healing of this vast sore is progressing

--if this unusual and dangerous development is to progress amid peace and order

upright men

this fact is to-day being recognized in the South

strange to relate

no secure civi\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

turbulent proletariat. Suppose we seek to remedy this by making them laborers and nothing more: they are not fools

by slamming the door of opportunity in the faces of their bolder and brighv

will you make them satisfied with their lot? or will

and despite the active discouragement and even ridicule of friends

in the years from 1875 to 1880

in the same three periods

in

as it so largely is

unless skilfully guided in it

it must more and more brood over the red past and the creeping

but their counter-cries

O Southern Gentlemen! If you deplore their presence here

they answer that legal marriage is infinitely better than systematic concubinage and prostitution.

they also in fury quite as just may reply: The rape which your gentlemen have done against helpless black women in defiance

and written in ineffaceable blood. And finally

North

--I will not insist that there is no other side to the shield; but I do say that of the nine millions of which the South is composed there is scarcely one out of the cradle to whom these arguments do not daily present themselves in the guise of terrible truth.

so that all their energies may be bent toward a cheerful striving and cooperation with their white neighbors toward a larger

as in others

by reason of his isolation; and can there be any possible solution other than by study and thought and an

with such a group and in such a crisis

in

it matters little about their brains. They already dimly perceive

the loving

then

and out of the worship of the mass

untrammel,

and if we be not wholly bewitched by our Rh

they shall again. Herein the longing of black men must have respect: the rich and bitter depth of their experience

living

where smilt

I summon Aristotle and Aurelius and what soul I will

between Philistine and Amalekite

O ye daughters of Je\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
As the tents of Kedar

and we woke to see the crimson soil of Georgia stretching away bare and monotonous right and left. Here and there lay stra

in

nor weary of the scene; for this is historic ground. Right across our track

the city of Š

with something Western

not far from where Sam Hose was crucified

but in many other respects

--a population as large as the slave population of the whole Union in 1800; no other State fought so long and strenuously to g

these Georgians

and so flagrant the smuggling

where the Delegal riots took place some summers ago

and then

--were over a hundred thousand in 1810

--that brave Indian nation which strove so long for its fatherland

--already four other white men
but it is fairly clean and com'

in

and in their place appears a rich rolling land

and brand-new cotton mills rise on every side. Below Macon the world grows darker; for now we approach the Black Belt

and the newsboy still spreads his wares at one end. The sun is setting
--the soil now dark and fertile

in the heart of the Black Belt

and one hundred miles north of the Great Gulf lies Dougherty County

and marched across it once to avenge the Indian Massacre at Fort Mims. •

not long before the battle of New Orleans; and by the Creek treaty that followed this campaign

and much other rich land

the Carolinas

stretched a great fertile land

placid

and a perfect flood of black peasantry pours through the streets

sturdy

but do not

but seldom quarrel or fight. They walk up and down the streets
but much happier than as though they had not come.

--a typical Southern county town
borrowing and lending

in

and we must imagine a little city of black people scattered far and wide over three hundred lonesome square miles of land

--a sort of dull

bright with a faint breeze

in

with its one square room.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

From the curtains in Benton's house, down the road, a dark comely face is staring at the strangers; for passing carriages are

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

es a planta- tion blasted by the war and now the broken staff of the widow. He might be well-to-do, they say; but he carouses

¢

if-desolate spirit of neglect born of the very soil seems to have settled on these acres. In tim

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s past there were cotton-gins and machinery here; but they have rotte

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The whole land seems forlorn and forsaken. Here are the remnants of the vast plantations of

uses lie in h;

£

half ruin, or have wholly disappeared; the fences have flown, and the families are wandering in the world. Strange vicissitudes

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

overseer hastened to wed the widow. Then he went, and his neighbors too, and now only the black tenant remains; but the s

¤

thes out of the gray distance to collect the rack-rent remorseles

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ly, and so the land is uncared- for and poor. Only black tenants can s

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo A resistless feeling of depression falls slowly upon us, despite the \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

gaudy sunshine and the green cottonfields. T£

¥

his, then, is the Cotton Kingdom,--the shadow of a marvellous dream. And where is the King? Perhaps this is he,--the swea

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

with debt. So we sit musing, until, as we turn a corner on the sandy road, there comes a fairer scene suddenly in view,--a ne

!

from the porch as we hail him,

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

nd comes out to our carriage. He is six feet in height, with a sober face that smiles gravely. He walks too straight to be a ten

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

explains, and cotton is low. Three black tenants live on his place, and in his littl

§

he store he keeps a small stock of tobacco, snuff, soap, and soda, for the neighborhood. Here is his gin-house with new mach

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo c\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo otton went through it last year. Two children he has sent away to scho

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Wherever the King may be, the parks and!

..

palaces of the Cotton Kingdom \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

have not wholly disappeared. We plunge even now into great groves of oak and towering pine, with an undergrowth of myrtle

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

silence now, and ashes, and tangled weeds. The owner put his whole fortune into the rising cotton industry of the fi

©

ifties, and with the falling prices of the eighties he packed up and stole away. Yonder is another grove, with unkempt lawn, g

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

lias, and grass-grown paths. The Big House stands in half- ruin, its great front door staring blankly at the street, and the back

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo p\hich\af0"

a

dbch\af23\loch\fo ay rent to the white girl who owns the remnant of the place. She married a policeman, and lives in Savann

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Now and again we come to churches. Here is one now, --Shepherd's, they call it,--a great wh

, and looking for all the world as though it were just resting here a moment and might be expected to waddle off down the road

<<

And yet it is the centre of a hundred cabin homes; and sometimes, of a Sunday, five hundred persons from f

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

r and near gather here and talk and eat and sing. There is a school- house near,--a very airy, empty shed; but even this is an

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

chools from^a

¬

nothing to this little house that sits demurely on the county line. It is a tiny plank-house, perhaps ten by twenty, and has with

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

quare home-made desk. In one corner are the ruins of a stove, and in the other a dim blackboard. It is the cheerfulest schoo

oolhouse is a lodgehouse two stories high and not quite finished.

in

and left only the irresponsible overseers on the land. And the result is

the Lloyd "home-place":--great waving oaks

myrtles and chestnuts

who live in Macon and feed hungrily off the remnants of an earldom. So we ride on

--past the once flourishing farms of the Smiths

--the rich granary whence potatoes and corn and cotton poured out to the famished and ragged Confederate troops as they b

it became the place of refuge for families

the bewilderment of Reconstruction

and yonder in the field is her dark young husband

brown and tall

and a ginney. Five miles below here is a town owned and controlled by one white New Englander. He owns almost

with thousands of acres and hundreds of black laborers. Their cabins look better than most

there on the edge of town are five houses of prostitutes

in

in

and we praised it. He curtsied low

My mule died last week,"--a calamity in this land equal to a d

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

vastating fire in town,--"but a white man loaned me another." Then he added, eyeing us, "Oh, I gets along with white folks." V

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ,\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo as he told hunting-tales oÛ

Û

if the swamp. We left him standing still in the middle of the road looking after us, and yet apparently not noticing us.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The Whistle place, which includes his bit of land, was bought soon after the war by an English

he "Dixie Cotton and Corn Company." A marvellous deal of style their factor put on, with his servants and coach-and-six; so r

Û

ody lives in the old house now, but a man comes each winter

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ut of the North and collects his high rents. I know not which are the more touching,--such old empty houses, or the homes of

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

A revolution such as that of '63 is a terrible thing; thÛ

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ey that rose rich in the morning often slept in pau- pers' beds. Beggars and vulgar speculators rose to rule over them, and th

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

and fences and glad crops! It is not glad within; last month the prodigal son of the struggling father wrote home from the city

P

he killed his wife, an

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo shot himself dead. And the world passed on.

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo I remember wheeling around a bend in the road beside a graceful bit of forest and a singing b

a broad lawn shining in the evening sun. But the window- panes were gone, the pillars were worm-eaten, and the moss-Ý

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grown roof was falling in. Half curiously I peered through the unhinged door, and saw where, on the wall across the hall, wa

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo once gay letters a faded "Welcome.

it has none of that half-tropical luxuriance of the southwest. Then

and more of systematic modern land-grabbing and money-getting. White people are more in evidence here

and there were fences and meadows here and there. Most of this land was poor

before the war. Since then his poor relations and foreign immigrants have se

and yet he will not sell off small farms. There is the Negro Sanford; he has worked fourteen years as overseer on the Ladsor

in

door. It was one of those scenes one cannot soon forget:--a wide, low, little house, whose motherly roof reached over and shut

is my daily companion; the silent old black woman patching pantaloons and saying never a word; the ragged pictureæ

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î of helpless misfortune who called in just to see the preacher; and finally the neat matronly preacher's wife, plump, yellow, and

"Own land?" said the wife; "well, only this house." Then she added quietly. "We did buy seven hundred acres across up yon

against the balustrade and listening, "he's a regular cheat. I worked for him thirty-seven days this spring, and he paid me in c

sheriff came and took my mule and corn and furni- ture--" "Furniture?"

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îd the hard-faced man.

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo VIII

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Of the Quest of the Golden Fleece

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo But the Brute said in his breast, "T\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ll the mills I grind have ceased,

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "On the strong and cunning few

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Cynic favors I will strew; I will é

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îstuff their maw with overplus until their spirit dies;

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo From the patient and the low

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo I will\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

I take the joys they know; They shall hunger after vanities and still an-hungered go. Madness shall be on the people, ghastr

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo WILLIAM VAUGHN MOODY.

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îch\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Have you ever seen\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

a cotton-field white with harvest,--its golden fleece hovering above the black earth like a silvery cloud edged with dark green,

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo m\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
es half suspected that here the winged ram Chrysmallus left that Fleece after which Jason and his Argonaë

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îuts went vaguely wandering into the shadowy East three thousand years ago; and certainly one might frame a pretty and not

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ry and dragons' teeth, and blood and armed men, between the ancien

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo And now the golden fleece is found; not only found, but, in its birthplace, woven. For the hum

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îis the newe\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

st and most significant thing in the New South to-day. All through the Carolinas and Georgia, away down to Mexico, rise thes

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
d. Perhaps they sprang from drag- ons' teeth. So the Cotton Kingdom still lives; the world still bows beneath her sceptre. Ev

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îrkets that once defied the parvenu have crept one by one across the seas, and then slowly and reluctantly, but surely,

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo have started toward the Black Belt.

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo To be sure, there are those who wag their heads knowingly and tell us that the capital of the C

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
ñ
înds of the cotton country worth studying.

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and in the busy life of the great plantations of the Black Belt it was usually dispensed with. If now the master needed Sam's

Sam's married life with Mary was usually unceremoniously broken

and are

a roving spirit
the evil is still deep seated

it is fair to characterize it as poor and which is thoroughly lewd and vicious. The rest

with some but not great sexual looseness. Such class lines are by no means fixed; they vary

of modern economic organization

and poverty stricken

it toils and tires

and under circumstances that would call forth equal voluntary effort from few if any other modern laboring class. O
women

in

and very few there are that stay in school after the spring work has begun. Child-labor is to be found here in some of its worst forms. With the grown men of the county there is little variety in work: thirteen hundred are farmers, and two hundred are laborers, teaching reaches its maximum among the women: thirteen hundred and fifty of these are farm laborers, one hundred are servants and

Among this people there is no leisure class. We often forget that in the United States over half the youth and adults are not in the world earning incomes, but are making homes to turn the bare and cheerless cabin into a home, no old folks to sit beside the fire and hand down traditions of the past; little pleasure and the Saturday trip to town. The toil, like all farm toil, is monotonous, and here there are little machinery and few tools. Fresh air is scarce.

The land on the whole is still fertile, despite long abuse. For nine or ten months in succession the crops will come if asked: ground from September, and cotton from then to Christmas. And yet on two-thirds of the land there is but one crop.

Away down the Baysan road, where the broad flat fields are flanked by great oak forests, is a plantation; many thousands of acres it used to run, here and there, and beyond the great wood. Thirteen hundred human beings here, his face seamed and drawn, and his tightly curled hair gray-white. The crops? Just tolerable, he said; just tolerable. Getting on to make anything at that. Why didn't he buy land! Humph! Takes money to buy land. And he turns away. Free! The most piteous thing amid all this was the black freedman who threw down his hoe because the world was not even ownership of the rags on his back. Free! On Saturday, once or twice a month, the old master, before the war, used to come back and picked up his hoe, and old master still doled out his bacon and meal. The legal form of servitude ally became a metayer, or tenant on shares, in name, but a laborer with

Still the price of cotton fell, and gradually the landlords deserted their plantations, and the result is a curious institution--part banker, part landlord, part banker, and part despot. His store, which used most frequently to supply him. The merchant keeps everything--clothes and shoes, coffee and sugar, pork and meal, canned and dried goods, when, comes the tenant, Sam Scott, after he has contracted with some absent landlord's agent for hiring forty acres of land; do you want?" Sam wants him to "furnish" him--i.e., to advance him food and clothing for the year, and perhaps seed and to chattel mortgage on his mule and wagon in return for seed and a week's rations. As soon as the green cotton-leaves appear a family of five usually gets about thirty pounds of fat side-pork and a couple of bushels of cornmeal a month. Besides the mule wants shoeing, an order on the blacksmith, etc. If Sam is a hard worker and crops promise well, he is often encouraged to fall, the shrewd merchants of Dougherty County sold a thousand bushels

The security offered for such transactions--a crop and chattel mortgage--may at first seem slight evidence of shiftlessness and cheating; of cotton picked at night, mules disappearing, and tenants absconding. But on the whole the law about the tenant, that the black man has often simply to choose between pauperism and crime; he "waives" all homestead and of the merchant. When the crop is growing the merchant watches it like a hawk; as soon as it is ready for market he takes anything left, he hands it over to the black serf for his Christmas celebration

The direct result of this system is an all-cotton scheme of agriculture and the continued bankruptcy of the Black Belt is cotton. It is a crop always salable for ready money, not usually subject to great yearly fluctuations

will accept mortgages on no other crop. There is no use asking the black tenant, then, to diversify his crops--he cannot under any circumstances. A young black fellow sat in it driving listlessly, his elbows on the seat. "Hello!" cried my driver--he has a most imprudent way of addressing these people, though the

in

answered the man, stopping. The meat lay uncovered in the bottom of the wagon,--a great thin side of fat pork covered with
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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo "What did you pay for that meat?

and r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

--started in debt. This was not his choosing
its Spanish war inter- ludes and Philippine matinees

and the remaining seventy-five made a total profit of sixteen hundred dollars. The net indebtedness of the black tenant family
or in debt

outside the carelessness of the nation in letting the slave start with nothing
some pressure was necessary at the beginning of the free-labor system to keep the listless and lazy at work; and even

of Jacques and Pat

and a cheap and dangerous socialism

aimlessly whittling a stick. He muttered to me with the murmur of many ages

they buy land; if not

even so to-day there are hindrances laid in the way of county laborers. In considerable parts of all the Gulf States

illy is this true in districts where the farmers are composed of the more ignorant class of poor whites

the sheriff

neighborly comity will probably make his conviction sure

or near the large towns and cities; but in those vast stretches of land be

in

and who "was caught in the act of enticing hands from the turpentine arm of Mr. John Greer." The crime for which this young man was arrested is taxed five hundred dollars for each county in which outside his own vicinity is increased rather than diminished by the laws

Similar to such measures is the unwritten law of the back districts and small towns of the South of the community must be vouched for by some white man. This is really a revival of the old Roman idea of the patron under the protection and guidance of the former master's family, or other white friends, the freedman progressed in wealth and to change his habitation and to be master of his own fortunes. A black stranger in Baker County, Georgia, for instance, is liable if he fails to give a suitable answer, or seems too independent or "sassy"

Thus it is that in the country districts of the South, by written or unwritten law, peonage, hindrance and a system of white patronage exists over large areas. Besides this, the chance for lawless oppression and illegal exactions is not from disputes in the court between master and man,--as, for instance, the Sam Hose affair. As a result of such a situation ward fields of labor under more genial climatic conditions; it was primarily a huddling for self-protection,--a massing of the labor took place between Emancipation and 1880, and only partially accomplished the desired results. The rush to town since 1846

In Dougherty County, Georgia, one can see easily the results of this experiment in huddling for protection. Only ten per cent of the adult population was born in the very numbers,--a personal freedom from arbitrary treatment, which makes hundreds of laborers cling to Dougherty in spite of town and leaving the broad acres behind. Why is this? Why do not the Negroes become land-owners, and build up the plantations?

To the car-window sociologist, to the man who seeks to understand and know the South by devoting the few leisure hours of a holiday trip to unravelling the "Shift-less!" They have noted repeatedly scenes like one I saw last summer. We were riding along the highroad to town. One was driving, listlessly bent forward, his elbows on his knees,--a happy-go-lucky, careless picture of irresponsibility. A rod farther on we noted another ear on the ground; and between that creeping mule and town we could see to-morrow morning they'll be up with the sun; they work hard when they do work, and they work willingly. They have no sort of dishonesty with good-natured honesty. They'll steal a watermelon, and hand you back your lost purse intact. Their great defect as laborers is that it pays to be careful; they are improvident because the improvident ones of their acquaintance get on about as well as this mule, or save his corn. On the other hand, the white land-owner argues that any attempt to improve these laborers by increasing their visitor the scarred and wretched land; the ruined mansions, the villages

Now it happens that both master and man have just enough argument on their respective sides to them to understand each other. The Negro dimly personifies in the white man all his ills and misfortunes; if he is poor, it is because of his own laziness; if he is rich, it is because of his own industry; if he is sick, it is because of his own carelessness; if he is dead, it is because of his own stupidity; if he is poor, it is because of his own laziness; if he is rich, it is because of his own industry; if he is sick, it is because of his own carelessness; if he is dead, it is because of his own stupidity. Albany merchant to his black customer. "Yes," he replied, "and so

then

in

and what that ideal is. All social struggle is evidenced by the rise

with a few paupers; forty per cent who are metayers and thirty-nine per cent of semi-metayers and wage-laborers. There are

even in the limited sense of food or money to keep them from seed-time to @Bîharvest. All they furnish is their labor; the lan

however

both for hirer and hired

paying r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

the deteriora

and the slavery of debt

and probably not over half of them to-day own their mules. The change from cropper to tenant was accomplished by fixing t

if the rent was too high

and swallowed up in rent and interest. If cotton rose in price

his rent was raised the next year; if that year the crop failed

in

in

but rather of sympathy and cooperation among classes who would scorn charity. And here is a land where the color-line comes to separate natural friends and coworkers; while at the bottom of the social group

for I fear we have already gone too far in that sort of thing. On the other hand

they feel acutely the false position in which the Negro problems place them. Such an essentially honest-hearted or believe in equality of opportunity for all men

the present social condition of the Negro stands as a menace, of and a portent before even the most open-minded: if there were they argue

but it is not a whit stronger than the argument of thinking Negroes: granted

and unmistakable evidence that no small number have

these same Negroes are classed with and treated like the lowest of their people

--inefficiency and crime. Draw lines of crime

the future of the South depends on the ability of the representatives of these opposing views to see and appreciate and sympathize for the white people to realize more vividly than they have yet done the deadening and disastrous effect of a color-prejudice

nor for the white South to reply that their social condition is the main cause of prejudice. They both act as reciprocal cause and effect or neither can improve to any great extent. The Negro cannot stand the present reactionary tendencies and unreasoning

May make one music as before

Fair face of Beauty all too fair to see

in

there alone for thee

sad face of Beauty

far from home

--soft

and I know not what would have happened those clear Sabbath mornings had some one punctuated the sermon with a wild

as I approached the village and the little plain church perched aloft

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

that lent terrible reality to song and word. The black and massive form of the preacher swayed and quivered as the words cr

whÆiile round about came wail and groan and outcry

such scenes appear grotesque and funny

in

in

painted so beautifully in "Un- cle Tom

until thĩĩĩat which was a radical fad in the white North and an anarchistic plot in the white South had become a religion to the
by the tramp of armies

and marvellous in his eyes? Joyed and bewildered with what came

we must remember that living as tĩĩĩhe blacks do in close contact with a great modern nation

however

in

--must live, move, and have their being in it, and interpret all else in its light or darkness. With this come, too, peculiar problems of children, the accumulation of wealth, and the prevention of crime. All this must mean a time of intense ethical feeling as an American, as swept on by the current of the nineteenth while yet struggling in the eddies of the fifteenth century,--from self-confidence. The worlds within and without the Veil of Color are changing, and changing rapidly, but not at the same rate, no double life, with double thoughts, double duties, and double social classes.

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\par In some such doubtful words and phrases can one perhaps most clearly picture the peculiar ethical paradox that faces the Negro of to-day and is tingeing and changing his religious life. Feeble and his religion, instead of a worship, is a complaint and a curse, a wail rather than a hope, a sneer rather than a faith. On the one hand, the Negro's patent weaknesses, and with Jesuitic casuistry is deterred by no ethical considerations in the endeavor to turn this; the danger of the one lies in anarchy, that of the other in hypocrisy. The one type of Negro stands almost ready to curse himself, perhaps impossible of realization; the other forgets that life is more than meat and the body more than raiment. But, a culture, faces the hideousness of the anarchist assassin?

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\par To-day the two groups of Negroes, the one in the North, the other in the South, represent themselves. It is no idle regret with which the white South mourns the loss of the old-time Negro,--the frank, honest, simple of true manhood, he was at least open-hearted, faithful, and sincere. To-day he is gone, but who is to blame for his going? The Negro, by lawlessness and deception, to tamper with the moral fibre of a naturally honest and straightforward people until the white against the strong, and the South used it for many years against its conquerors; to-day it must be prepared to see its black proved long since to the Negro the present hopelessness of physical defence. Political defence is becoming less and less available and flattery, of cajoling and lying. It is the same defence which peasants of the Middle Age used and which left its stamp on the Negro, self-assertive, but rather he is daily tempted to be silent and wary, politic and sly; he must flatter and be pleasant, endure petty insults. His real thoughts, his real aspirations, must be guarded in whispers; he must not criticise, he must not complain. Patience, however, is an economic opening, and perhaps peace and some prosperity. Without this there is riot, migration, or crime. Nor is there any right to share modern culture? The price of culture is a Lie.

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\par On the other hand, in the North the tendency is to emphasize the radicalism of the Negro. Daring and assertive nature revolts, he finds himself in a land where he can scarcely earn a decent living amid the harsh competition which quickened and awakened. The soul, long pent up and dwarfed, suddenly expands in new-found freedom. What wonder that the criminal and the sensualist leave the church for the gambling-hell and the brothel, and fill the slums of Chicago and Baltimore; that the intellectual, whose bitter criticism stings while it points out no way of escape. They despise the submission and subserviency of the Negro, feeling deeply and keenly the tendencies and opportunities of the age in which they live, their souls are bitter at the fate which makes life more maddening.

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\par Between the two extreme types of ethical attitude

which I have thus sought to make clear wavers the mass of the millions of Negroes. Their churches are differentiating,--now into groups of cold, fashionable devotees, in no way distinguishable from similar amusements of their members, warily avoiding unpleasant questions before

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\par But back of this still broods silently the deep religious feeling of the real Negro, the stirring, unquid- ing might of powerful human souls who have lost the guiding star of the past and seek in the great ni-

in

sister

The voice of the child's blood crying yet

in

sang the bit of ye

low paper that fluttered into my room one brown October morning. Then the fear of fatherhood mingled wildly with the joy of

how its hair curled and crumpled itself. And I thought

in awe of her,--she who had slept with Death to tear a man-child from underneath her heart, while I was unconsciously wan-

ter and faster than boat and steam-car, and yet must ever impatiently await them; away from the hard-voiced city, away from

Up the stairs I ran to the wan mother and whimpering babe, to the sanctuary on whose altar a life at my bidding had offered itself to win a life, and won. I

Up the stairs I ran to the wan mother and whimpering babe, to the sanctuary on whose altar a life at my bidding had offered itself to win a life, and won. I

mother and whimpering babe, to the sanctuary on whose altar a life at my bidding had offered itself to win a life, and won. I

perplexed its winking, breathing, and sneezing. I did not love it then; it seemed a ludicrous thing to love; but her I loved, my

the wee thing, as it grew strong; as its little soul unfolded itself in twitter and cry and

half-formed word, and as its eyes caught the gleam and flash of life. How beautiful he was, with his olive-tinted flesh and da-

glad blue and brown, his perfect little limbs, and the soft voluptuous roll which the blood of Africa had moulded into his feature

orgia and the breathless city of a hundred hills, and felt a vague unrest. Why was his hair tinted with gold? An evil omen was

and his father's father's. And thus in the Land of the Color-line I saw,

Within the Veil was he born, said I; and there within shall he live,--a Negro and a Negro's son. He

, bitterly!--he unbowed pride of a hunted race, clinging with that tiny dimpled hand--ah, wearily!--to a hope not hopeless but un-

liberty a lie. I saw the shadow of the Veil as it passed over my baby, I saw the cold city towering above the blood-red land. I

with an even-song the unvoiced terror of my life.

So sturdy and masterful he grew, so filled with bubbling life, so tremulous with the unspoken

ion of the divine, my wife and I. Her own life builded and moulded itself upon the child; he tinged her every dream and idealized

wearied her fingers; no voice but hers could coax him off to Dreamland, and she and he together spoke some soft and unkn-

he ages through the newer strength of his; saw the dream of my black fathers stagger a step onward in the wild phantasm of

And so we dreamed and loved and planned by fall and winter, and the full flush of the long Southern spring, till the hot winds rolled from

one night the little feet pattered wearily to the wee white bed, and the tiny hands trembled; and a warm flushed face tossed o-

erily the mother nursed him the first days, and laughed into the little eyes that smiled again. Tenderly then she hovered round

Then the day ended not, and night was a dreamless terror, and joy and sleep slipped away. I hear now that Voice at midnight calling me from dull and dreamless trance,--crying, "The

Shadow of Death. The hours trembled on; the night listened; the ghastly dawn glided like a tired thing across the lamplight. T-

Death! And we spoke no word, and turned away.

He died at eventide, when the sun lay like a brooding sorrow above the western hills, veiling it

death beat quicker and quicker, pause, and then his little soul leapt like a star that travels in the night and left a world of darkn-

etting sun. Only in the chamber of death writhed the world's most pite-

I shirk not. I long for work. I pant for a life full of striving. I am no coward, to shrink before th-

needs enter here,--thou, O Death? About my head the thundering storm beat like a heartless voice, and the crazy forest pul-

oign of happiness that thou must needs enter there,--thou, O Death?

A perfect life was his, all joy and love, with tears to make it brighter,--sweet as a summer's da-

gravely into his wonderful eyes, and the children hovered and fluttered about him. I can see him now, chang-

in

with bird and song and sweet-smelling flowers. The trees whispered to the grass
--the wraith of Life. We seemed to rum- ble down an unknown street behind a little white bundle of posies
those pale-faced hurrying men and women; they did not say much

for the earth there is strîangely red; so we bore him away to the northward
in vain!--for where

in

in

the black boy had sought a school

-- the age when half wonderingly we began to descry in others that transfigured spark of divinity which we call Myself; when c
and tramps and thieves

of which they had not dreamed before. And to the lonely boy came a new dawn of sympathy and inspiration. The shadowy
but diffused itself and lingered thick at the edges. Th02îrough it the child now first saw the blue and gold of life

--mystic

the bronzed hosts of a nation calling

--a seer to lead the uncalled out of the house of bondage. He saw the headless24î host turn toward him like the whirling of m

--the problem of life is not the problem of the wicked

It is all very natural--it is even commendable; but the General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church cannot admit a M
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
y, on his shoulders, and said, "Now,--of course, we--we know how YOU feel about it; but you see it is impossible,--that is--wel
\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo .

pleading

unreasonable

in

and asked

nervously twitching his hat before the massive abBDîdo- men of Bishop Onderdonk; his threadbare coat thrown against the c

peers into thCEîe chasm in a surpris

and rubs his feelers reflectively; then he essays its depths
leaving the watcher wing- less and aIDFîone.

and before him lay the cold rough moor \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0
cut in twain by one thick granite ridge
who willingly would

The oppressor's wrong

in

--

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

all this and more would they bear did they but know that this were sacrifice and not a meaner thinFHfig. So surged the thought

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

thing to say, considerately said nothing, only sat tapping his foot impatiently. But Alexander Crummell said, slowly and heav-

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

aGlith. You might have noted only the physical dying, the shattered frame and hacking cough; but in that soul lay deeper dea-

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

fellow priests. Half in despair, he wandered across the sea, a beggar with outstretched hands. Englishmen clasped them,--

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ege in Cam-bridge, and there he lingered, struggling for health of body and mind, until he took his degree in '53. Restless sti-

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d a new earth.

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

So the man groped for light; all this was not Life,--it was the world-wandering of a soul in search of itself, the striving of one w-

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

passing of a soul that has missed its duty. Twenty years he wandered,--twenty years and more; and yet the hard rasping qu-

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo smothered. In the fine old air of the English University he heard the m-

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\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo You will not wonder at his weird pilgrimage,--you who in the swift whirl of\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

living, amid its cold paradox and marvel- lous vision, have KMifronted life and asked its riddle face to face. And if you find th-

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ce your duty, it is a shade more difficult for him; if your heart sickens in the blood and dust of battle, remember that to him the

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ing prostitute, and the never-ending throng of unheard dead! The V-

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo But Alexander Crummell it gave back. Out of the tempta- tion of Hate, and burned by the fire

hant over Doubt, and steeled by Sacrifice against Humiliation, he turned at last home across MOithe waters, humble and stro-

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

the armor of pure souls. He fought among his own, the low, the grasping, and the wicked, with that unbending righteousness

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ,\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo helping the weak, guiding the strong.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo So he grew, and brought within his wide influence all that was best of those who walk within th-

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ze of caste decreed that most men should not know. And now that he is gone, I sweep the Veil away and cry, Lo! the soul to-

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

shading, now with inspiration for the future, now in innocent pain at some human wickedness, now with sorrow at some hard

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo In another age he might have sat among the elders of the land in p-

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo He did his work,--he did it nobly and well; and yet I sorrow that here he worked alone, with so

uman sym- pathy. His name to-day, in this broad land, means little, and comes to fifty million ears laden with no incense of m-

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo men are wicked,--who is good? not that men are ignorant,-- what is Tru-

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo He sat one morning gazing toward the sea. He smiled and said, "The gate is rusty on the hing-

ning out RTiof the west to blow the gate ajar, and then the soul I loved fled like a flame across the Seas, and in its seat sat De-

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo I wonder where he is to-day? I wonder if in that dim world beyond, as he came gliding in, there

King,--a dark and pierced Jew, who knows the writhings of the earthly damned, saying, as he laid those heart-wrung talents d-

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo XIII

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Of the Coming of John

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo What bring they 'neath the midnight\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

, Beside the River-sea? They bring the human heart wherein No nightly calm can be; That droppeth never with the wind, M-

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The river flowetTVih on.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo MRS. BROWNING. Page 315

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Carlisle Street runs westward from the centre of Johnstown, across a great black bridge, down a hill and up again, by little sho-

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ce. with two large buildings outlined against the west. When at evening\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo the winds come swelling from the east. and the

in

smooth-faced boy

si^`r! John is at Princeton

with great eyes. "Wceihy

in

he faltered, "but--I haven't graduated!" Then the Dean slowly and clearly explained, reminding him of the tardiness and the

ion. Then he said quickly, "But you won't tell mammy and sister,--you won't write mammy, now will you? For if you won't I'll g

dered his little trunk, giving neither word nor look to the giggling boys,

Perhaps we imagined it, but somehow it seemed to us that the serious look that crept

over his boyish face that afternoon never left it again. When he came back to us he went to work with all his rugged strength

him on his new way; but all the world toward which he strove was of his own building, and he builded slow and hard. As the li

eeering through and beyond the world of men into a world of thought. And the thoughts at times puzzled him sorely; he could

eed, had not the matron rapped for gillights out. He caught terrible colds lying on his back in the meadows of nights, trying to

thieves and rascals, despite his textbooks; he pondered long over every new Greek word, and wondered why this meant that

himself,-- pausing perplexed where others skipped merrily, and walking

Thus he grew in body and soul, and with him his clothes seemed to grow and arrange themse

t longer, cuffs appeared, and collars got less soiled. Now and then in his boots shone, and a new dignity crept into his walk.

of the preparatory school into college, and we who watched him felt four more years of change, which almost transformed the

of men. He looked now for the first time sharply about him, and wondered he had seen so little before. He grew slowly to fee

eeded oppression before, differences that erstwhile seemed natural, restraints and slights that in his boyhood days had g

ow" cars, and chafed at the color-line that hemmed in him and his. A tinge of sarcasm crept into his speech, and a vague bitt

inking from the choked and narrow life of his native town. And yet he always planned to go back to Altamaha,--always planne

seized with eagerness the offer of the Dean to send him North with the quartette during the summer vacation, to sing for the

It was a bright September afternoon, and the

streets of New York were brilliant with moving men. They reminded John of the sea, as he sat in the square and watched the

ied their hands, the shape of their hats; he peered into the hurrying carriages. Then, leaning back with a sigh, he said, "This

hurrying all one way. So when a tall, light-haired young man and a little talkative lady came by, he rose half hesitatingly and

tered the high portal of a great building.

He was pushed toward the ticket-office with the others, and felt in his pocket for the new five-c

busy clerk, and received simply a ticket but no change. When at last he realized that he had paid five dollars to enter he

mply because he's in your way," and a girl looked up roguishly into the eyes of her fair-haired escort. A shade of annoyance

. "With all your professions, one never sees in the North so cordial and intimate relations between white and black as are eve

,--WELL!" The man stopped short and flushed to the roots of his hair, for there directly beside his reserved orchestra chairs

with a few peremptory words, and slowly sat down. The lady deftly ch

All this John did not see, for he sat in a half-daze minding the scene about him; the delicate be

ch clothing and low hum of talking seemed all a part of a world so different from his, so strangely more beautiful than anything

infinite beauty of the wail lingered and swept through every muscle of his frame, and put it all a-ttune. He closed his eyes a

his heart to rise with that clear music out of the dirt and dust of that low life that held him prisoned and befouled. If he could o

butt of all? And if he had called, what right had he to call when a

Then the movement changed, and fuller, mightier harmony swelled away. He looked thought

wondered why the beautiful gray-haired woman looked so listless, and what the little man could be whispering about. He wou

ter-work. some life-service. hard--ave. bitter hard. but without the cringing and sickening servility. without the cruel hurt that h

in

said John

as he settled himself on the train, "perhaps I am to blame myself in struggling against my manifest destiny simply because

there,--perhaps they won't. "I will go in to the King, which is not according to the law; and if I perish, I perish." And then he

par

Down in Altamaha, after seven long years, all the world knew John was coming. The homes were scrubbed and scoured,--above all, one; the gardens and yards had an unwon

to join in a monster welcome at the Baptist Church; and as the day drew near, warm discussions arose on every corner and

ed to the depot, with a little of the white at the edges,--a happy throng, with "Good-mornings" and "Howdys" and laughing and

dress, tall and lithe, with soft brown skin and loving eyes peering from out a tangled wilderness of hair. John rose gloomily as

a black crowd gaudy and dirty, a half-mile of dilapidated shanties along a straggling ditch of mud. An overwhelming sense of

alled him brother, spoke a short, dry word here and there; then, lingering neither for hand-shaking nor gossip, started silently

ly bewildered. This silent, cold man,--was this John? Where was his smile and hearty hand-grasp? "Peared kind o' down

master from the edge of the crowd expressed the opinion of his folks plainly. "That damn Nigger," said he, as he shouldered

crowd melted away.

par

The meeting of welcome at the Baptist Church was a failure. Rain spoiled the barbecue, and thunder turned the milk in the ic

ially prepared themselves, but somehow John's manner seemed to throw a blanket over everything,--he seemed so cold and

Amen"; the Presbyterian prayer was but feebly responded to, and even the Baptist preacher, though he wakened faint enthus

ple moved uneasily in their seats as John rose to reply. He spoke slowly and methodically. The age, he said, demanded new

and destiny. Then he spoke of the rise of charity and popular education, and particularly of the spread of wealth and work.

in the striving of the new century. He sketched in vague outline the new Industrial School that might rise among these pines

business. Finally he urged unity, and deprecated especially religious and denominational bickering. "To-day," he said, with

true. What difference does it make whether a man be baptized in river or washbowl, or not at all? Let's leave all that little

had they understood of what he said, for he spoke an unknown tongue, save the last word about baptism; that they knew, and

se, walked over the seats, and climbed straight up into the pulpit. He was wrinkled and black, with scant gray and tufted hair;

le with his rough, huge hands; twice he raised it inarticulate, and then fairly burst into words, with rude and awful eloquence.

wild shrieking arose from the corners where all the pent-up feeling of the hour gathered itself and rushed into the air. John ne

ue Religion, and he realized with amazement that all unknowingly he had put rough, rude hands on something this little v

ious of the girl who followed timidly after him. When at last he stood upon the bluff, he turned to his little sister and looked up

passion of tears spend itself on his shoulder.

par

Long they stood together, peering over the gray unresting water.

par

"John," she said, "does it make every one--unhappy when they study and learn lots of things?"

in

he said.

"And, John, are you glad you studied?

came the answer, slowly but positively.

She watched the flickering lights upon the sea, and said thoughtfully, "I wish I was unhappy,--

stared a little hard at him

Judge Henderson

tall

the sisters sang. The whole white town was glad. A proud man was the Judge

and plainly had his heart set on New York. Now the one cherished ambition of the Judge was to see his son mayor of Altam

father

no

in

it's little black John

and then he laughed.

which said he, "it's the darky that tried to force himself into a seat beside the lady I was escorting--

and now at this he rose with a half-smothered oath

it had been a long

and books

Mandy

suh

and the teacher half arose

the local newspaper flat

but it was too warm. So he sauntered out into the fields

in

No'th, honey, is yo' gwine No'th agin?

and said

without another word

looking at the blood where the body had lain. Yonder in the gray past he had played w^aŕiŕh that dead boy

and Carey? And Jones

heard stealing toward him the faint sweet music of the swan. Hark! was it music
so that the very earth trembled as with the tramp of horses and murmur of angry men.

whence rose the strange melody

bent forward

until at last they came sweeping like a storm

he rose slowly to his feet and turned his closed eyes toward the Sea.

I know star-rise; \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

I walk in the starlight; I'll lie in the grave and stretch out my arms

a haunting echo of these weird old songs in which the soul of the black slave spoke to men

one by one

and its bricks were red with the blood and dust of toil. Out of them rose f^eor me morning
full of the voices of the past.

but as the most beautiful expression of human experience born this side the seas. It has been neglected

half despised

in

but the songs were soon half forgotten. Some

more or less

struck with a sudden poverty
swaying. And the soldier wept.

in

-"Swing low

as

Bright sparkles," one phrase of which heads "The Black Belt"; the Easter carol, "Dust, dust and ashes"; the dirge, "My mother-
which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo h\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e First-Born"--"I hope my mother will be there in that beautiful world or

of which "You may bury me in the East" is the first
the second Afro- American

where the songs of white America have been distinctively influenced by the slave songs or have incorporated whole phrases
too

I have said

as the "Mighty Myo

mo\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ist furrow

Dere's no sun to burn you

with thrice-repeated wail:

keep me from sinking down

the restlessness of the savage

that's new

in

so that we get but glimpses here and there

but there is little of wooing and wedding; the rocks and the mountains are well known

Been waggin' at de hill so long; 'Bout time she cross over

farewell

and the sad. Of deep successful love there is ominous silence

poor gal; Poor Ro-sy

It can't be sung without a full heart and a troubled spirit." The same voice sings here that sings in the German folk-song:

"Jetzt Geh i' an's brunele, trink' aber net.

but talked of

perhaps--who knows?--back to his ancient forests again. Later days transfigured his fatalism

dust and ashes

O captive daughter of Zion

the words of these hymns were improvised by some
however

although there are some few examples of sustained efforts

Never, it seems to me, since man first lived and suffered was his infinite longing for peace uttered more plainly." The same

"Oh, the stars in the elements are falling,

And the moon drips away into blood,

And the ransomed of the Lord are returning unto God,

Blessed be the name of the Lord.

in

sometimes a faith in death

the meaning is always clear: that sometime

and that the backward races of to-day are of proven inefficiency and not worth the saving. Such an assumption is the arrogant

easily possible

the meaning of "swift" and "slow" in human doing

and flickered

stirring melody in an ill-harmonized and unmelodious land; the gift of sweat and brawn to beat back the wilderness

a gift of the Spirit. Around us the history of the land has centred for thrice a hundred years; out of the nation's heart we have

prayer and sacrifice

--we fought their battles

our toil

pitiful yet masterful

free as yonder fresh young voices welling up to me from the caverns of brick and mortar below--swelling with song
my little children

Cheer the weary traveller

and sets his face toward the Morning

O God the Reader; vouchsafe that this my book fall not still-born into the world wilderness. Let there spring
and seventy millions sigh for the righteousness which exalteth nations
and these crooked marks on a fragile leaf be not indeed

in

and Formal Discipline\par

it is shattered into smaller bits. Never does the \plain\fs24\cf0 stone attempt to react in such a way that it may maintain its
it does not just split into smaller pieces (at least in the higher forms of life)

air

in

not merely individuals but also species die out

of the conditions and occupation of the family; of the chief episodes in the development of character; of sign

the principle of continuity through renewal applies. With the renewal of physical existence goes

there is the necessity that these immature members be not merely physically preserved in adequate number

and feeling from the older to the younger. Without this communication of ideals

the fact that some are born as some die

is the necessity of teaching and learning for the continued existence of a society that we may seem to be dv

but it may fairly be said to exist in transmission

:\par

but they do not form a community. If

or superiority of position

meagerly or amply

not only does social life demand teaching and learning for its own permanence

a marked difference between the education which every one gets from living with others

gains in importance. While it is easy to ignore in our contact with them the effect of our acts upon their di

a more formal kind of education -- that of direct tuition or schooling. In undeveloped social groups

less and less adequate to reproduce its spirit. Ability to share effectively in adult activities thus depen

if they were left to pick up their training in informal association with others

is at least personal and vital. These qualities compensate

unassimilated to ordinary customs of thought and expression. There is the standing danger that the mate

modes of education. When the acquiring of information and of technical intellectual skill do not influence the

education is to social life. This education consists primarily in transmission through communication. ?A? pla

unintentional and designed

in

in

better to fit the conventions of the times. In particular
and I here transcribe that manuscript as faithfully as I can

which are commas and which are periods

in

to make

in

prevails.

is there nothing else

the bumble-bee:

in

eternity:

rise.

in

how others strove

in

-- delirious charter!

two legacies

in

wear me too --

feel for me

in

sweet?

in

only

in

went abroad
blew

the grave --ÓÕî

in

erect

in

and punctual

in

to him

--

thy silver mists?

in

still

in

before

in

tilts away

in

smiling

sighing

blushing

in

--

in

is sometimes caught

in

--

in the village

in

disperse

in

and shook his throat

the listless hair;

in

straightway.

in

or God

in

upon the shelf

in

the face

finds the flower near.
art thou here?"
love is sweet!"

in

the amethyst

sir

in

father

in

as one of her best critics has called it, piercing as it once the very core of a

thought, has found a response as wide and sympathetic as it has been unexpected even to those who knew best her compell

Although Emily Dickinson had been in the habit of sending occasional poems to friends and correspondents, the full extent of h

, 1884, she wrote:-- MY DEAR FRIEND,-- What portfolios full of verses you must have! It is a cruel wrong to your "day and ge

ur literary legatee and executor. Surely after you are what is called "dead" you will be willing that the poor ghosts you have left

old from the world a word or a thought any more than a deed which might help a single soul. . . . Truly yours, HELEN

The "portfolios" were found, shortly after Emily Dickinson's death, by her sister and only surviving housemate. Most of the

ad been carefully copied on sheets of note-paper, and tied in little fascicules, each of six or eight sheets. While many of them

tion of rather perplexing foot-notes, affording large choice of words and phrases. And in the copies which she sent to friends,

ed at the disposal of the Editors any poems they had received from her; and these have given the obvious advantage of co

shed them herself, we cannot know. They should be regarded in many cases as merely the first strong and suggestive sketch

in the winter of 1862. In a letter to one of the present Editors the April following, she says, "I made no verse, but one or two

ut as she advanced in breadth of thought, it grew bolder and more abrupt, until in her latest years each letter stood distinct an

, except numerous dashes; and all important words began with capitals. The effect of a page of her more recent manuscript

here is nowhere a date, the handwriting makes it possible to arrange the poems with general chronologic accuracy. As a rule,

author, frequently at the end,--sometimes only in the accompanying note, if sent to a friend. The variation of readings, with

rs. But all interference not absolutely inevitable has been avoided. The very roughness of her rendering is part of herself, and

mpressions, first pictures, or Wagner's rugged music, the very absence of conventional form challenges attention. In Emily Dick

extrinsic; and her verses all show a strange cadence of inner rhythmical music. Lines are always daringly constructed, and the

nized everything with clear-eyed frankness. Every subject was proper ground for legitimate study, even the sombre facts of de

th weird and peculiar power; but she is never by any chance frivolous or trivial. And while, as one critic has said, she may ex

rare. She had tried society and the world, and found them lacking. She was not an invalid, and she lived in seclusion from no

exist in pretence. Storm, wind, the wild March sky, sunsets and dawns; the birds and bees, butterflies and flowers of her gar

of monarch or birthday of pope; the first red leaf hurrying through "the altered air," an epoch. Immortality was close about her

AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS, August, 1891.

My nosegays are for captives; Dim, long-expectant eyes, Fingers denied the plucking, Patient till pa

ToO21 such, if they should whisper Of morning and the moor, They bear no other errand, And I, no

LIFE.

I.

I'm nobody! Who are you? Are you nobody, too? Then there 's a pair of us -- don't tell! They 'd banish us, yo

How dreary to be somebody! How public, like a frog To tell your name the livelong day To an admiring bog!

in

scan the skies
With a suspicious air

Or mists the Apennine.

of itself
The soul should stand in awe.

And stop to feed itself at tanks;
And then
supercilious

Complaining all the while
In horrid

Stop -- docile and omnipotent --
At its own stable door.

because impossible
That any gain.

--
And that 's the skies!

-- some way back

Nor definitely what it was

't will compensate.
Better will be the ecstasy
That they have done expecting me

And what itself will say to me

That sat it down to rest

This dusty heart espied;
Tenderly took it up from toil
And carried it to God.
There

Too lifted for the scant degree
Of life's penurious round;
My little circuit would have shamed
This new circuit

in

\line Too rescued; fear too dDFiim to me\line That I could spell the prayer\line I knew so perfect yesterday

\line The distance would not haunt me so;\line I had not hoped before.
and lost to me.

\line Or only KMîl too small?

\line Too fair\line For credibility's temerity\line To dare.
\line To reach\line Were hopeless as the rainbow's raiment\line To touch

by a life's low venture

\line And know no other way.
\line That I might have the sky\line For mine
--\line All forests

in

\line For mine to look at when I liked
with just my soul\line Upon the window-pane\line Where other creatures put their eyes

--\line The truth never flaunted a sign.

you little knew\line How long at that celestial wick\line The angels labored diligent;\line Extinguished
\line Had importuned to see!\line It might have been the waning lamp\line That lit the drummer from the camp\line To purer re

\line Serpent cannot charm;\line He deposes doom

\line And will at home and well.

--

\line It is a faded meat.\line Anger as soon as fed is dead;\line 'T is starving makes it fat.

--\line A presence of departed acts\line At window and at door.
\line Perusal to facilitate\line Of its condensed despatch.
--\line The complement of hell.

--\line That if the spirit like to hide
inviting;\line It never did betray\line The soul that asked its shelter\line In timid honesty.

\line And therefore good.
but proves us\line That spices fly\line In the receipt. It was the distance\line Was savory.

\line As it passed my window\line Whistled itself a tune
\line A ditty of the street;\line Yet to my irritated ear\line An anodyne so sweet
\line Carolled and mused and carolled

\line Weary

\line As hopelessly as I

\line But holiday excludes the night
obtained.

in

trembling
hungry

--\line Myself [if felt ill and odd

\line By catching at the twigs that grow\line Between the bliss and me.\line It hung so high
how I clutch it

suspecting\line That brooks in meadows run;
the while
the signal woe!\line These [are the patient laureates\line Whose voices
indeed

before the door
\line Was such still dwelling there?
\line And broke against my ear.
\line But never quaked before.
\line Lest back the awful door should spring
and like a thief\line Fled gasping from the house.

\line Just to make bliss\line^ Earn her own surprise!

\line I hear the silver strife;\line And -- waking long before the dawn --\line Such transport breaks upon the town\line I think it th
in brass and scarlet dressed
celestial face

\line And on the other side\line I heard recede the disappointed tide!
I feel
the things to see\line By ear unheard
\line While the ages steal

in

stand

but lest
Dispelled from there;
Except through this extent

--Till broad as Buenos Ayre

But just the names of gems
Her glory I should know:
But this must be a different wealth
--Might I do but be the Jew!
--To have a smile for mine each day
Although I prove it just in time
Its distance to behold!
And estimate the pearl
That slipped my simple fingers through
While just a girl at school!

The daily own of Love
Still fable
--Some found it mutual gain;
Sweet debt of Life

Then how they waded

from the way the sentence toiled;
You could hear the bodice tug
For it would split his heart to know it
to say?
Tell him just how she sealed you

coquette

For transport it be sure.

And narrow at the floor

Done with the chart.

That often as a cloud it met
Blew out itself for fear.

And shiver for the poor

in

\line Yield her moat of pearl

and denies

\line Her pretty speech

danced\line To the immortal tune

\line Immortal Alps look down
are you

docile as a boy

\line Just so far goes away.
thine the amber hand

\line And turned away

\line And deal occasional smiles\line To lives that stoop to notice prîmine\line And kindly ask it in

to thee?\line What if I file this mortal off
and guns implore;\line Unmeaning now

\line Impatient of no child

--\line Her household

\line Wills silence everywhere.

some sailor!\line Oh

\line And lo! her silver principle\line Supplanted all the rest.

\line And place was where uwîthe presence was

in

\\line Then sprang before the hills\\line Like hindered rubies
\\line Like breadths of topaz
\\line Arranged themselves around their prince\\vxĩine (The wind is prince of those).
to stay\\line A guest in this stupendous place

\\line Supposed that he had come to dwell
ethereal thing;\\line Henceforth for her what holiday!\\line Meanwhile
\\line Leaving a new necessity
\\line Felt feebly for her crown

express reports\\line When March is scarcely on.

\\line Except to stray abroad\\line On miscellaneous enterpriselline The clovers understood.

\\line To Nowhere seemed to go\\line In purposeless circumference
\\line This audience of idleness\\line Disdained them
\\line And men that made the hay

\\line You see
\\line Discretion in the interval

and more I cannot tell

\\line Little leontodon.
and aster

--\\line She's dreaming of the w~€foods."
reverent

\\line Belles from some lost summer day

in

\line As unto crowd.

\line Is of within;

\line Was that confiding prodigal
we mistake him\line For an alighting mine.
\line An epicure

\line Departing like a pageant\line Of ballads and of bards.

\line And I 'm accustomed to him grown

\line He 'd be too tall

\line No blossom stayed away\line In gentle deference to me
in bereaved acknowledgment\line Of their unthinking drums.

--\line The mail from Tunis

that goes that way\line Soft overheard the whole.\line If I should bribe the little bird
\line It's finer not to know;\line If summer were an axiom
if I could

curious

in any port
\line Report was not to me.

\line And visited the sea;\line The mermaids in the basement\line Came out to look at me
upon^Šî the sands.
\line And past my bodice too

the sea withdrew.

in

\line And has her in a class.
\line The clover-bells forgot.
\line Is mapped

and stare!
naughty

as of a spectre's cloak

\line And peace was Paradise!

I thought;\line He stirred his velvet head
\line And he unrolled his feathers\line And rowed him softer home
\line Or butterflies

\line His notice sudden is.

and barefoot
a whip-lash\line Unbraiding in the sun

\line Without a tighter breathing

\line And like a bubble hie.

\line Had nature an Iscariot

\line And rivers where the houses ran\line The living looked that day.\line The bell within the steeple wild\line The flying tidings

himself inform.\line Of immortality\line His strategy\line Was physiognomy.

\line Recording briefly

in

And she pours soft refrains
and the dew

At period of going down --
The lingering and the stain
His name remain.

in

Come in,"line I boldly answered; entered then\line My residence within

\par A rapid, footless guest,\line To offer whom a chair\line Were as impossible as hand\line A sofa to the air.

\par No bone had he to bind him,\line His speech was like the push\line Of numerous humming-birds at once\line From a super

\par His countenance a billow,\line His fin—îgers, if he pass,\line Let go a music, as of tunes\line Blown tremulous in glass.

\par He visited, still flitting;\line Then, like a timid man,\line Again he tapped -- 't was flurriedly --\line And I became alone.

\par XXXI.

\par Nature rarer uses yellow\line Than another hue;\line Saves she all of that for sunsets, --\line Prodigal of blue,

\par Spending scarlet like a woman,\line Yellow she affords\line Only scantily and selectly,\line Like a lover's words.

\par XXXII.

\par GOSSIP.

--↑

\par The leaves, like women, interchange\line Sagacious confidence;\line Somewhat of nods, and somewhat of\line Portentous

\par The parties in both cases\line Enjoining secrecy, --\line Inviolable compact\line To notoriety.

\par XXXIII.

\par SIMPLICITY.

\par How happy is the little stone\line That rambles in the road alone,\line And does n't care about careers,\line And exigencies

\par Associates or glows alone,\line Fulfilling absolute decree\line In casual simplicity.

\par XXXIV.

\par STORM.

\par It sounded as if the streets were running,\line And then the streets stood still.\line Eclipse was all we could see at the win

\par By and by the boldest stole out of his covert,\line To see if time was there.\line Nature was in her beryl apron,\line Mixing

\par XXXV.

\par THE RAT.

\par The r̄šîat is the concisest tenant.\line He pays no rent, --\line Repudiates the obligation,\line On schemes intent.

\par Balking our wit\line To sound or circumvent,\line Hate cannot harm\line A foe so reticent.

\par Neither decree\line Prohibits him,\line Lawful as\line Equilibrium.

\par XXXVI.

\par Frequently the woods are pink,\line Frequently are brown;\line Frequently the hills undress\line Behind my native town.

\par Oft a head is crested\line I was wont to see,\line And as oft a crann™>îy\line Where it used to be.

\par And the earth, they tell me,\line On its axis turned, --\line Wonderful rotation\line By but twelve performed!

\par XXXVII.

\par A THUNDER-STORM.

\par The wind begun to rock the grass\line With threatening tunes and low, --\line He flung a menace at the earth,\line A mena

\par The leaves unhooked themselves from trees\line And started all abroad;\line The dust did scoop itself like hands\line And

\par The wagons quickœîkened on the streets,\line The thunder hurried slow;\line The lightning showed a yellow beak,\line An

\par The birds put up the bars to nests,\line The cattle fled to barns;\line There came one drop of giant rain,\line And then, as

\par That held the dams had parted hold,\line The waters wrecked the sky,\line But overlooked my father's house,\line Just qu

\par XXXVIII.

\par WITH FLOWERS.

\par South winds jostle them,\line Bumblebees com>□îe,\line Hover, hesitate,\line Drink, and are gone.

\par Butterflies pause\line On their passage Cashmere;\line I, softly plucking,\line Present them here!

\par XXXIX.

\par SUNSET.

\par Where ships of purple gently toss\line On seas of daffodil,\line Fantastic sailors mingle,\line And then -- the wharf is still.

\par XL.

\par She sweeps with many-colored brooms,\line And leaves the shreds behind;\line Oh, housewife in the evening west,\line C

\par You dropœžîped a purple ravelling in,\line You dropped an amber thread;\line And now you 've littered all the East\line W

\par And still she plies her spotted brooms,\line And still the aprons fly,\line Till brooms fade softly into stars --\line And then I

\par XLI.

\par Like mighty footlights burned the red\line At bases of the trees, --\line The far theatricals of day\line Exhibiting to these.

\par 'T was universe that did applaud\line While, chiefest of the crowd□ÿî,\line Enabled by his royal dress,\line Myself disting

\par XLII.

\par PROBLEMS.

\par Bring me the sunset in a cup,\line Reckon the morning's flagons up,\line And say how many dew;\line Tell me how far the

\par Write me how many notes there be\line In the new robin's ecstasy\line Among astonished boughs;\line How many trips th

\par Also, who laid the rainbow's piers,\line Also, who leads the docile spheres\line By withes of supple blue?\line Whose finger

\par Who built this little Alban house\line And shut the windows down so close\line My spirit cannot see?\line Who 'll let me ou

\par XLIII.

\par THE JUGGLER OF DAYÿî.

Page 368

\par Blazing in gold and quenching in purple,\line Leaping like leopards to the sky,\line Then at the feet of the old horizon\line

\par Stooping as low as the otter's window,\line Touching the roof and tinting the barn,\line Kissing her bonnet to the meadow

\par XLIV.

\par MY CRICKET.

\par Farther in summer than the birds.\line Pathetic from the grass.\line A minor nation celebrates\line Its unobtrusive mass.

in

--\line Go¥\$îne Mr. Bryant's golden-rod

O Lord

\line It fills with alabaster wool\line The wrinkles of the road.

rail by rail

\line Acres of seams where harvests were

--\line Then stills its artisans like ghosts

\line Whose wandering is done.

\line Too tender to be told.

--\line Indeed

\line And I 'd like to look a little more\line At such a curious earth!\line I am glad they did believe it\line Whom I have never fou

--\line I 'm knocking everywhere.

Jesus Christ of Nazareth

or fame export\line Her deathless syllable.

then firmer

\line I

\line One the shutters drew --\line Quick! a sharper rustling!\line And this linnet flew!

did not alive become;\line Who

\line To see that I made no mistakelline In its extremest clause

in

\\line Meet tranquilly as friends

that I

\\line Nor tell the loving forests\\line The day that I shall go

\\line Like petals from a rose

\\line And stepped like flakes of snow.\\line His gait was soundless
mistletoe.

--\\line Of me

\\line The thoughtful grave encloses

--\\line Sparrows unnoticed by the Father;\\line Lambs for whom time had not a fold.

\\line As for the lost we grapple
in its fading ratio

\\line Industrious until

\\par The thimble weighed too heavy,\\line The stitches stopped themselves,\\line And then 't was put among the dust\\line Upon

\\par A book I have, a friend gave,\\line Whose pencil, here and there,\\line Had notched the place that pleased him, --\\line At re

\\par Now, when I read, I rea'ŕid not,\\line For interrupting tears\\line Obliterate the etchings\\line Too costly for repairs.

\\par XIV.

\\par I went to heaven, --\\line 'T was a small town,\\line Lit with a ruby,\\line Lathed with down.\\line Stillier than the fields\\line At th

Duties of gossamer,\\line And eider names.\\line Almost contented\\line I could be\\line 'Mong such unique\\line Society.

\\par XV.

\\par Theiµ·îr height in heaven comforts not,\\line Their glory nought to me;\\line 'T was best imperfect, as it was;\\line I 'm finite,

\\par The house of supposition,\\line The glimmering frontier\\line That skirts the acres of perhaps,\\line To me shows insecure.

\\par The wealth I had contented me;\\line If 't was a meaner size,\\line Then I had counted it until\\line It pleased my narrow eye

\\par Better than larger values,\\line However true their show;\\line This timid life of evidence\\line Kŕ,îeps pleading, "I don't kno

--\\line One more "Ye Blessed" to be told;\\line But this involves the grave.

\\line By faith is overcome.

\\line Advances calm to her supreme

who can pass\\line Acquitted from that naked bar

--\\line Supposed they visited remote

in

-- a fact
\line Withheld the little child!

\line And morn a new politeness took
when I over-sleep
\line And wishfulness in me arose
\line For circumstance the same.
--\line 'T was Sabbath with the bells divorced^o/₄
\line I struggled

\line At such and such a time.
\line Some manner of the hair
\line They 're centuries from that.
can you tell
just a few
and vow

but between
a sealed route

\line Would anybody care
\line If such a little figure
\line Slipped quiet from its chair
how quiet!
\line That nobody might know
\line But that the little figure
\line Rocked softer
\line Would anybody sigh
\line That such a little figure
\line Too sound asleep did lie
\line Or giddy bird in orchard
and spools of thread
and nuts

\line Makes summer when the lady lies
\line In ceaseless rosemary.

\line And time should gurgle on
\line And trades as briskly fly.
\line It makes the parting tranquil
\line And keeps the soul serene

we thought
\line And made the hurry plai^Ä_Ä
--\line At our stupidity
\line The busy darling lay

in

\line Than an intÃierior confronting\line That whiter host.
\line Than
\line Should startle most;\line Assassin
\line O'erlooking a superior spectre\line More near.

\line Took up her simple wardrobelline And started for the sun.

in

then are you the foe of God and man. If with the latter

and let the oppressed go free. Come what may --cost what it may--inscribe on the ba

rest sufficiently satisfied with what

and love to count the lashes on the slave's back

alas! few of that number have come with them

--before he is ready to lay the first stone of his anti-slavery life.

how early the most n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

or knew where the "white sails" of the Chesapeake were bound

not by his lashes and toil

then

where the Mississippi sweeps along.

anîd can put the most entire confi\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

and sincerity. Every one who has heard you speak has felt

whenever individual kindness has neutralized

after all

which even you have drained from the cup

in

of the system.

when you were beginning to tell me your real name and birthplace
so I continued

for honest men to tell their names! They say the fathers

in

in

among slaves

such is my experience. I have often sung to drown my sorrow

besides the chief gardener
Easton

belonging to the colonel

but that some slave had to take the lash for stealing fruit. The colonel had to resort to all kinds of stratagems to keep his slaves

it was deemed sufficient proof that he had either been into the garden

besides dearborns and barouches of the most fashionable style.

under whose care they were placed

of course

or hold his head high enough

or he has not been p

and not enough of hay; instead of old Barney's attending to the horse

the slave must answer never a word. Colonel Lloyd could not brook any contradiction from a slave. When he spoke

uncover his bald head

and Daniel

and at every stroke raise great ridges upon his back.

in

while riding along the road one day

whom do you belong to?" "To Colonel Lloyd

rode on; the man also went on about his business

for having found fault with his master

and forever sundered

when inquired of as to their condition and the character of their masters

that a still tongue makes a wise head. They suppress the truth rather than take the consequences of te

it is generally in their masters' favor

in pursuing this course

and imbibe prejudices quite common to others. They think their own better than that of others. Manykî

in some cases

they seldom parted without a quarrel about thei

and most of a man. Colonel Lloyd's slaves would boast his ability to buy and sell Jacmoîob Jepson. Mr. Jepson's slaves wo

a man possessing
upon one of the out-farms

and persevering. He was artful
and he seemed to be perfectly at home in it. He was one of those who could torture the slightest l

or gesture

than that the overseer should be convicted

and to be convicted was to be punished; the one always following the other with immutable certainty. To escape punishment

in

and quite servile enough to crouch

artful enough to descend to the lowest trickery

the most dreaded by the slavtviés. His presence was painful; his eye flashed confusion; and seldom was his sharp

though a young man

and commanded but to be obeyed; he dealt sparingly with his words

no matter how disagreeable; always at his post

to get rid of the scourging

he would shoot him. The first call was given. Demby made no response

raised his musket to his face

why he resorted to this extraordinary expedient. His reply was

--one which

the other slaves would soon copy the example; the result of which would be

and uncensured by the community in which he lives. Mr. Gore lived in St. Mich

Maryland

or any colored person

saying

murdered my wife's cousin

breaking her nose and breastbone with a stick

and during the night she fell asleep

in

did not hear the crying. They were both in the room with Mrs. Hicks. Mrs. Hicks

but not enough to bring the murderess to punishment. There was a warra
but even the pain of being arraigned before a court for her horrid crime.

which occurred about the same time as the murder of Demby by Mr. Gore.

happened to get beyond the limits of Colonel Lloyd's

or to justify himself in what he had done

in

in

who on which the darkness of age

when the head inclines to the feet

the devoted mother of twelve children

or to place beneath the sod her fallen remains. Will no

he took me from him to live with himself at St. Michael's. Here I underwent another most painful separation. It during this interval

I thought I had little to lose by the change. But it was not to them that I was attached. It was to those little Baltimore boys that and the thought of leaving them was painful indeed. I was leaving

I paid particular attention to the direction which the steamboats took to go to Philadelphia. I found I was

at St. Michael's and I to him a new slave. I was ignorant of his temper and disposition; he was equa

brought us into full acquaintance with each other. I was made acquainted with his wife not less than with himself. They were when I could look back to no period at which I had enjoye

and of that which was good. I have said Master Thomas was a mean man. He was so. Not to give a slave enough to eat only let there be enough of it. This is the theory; and in the part of Maryland from which I came

Henny

whichever came handy

in

when food in abundance lay mouldering in the safe and smoke-house

like most other mean

master only of a Bay craft. He came into possession of all his slaves by marriage; and of all men

he was at times rigid

his own meanness shone most conspicuous. His airs

and

he was forever the victim of inconsistency; and of consequence he was an object of contempt

or fraud. We seldom called him "master;" we generally called him "Captain Auld

return at dinner

and burned herself horribly. Her p

in

in

and am a slave! You move merrily before the gentle gale

that I were on one of your gallant decks

go on. O that I could also go! Co

of whom to make a brute! The glad ship is gone; she hides in the dim distance. I am left in the hottest hell of unending slave

I'll try it. I had as well die with ague as the fever. I have only one life to lose. I had as well be killed running as die standing.

I will. It cannot be that I shall live and die a slave. I will take to the water. This very bay #

and walk straight through Delaware into Pennsylvania. When I get there

I am off. Meanwhile

than in the last six. The circumstances leading to the change in Mr. Covey's course toward me form an epoc

Bill Smith

and I was carrying wheat to the fan. The work was simple

attended with extreme dizziness; I trembled in every limb. Finding what was coming

and felt as if held down by an immense weight. The fan of course stopped; every one had his own work to do; and no one co

he left immediately

in

hoping to find relief by getting out of the sun. He
after looking at me awhile

and again told me to rise. I again tried

and with it gave me a heavy blow upon the head
my head grew better.

to

and ask his protection. In order to do this

watched my chance

and called after me to come back

keeping far enough from the road to avoid detection

and started on my way

I was covered with blood. My hair was all clotted with dust and blood; my shirt was stiff with bloo

as I spoke

and said that he knew Mr. Covey; that he was a good man

in

he would lose the whole year's wages; that I belonged to Mr. Covey for one y3

come what might; and that I must not trouble him with any more stories

telling me that I might remain in St. Michael's that night

~ which meant that he would whip me. I remained all night

out ran Covey with his cows5

I succe

and searched for me a long time. My behavior was altogether unaccountable. He finally gave up the chase

--to go home and be whipped to death

a slave with whom I was somewhat acquainted. Sandy had a free wife who lived about four miles from Mr. Covey's; and it be

and got his advice as to what course it was best for me to pursue. I found Sandy an old adviser. He told me

where there was a cert8

if I would take some of it with me

and never expected to while he carried it. I at first rejected the idea

telling me it could do no harm

and passed on towards the church. Now

the virtue of the ROOT was fully tested. Long before daylight

the horses. I obeyed

in

I gave a sudden spring

I seized Covey hard by the throat; and as I did so

causing the blood to run where I touched him with the ends of my fingers. Mr. Covey soon called out to H>

while Covey

I watched my chance

come what might; that he had used me like a brute for six months

I seized him with both hands by his collar

Take hold of him, take hold of him!" Bill said his master hired him out to work, and not t

help to whip me; so he left Covey and myself to fight our own battle out. We were at it for nearly two hours.

A

C

at length let me go, puffing and blowing at a great rate, saying that if I had not resisted, he would not have whipped me

The truth was, that he had not whipped me at all. I considered him as getting entirely the worst end of the bargain; for he had

held me by the collar of my coat, and he had

held me by the collar of my coat, and he had

D

held me by the collar of my coat, and he had

who has himself repelled by force the bloody arm of slavery. I felt as I never felt before. It was a glorious resurrec

cowardice departed

must also succeed in killing me.

but was never whipped.

in

to save his rG

accordingly

however

thinking and industrious ones of our number would employ themselves in making corn-brooms

running foot-races

to get whisky enough to last him through Christmas.

or saf

the slave would be forced up to the wildest dL

a spirit will go forth in their midst

and inhumanity of slavery. They are professedly a custom established b\hich\af0\dbcM

and one of the grossest frauds committed upon the down-trodden slave. They do not give the slaves this time because they

that the slaveholders like to have their slavN

by plunging them into the lowest depths of dissipation. For instance

in

as to who can drink the most whisky without getting drunk; and in this way they succeed in getting whole multitudes to drink to
cheats him with a dose of vicious dissipation

that we had almost as well be slaves to man as to rum. So
rather glad to go

is carried out in other things. For instance

and commands the slave to eat the molasses

gives him more than is necessary

and is whipped for being hard to please! I have an abundance of such illustrations of the same principle

I left Mr. Covey

was a well-trained negro-breaker and U

and som

that he was exceedingly fr

and could be understood only by such as were skilful enough to detect his cu

or profession of

--a sanctifier of the most hateful frauds

I should regard being the slave of a religious master the greatest calamity that could befall me. For of all slaveholders with w

in

of all others. It was my unhappy lot not only to belong to a religious slaveholder

among others

made so by the lash of this merciless

it is the duty of a master occasionally to whip a slave

to prevent the commission of large ones. Mr. Hopkins could always find s

to \

word

he has the devil in him

and should be whipped for it. Does he ever venture to vindicate his conduct

break a plough

with whom the slaves who had the getting their own home

or was more active in revivals

-- that prayed earlier
Rigby Hopkins.

like Mr. Covey

but he employed hands enough to work it
was heavenly

in

* and Handy Caldwell. Henry and John were quite intelligent

and accordingly devoted my Sundays to teaching these my loved fellow-slaves how to read. Neithe
among all who came

instead of spending the Sabbath in wrestling

he would claim my success as the resul

and accountable beings. My blood boils as I think of the bloody manner in which Messrs. Wright Fairbanks and Garrison We

though the crime of holding the school was committed ten years ago. I had at one time over forty scholars

in

Does a righteous God govern the universe?

and for what does he hold the thunders in his right hand, if not to smite the oppressor, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor?

It was reputable to be taken up in mental darkness. I taught them, because it was the delight of my soul to be doing something that looked like bettering their condition.

Thus engaged. Every moment they spent in that school, they were liable to be taken up, and given thirty- nine lashes. They were taken up in mental darkness. I taught them, because it was the delight of my soul to be doing something that looked like bettering their condition.

I

thus engaged. Every moment they spent in that school, they were liable to be taken up, and given thirty- nine lashes. They were taken up in mental darkness. I taught them, because it was the delight of my soul to be doing something that looked like bettering their condition.

with Mr. Freeland; and, beside my Sabbath school, I devoted three evenings in the week, during the winter, to teaching the slaves at home. And I have the happiness to know, that

the year which preceded it. I went through it without receiving a single blow. I will give Mr. Freeland the credit of being the cause with which I passed the year, I was, however, somewhat indebted to the society of my fellow-slaves. They were noble souls

loved them with a love stronger than any thing I have experienced since. It is sometimes said that we slaves do not love and confide in each other.

stronger than any thing I have experienced since. It is sometimes said that we slaves do not love and confide in each other.

hose with whom I lived at Mr. Freeland's. I believe we would have died for each other. We never

undertook to do any thing, of any importance, without a mutual consultation. We never moved separately. We were one; and

At the close of the year 1834, Mr. Freeland again hired me of my master, for the year 1835.

At the close of the year 1834, Mr. Freeland again hired me of my master, for the year 1835.

live ~upon free land ~ as well as ~with freeland;~ and I was no longer content, therefore, to live with him or any other slaveholder. I began, with the

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live ~upon free land ~ as well as ~with freeland;~ and I was no longer content, therefore, to live with him or any other slaveholder. I began, with the

live ~upon free land ~ as well as ~with freeland;~ and I was no longer content, therefore, to live with him or any other slaveholder. I began, with the

in

and almost certain death if we failed. For my part

but still encouraged
Henry Bailey

paddle directly up the Chesapeake Bay. On our arrival at the head of the bay

and follow the guidance of the north star till we got beyond the limits of Maryland. Our reason for taking the water route was

we should be subjected to interruptions of almost every kind. Any one having a white face

one for each of us. As well as I can remember

have given the bearer

Maryland."

we went toward Baltimore

dispelling every fear

we had as well fold our arms

in the most solemn manner

to our several fields of labor

in

whose night was to witness our departure

and the confusion of the other

as usual

I was overwhelmed with an indescribable feeling

in

turn this grindstone."--"Come

blast your eyes
I'll knock your brains out!"

in which

white and black ship-carpenters worked side by side

and said they would not work with free colored workmen. Their reason for this
they would soon take the trade into their own hands

swearing they would work no longer

saying we all ought to be killed; and

by hectoring me around

kept the vow I made after the fight with Mr. Covey

at

armed with sticks

and struck me a heavy blow upon the head. It stunned me. I fell

and rose to my hands and knees. Just as I did that

in

I shouldered one part of our baggage
and told me

that

whose names I afterward ascertained to be Joseph Ricketson and William C. Taber. They seemed at once to understand
at such a time. Upon reachâ

in

in

Th

They bind heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders, but they themselves will not move them
over the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi.--But
lives, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. Ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers; therefore
fold more the child of hell than yourselves.--Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites
! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cumin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith
not to leave the other undone. Ye blind guides! which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel. Woe unto you, scribes and Phari
Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outw
in ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.

and swallow a camel. Could any thing be more true of our

if I find fault with them for it. They attend with Pharisaical stri

judgment

pay money to have the Bible put into his hand

my view of the religion of this land; and to avoid any misunderstanding

and actions

by communion and fellowship

hear me tell How pious priests whip Jack and Nell
dona like goats

Doll

And scold

And teach the right and do the wrong

Who roar

and rye

in

and lie

sleek man-thief

And win\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ked his eye

And prayed for heavenly union.

They kept up heavenly union.

Who dress as sleek as glossy snakes

love

April~ 28

n.s. 1 (Nov. 1881): 125-131.

and in various writin\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo gs since

still more binding to silence:\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo the publication of details would certainly h

in

like Charles T. Torrey

however
perhaps

in pursuit of

considerable sums from
color

would borrow or hire them till by means of them
by mail or otherwise

not unfrequently bravely done

did not describe
and close examination of it would

a Baltimore hackman

and undoubtedly arrested.
as described in my protection

and could talk sailor like an "old salt." I was well on the wa

externally

strange enough
he said to me

in

I answered; "I have a paper with the American Eagle on it, I was still in great danger: I was still in

I realized that I was still in great danger: I was still in

in

and report me to the conductor, who would then subject me to a closer examination, which I knew well would be fatal to me.

¶

Though I was not a murderer fleeing from justice, I felt perhaps at a very high rate of speed for that epoch of railroad travel, and hours were days during this part of my flight. After Maryland, generally awaited their prey, but on its borders, that these human hounds were most vigilant and active for the fugitives. The heart of no fox or deer, with hungry hound than did mine from the time I left Baltimore till I reached Philadelphia. The passage of the Susquehanna River at Havre de Grace was at that time of Nichols, who came very near betraying me. He was a "hand" or was coming back, etc. I got away from my old and inconvenient anchorage of the boat. Once across the river, I encountered a new danger. Only a mile in Mr. Price's ship-yard in Baltimore, under the care of Captain McGowan south stopped on the track just opposite to the one going north, he could see me every distinctly, and would certainly have recognized me of the moment, he did not see me; and the trains soon passed each other in opposite ways. But this was not my only hair-breadth escape. A German train with me, and looked at me very intently, as if he thought he had seen me, but he had no heart to betray me. At any rate, I got away.

¶

The last point of imminent danger, and the one I dreaded most, was for Philadelphia. In making the change here I again apprehended arrest, but no one disturbed me, and I was soon on the broad and beautiful Delaware. I inquired of a colored man how I could get on to New York. He directed me to the William-street depot, and thither I went, taking the train that night. I had traveled less than twenty-four hours.

¶

My free life began on the third of September, 1838. On the morning of my journey, I found myself in the big city of New York, a FREE MAN--which was a great relief to the troubled sea, surged to and fro between the rocks. Though dazzled with the wonders which met me on every hand, my thoughts were completely fulfilled with the dreams of my youth and the hopes of my manhood were completely fulfilled. The bonds that had held me to "old master" were broken. No man now in the rough and tumble of an outdoor world, to take my chance with the world when first I found myself on free soil. There is scarcely anything of my slave life. A new world had opened upon me. If life is more than breath and the world of my slave life. It was a time of joyous excitement which words cannot reach. Reaching New York, I said: "I felt as one might feel upon escape from the den of hungry lions." Anguish and grief, like darkness and rain, made no mark of pen or pencil. During ten or fifteen years I had been, as it were, dragged to the grave, I had felt myself doomed. All efforts I had previously made for my freedom had not only failed, but had seemed only to rivet my fetters. Baffled, entangled, and discouraged, I had at times asked myself, "What is my duty? Is not submission my duty?" between the clear consciousness of right and the plausible make-believe of a prisoner for life, punished for some transgression in an endeavor to secure my freedom. This contest was now ended; my heart was filled with unspeakable joy.

¶

But my gladness was short-lived, for I was not yet out of the reach of slavery. The information received from him alarmed me. The fugitive he wore the more respectable name of "William Dixon." Jake, in law, of the doctor, had once made an effort to recapture MR. DIXON, in evidence to support his claim. Jake told me the circumstances of this attempt, he escaped being sent back to slavery and torture. He told me that New York colored people of New York were not to be trusted; that there were hired men ever on the lookout for fugitives; that I should think of going either upon the wharves or into the streets.

in

when asked for our fares

however

which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo and one by Shaw

at once loaned me the two\which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo which\af0\dbch\af23\lmoioch\fo dollars with which to square accounts w

enterprise

in

and said with which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

forty; forty years of national life

maddening and misleading the headless host. The holocaust of war

however

he now regarded as the chief means of gaining and perfecting the liberty with which war had partially endowed him. And why

wondering

born of compulsory ignorance
but straight

heavily
the dull understandings

the horizon was ever dark

little but flattery and criticism

and he saw himself

and not another. For the first time he sought to analyze the burden he bore upon his back

without land

but of life

meant not only the loss of ancient African chastity

sweating black man is darkened by the shadow of a vast despair. Men call the shadow prejudice

culture

and well-nigh speechless; before that personal disrespect and mockery

in

the all

--before this there rises a sickening despair that would disarm and d

and lowering of ideals which ever accompany repression which our voting is vain; what need of education

and nothing more; what need of high

--and behold the suicide of a race! Nevertheless

the clearer perception of the Negroes' social responsibilities

and faith with vain questionings. The bright

political power

or the fond imaginings of the other world which does not know and does not want to know our power. To be really true

quick eyes and ears

the long-sought

and all striving toward that vaster ideal that swims before the Negro people

but rather in large conformity to the greater ideals of the American Republic

we black men seem the sole oasis of simple faith and reverence in a dusty desert of dollars and smartness. Will America be

but who bear it in the name of an historic race

that men may listen to the striving in the souls of black folk.

in

in which nevertheless

that the question of Negro slavery was the real cause of the conflict. Curious it was
sprang from the earth

the East and West

dragging whimpering hungry children; men and girls
quickly declared slave property contraband of war

and his successor

the care of slaves and abandoned lands devolved upon the Treasury officials

however

New Orleans

and now full-grown for work; the various church organizations

the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission

in

is
ap

protection

by putting the whole matter again in
or otherwise

in

Howard was appointed; and he assumed the duties of his office promptly on the 15th

organized charity

and all relief and rations were to be given by their c
nsent alone. The Bureau invited continued cooperation with benevolent societies, and declared: "It will be the object of all co
ners were ap- pointed. They were to hasten to their fields of work; seek gradually to close relief establishments, and make t
free; establish the institution of marriage among ex-slaves, and keep records; see that freedmen were free to choos=
ands for those concerned in the passing away of slavery, will especially relieve the assistant commissioners in the discharge

there were the abandoned lands of the South. It had long been the more or less definitely exp

said some. But this poetry done into solemn prose meant either wholesale

and no sooner did the proclamations of general amnesty appear than the eight hundred thousand acres of abandoned lands

--or among the questionable camp followers of an invading host. Thus

well worth the doing: it relieved a vast amount of physical suffering; it transported seven thousand fugitives from congested c
it inaugurated the crusade of the New England schoolma'am.

in

serious and curious. Bereaved now of a father
and more.

which had so quickly grown into wide significance and vast possibilities. An institution such as that was well-nigh as difficult to
of Illinois

at a trifling cost to the government. The opponents of the measure declared that the war was over
at a final cost of possibly hundreds of millions. These two arguments were unanswered

and Johnson and Congress were at loggerheads; the Thirteenth Amendment was adopted
was spending its forces against the Negroes

and gaunt Hunger wept beside Bereavement
the maddest of experiments.

not a slavery that made all life unbearable
classed the black man and the ox together. And the Negro knew full well that

in

had writhed and shivered. They welcomed freedom with a cry. They shrank from the master who still strove for their chains

the government

so mighty the human passions that swayed and blinded men. Amid it all

in the evening of life

her awful face black with the mists of centuries

too

they went to their long home

was the field of work for the Freedmen's Bureau; and it was continued by the act of 1868 until 1869

The buying and selling of land

over half a million patients had been treated by Bureau physicians and surgeons back to the critical trial of a

and there was to be no peonage or forced labor. So far

the outcome was necessarily varied. The largest element of success lay in the fact that the majority of the freedmen were v

laborers advised

the freedman who regarded freedom as perpetual r

and larger things were planned; abandoned lands were leased s

and public lands were opened for settlemen

that the opportunity of binding the Negro peasant willingly to the soil was lo

that their land was not theirs

Samuel Armstrong

in

insult

an element of danger and revolution

Atlanta

showed that the ex-slave was handling some free capital already. The chief initial source of this was the fact that the quotas of colored regiments from Northern States were largely filled by recruits from

payments were accompanied by such frauds that Congress

and some

and one of the Bureau. If the Bureau could have maintained

and must have in time have gained confidence; but the nature of its other activities and the character of its personnel prejudiced

to keep the strong from wanton abuse of the weak

hopeless task. The former masters of the land were peremptorily ordered about

raped

if not of individual owners; while the Bureau officials too often were found striving

in

Mr. Washington has encountered the strongest and most lasting opposition
mere envy; the disappointment of displaced demagogues and the spite of narrow minds. But

sorrow

indeed
he so largely retains the respect of all.

--criticism of writers by readers

--a loss o

--a feeling of revolt and revenge; an attempt to adjust all thought and action to the will of the greater group; or

--typified in the terrible Maroons

thoughts of ultimate adjustment and assimilation. Such aspiration was especially voiced in
the fighting of Salem and Poor

made three fierce

in 1822 under Vesey in Carolina

began to change the basis of their demands; they recognized the slavery of slaves

Shad of Wilmington

in

Steh'n i\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
Die nicht fuhlen

and in vacation time they sallied forth in lusty bands to me
and I shall not soon forget that summer

Negroes at night. A picnic now and then

eight

in

and the merry boy

brown

but he was still jovial. We talked of the acres bought

Uncle Bird told me how
working and saving

and Life and which

lies the City of a Hundred Hills
the tinkle of bell and scr

until the seething whirl of the city seemed a strange thing in a sleepy land.

even Atlanta slept dull and drowsy at the foot-hills of the Allegh
aroused and maddened her

--perhaps with some bitterness

in

something was vanquished that deserved to live

something sordid and mean

and

Gateway to the Land of the Sun; Atlanta

and stretched long iron ways to greet the busy Mercury in his coming. And the Nation talked of he

tall and wild

startled over the first apple
the blazing passion of their love profaned the sanctuary of Love

sink from the high and generous ideals of youth to the gambler's code of the Bourse; and in all our Nation's striving is not the

if the aim of man is not rightly to be rich. And if this is the fault of America
stooping for mere gold

poverty
the re-birth of Law and Order

in

in

is there
the broadest possibilities of life

amid the heart-hurting slights and jars and vagaries of a deep race- dislike
and hear the voice of Time:

rather than the leaves

until they had scattered haphazard through the South some dozen poorly equipped high schools and miscalled them univers

and some the talent and capacity of blacksmiths; and that true training meant neither that all shoul

and the other a free workman among serfs. And to seek to make the blacksmith a scholar is almost as &

above all

bigoted:--religion that on both sides the Veil often om

and eighth command- ments

as before the war
can save her from the curse of the Boeotian lov)

in

and leave her kneeling in the Sanctuary of Truth and Freedom and bro

despising the education of the masses

the conservation of soul from sordid aims and petty passions! Let us build the Southern university-- William and Mary

Texas

plant deeply and for all time centres of learning and living

joining their hands to other hands

Manners

not otherwise

--a needed knowl- edge in a day of loose and careless logic; and they whose lot is grave/

or train them in liberal arts? Neither and both: teach the workers to work and the thinkers to think; make carpent

and fops o0

a group within a group. And the final product of our training must be neither a psychologi

we must have ideals

and bringing 2

while yonder at the University the stars twinkle above Stone Hall. And they say that yon gray mist is the tunic of Atalanta pa

in

fly

And naked on the Air of Heaven ride

have flowed down to our day three streams of thinking: one swollen from the larger world here an

the multiplying of human wants in culture-lands calls for the world-wide cooperation of men in satisfying them. Hence arises

black

in

ate wildly weak and untrained minds is to play with mighty fires; to flout their striving idly is to welcome a harvest of brutish crime.

But thargy in our very laps. The guiding of thought and the deft coordination of deed is at once the path of honor and humanity.

And so, in this great question of reconciling three vast and partially contradictory streams of thought, the one panacea of Education?

Training or brutalizing; such training as will give us poise to encourage the prejudices that bulwark society, and to stamp out those

But when we have vaguely said that Education will set this tangle straight, what have we uttered but a truism? Training for life?

For black men and white? A hundred and fifty years ago our task would have seemed easier. Then Dr. Johnson blandly assured us that education was needful solely for the embellishment of knowledge to all, display its treasures to many, and select the

few to whom its mystery of Truth is revealed, not wholly by birth or the accidents of the stock market, but at least in part according to

me, however, we are sorely puzzled in carrying out through that part of the land where the blight of slavery fell hardest, and where

of the permanent and the contingent--of the ideal and the practical in workable equilibrium.

In rough approximation we may point out four varying decades of work in Southern education since the Civil War. From the close of the war until 1876, was the

period of uncertain groping and temporary relief. There were army schools, mission schools, and schools of the Freedmen, and a co- operating system and co- operation. Then followed ten years of constructive definite effort toward the building of complete school systems.

From 1876 to 1885, there was the inevitable tendency of war to underestimate the prejudices of the master and the ignorance of the slave. From 1885 to 1895, began the industrial revolution of the South. The land saw glimpses of a new destiny and the stirring of new ideas.

The educational system striving to complete itself saw new obstacles and a field of work ever broader and deeper. The Negro colleges, hurriedly founded, were inadequately equipped, illogically distributed, and of varying efficiency and grade; the normal schools

for children who ought to be in them, and training these too often poorly. At the same time the white South, by reason of its sudden transition into harsh law and harsher custom; while the marvellous pushing forward of the poor white daily threatened to take even broader

for the handicapped sons of the freedmen. In the midst, then, of the larger problem of Negro education sprang up the more practical question of work, the inevitable economic quandary that faces a people in the transition.

The industrial school springing to notice in this decade, but coming to full recognition in the decade beginning with 1895, was the

school. From the very first in nearly all the schools some attention had been given to training in handiwork, but now was this training

in

Are there a sufficient number of Negroes ready for college training to warrant the undertaking? Are not too many stu- dents p

and quantity rather than quality has somet_

What kind of insti- tutions are they? what do they teach? and what sort of men do they graduate?

Fisk

THEIR CHILDREN

but character. It was not and is not money these seething millions want

that finest thing in American history

hoped and harkened in the dawning light. In actual formal content their curriculum was

in

for it was the contact of living souls.

be couf

Yale

How far did their training fit them for life? It is of course extremely difficult to collect satisfactory data on such a point

and published the results. First they sought to know what these graduates were doing

heads of normal schools

and artisans

and look

with deeper devotion to their life-work

their propor- tion of ne'er-do-wells

and that no people a m

careful leaders. They have seldom been agitators

in

college men are slowly but surely leavening the Negro church

lawyers

and if the two and a half thousand who have had something of this training in the past have in the main proved themselves u

is clear. But such transfor

the races are to live for many years side by side

mutual respect and growing intelligence

both white and black

and a hap

largely silent or antagonistic to the higher education of the Negro.

they have tasted of the Tree of Life

the demand

22 Negro graduates from Northern colleges; from 1885 to 1890 there were 43

in

simply an armed camp for intimidating black folk. Such wasty

crooked present

lacking though they be in formal logic

they ask

when you fasten crime upon this race as its peculiar trait
East

juster

must be sunk deep in the college and university if we would build a solid

infinitely more danger to be apprehended from half-trained minds and shallow thinking than from over-education and over-ref

in

reverent comradeship between the black lowly and the black men emancipated by training and culture.

is clear: it must maintain the standards of popular education

must persist and evolve that higher individualism which the centres of culture protect; there must come a loftier respect for th

the unknown treasures of their inner life

and doing precious to all human hearts. And to themselves in these the days that try their souls

and they come all gra- ciously with no scorn nor condescension. So

we sight the Promised Land?

as the curtains of Solomon. Look not upon me

unlovely vil- lages

in

three hundred and sixty years ago

something Southern

you may stand on a spot which is to-day the centre of the Negro problem

both now and yesterday

like some of their descendants

and so earnest were the prayers of Whitefield

there used to come a strong protest against slavery from the Scotch Highlanders;Ž

from Virginia and from smugglers

had reached two hundred thou- sand in 1820

until Fate and the United States Gover□

and a little white girl with her nurse

in

luxuriant

--that strange land of shadows

but we can see the great cotton co
now thin and gray

we stop. Two hundred miles south of Atlanta

with ten thousand Negroes and two thousand whites. The Flint River winds down from Anderson- ville

a

was ceded to Georgia. Still

and east Georgia

luxuriant with forests of pine

Southern town

fills the stores

uncouth country folk

meet and gossip with friends

the centre of the life of ten thousand souls; their point of contact with the outer world
their fountain of justice and law. Once upon a time we knew country life so well and city life so little

in

without train or trolley

determined heat that seems quite independent of the sun; so it took us some days to muster courage enough to leave the po
and we jogged leisurely southward in the valley of the Flint. We passed the scattered box-like cabins of the brickyard hands

in

a sprea

all ragged and wild; a solitary gate-post standing where once was a castle entrance; an old rusty anvil lying amid rotting bello

past phantom gates and falling

the Gandys

wealth

--and now

hoeing to support her

lord of two thousand acres shrewdly won and held. There is a store conducted by his black son

and the farm

--two of blacks and three of whites; and in one of the houses of the whites a worthless black boy was harbored too openly two

in

in

and then bowed almost to the ground

too

and farmer and hired labor replace to some extent the absentee landlord and rack-rented tenant. The crops have neither the

and beneath ß

and "paid out enough for fertilizers to have bou

in

or if he took a

and then it was clearly to the mas- ter's interest to have both of theim take new mates. This widespread custom of two centu

to all intents and purposes

a rival suitor

and only a general raising of the standard of living will finally cure it.

over eighty per cent

one might almost say

of the function of government

black and cu

it laughs and weeps its bitter tears

and children--are farmers. Indeed

in

but the crime of this happy-go-lucky nation which goes blundering along with its Reconstruction just as though God really #%%îwere dead. Once in debt

out of three hundred tenant families one hundred

which means that they work for board and clothes. Such an econom

is the widespread opi

of all g

are the inevitable results of this pondering. I see now that ragged black man

when he said: "White man sit down whole year; Nigger work day and night and make crop; Nigger hardly gits bread and mea

they migrate to town. Just as centuries ago it w)+îas no easy thing for the serf to escape into the freedom of to

and especially in Mississippi

and the Negroes are beyond the reach of schools and intercourse with their advancing fellows. I

elected by white suf- frage

and then the labor due the county can easily be bought by the master. Such a system is impossible in the more civilize

.îyond the telegraph and the newspaper the spirit of the Thirteenth Amendment is sadly broken. This represents the lowest e

in

the dissatisfied and shiftless field-hand as a starting-point

in

first of economic

--the "Up- per Ten" of the land. The cro

stock

comes pay and interest for food and clothing advanced him during the year. Thus we have a laborer without capital and with
and is usually in vogue on poor land with hard- pressed owners.

the position of the metayers has sunk to a dead level of practi- cally unrewarded toil. Formerly all tenants had some capital

now

or if the land deteriorated

the rent rose even higher; if cotton fell

his corn was confiscated and his mule sold for debt. There were

in

in

in the higher walks of life

in the saloon

I have sincerely sought to I

without coming to feel more and more with each generation that the present drawing of the color-line is a flat contradic- tion

the problem would be comparatively simple; but what can we say to his ignorance

they reply

in spite of tremend^{ous} disadvantages

simply because they are Negroes

of incompetency

--for the Negro to realize more deeply than he does

and

But vaster."

Where the lost stars adown the heaven\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 s are hurled

in

Mystery

far from my foster home

thrilling

or interrupted the long prayer with a loud Amen! And

was the air of intense excitement that possessed that mass of black folk. A sort of suppressed terror hung in the air and seemed

and then the gaun

and a scene of human passion such as I had never conceived before.

but as seen they are awful. Three things characterized this religion of the

in

in

came soon to breed, as all fatalistic faiths will, the sensualist side by side with the martyr. Under the lax moral life of the plantation, where marriage was a farce, laziness a virtue, and property a theft, a religion of the worst characteristics of the Negro masses of to-day had their seed in this period of the slave's ethical growth. Here it was that hopelessness replaced hopeful strife.

With the beginning of the abolition movement and the gradual growth of a class of free Negroes the small weight he had in the history of the nation. But we must not forget that his chief influence was internal,--was exerted in Philadelphia, New York, and New Orleans, the masses of the freedmen sank into poverty and listlessness; but not all of them. The freedom came to him a real thing and not a dream. His religion became darker and more intense, and into his ethics crept a note of hope to be hoped for in this day. Through fugitive slaves and irrepressible discussion this desire for freedom seized the black man.

"O Freedom, O Freedom, O Freedom over me! Before I'll be a slave I'll be buried in my grave,

when Emancipation finally came

the blood and dust of battle

he stood awaiting new wonders till the inevitable Age of Reaction swept over the nation and brought the crisis of to-day.

and sharing

overshadowed and dwarfed by the (to them) all-important question of their civil

in

thy first-begotten

†WHO HATH REMEMBERED ME? WHO HATH FORGOTTEN? Thou hast forgotten

in

but the child
with the shadow of a song in our ears. The busy city dinned about us; they did n
--they only glanced and said

with his
O God! beneath thy broad blue sky shall my dark baby rest in peace

in

in

had travelled

and millionaires and--sometimes--Negroes

formless thing--the temptation of Hate

--the sun-swept road that ran 'twixt heaven and earth until in one far-off wan wavering line they met a

wonderful. He raised his head

--calling faintly

--he stretched forth his hands eagerly

--they were calm

arguing

and injudicious

in

Why should I strive by special grace when the way of the world is closed to me?" All gently yet, the hands urged him on,--the hands of young John Jay, that daring father's daring son; the hands of the good folk of Boston, that free city. And yet the venerable Bishop raised his white arms above the Negro dead

And yet the fire through which Alexander Crummell went did not burn in vain. Slowly and more soberly he took up again his plan of life. More critically he studied the situation. Deep down below the slavery and servitude, of unbending righteousness, he felt, was their great shortcoming, and here he would begin. He would gather children grew, till the world hearkened, till--till--and then across his dream gleamed some faint after-glow of that first fair vision

One day--it was in 1842, and the springtide was struggling merrily with the May winds of New England--he stood at last in his own chapel in Providence, a priest of the Church, earnest voice; he haunted the streets and accosted the wayfarers; he visited the sick, and knelt beside the dying. He worked walls echoed more sharply, day by day the calls came fewer and fewer, and day by day the third temptation sat clearer and first it came casually, in the cadence of a voice: "Oh, colored folks? Yes." Or perhaps more definitely: "What do you EXPECT capable," he cried; "of course they can learn and strive and achieve--" and "Of course," added the temptation softly, "they do Despair? He had steeled his right arm against it, and fought it with the vigor of determination. But to doubt the worth of his life of eager endeavor; to hear his own lips whispering, "They do not care; they cannot know; they are dumb driven cattle,--why the chance! and cast his robe upon the floor and writhed.

The evening sunbeams had set the dust to dancing in the gloomy chapel when he arose. He looked back upon the narrow little pulpit with a weary smile, and locked the door. Then he walked briskly to the Bishop, and "What I need is a larger constituency. There are comparatively few Negroes here, and perhaps they are not of the best. I must

Bishop Onderdonk lived at the head of six white steps,--corpulent, red-faced, and the author of several thrilling tracts on Apostolic needs ring, and there must burst in upon the Bishop a letter and a thin, ungainly Negro. Bishop Onderdonk read the letter and he said, slowly and impressively: "I will receive you into this diocese

where Fox's "Lives of the Martyrs" nestled happily beside "The Whole Duty of Man." I seem to see

and

--here

the proud man's contumely

in

who had played many a long summer's day t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

sir

--

in

and said brusquely

answered John, with a brevity that did not escape the keen old man. He hesitated a moment, and then said shortly, "Very well,—we'll try you awhile. Good-morning.

gay

and it was a goodly sight to see the two swinging down Main Street together. And yet all did not go smoothly between them

representative to the legislature

the younger man would say after dinner, as he lighted a cigar and stood by the fireplace, "you surely don't expect a young fellow to come to this town with nothing but mud and Negroes?" "I did," the Judge would answer laconically; and on this particular day it seemed so, and the conversation drifted.

\par

"Heah that John is livenin' things up at the darky school," volunteered the postmaster, after a moment.

\par

"What now?" asked the Judge, sharply.

\par

"Oh, nothin' in particular,—just his almighty air and up-pish ways. B'lieve me I did heah somethin' about his givin' talks on the French Revolution, equality, and such like. He's what I call a dangerous Nigger."

--but Sally

in

Peggy's son

took his hat and cane

hard pull to get things started in the rickety old shanty that sheltered his school. The Negroes were rent into factions for

pencils

he said cheerfully, "that's better; but you mustn't chop your words up so: 'If--the-man--goes.' Why, your little brother even would

he cain't talk."

as the red

and the women had retired with headache

complaining disconsolately

in

Yes, mammy, I'm going--North.

he went out into the narrow lane

romping together under the solemn trees. The night deepened; he thought of the boys at Johnstown. He wondered how B

--Jones? Why

or the hurry and shouting of men? Yes

away from the dark shadows where lay the noise of horses galloping

and looked steadily down the pathway

and he saw in front that haggard white-haired man

I'll go to judgment in the evening of the day

and yet at once I knew them as of me and of mine. Then in after years when I came to Nashville I saw the great temple built

noon

it has been

and above all it has been persistently mistaken and misunderstood; but notwithstanding

in

like "Near the lake where drooped the willow

one may pluck from the forest of melody-songs of undoubted Negro origin and wide popular currency

the United States refused to fulfill its promises of land to the freedmen

in

sweet chariot

for instance

and songs like "March on" (chapter six) and "Steal away" while the third is a blending of Negro music with the music heard in the foster land. The result is still distinctly Negro and as "Swanee River"

with the growth has gone the debasements and imitations-- the Negro "minstrel" songs

the slave spoke to the world. Such a message is naturally veiled and half articulate. Words and music have lost each other

which figures as a river of death; more often slight words or mere doggerel are joined to music of singular sweetness. Purely

songs are few in number, partly because many of them were turned into hymns by a change of words, partly because the

The words that are left to us are not without interest, and, cleared of conventional theology and unmeaning rhapsody. Like

; the "Wilderness" was the home of God, and the "lonesome valley" led to the way of life. "Winter'll soon be over," was the

"My Lord calls me, He calls me by the thunder, The trumpet sounds it in my soul.

singing:

Oh

and he rebukes the devil of doubt who can whisper:

"Jesus is dead and God's gone away.

the wail of the wanderer

in

and also with them

but home is unknown. Strange blending of love and helplessness sings through the refrain:

Git home bime-by."

my only child."

and in one of the oldest of these songs there is a depth of history and meaning:

poor gal; Ro-sy break my poor heart

and amid the dust and dirt the toiler sang:

fly over my grave

is quain

which tly turned into "Zion, weep-a-low," and the wheels of Ezekiel are turned every way in the mystic dream

par

par "There's a lit'le wheel a-turnin' in-a-my heart.

the rhythm of the songs

chiefly paraphrases of the Bible. Three short series of verses have always attracted me

in

so

somewhere

would have made it difficult for the Teuton to prove his right to life. Two thousand years ago such dogmatism
and the limits of human perfectability

flamed

conquer the soil

have billowed over this people

shared their sorrow

our cheer

theÛÛin anon in His good time America shall rend the Veil and the prisoned shall go free. Free

instinct with life
are singing to the sunshine

Let us cheer the wea-ry trav-el-ler A- -long the heav-en-ly way.

and goes his way.

Gentle One

in this drear day when human brotherhood is mockery and a snare. Thus in Thy good time may infin

in

much less so as to render the blow a contributing factor to its own continued action. While but loses its identity as a living thing. \par

moisture

in

the life process continues in increasingly complex forms. As some species die out

tastes

in the case of human beings

but that they be initiated into the interests

hopes

makes possible through transmission of ideas and practices the constant reweaving of the social fabric. Yet

indeed

in communication. There is more than a verbal tie between the words common

however

skill

has his own attitude modified. Nor is the one who communicates left unaffected. Through the experiment of

but the very process of living together educates. It enlarges and enlightens experience; it stimulates and

as long as he really lives instead of just continuing to subsist

or to subordinate that educative effect to some external and tangible result

we find very little formal teaching and training. Savage groups mainly rely for instilling needed dispositions

since books and the symbols of knowledge are mastered.

in some measure

isolated from the subject matter of life-experience. The permanent social interests are likely to be lost from

ordinary vital experience fails to gain in meaning

while every social arrangement is educative in effect

a society transforms uninitiated and seemingly alien beings into robust trustees of its own resources and

in

in

her dashes

showing underlined words thus.

nor it is entirely clear which initial letters are capitalized.

in

--

in

in

flying:

flying;

in

for me!

in

--\line As children

prodigious

peer\line In shanties by the sides of roads;\line And then a quarry pare
hooting stanza;\line Then chase itself down hill

\line @Bîl could not fix the year
\line Have I the art to say.

\line When

\line Beguiles the centuries of way!

\line Nor noticed that the ebbing day\line Flowed silver to the west

-- sandals for the barefoot;\line There

have blamed\line The homelier time behind.

in

--\line That scalding one

\line But then

I tell you that my heart\line Would split
stintless stars

in

--\line The news would strike me dead!
\line Incautious of the sun.

now

\line Who hath suffered him.

\line Its temple stands alway

--

\line Then bubbled slow away.

perhaps

\line How many the fictitious shores\line Before the harbor lie.

\line And it is bells within.

in

drew the table near
lone

\line As berry of a mountain bush\line Transplanted to the road.

\line As well the sky\line Attempt by strategy.
\line Lest it fZîall

\line And blue
trained below
\line To us

\line I dared not open

\line And leave me standing there.

\line Nor tambourine
\line Please God

\line Odd secrets of the line to tell!\line Some sailor
\line Unscrutinized by eye.
--\line Slow tramp the centuries

in

\line And this brief tragedy of flesh\line Is shifted like a sand;

\line The realm of you.

--\line The colors of the commonest;\line And scarce of diadems
\line To miss it beggars so.

\line How better than a gem!

in the isles of spice
-- each night to owe

slow

behind you
\line And then you and I were silenter.
cautious

and shake your head!"

\line For firm conviction of a mouse\line Not exorcised before

in

\line Would the Eden be an Eden

--\line Lest interview annul a want\line That image satisfies.

like drunken men

--\line Till those two troubled little clocks\line Ticked softly into one.

\line Whose bonnets touch the firmament
and which am I

\line Along appointed sands.

\line And mine the distant sea

imperial

--\line Whose invitation

\line See where it hurt me
to me

\line The feeblest or the waywardest

her assembly;\line And when the sun goes down

some wise man from the skies!\line Please to tell a little pilgrim\line Where the place called morning lies!

\line Circumference between.

in

or the light
A sudden musket spills.
packed a night

The parlor of the day!

And life would be all spring.
her wheeling king
The want of diadems!
Her unanointed forehead
Henceforth her only one.

As 't were a tropic show.
from the sky
And afternoon

God bless his suddenness
With gay delays he goes
To some superior tree
Without a single leaf

Anemone and bell

"Their bed-time 't is

Bees' exclusive coterie.
Paris could not lay the fold
Belted down with emerald;
Venice could not show a cheek

in

\line The blissful oriole.

a thief

--\line He hurts a little

the tallest one\line Could stretch to look at me.

\line The Queen of Calvary.

probably

\line Who knows but she would tell?

\line What sorcery had snow?

\line Know what the sapphire fellows do

\line He grasped

\line Their coming mentioned be.

in

and charted too!

everything

\line Hid heaven and earth from view.

off banks of noon

\line I more than once
--\line When

\line And zero at the bone.

\line That mushroom

Lost.

in

\line That stiffens quietly to quartz

I mean --\line

in

\line And Mr. Thomson's sheaves.

a sunny mind

\line Till it is lost in fleeces;\line It flings a crystal veil

\line Recordless

\line §©îDenying they have been.

I'm too astonished\line To think of answering you!\line Going to heaven! --\line How dim it sounds!\line And yet it will be done

\line Hast thou no arm for me?

\line To her fair repose.
from agony!

had they lived

--

in

\line Salute and pass without a hint --\line And there the matter ends.

\line So shy

\line When suddenly across the Junelline A wind with fingers goes.

like the bird

himself was shy;\line And God forbid I look behind\line Since that appalling day!

--\line Tenderly tucking them in from frost\line Before their feet are cold.

\line Though all the rest are here

\line To our penurious eyes!

\line Her God her only throng.

\line Jehovah's countenance!

\line Or settled regions wild.

in

\line And failed to wake them up
\line Knock

\line 'T was sunset all the day.
and was there.

--\line A prank nobody knew but them

\line And chatted close with this grand thing
\line That don't remember you?
\line Past what ourselves can estimate

\line The forest of the dead.
\line Eternity's white flag before

to an^{3/4}Äîd fro?

\line Or early task to do?
\line And trudging feet from school.
\line And visions vast and small.\line Strange that the ¿Äîfeet so precious charged
\line Should reach so small a goal!

\line And morn should beam
\line

\line So busy was she

in

moonless
hid in our apartment

in

what are you prepared to do and dare in their behalf? Be faithful

it is evident

are seldom the "stuff" out of which reformers and abolitionists are to be made. I remember that
as converts. A man must be disposed to judge of emancipation by other tests than wh

you began
but by the cruel and blighting death which gathers over his soul.

what it is at its best estate--gaze on its bright side

and

for a moment

the half- free colored man of Massachusetts is worse off than the pampered slave of the rice swamps!

are no incidental aggravations

in

you may
till the other day

in 1776

in

in

as evidence of their contentment and happiness. It is impossible to conceive of a greater mistake. Slaves sing most when th
but seldom to express my happiness. Crying for joy

(Mr. M'Durmond.) This garden was probably the gre\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0
and Annapolis--to see it. It abounded in fruits of almost every description

few of[]i whom had the virtue or the vice to resist it.

or had tried to get in. In either case

with the severest punishment; no excuse could shield them

made the office of old and young Barney a very trying one. They never knew when they were safe from punishment. They w
it was owing to some fault of his k

he had

a slave must stand

kneel down upon the cold

--and three sons-in-law

in

he met a colored man

replied the slave. "Well, does the colonel treat you well?" "No, sir," was the ready reply. "What, does he work you too hard?" "Which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo", he gives me enough, such as it is.

not dreaming that he had been conversing with his master. He thought

he was now to be sold to a Georgia trader. He was immediately chained and handcuffed; and thus

from his family and friends

almost universally say they are contented

especially when speaking to an untried man. I have been frequently asked

consider myself as uttering what was absolutely false; for I always measured the kindness of my master by the standard of kindness

under the influence of this prejudice

when the very reverse is true. Indeed

in an eminent degree

and had shown himself worthy of the high station of overseer upon the home or Great House Farm.

cruel

on the part of the slave

in the presence of the slaves

in

himself

and obdurate enough to be insensible to the

shrill voice heard

he indulged in no jokes

and bountifully with his whip

never inconsistent. He never promised but to fulfil. He was

he ran and plunged himself into a creek

but stood his ground. Thxzïe second and third calls were given with the same result. Mr. Gore then

taking deadly aim at his standing victim

if suffered to pass without some such demonz]ïstration on his part

the freedom of the slaves

when I left there; and if he is still alive

in Talbot county

among other things

a young girl between fifteen and sixteen years of age\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0
s□□ïo that the poor girl expired in a few hours afterward. She was immediately buried

and

in

finding the girl slow to move

and on the f... premises of Mr. Beal Bondly. At this trespass

I know not. At any rate

in

in

for a drink of water. Instead of the voices of her children
when the beginning and ending of human existence meet
is left all alone

howev

a great change had taken place in Master Hugh and his once kind and affectionate wife. The influence of brandy upon him

too

instead of going down

in March

being equally mean and cruel. I was now

is regarded as the mos

it is the general practice

and myself; and we were allowed less than a half of a bushel of corn-meal per week

in

and our pious mistress was aware of

adopted slaveholders are the worst.

and at times lax. At times

words

being assumed

and was held as such even by his slaves. The luxury of having slaves of his own to wait upon him was something new and u

andô ö î were hardly disposed to title him at all.
doubt not that our conduct had much to do with making him appear awkward, and of consequence fretful. Our want of rever
do so. His wife used to insist upon our calling him so, but to no purposõ ÷ îe. In August, 1832, my master attended a Me
d lead him to emancipate his slaves, and that, if he did not do this, it would, at any rate, make him more kind and humane. I v
effect on his character, it made him more cruel and hateful in all his ways; for I believe him to have been a much worse man a
e barbarity; but after his conversion, he found religious sanction and support for his slaveholding cruelty. He ÷ ù î made the
mself among his brethren, and was soon made a class-leader and exhorter. His activity in revivals was great, and he proved
eat pleasure in coming there to put up; for while he starved us, he stuffed them. We have had three or four preachers there a
r. Hickey. I have also seen Mr. George Cookman at our house. We slaves loved Mr. Cookman. We believed him to be a good
ot the impression that he was laboring to effect the emancipation of all the slaves. When he was at our house, we were sure
ce of us than eitú ü îher of the other ministers. He could not come
par While I lived with my master in St. Michael's, there was a white young man, a Mr. Wils
on, who proposed to keep a Sabbath school for the instruction of such slaves as might be disposed to learn to read the New
nd other missiles, drove us off, and forbade us to meet again. Thus e
par I have said my master found religious sanction for his cruelty. As an example, I will state one
to prove the charge. I have seen him ü þ îtie up a lame young woman, and whip her with a heavy cowskin upon her nake
noweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many s

and whip her again

in

in

and I sadly before the bloody whip! You are freedom's swift-winged ang

a!

save me! God

I shall not be required to have a pass; I can travel without being disturbed. Let

I will try to bear up under the yoke. I am not the only slave in the world. Why should I fret? I can bear as much as any of the

William Hughes

requiring strength rather than intellect; yet

I nerved myself up

and came to the spot where we were. He h)

in

asked me wha*

and succeeded in gaining my feet; but

making a large wound

I must that afternoon walk seven miles; and this

while Covey was looking in an opposite direction

threatening what he would do if I did not come. I disregarded both his calls and his threats

and near enough to prevent losing my way. I had not gone far before my little strength again failed me. I could go no farther

through bogs and briers

at times to affect him. He would then walk the floor

an

in

(it being quite late

and

thinking

or stay in the woods and be starved to death.

he was on his way to see her. I told him my circ7

with great solemnity

carrying it ~always on my right side

that the simple carrying of a root in my pocket would have any such effect as he h

if it did no good. To please him

this sing

I was called to go and rub

and was glad to obey. But whilst thus engaged

in

and as I did so

I rose. He held on to me

and gave him a heavy kick close under the ribs. This kick fairly sickened Hughes

and that

bold defiance took its place; and I now resolved that

in

we were not required to perform any labor

wa

mats

fiddling

more to be dreaded than the most appalling earthquake.

the slaveholders not only like to see the slave drink of his own accord

in

when the slave asks for virtuous freedom

artfully labelled with the name of liberty. The most of us used to drink it down

when the holidays ended
from what our masterQ

a slave loves molasses; he steals some. His master

until the poor fellow is made sick at the very mention of it. The same mode is sometimes adopted to make the slaves refrain

and compels him to eat it within a given time. Then

drawn from my own observation

and went to live with Mr. William Freeland

religion; and this

--and a dark shelter under

religious slaveholders

in

but to live in a community oY

a woman slave

~rZ

to remind him of his master's authority. Such

or motion

and it must be whipped out. Does he speak loudly when spoken to by his master? Then he is getting high

when censured for

--or

would not prefer to live

--more attentive to the class

later

gave us enough to eat; but

and with ease

compared with what I experienced at the hands of Mr. Edward Covey.

in

and in a very little while after I went there

that there mud

boxing

both class-leaders

and those of the right sort

in

I should prefer death to hopeless bondage.

Charles Roberts

a distance of seventy or eighty m

that we were less liable to be suspected as runaways; we

and being so disposed

they were in }

my servant

and the\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo se protections were only intended to protect us while on the bay.

and inspiring all with the firmness indispensable to success in our undertaking; assuring them that half was gained the instan

sit down

that

but with bosoms □

in

came. I hailed it with joy

were alike mine. The first two hours of that morning were such as I never experienced before
to the field. We were spreading manure; and all at once
in the fulness of which I turned to Sandy

in

come! move

why don't you heat up some pitch?"--"Halloo! halloo! halloo!" (Three voices at the same time.) "Come here!--Go there

and no one seemed to see any impropriety in it. All hands

as alleged

and poor white men would be thrown out of employment. They therefore felt called upon at once to put a stop to it. And

unless he would discharge his black carpenters. Now

being encouraged by the jourç

and struck back again

stones

and with this they all ran upon me

one of their number gave me

in

and Anna took up the other
in case my money did not serve me to New Bedford

notwithstanding we lacked the necessary money to pay our fare

in

è

sted that my name be "Douglass." From that time until now I have been called "Frederick Douglass;" and as I am more widely

\par

I was quite disappointed at the general appearance of things in New Bedford. The impression which I had received respecting the character and condition

é

of the people of the north, I found to be singularly erroneous. I had very strangely supposed, while in slavery, that few of the

scarcely any of the luxuries, of life were enjoyed at the north, compared with what were enjoyed by the slaveholders of the south

è

a level with the non-slaveholding population of the south. I knew they were exceedingly poor, and I had been accustomed

absence of slaves, there could be no wealth, and very little refinement. And upon coming to the north, I expected to meet with

è

and uncultivated population, living in the most Spartan-like simplicity, knowing nothing of the ease, luxury, pomp, and grandeur of southern slaveholders. Such being my con-

\par

In the afternoon of the day when I reached New Bedford,

è

I visited the wharves, to take a view of the shipping. Here I found myself surrounded with the strongest proofs of wealth. Upon

the right and left, I was walled in by granite warehouses of the widest dimensions, stowed to their utmost capacity with the

í

almost every body seemed to be at work, but noiselessly so, compared with what I had been accustomed to in Baltimore. There were no loud songs heard from those engaged in loading and unloading ships

and I endeavored to understand his work, and went at it

è

with a sober, yet cheerful earnestness, which betokened the deep interest which he felt in what he was doing, as well as a

As I strolled around and over the town, gazing with wonder and admiration at the splendid churches, beautiful dwellings, and

í

as I had never seen in any part of slaveholding Maryland.

\par

Every thing looked clean, new, and beautiful. I saw few or no dilapidated houses, with poverty-stricken inmates; no half-naked

è

ones, and Baltimore. The people looked more able, stronger, healthier, and happier, than those of Maryland. I was for once made glad by a view of extreme wealth, without being saddened by

the most interesting thing to me was the condition of the colored people, a great many of whom, like myself, had escaped thither

è

and I saw them evidently enjoying more of the comforts of life, than the average of slaveholders in Maryland. I will venture to assert, that my

gave me drink; I was a stranger, and he took me in") lived in a neater house; dined at a better table; took, and

è

paid for, and read, more newspapers; better understood the moral, religious, and political character of the nation,--than nine slaveholders in Talbot county Maryland. Yet Mr. Johnson was a working man. His hands were hardened by toil, and not his alone,

\par

a determination to protect each other from the blood-thirsty kidnapper, at all hazards. Soon after my arrival, I was told of a

\par

in

mercy

and missionaries to instruct him; while they despise a
growing out of the use of general terms
of those bodies

the religion of the north

And women buy and children sell
Gorge down black sheep

and Sam

and swing\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 the lash abhorred

Hailing the brother

and scold

And drive

in

And lay up treasures in the sky

Who lived on mutton

and shook his head; He seized on Tom

And cram their mouths with sweetened cakes; And this goes down for union."

and justice

I have given

in

perished in prison. The abolition of slavery in my native State and t

cease to avail myself of this formula
have yielded to that feeling sooner

height

would return them to the owner. The operation was a hazardous one f

and was seldom discovered.

at least

and to my surprise and relief
in friendly contrast with his bear

in

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\=?i\loch\fo

in

I told the driver which I would make it right with him when we reached New Bedford
--and I held them until I was able to redeem them

and high civilization of this section of the country.

in

forty years of renewal and development

the terrors of the Ku-Klux Klan

he began to grasp a new idea. The ideal of liberty demanded for its attainment powerful means

but still inspired. Slowly but steadily

to know and test the power of the cabalistic letters of the white man
leading to heights high enough to overlook life.

Which of the dark pupils of these schools know how faithfully

the mists were often cold

the journey at least gave leisure for reflection and self-examination; it changed the child of Emancipation to the youth with da

--darkly as through a veil; and yet he saw in himself some faint revelation of his power

that dead-weight of social degradation partially masked behind a half-named Negro problem. He felt his povert

tools

of business

but also the hereditary weight of a mass of corruption from white adulterers

and learnedly explain it as the natural defence of culture against barbarism

righteousness

the ridicule and systematic humiliation

in

since we must always cook and serve?

and the sobering realization of the meaning of progress.

the training of brains and the training of hands

all these ideals must be melted and welded into one. The trai

and above all the broader

we still seek

the ideal of human brotherhood

in order that some day on American soil two world-races may give each to each those characteristics both so

in the name of this the land of their fathe

in

too

--What shall be done with Negroes? Peremptory military commands this way and that

penetrated Virginia and Tennessee than fugitive slaves appeared within their lines. They came at night

stalwart and gaunt

and put the fugitives to work; while Fremont

Halleck

Pierce was specially detailed from the ranks to study the conditions. First

the problem of the fugitives had assumed such proportions that it was taken fr

Vicksburg and Corinth

the National Freedmen's Relief Associati

--in all fifty or more active organizations

in

and systems were

and employment of freedmen

for the employment and general welfare" of the

in

and began examining the field of work. A curious mess he looked upon: little despotisms
unorganized almsgiving

after a year's work

in

now of a brother

introduced a bill to extend the Bureau and enlarge its powers. This measure received

and the necessity for war measures past; that the Bureau

and indeed unanswerable: the one that the ex- traordinar

the Fourteenth pending

and all the Southern land was awakening as from some wild dream to poverty and social revolution. In a time of perfect calm

--in such a case

rather a slavery that had here and there something of kindness

whatever their deeper convictions may have been

in

even though tho

the carpet-bagger

two figures ever stand to typify that day to coming ages

a blighted

had aforesaid quailed at that white master's command

at his behest had laid herself low to his lust
and

let us look upon four years of its work as a whole. There were

the establishment of schools

and sixty hospitals and asylums had been in operation. In fifty months twenty-one million

so good; but where local agents differed

even eager

wages guaranteed

that there was a mistake-- somewhere. If by 1874 the Georgia Negro alone ow

and Erastus

in

and blood; for the South believed an educated Negro to be a dangerous Negro. And the South was not wholly wrong; for
of dissatisfaction and discontent. Nevertheless

Howard

by joint resolution in 1867

at least

and led without

and the weak from gloating

seized

and butchered by angry and revengeful men. Bureau courts tended to become centres simply for punishing whites

in

amount- ing at times to bitterne““ŕss

and ”ŕapprehension at the wide currency and ascendancy which some of Mr. Washington's theories have gained. These sar

it is no ordinary tribute to this man's tact and po

--this is the soul

finally

the Danish blacks

the intellectual accomplishments of Banneker and Derham

and in 1831 again in Virginia under the terrible Nat Turner. In the Free States

but insisted that they themselves were freemen

Du Bois of New Haven

in

die nicht weinen! Nicht die zarte Jungfrau wahle

seventeen years ago.

and a suppeÎðîr

six miles stretch relentlessly a

in

perched behind me

slow girl

--one hundred and twenty-five

on a night like that
had bought for their widowed mother.

peering out from the shadows of th\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

and left her listening to the sea. And the sea cried to the hills and the hills answ

with a touch

in

something killed that in justice had not dared to die; to

something less than the broadest and best. All this is bitter hard; and many a man and city and people have found in it

would marry only him who out-raced her; and how the wily Hippome

but even as he stretched his hand
and

how dire a danger lies before a new land an
shall find that gold accursed!

the rise of the Third Es\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
and above and between all

in

in

to seek the better and the best

lies this green oasis

are the sources of its life; and from the dawn of history

too

to be the organ of that fine adjus

but substitutes a dozen supplementary ones. She has

but in broad busy abun- dance in the world of work; and until she has this

in

and nig- gardly in the support of colleges. Her ancient university foundations dwindled and withered under the foul breath of

Trini

Tulane

colleges that yearly would send into the life of -

and giving to this squabble of the Races a decent and dignified peace?

and Taste

not upside down.

broad

in

for yonder comes Hippomenes!

Were't not a Shame--were't not a Shame for him In this clay carcase crippled t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o abide?

pulling t5

yellow

in

and Howard

AND THEIR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\af0

but love and sympa- thy

and one of the few things untainted by sordid

in

Oberlin

--difficult to reach the men

and suc- ceeded in ge

principals of city school- systems

and four per cent were in the government civil- service. Granting even that a considerable proportion of the third unheard fro

their pedants and lettered fools

have withstood the temptation to head the mob

in

are healing and prevent- ing

and doctors

the question then comes

united in economic effort

it will call for social surgery at once the delicatest and nic

and in its final accomplishment Ameri- can civilization will triumph. So ft

and they will not cease to think

and from 1895 to 1900

in

until it grasps a gospel of revolt and revenge and throws its new-found energies athwart the current of advance. Even to-day

have burning truths within them which you may not whol

Who brought us? When you cry

they answer that slavery was the arch-crime
South

and fuller future. That one wise method of doing this lies in the

permanent structure. Internal problems of social advance must inevitably come

in

it must seek the social regeneration of the Negro

the strange rendings of nature they have seen

the chance to soar in the dim blue air above the smoke is to their finer spirits boon and guerdon for what they lose on earth b

wed with Truth

because I am black

and lean men loafed le%

in

wandered the cavalcade of Hernando de Soto

and something quite its own

--the centre of those nine million men who are America's dark heritage from slavery and

the Negro problems have seemed to be centered in this State. No other State in the Union can count a million

proceeded to take the law into the

that by the middle of the eighteenth century all restrictions were swept away

two thousand a year for many years more.

and half a million at the time of the war. Thus like a snake the black population writhed upward.

are in there. Usually the races are mixed in there; but the white coach is all white.

in

and here and there well tilled. This is the land of the Creek Indians; and a hard time the Georgians had to seize it. The town

at which even slaves paled in the past

with fruit-trees and dilapidated buildings

two hundred mile"

and

settlers fought shy of this land

toward the West. The Indians were removed to Indian Territory

oak

with a broad sweep of stores and saloons

blocks the sidewalks

good- natured and simple

stare at the shop windows

their centre of news and gossip

that we illustrated city life as that of a closely crowded country district

in

in the midst of cotton and corn

that w

and the long

in

brown and dingy

and the Lagores

and slaves. Yet even then the hard ruthless rap

what is the Egypt of the Confederacy

at thirty cents a day without board. Across the way i

a black- smith

with machinery and fertilizers

in

as the county prison is called; the white folks say it is ever full of black criminals,--Æ

É

the black folks say that only colored boys are sent to jail, and they not becaus

they are guilty, but because the State needs criminals to eke out its in

par

Immigrants are heirs of the slave baron in Dougherty; and as we ride westward, by wide stretc

on all sides within the circÇ

É

le of dark forest a Land of Canaan. Here and there are tales of projects for money-getting, born in the swift days of Reconstr

fell heir. It is a beautiful land, this Dougherty, west of the Flint. The forests are wonderful, the solemn pines have disappear

É

aks and palmettos. But a pall of debt hangs ove

the beautiful land; the merchants are in debt to the wholesal- ers, the planters are in debt to the merchants, the tenants owe

y waters. We passed one fenced stock-farm with grass and grazing catÉ

É

tle, that looked very home-like after endless corn and cotton. Here and there are black free-holders: there is the gaunt dull-b

If you don't look up you can't get up," remarks Jackson, philosophically. And he's gotten up. Dark Carter's neat barns would

ì

is immedi

tely laid claim to the estate. "And them white folks will get it, too," said

par

I turn from these well-tended acres with a comfortable feeling that the Negro is rising. Even th

e trees disap- pear. Rows of old cabins appear filled with renters and laborers,--cheerless, bare, aÉ

í

nd dirty, for the most part, al- though here and there the very age and decay makes the scene picturesque. A young black fe

two, and just married. Until last year he had good luck renting; then cotton fell, and the sheriff seized and sold all he had. So

dollars a year. Poor lad!--a slave at twenty-two. This plantation, owned now by a foreigner, was a part of the famous Bolton

u

l than now; it was a way of making Negroes work, and the question of guilt was a minor one. Hard tales of cruelty and mistrea

ained freemen are told, but the county authorities were deaf until the free-labor market was nearly ruined by whol

sale migra- tion. Then they took the convicts from the plantations, but not until one of the fairest regions of the "Oakey Woods

curse!

Ð

id tenants.

par

No wonder that Luke Black, slow, dull, and discouraged, shuffles to our carriage and talks hopelessly. Why should he strive?

d bind her own to sloth and misfortune as ruthlessly as ever England did! The poor land groans with its birth-pains, and bring

Ñ

in to the acre, where fifty years ago it yielded eight times as much. Of his meagre yi

ld the tenant pays from a quarter to a third in rent, and most of the rest in interest on food and supplies bought on credit. Two

wife and boarding himself on his Ð

Ó

wages of a dollar and a half a week, received only part of the year.

par

The Bolton convict farm formerly included the neighboring plantation. Here it was that the cor

A dismal place it still remains, with rows of ugly huts filled with surly ignorant tenants. "What rent do you pay here?" I inquire

Ó

It is a depressing place,--bare, unshaded, with no c

arm of past association, only a memory of forced human toil,--now, then, and before the war. They are not happy, these black

h

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It is a depressing place,--bare, unshaded, with no c

in

with an imper- turbable gravity that seemed almost suspiØ

there are fewer signs of a r

in

man and wife. Sometimes these unions are never broken until death; but in too many cases fa
or perhaps more frequently the hopeless battle to support a family

are poor and ignorant

with the price of cotton. The degree of ignorance cannot easily be expressed. We may say
of individual worth and possibilities

and looks in vague and awful longing at the grim horizon of its life

this is almost the only industry. Most of the ch

in

it is no easy matter for a whole race to emerge.

Louisiana

can usually be depended on to catch the fugitive

in

let us inquire how the black thousands of Dougherty have struggled from him up toward the

in

then of social classes

tools

and an employer whose capital is largely his employ- ee

and often considerable; but absentee landlordism

the rent fixed was reasonable

the result was to discourage and check the efforts of the black peas- antry. There is no doubt that thDFie latter case is true;

the rent remained or

of course

in

in

in all the high
the gambling-hell

shiftlessness

th

risen to the level of American civilization. And when
such a policy not only discourages thrift and intelligence among black men
of vice

--

in

Wonder

on a dark Sunday night. The road wandered from our rambling log-house up the stony bed of a creek
powerful

--a Pythian madness

in

in

it seemed to the freedman a l

and the wail and whirl of social upheaval. He stood dumb and motionless before the whirlwind: what had he to do with it?

although imperfectly

political

in

The hands that which\af0\dbch\af23\loch\af0
O summer swallow

in

Niggers!

--where Reverence dwells

in

in

cold and hungry

became throbbing souls whose warm pulsing life touched us so nearly that we half gasped with surprise

that hovered between him and the world--grew fainter and less si

stretched himself

calling loudly. He heard the hateful clank of their chains; he felt them cringe and grovel

and then

good men

half angrily demanding admit- tance

a vain rebel against God's law. And then from that Vision Splendid all the glory faded slowly away

in

finding it bottom- less

the Valley of Humiliation; yonder

The pangs of despised love

in

said the broad-shouldered gray-haired Judge every morning as he marched down to the post-office. "Showing the Yankees
me again with his letters and papers. Up at the great pillared house they lingered long over the Princeton letter,-- the Judge
then he asked the shy little waitress, "Well, Jennie, how's your John?"
Thus in the far-away Southern village the world lay waiting, half
onsciously, the coming of two young men, and dreamed in an inarticulate way of new things that would be done and new things
black; and the white folk thought of another John, and he was white.
Up in Johnstown, at the Institute, we were long puzzled at the case of John Jones. For a long
ay seemed unfit for any sort of moulding. He was loud and boisterous, always laughing and singing, and never able to work
ppall- ing good-humor, we were sore perplexed. One night we sat in faculty-meeting, worried and serious; for Jones was
ion to work, be suspended for the rest of the term.

in

Go 'round to the kitch

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

en door, John, and wait." Sitting on the kitchen steps, John stared at the corn, thoroughly perplexed. What on earth had com

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo .\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

He sought to teach them at the church, and had outraged their deepest feelings. He had schooled himself to be respectful t

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

o hard and strange to fit his old surroundings again, to find his place in the world about him. Ž He could not remember that

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo sister came to the kitchen door just then and said the Judge awaited

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The Judge sat in the dining-room amid his morning's mail, and he did not ask John to sit down

I John, I want to speak to you plainly. You know I'm a friend to your people. I've helped you and your family, and would have

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo a\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

spirations; but you and I both know, John, that in this country the Negro must remain subordinate, and can never expect to be

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo .\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

But when they want to reverse nature, and rule white men, and marry white women, and sit in my parlor, then, by God! we'll

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo r\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

n no- tions, going to accept the situation and teach the darkies to be faithful servants and laborers as your fathers were,--I kn

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo u going to try to put fool ideas of rising and equality into these folks' he

and headstrong. \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

for the younger man could not and di

and--who could say?--governor of Ge"--orgia. So the

our girl

in

--your old playfellow."

and walked straight to the schoolhouse.

the parents were careless

and slates largely missing. Nevertheless

angry face of the Judge appeared in the open doorway.

Good Lord! how long will this imprisonment last!" He was not a bad fellow,--just a little spoiled and self-indulgent, and as good as his proud father. He seemed a young man pleasant to look upon, as he sat on the great black stump at the edge of the

Just then his eye caught a tall, willowy figure hurrying toward him on the narrow path. He looked with interest at first, and before what a trim little body she is. Hello, Jennie! Why, you haven't kissed me since I came home," he said gaily. The young seized the young idler, and he caught at her arm. Frightened, she slipped

Yonder, toward the sea, at the end of the path, came John slowly, with his head down. He had been early homeward from the schoolhouse; then, thinking to shield his mother from the blow, started to meet his sister as she came. "I cannot live here longer." And then the fierce, buried anger surged

The great brown sea lay silent. The air scarce breathed. The dying day bathed the twisted pines in black and gold. There came from the wind no warning, not a whisper from the cloudless sky. There was only a black smoke the pines, to see his dark sister struggling in the arms of a tall and

He said not a word, but, seizing a fallen limb, struck him with all the pent-up hatred of his grief. John looked at it dreamily, then walked back to the house briskly, and said in a soft voice

in

up by the straight pines

he was Jones

surely! Clear and high the faint sweet melody rose and fluttered like a living thin

galloping on. With an eff

softly humming the "Song of the Bride

whose eyes flashed red with fury. Oh

And my soul and thy soul shall meet that day

and night

it still remains as the singular spiritual heritage of the nation and the greatest gift of the Negro people.

in

passed into current airs and their source was forgotten; others were caricatured on the "minstrel" stage and their melody died away. Then in war-time came the singular Port Royal experiment after the capture of Hilton Head, and perhaps the lines, where they met, were filled with a black folk of primitive type, touched and moulded less by the world about them than among stirring men with a mighty power. Thomas Wentworth Higginson hastened to tell of these songs, and Miss McKim and her friends have songs so deeply into the world's heart that it can never wholly forget them.

There was once a blacksmith's son born at Cadiz, New York, who in the changes of time travelled to the West at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg and finally served in the Freedmen's Bureau at Nashville. Here he formed a Sunday-school for the children of the freed slaves, and he taught them to sing the glory of the Jubilee songs passed into the soul of George L. White, he knew his life-work was to let those Negroes sing to the glory of our half-clothed black boys and five girl-women,--led by a man with a cause and a purpose. They stopped at Wilberforce, the school of the freedmen, and cheerfully sneered at, ever northward; and ever the magic of their song kept thrilling hearts, until a burst of applause in the city of New York brought them to the attention of the metropolitan dailies sneered at his "Nigger Minstrels." So their songs conquered till they sang across the continent and brought back a hundred and fifty thousand dollars to found Fisk University.

Since their day they have been imitated--sometimes well, by the singers of Hampton and Annapolis, and the quaint beauty of the music, and has filled the air with many debased melodies which vulgar ears scarce know from the real thing.

What are these songs, and what do they mean? I know little of music and can say nothing in technical phrase, but I know something of the life of the black slave in these eager days that life was joyous to the black slave, careless and happy. I can easily believe this of some, of many. The music of an unhappy people, of the children of disappointment; they tell of woe and of grief, but no despair; they sigh and complain, but never surrender.

The songs are indeed the siftings of centuries; the music is far more ancient than the words, and in it we can trace here and there signs of development. My grandfather's grandmother was seized by the pirates of the sea and shrank in the harsh north winds, looked longingly at the hills, and sang these songs.

Do ba-na co-ba, ge-ne me, ge-ne me! Do ba-na co-ba, ge-ne me, ge-ne me! Ben d' nu-li, nu-li!

The child sang it to his children and they to their children's children, and so two hundred years it has travelled down to us and is still sung.

This was primitive African music; it may be seen in larger form in the strange chant which the slaves sang in the West Indies.

"You may bury me in the East, You may bury me in the West, But I'll hear the trumpet sound when I shall rise again."

and songs peculiarly characteristic of the slave. One of these I have just mentioned. Another whose

a brigadier-general went down to the Sea Islands to carry the news. An old wo

in

--whose bars begin the life story of "Alexander Crummell." Then there is the song of many waters, "Roll, Jordan, roll," a mighty chorus with minor cadences. There were the song of the End and the Beginning--"My Lord, what a mourning! when the stars begin to fall"; a strain of this is placed before this chapter--"Wrestlin' Jacob, the day is a-breaking,"--a paean of hope

the three strains in the third

but the elemen

many of the "gospel" hymns

push along

and the plaint is put in one little phrase:

in

eloquent omissions and silences. Mother and child are sung

Heav'n shall-a-be my home.

and the limitations of allowable thought

--the one that heads this chapter

in

men will judge men by their souls and not by their skins. Is such a hope justified? Do the Sorrow Songs sing t

readily welcome

are veiled

and died in Africa? So long as the world stands meekly dumb before such questions

and lay the foundations of this vast economic empire

and they have found peace only in the altars of the God of Right. Nor has our gift of the Spirit been merely passive. Activ

mingled our blood with theirs

and warning have been given to this nation in blood-brotherhood. Are not these gifts worth the giving? Is not this work and s

free

tremulous treble and darkening bass. My chi
and thus they sing:

from out its leaves vigor of thought and thoughtful de

in

and the material of soil. To say that it uses them is to say that it \plainf1\fs24\cf0 turns them into means of its own conservat

in

forms better adapted to utilize the obstacles against which they struggled in vain come into being. Continuity

joys and sufferings. In precisely similar fashion we speak of the life of a savage tribe

the recreation of beliefs

purposes

expectations

the most civilized group will relapse into barbarism and then into savagery. In fact

one important method of the transmission which forms the dispositions of the immature; but it is only one method

community

they were all cognizant of the common end and all interested in it so that they regulated their

technical ability

with fullness and accuracy

the mature and the immature not only necessitates teaching the young

and the deliberate educating of the young. In the former case the education is incidental; it is natural and

it is not so easy as in dealing with adults. The need of training is too evident; the pressure to accomplish a

material

for the narrowness of available opportunities. Formal instruction

but which remain largely matters of technical information expressed in symbols

while schooling

the educative effect first becomes an important part of the purpose of the association in connection with the

a nurturing

in

in

often small enough to appear as dots

in

swindled for the first

step

night descending

\line Nor noticed night did soft descend\line Nor constellation burn

-- gathered from the gales

in

Sabachthani,"line Recited fluent here.

\par Earth would have been too much, I see,\line And heaven not enough for me;\line I should have had the joy\line Without

\par Defeat whets victory, they say;\line The reefs in old Gethsemane\line Endear the shore beyond.\line 'T is beggars banE

\par XXV.

\par SHIPWRECK.

\par It tossed and tossed, --\line A little brig I knew, --\line O'ertook by blast,\line It spun and spun,\line And groped delirious, f

\par It slipped and slipped,\line As one that drunken stepped;\line Its white foot tripped,\line Then dropped from sight.

\par Ah, brig, good-night\line To crew and you;\line The ocean's heart too smooth, too blue,\line To bFHîreak for you.

\par XXVI.

\par Victory comes late,\line And is held low to freezing lips\line Too rapt with frost\line To take it.\line How sweet it would have

\line Crumbs fit such little mouths,\line Cherries suit robins;\line The eagle's golden breakfast\line Strangles them.\line God ke

Gf

\par XXVII.

\par ENOUGH.

\par God gave a loaf to every bird,\line But just a crumb to me;\line I dare not eat it, though I starve, --\line My poignant luxury

For ampler coveting.

\par It might be famine all around,\line I could not miss an ear,\line Such plenty smiles upon my board,\line My garner shows s

Am sovereign of them all.

\par XXVIII.

\par Experiment to me\line Is every one I meet.\line If it contain a kernel?\line The figure of a nut

\par Presents upon a tree,\line Equally plausibly;\line But meat within is requisite,\line To squirrels and to me.

\par XXIX.

\par MY COUNTRY'S WARDROBE.

\par My country need not change her gown,\line Her triple suit as sweet\line As when 't was cut at Lexington,\line And first pro

\line Eternity enablesMOî the endeavoring\line Again.

for size of me.

\line As much of noon as I could take\line Between my finite eyes.

in

for you!

and sore.\line Ah

in

\line And touched the curious wine.
\line I looked in windows

\line And I a pauper go;\line Unfitted by an instant's grace\line For the contented beggar's face\line I wore an hour ago.

beloved air --

the duller scholars\line Of the mysterious bard!

lest a face\line I never saw before

nor man;\line It is not hymn from pulpit read
shall ascertain!

skirting foreign shores

\line And the cycles wheel.

in

\line The subtle cargoes lie.
\line Insolvent

slow

\line As if it held but the might of a child;\line You almost pitied it

\line

in

\line Or the earl an earl?

\line Did stagger pitiful.

\line Whose sandals touch the town
\line Upon an August day?

--\line Obedient to the oq̄ least command\line Thine eyes impose on me.

\line My lifetime folding up\line Deliberate

knew you not\line

-- that 's enough
\line As laughter was an hour ago

--\rtf\line Her admonition mild

in

\line The lady just unrolled.

and butterfly

\line A fellow in the skies
Of independent hues
\line And shout for joy to nobody
But his seraphic self!

\line Batschia in the blanket red

she said;
"The bumble-bees will wake them
When April woods are red.

in

--\line Betimes an oratorio

though.

\line An easy morning's ride.

\line In your new-fashioned world!

he bore away.\line What will the solemn hemlock

in

--line Over the stile of pear!

\line Leap

at morn
stooping to secure it

-- it is him.

in

line Upon her amber shoe.

in

line Thy windy will to bear!

but for them.

had died

in

so very ignorant

\line But rapid

--

in

recollect

\line Lost

--1/4^{3/4}\line That makes the quick of woe!

\line And God at every gate.

\line And noon should burn

finishing

in

one's own self encounter
In lonesome place.
Be horror's least.

in

be

must be

in 1838

I see

if it has one; and the

I am confident

the deadly system with which it was strangely allied. You have been with us

no individual ills

in

when you read me your memoirs. I hardly knew

signed the Declaration of Independence with the halter about their necks. You

in

what this separation is done, I do not know, unless it be to hinder the development of the child's affection toward its mother, and

I never saw my mother, her, to know her as such, more than four or five times in my life; and each of these times was very short in duration, and travelling the whole distance on foot, after the performance of her day's work. She was a field hand, and a whipping is the passion which they seldom get, and one that gives to him that gives it the proud name of being a kind master. I do not recollect how long before I waked she was gone. Very little communication ever took place between us. Death soon ended what little we

Called thus suddenly away, she left me without the slightest intimation of who my father was, father, may or may not be true; and, true or false, it is of but little consequence to my purpose whilst the fact remains, in all its cases follow the condition of their mothers; and this is done too obviously to administer to their own lusts, and make a gratification of a few, sustains to his slaves the double relation of master and

I know of such cases; and it is worthy of remark that such slaves invariably suffer greater hardship a constant offence to their mistress. She is ever disposed to find fault with them; they can seldom do any thing to please her; mulatto children favors which he withholds from his black slaves. The master is frequently compelled to sell this class of his own children to human flesh-mongers, it is often the dictate of humanity for him to do so; for, unless he does this, himself, and ply the gory lash to his naked back; and if he list one word of disapproval, it is set down to his parental partiality

Every year brings with it multitudes of this class of slaves. It was doubtless in consequence of a knowledge of this fact, that one great statesman or not, it is nevertheless plain that a very different-looking class of people are springing up all the south, and are now the force of the argument, that God cursed Ham, and therefore American slavery is right. If the lineal descendants of Ham are introduced into the world, annually, who, like myself, owe their existence

I have had two masters. My first master's name was Anthony. I do not remember his first name ed Captain Anthony--a title which, I presume, he acquired by sailing a craft on the Chesapeake Bay. He was not considered The overseer's name was Plummer. Mr. Plummer was a miserable drunkard, a profane swearer, and a savage monster. He would be enraged at his cruelty, and would threaten to whip him if he did not mind himself. Master, however, was not a humane life of slaveholding. He would at times seem to take great pleasure in whipping a slave. I have often been awakened at the back till she was literally covered with blood. No words, no tears, no prayers, from his gory victim, seemed to move his iron hand longest. He would whip her to make her scream, and whip her to make her hush; and not until overcome by fatigue but I well remember it. I never shall forget it whilst I remember any thing. It was the first of a long series of such outrages, of entrance to the hell of slavery, through which I was about to pass. It was

This occurrence took place very soon after I went to live with my old master, and under the following circumstances. Aunt Hester went out one night,-- where or for what I do not know,--and happened catch her in company with a young man, who was paying attention to her belonging to Colonel Lloyd. The young man's name noble form, and of graceful proportions, having very few equals, and few

Aunt Hester had not only disobeyed his orders in going out, but had been found in company with Lloyd's Ned; which circumstances been thought interested in protecting the innocence of my aunt; but those who knew him will not suspect him of any such virtue

in

and singing for joy

from the hardy apple of the north to the delicate orange of the

he was severely whipped by the chief gardener. This plan work

if the colonel only suspected any want of attention to his horses--a supposi

and escaped whipping when most

listen

damp ground

Mr. Winder

in

and addressed him in the usual manner of speaking to colored people on the public highways of the so

said

without a moment's

by a hand more unrelenting than death. This is the penalty of telling the truth

and that their masters are kind. The slaveholders have been known to send in spies among their slave

when a slave

think their own masters are better than the maste

it is not uncommon for slaves even to fall out and quarrel among themselves about the relative goodness of their masters

all those traits of character indispensable to what is called a first-rate overseer. Mr

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

into impudence

of having been at fault." No matter how innocent a slave might be--it availed him n

in

at the feet of the master. He was ambitious enough to be contented with n

without producing horror and trembling in their ranks.

said no funny words

never using the former where the latter would answer as well. When he whipped

in a word

and stood there at the depth of his shoulders

without consultation or delibera

and in an instant poor Demby was no more. His mangled body sank out of sight

would finally lead to the total subversion of all rule a

and the enslavement of the whites. Mr. Go

he very probably lives there now; and if so

Maryland

that he was the only benefactor of his country in the company

but had not been in her untimely grave but a few hours before she was ta

in

jumped from her bed

Mr. Bondly took offence

this whole fiendis\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

she hears by day the moans of the dove

and helpless infancy and painful old age combine together--at this time

in yonder little hut

and of slavery upon her

without the hope of ever being allowed to return. Master Thomas had said he çéîwould never let me return agai

on reaching North Poin

1832. It was now more than seven years sinc\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

for the first time during a s

--thîîough there are man

and ve

in

he spoke to his slaves with the firmness of Napoleon and the fury of a demon; at other times

and actions

were awkward enough. He was not even a good imitator. He possessed all the disposition to deceive

cutting her in the places already made raw with his cruel lash. The secret of master's cruelty toward "Henny" is found in the f

in

in

deliver me! Let me be free! Is there any

I am but a boy

a slave named Eli

to one entirely unused to such '

feeling it would never do to

in

stooping to get the tub with which I was feeding the fan

and the blood ran freely; and with this again

under the circumstances

and started for St. Michael's. I succeeded in getting a considerable distance on my way to t

and made my way to the woods as fast as m.

barefooted and bareheaded

and seek to justify Covey by saying he expected I deserved it. He asked me what I wanted. I told him

in

) but that I must be off back to Mr. Covey's early in the morning;

according to his orders

I suppose

I must go back to Covey; but tha

~ would render it impossible for Mr. Covey

I at length took the root

cu

whilst in the act of throwing down some blades from the loft

in

he holding to my legs

and I to him. My resistance was so entirely unexpected tha

so that he left me in the hands of Mr. Covey. This kick had the effect o

however long I might remain a slave in form

in

more than to feed and take care of the stock. T

horse-collars

dancing

but will adopt various plans to make

in

the cunning sla

and the result was just what might be suP

we staggered up from the filth of our wallowing

in many cases

if he complains that he c

but think the cases I have cited sufficient. The p

who lived about three miles from St. Michael's. I soon found Mr. Freeland a very different man from Mr. Covey. Though not

in my opinion

which the darkest

in

whose name I have forgotten. This woman's back

--a mistake

while hoeing

rather than with this Rev. Mr. Hopkins. And yet

love-feast

louder

unlike Mr. Covey

compared with many of his

in

I succeeded in creating in them a strong desire to learn how to read. This desire soon sp

and drinking whisky

in connection with many others

ardently desiring to learn. They were of all ages

in

and myself. Henry Bailey was my uncle

could stop us

full liberty to go to Baltimore

and acknowledge ourselves fit only to be slaves.

at the time appointed

in

bring what of sadness it might. Friday night was a sleepless one for me. I probably felt more anxious than the rest

and hop

who was near by

in

move! and BOWSE this timber ž

taking advantage of Mr. G

though this did not extend to me in form

regardless of consequences; and while I kept them from combining

and heavy handspikes. One came in front with a half brick. There was one at each side of me

and fell to beating me with their fists. I let them

with his heavy boot

in

and we set out forthwith to take passage on board of \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo
to stop in Newpà

we decided to take seats in the\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

and faith. They are always ready to sacrifice

I mean by the religion of this land

north and south

) which I soberly affirm is "true to the life

And preach all sinners
and strain at motes

Of human rights

And sell their brother in the Lord To handcuffed heavenly union.

sister throng

and whip

and thief

in

By making switch and cowskin fly

veal

and Dick

for success in my humble efforts --and solemnly pledging my self

in

and
had there been

*

I was apparently calm and self-possessed.

his whole manner changed. Seeing that I did not readily

in

he took our baggage

in

and yet the swarthy spectre sits in its accustomed seat at the Nation's feast. In vain do we cry to this our vastest social pr

up the lies of carpet-baggers

and

in the following years

the longing to know. Here

how piteously

the Canaan was always dim and far away. If

self-reali

of his mission. He began to have a dim feeling that

or savings

of the humanities; the accumulated sloth and shirking and awkwardness of decades and centuries shackled his hands and fe

threatening alm

learning against ignorance

and progress

the distortion of fact and wanton licens

in

--all these in turn have waxed and waned

deeper

--the freedom of life and limb

gained through the unifying ideal of Race; the ideal of fostering and developing the traits and ta

in

how this deeper question ever forced itself to the surface despite effort and disclaimer. No sooner had Northern armies touched the soil of the South than the question could not answer the query; the Emancipation Proclamation seemed but to broaden and intensify the difficulties;

when the flickering camp-fires shone like vast unsteady stars along the bl

--a horde of starving vagabonds

in Missouri

saw things differently. "Hereafter

he cared for the refugees at Fortress Monroe; and then

Columbus

which sent clothes

in

on much the same lines as were afterwards followed. Petitions came in to President Lincoln from distinguished citizens and organizations, strongly urging a comprehensive and unified plan of dealing with the freedmen, under a bureau which aiding, the passage of our emancipated and yet to be emancipated

in

communistic experiments

--all reeling on under the guise of helping the freedmen

vigorously as it was pushed

in

now o

at the hands of Congress

by reason of its extraordinary powers

and the Fifteenth declared in force in 1870. Guerrilla ra

amid willing neighbors and str

the work of any instru- ment of social regeneration was in large part foredoomed to failure. The very n

fidelity

Southern men had fought with desperate energy to perpetuate this

in

and the slave

--the one

ruined form

had bent in love over the cradles of his sons and daughters

and borne a tawny man-child to the world
hating

in 1868

the paying of bounties

to work. So labor contra

and employers supplied. In truth

in

men strive to know. Perhaps some inkling of this paradox
and Hampton were founded in these days

put the whole matter in the hands of the Freedmen's Bureau. In two years six million dollars was thus distri-
buted well spent.

and impris- oned

while the regular civil courts tended to become solely institu- tions for perpetuating the slavery

in

and even today

a determined effort at

and Cato of

and the political demands of the

on the other hand

and so

Barbadoes of Boston

in

Nicht l der Hirtin weiche Seele!

and the rough world was softened by laughter and song. I remember how-- But I wander.

in

chattered and laughed. He showed

was not there. She had married a man and a farm twenty miles away. We wound on down the stream till we came to a gate

--of the new guest- chamber added

'Thenie came wandering back to h

of reclame

in

fled again; hovered over the second

the Veil of Race. How heavy a journey for weary feet! what wings must Atalanta have to flit over all this hollow and hill

in

to spread with their own hands the Gospel of Sacrifice

where hot anger cools

from Academus to Cambridge

just as their successors are forgetting

as Atlanta shows

no

in

Vander- bilt

common schools and kindergartens

pure

in

and white. The larger hum

in

Wilberforce and Claflin

the pulse of hearts beating with red blood;--

in

and seventy other leading colleges. Here we have
to get trustworthy testimony

and the like. Seventeen per cent were clergymen; another seventeen per cent were in the professions

this is a record of use- fulness. Personally I know many hundreds

but they have a surprisingly small pr

and\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

do black people need nothing of the sort?

What place in the future de

obeying a common government

nearly 100 graduates. From Southern Negro colleges the

and over 500 graduates. Here

in

Deliver us from {

and lynching and lawlessness its twin abortions; that color and race are not crimes
and West.

--problems of work and wages

in

and it must help in the solution of problems of race contact and cooperation. And finally

may give the world new points of view an

I dwell above the Veil. Is this the life you grudge us

Because the ^

in

looking for gold and the Gr

in its busy life. Just this side Atlan

and the slave-trade went merrily on for fifty years an

in

and whence come now only faint and half-intelligible mu

--all the way to Albany.

turning suddenly at Albany

for the Indians were all about

and settlers poured into these coveted lands to retrieve their broken fortunes. For a radius of a hun
ash

and flanking rows of homes

chokes the thoroughfares

talkative to a degree

buy coffee

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0

in

and wide patches of sand

in

--and find all dilapidated and half ruined

and what meaning has it for the nation's weal or woe?

is much more business-like than any in the county

in

lead to separation

fairly honest and well meaning

for instance

--of near

--all this

in

and Arkansas

return him

in

among a homo- geneous population. To-day the following economic classes are plainly differentiated among these Negroes

seed

rising rack- rent

this was an incentive to the tenant to stri

exceptions to this

in

lly with the political destiny of its neighbors; that in every state the best arbiters of their own welfare are the persons directly
the state,--that the greatest good to the greatest number could be attained. To be sure, there were objections to these argum
d, "Edu- cate them." If another complained of their venality, we replied, "Disfranchise them or put them in jail." And, fi- nally,
e would teach the most hardheaded. It was at this time that the question of Negro suffrage in the South was raised. Here wa
determined to thwart it? Not by force, said the North; not by government guardian- ship, said the South; then by the ballot, th
-slaves could use t...he ballot intelligently or very effectively; but they did think that the possession of so great power by a g

Meantime, new thoughts came to the nation: the inevitable period of moral retrogression and political trickery that ever follows in the wake of war overtook us.
me disreputable. Men began to pride themselves on having nothing to do with their own government, and to agree tacitly wit
Negro vote in the South, and to advise self-respe...cting Negroes to leave politics entirely alone. The decent and reputable
rded the franchise. Thus it easily happened that more and more the better class of Negroes followed the advice from abroad
se of their rights as voters. The black vote that still remained was not trained and educated, but further debauched by open a
thod of private gain by disreputable means.

And fi- nally, now, to-day, when we are awakening to the fact that the perpetuity of republic
sing of voting to the plane of a solemn duty which a patriotic citizen neglects to his peril and to the peril of his children's childre
he South? Are we going to tell him still that politics is a disreputable and useless form of human activity? Are we going to ind
t, without a protest? I am not saying a word against all legitimate efforts to purge the ballot of ignorance, pauperism, and o
ly and frankly declared in nearly every case that the object of the disfr

Now, is this a minor matter which has no influence on the main question of the industrial and i
nt of the Negro? Can we establish a mass of black laborers and artisans and landholders in the South who, by law and public
uming as it does free democratic government and the power and ability of the laboring classes to compel re- spect for their we
in its own defence? To-day the black man of the South has almost nothing to say as to how much he shall be taxed, or how
y shall be ma-ïde. It is pitiable that frantic efforts must be made at critical times to get law-makers in some States even to l
to look upon law and justice, not as protecting safeguards, but as sources of humiliation and oppression. The laws are made
our- tesy or consideration; and, finally, the accused law-breaker is tried

I should be the last one to deny the patent weaknesses and shortcomings of the Negro people; I should be the last to withhold sympathy from the white South in its efforts to solve its
ld be ruled by the best of their stronger and better neighbors for their own good, until such time as they can start and fight the
Negro was, and I am quite willing to admit that if the representatives of the best white Southern public opinion were the ruling
d upon and now emphasize again, is that the best opinion of the South to-day is not the ruling opinion. That to leave the N
hment of the worst; that this is no truer of the South than of the North,--of the North than of Europe: in any land, in any country
mercy of their stronger, richer, and more resourceful fellows, is a ten

Moreover, the political status of the Negro in the South is closely connected with the question
me. There can be no doubt that crime among Negroes has sensibly increased in the last thirty years, and that there has a
ote two things: (1) that the inevitable result of Emancipation was to increase crime and criminals, and (2) that the police syste
system there can scarcely be such a thing as crime. But when these variously constituted human particles are sud- denly thro

in

and the brothel

poverty

but puts a direct premium on the v

as tightly and uncompromisingly as you will

in

What are these dreams to foolish babbling men
Who cry with little noises 'neath the thunder

past wheat and corn

that swelled and died sorrowfully in our ears. I was a country schoolteacher then

in

in

the soul-life of that nation

and economic status. They m

in

But the world shall end when I forget.

in

and Goodness

in

Not dead, not dead, but escaped; not bond, but free." No bitter meanness now shall sicken his baby heart till it die a living death, no taunt shall madden his happy boyhood. Fool that I was to think or wish that this little soul should grow choked and

ing far beyond this narrow Now. In the poise of his little curl-crowned head did there not sit all that wild pride of being which hundreds of fifty million fellows? Well sped, my boy, before the world had dubbed your ambition insolence, had held your id

words; he might have borne his burden more bravely than we,--aye, and found it lighter too, some day; for surely, surely this I die in my bonds,--but for fresh young souls who have not known the night and waken to the morning; a morning when men and this may be, long, long years to come. But now there wails, on that dark shore within the Veil, the same deep voice, THOU S wed with death in the nest I had buided.

If one must have gone, why not I? Why may I not rest me from this restlessness and sleep from my workers in the vineyard that the fair promise of this little body could lightly be tossed away? The wretched of my race that live

XII

Of Alexander Crummell

Then from the Dawn it seemed there came a faint echo born of a great cry, Sounds, as if some fair city were one

TENNYSON.

This is the story of a human heart,--the tale of a black boy who many long years ago began to struggle with life that he might know the world and know himself. Three temptations he met

I saw Alexander Crummell first at a Wilberforce commencement season, amid its bustle and crush. Tall, frail, and black he stood, with

could not harm us. I spoke to him politely, then curiously, then eagerly, as I began to feel the fineness of his character,--his core this man, as one bows before the prophets of the world. Some seer he seemed, that came not from the crimson Pa

He was born with the Missouri Compromise and lay a-dying amid the echoes of Manila and Edo. The black-faced lad that paused over his mud and marbles seventy years ago saw puzzling vistas as he looked down the w

So his young mind worked and winced and shaped curiously a vision of Life; and in the midst of that vision ever stood one dark figure alone,--ever with the hard, thick countenance

growing child,--gliding stealthily into his laughter, fading into his play, and seizing his dreams by day and night with rough, rude

Strange temptation for a child, you may think; and yet in this wide land to-day a thousand thousand

some day lift the Veil,--will come tenderly and cheerily into those sad little lives and brush the brooding hate away, just as Beriah Green had a school in, Oneida County, New York, with a score of mischievous boys. "I'm going to bring a black boy

in

four hundred miles up into free New Hampshire

crying

breathed deep of the fresh new air. Yonder

and there rose within him a protest and a prophecy. And he girded himself to walk down the world.

even as he stretched them

Bishops of the Apostolic Church of God

until there came the final NO: until men hustled the disturber away

and left an earth gray and stern rolling on beneath a dark despair. Even the kind hands that stretch

in

draws back again. The dark-faced priest finds himself wondering if the fly too has faced its Valley of Humiliation

the Valley of the Shadow of Death. And I know not which be darker

the law's delay

in

told my wife a lot of rot. Then

in

the children irregul

he struggled hopefully on

in

to the same winding path

and he wondered what they would all say when they knew

--

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 "Freudig gefuhrt, ziehet dahin.

how he pitied him

When I lay this body down.

bursts of wonderful melody

in

eighth

and some of the contemporary "coon" songs

believer

in

but seldom father; fugi

confined the poetry for the most part to single or double lines

of one line of which Thomas Wentworth Higginson ha

in

would have scouted the idea of blond

unanswered sphinxes oÖÖfn the shores of sci

shall this nation

and generation after generation have pleaded with a headstrong

in

the energy it \plainf1\fs24\cf0 expends in thus turning the environment to account is more than compensated for by \plainf1\

in

of the Athenian people

ideals

information

standards

the human young are so immature that if they were left to themselves without the guidance and succor of

and

and communication. Men live in a community in virtue of the things which they have in common; and com

then they would form a community. But this would involve communication. Each would have to know wh

and command of tools

some experience to another

but the necessity of this teaching gives an immense stimulus to reducing experience to that order and form

but it is not the express reason of the association. While it may be said

considering whether or no we are forming the powers which will secure this ability. If humanity has mad

or institutions for teaching save in connection with initiation ceremonies by which the youth are inducted into

on the contrary

are made conspicuous in schools. Thus we reach the ordinary notion of education: the notion which igno

in so far

the need of formal or intentional teaching and learning increases. As formal teaching and training

a cultivating

in

in

became commas and semi-colons.

in

\line All swindlers be

dumb and dark

\line Intent upon the vision\line

\line Do the blue havens by the hand\line

in

bugle

in

for the wealth\line I could not hope to own.

--\line The morning stars the treble led\line On time's first afternoon!

\line Some pale reporter from the awful doors\line Before the seal!

in

every noon.

slow;

you

in

--

as a duke would do\line A kingdom's title-deed

--\line And wade in liberty?
\line Or laces

in

\line Extinguished in its sea.

\line A little weather-worn

\line And chubby daffodil."

in

\line An ecstasy in chief;

\line

in

plashless

\line It wrinkled

in

but whenline They died

in

\line Should have the face to d ±ie.

like the roe;\line His fashions quaint

in

for me!

in the sepulchre.

\line As it has usual done;\line If birds should build as early

\line So leisurely were we!

in

in general

many were waiting f

to gau

every one who reads your book will feel

too

but such as must mingle always and necessarily i

in

at the time

too

in

were ali

and tremble; and such was li

and receive upon his naked and toil-worn shoulders more than thirty lashes at the time.

Mr. Nicholson

in

and heard nothing more of the

of telling the simple truth

if I h

each contending for the superior goodness of

and would treat it accordingly. There must be no answering back to him; no explanation was allowed a slave

in

seldom smiled. His words were in perfect keeping with his looks

a man of the most inflexible firmn

refusing to come out. Mr. Gore told him that he would give him three calls

and blood and brains marked the water where

he is now

is not treated as a crime

a~€ind that wh

in

seized an oak stick of wood by the fireplace

and with his musket c

in

and by night the screams of the hideous owl. All is gloom. Th

this

before a few

had effect

in

he might well be

were the airs

but wanted the power. Having no resources within himself

in

Thomas at length said he would stand it no longer. I had lived with him nine months, during which time he had given me a number

of whippings, all to no good purpose. He resolved to put me out, as he said, to be broken; and, for this purpose, he let me for one year to a man named Edward Covey. Mr. Covey was a poor man, a farm-renter. He rented the place upon which

his reputation was of immense value to him. It enabled him to get his farm tilled with much less expense to himself than he could have done in any other way. He could hire young hands one year, for the sake of the training to which they were subjected, without any other compensation.

Added to the natural good qualities of Mr. Covey, he was a professor of religion--a pious soul--a member and a class-leader in the Methodist church. All of this added weight to his reputation as a "nigger-breaker." I was glad to make the change gladly; for I was sure

of getting enough to eat, which is not the smallest consideration to a hungry man.

¶

¶

¶

¶

CHAPTER X

¶

I had left Master Thomas's house, and went to live with Mr. Covey, on the 1st of January, 1833. I was now, for the first time in my life, a field hand. In my new employment, I found myself even more awkward than

any other country boy appeared to be in a large city. I had been at my new home but one week before Mr. Covey gave me a very severe whipping, cutting my back, causing the blood to run, and raising ridges on my flesh as large as my little finger. The details of this

¶

in the woods, to get a load of wood. He gave me a team of unbroken oxen. He told me which was the in-hand ox, and which the off-hand. When the oxen started to run, that I must hold on upon the rope. I had never driven oxen before, and of course I was very awkward

in getting the edge of the woods with little difficulty; but I had got a very few rods into the wood

when the oxen took fright, and started full tilt, carrying the cart against trees, and over stumps, in the most frightful manner.

At length, however, they finally upset the cart,

and dashed it with great force against a tree, and threw themselves into a dense thicket. How I escaped death, I do not know. Thus

entangled, my oxen were entangled among the young trees, and there was none to help me. After a long spell of effort, I succeeded

in proceeding with my team to the place where I had been, the day before, been chopping wood, and loaded my cart pretty heavily, thinking in this way to tame my oxen. I then proceeded

to open the woods gate; and just as I did so, before I could get

hold of my ox-rope, the oxen again started, rushed through the gate, catching it between the wheel and the body of the cart, and rushing me against the gate-post. Thus twice, in one short day, I escaped death by the merest chance. On my return, I told Mr. Covey

of my escape. He told me to stop my cart, and that he would teach me how to trifle with them up neatly with his pocket-knife, he ordered me to take off my clothes. I made him no answer, but stood with

them up neatly with his pocket-knife, he ordered me to take off my clothes. I made him no answer, but stood with

them up neatly with his pocket-knife, he ordered me to take off my clothes. I made him no answer, but stood with

¶

¶

¶

¶

in

and all boys are boun

and myself

in

I again staggered

was truly a severe undertaking. I was exceedingly feeble; made so as much by the kicks and blows w

tearing my feet sometimes at nearly every step; and after a journey of about seven miles

to let me get a new home; that as sure as I lived with Mr. Covey

in

I started off to Covey's in the morning

that

or any other white man

and

Mr. Covey entered the s<

in

I was brought sprawling on the stable floor. Mr. Covey seemed now to think he had me

the day had passed forever when I could be a sla

in

and baskets; and another class of us would spend the time in hunting opossums

and drinking whisky; and this latter mode of spending the time was by far the most agreeable to the feelings of our masters.

in

took a long breath

goes off to toR

h

was truly a W

foulest

in

for week

accident

break a hoe? It is owing to his carelessness

prayer and preaching meeti`

a

he also gave us sufficient time to take our m\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

we were trying to learn how to read the will of Go

rushed in upon us with sticks and stones

though mostly

in

and belonged to my master. Charles married my aunt: he belonged to my master's father-in-law

and subject us to examination.

and spend the Easter holidays. Written with mine own hand

we would certainly start in pursuit of freedom. This was in the middle of the week

in

because I was

and said

in

it did reach me in fact. My fellow-apprentices very soon began to feel it degrading t

I succeeded very well; for I could whip the whole of them

and one behind me. While I was attending to those in front

a powerful kick in the left eye. My eyeball seemed to have burst. When they saw my eye closed

in

but seldom to show mercy. They are they who are represented as professing to love God w

that which is revealed in t

calling themselves Christian churches

and without caricature or the slightest exaggeration. It is said to have

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

been drawn, several years before the present anti-slavery agitation began, by a northern Methodist preacher, who, while resi

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo se things? saith the Lord. Shall not my soul be avenged fon such a n

Array their backs in fine black coats

and bread and ham; Kidnapper's heavenly union.

With words of he\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo avenly union.

and sting

in

In hope of heavenly union. "They'll crack old Tony on the skull

and beef

and Ned

in

which

and form of the freeman were described

in

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

the disorganization of industry

a new vision began gradually to replace the dream of political power

this people strove to learn. It was weary work. The cold statistician
however

he had entered into competition with rich

purity

he humbly bows and meekly does o

in

until even the last grows dim and overcast. Are they all wrong

higher culture of gifted minds and pure hearts. The power of the ballot we need in sheer self-defence
the freedom to work and think

in

homeless

declared the slaves free under martial

he commanded, "no slaves should be allowed to come into your lines at all; if any come without your knowledge, when owners call for them deliver them." Such a policy was difficult to enforce; some of the black refugees declared themselves, too, slaves were a source of strength to the Confederacy, and were being used as laborers and producers. "They constitute too plain to discuss." So gradually the tone of the army chiefs changed; Congress forbade the rendition of fugitives, and Bu- fugitives became a steady stream, which flowed faster as the armies

Then the long-headed man with care-chiselled face who sat in the White House saw the inevitable called earnestly for the Negro soldiers whom the act of July, 1862, had half grudgingly allowed to enlist. Thus the barriers must be done with slaves, arriving almost daily? Are we to find food

after Sherman

Ky.

money

in

slavery

and all enshrined in the smoke and blood of the war and the cursing and silence of angry men. On May 19 the new governm

the problem looked

in

far more thorough discussion and attention than its predecessor. The war cloud had th

wa

and happiness

in

here; and there

a gray-haired gentleman

with hate in his eyes;-

and closed in death the sunken eyes

only to see hVXier dark boy's limbs scattered to the winds by midnight marauders riding after "damned Nig- gers." These we their children's children live today.

nine hundred Bureau officials scattered from Washington to Texas

the administ

the organiza- tion became a vast labor bureau

in

even in the unquiet days of the Bureau

and six million dollars were expended for educational work

and punished over and again

in

and veiling all the Americas i

a new and curious attempt at self-development was made. I

and others

in

of Martha's marrying. Then we talked of death:

--and yet with real ear- nestness

in

then

through sour wood and sullen water

in

--all this is the

and the bitterness of disappointment is sweet

the culture of the University has b

t

growing thrift and love of toil; but she lacks that broad knowledge of what the world knows and knew of human living and do(

in

and the others--fit to live; let us build

industrial and technical schools

and inspiring ends of living

in

Shaw

in

then

and to gauge th

chiefly as physicians. Over six per ce

in

sensitive to mutual thought and feeling

then

in

and

of families and homes

in

beyond all this

O knightly America? Is this

in

the county-seat

and they were unpleasant neighbors in those days. The panic of 1837

hickory

--whites usually to the north

and takes full possession of the

and yet far more silent and brooding than the crowds of the Rhine-pfalz

cheap candy

in

even there where a solitary white woman

although the man- ager drives hard bargain

in

and a broken house- hold is the result. The Negro church has done much to stop this practice

plodding

that nearly tw

even as you and I. These black thousands are not in r

in

the Negroes on the plantations in the back-country districts are still

and ask no questions. If he escape to another county

in

and house; and at the end of the year the laborer ge

and failing cott

--cases of personal k

in

that same line wavers and disappears.

and crime? can a self-respecting group hold anything but the least possible fellowship with such persons

for these things must be proscribed; but a color-line not only does not accomplish this purpose

in

until we could hear dimly across the fields a rhythmi

fresh from the East

in

in

they must necessarily be affected more or less

in

and a Freedom that is free?

in

to Canaan. But the godly farmers hitched ninety yoke of oxen to the abolition schoolhouse a

Thou too! Hast Thou seen Sorrow and the dull waters of
"Which is the path of life? Which is the path of hopelessness? Hast Thou known Life?" And then all helplessly we p

behind the forests

sud

and strove toward righteousness. They said "Which is the path of life?"

ma

in

and if it will plunge into it

--no

The insolence of office

in

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\f0 too

in

and seemed to see at last some glimmering of dawn. The attendance was larger and the children were a shade cleaner this

in

and seated himself on the ground

when they knew

--pitied him

full of the voices of

in

and ninth chapters; and others I am sure could easily make a selection on more scientific principles. There are

--a mass of music in which the novice may easily lose himse

I want to go home."

in

and they seldom were expanded to quat

in

careless people to despise not Justice

in

it may be said that a living being is one that subjugates and controls for its own continued

in

of the American nation. "Life" covers \plain\1\fs24\cf0 customs

hopes

skill

opinions

they could not acquire the rudimentary abilities \plain\1\fs24\cf0 necessary for physical existence. The young of human being

compared with other agencies

beliefs

mechanical or fiscal. So far as \plain\1\fs24\cf0 the relation\$&ins of parent and child

especially if it be somewhat complicated

without exaggeration

Lesson has been learned largely through dealings with the \plain\1\fs24\cf0 young.\par

they depend upon children learning the customs of the adults

easily becomes remote and \plain\1\fs24\cf0 dead -- abstract and boos:ikish

and which identifies it \plain\1\fs24\cf0 with imparting information about remote matters and the conveying of learning \plain\1\fs24\cf0

creates only "sharps" in learning -- that is

there is the danger ofAC creating an undesirable split between the \plain\1\fs24\cf0 experience gained in more direct associ

process. All of these words mean that it implies \plain\1\fs24\cf0 attention to the conditions of growth. We also speak of rea

in

in

infer.

\line They hear my unexpected knock.\line

in

by my window

in

it worked so.\line

in

--\line Henceforth a dedicated sort

or a travelling show

in

\line Inspiring habiliments\line Of indigo and brown.

in

as they swim.

and was gone.

in

vitality begun.

in

mosaic

in

line And bees as bustling go

in

the results of such a relation

persuaded that you give them a fair specimen of the whole truth. No one-sided portrait

some years

in

whether to thank you or not for the sight of them

publish your declaration of freedom wit

in

and Mr. Lowndes. All of these lived at the Great House Farm

in

in answer to a series of plain questions.

showing himself quite to have been wrongfully accused. Mr. Gore acted fully up to the m

in

and his looks were in perfect keeping with his words. Overseers will sometimes indulge in a wi

as he was then

either by the courts or the community. Mr. Thomas Lanman

in

an

in

w

he was compelled to be the copyist of

in

were engaged in fanning wheat.

in

occupying some fi0

in

(Saturday morning

to whi

according to his direction

in

and could do what he pleased; but at t

in

hl

in

and marched to the field

grossest

in

and for it a slave must always be whipped. Mr. Hopkins could always find something of this sort t

in

and broke up our virtuous l

in

Mr. William Hamilton.

&c.

at the end of which w

in

by common con,

in

taking them

and on e

and badly swollen

in

and yet in union with slaveholders. It is against religion

Then seize their negroes by their throats

And to their slaves and mammon cl̄ing

in

And preach and roar like Bashan bull

Yet never would afford relief To needy

Cut short their meat

in

a

--a pow- erful movement

landed

in

--all false? No

--else what shall

the freedom to love and aspire. Work

in

helpless

and Cairo

school-books

in

peo

in

--but withal slavery

in

all the South that was white

ruling

--not perfect

in

helped the bayonets al

seven hundred and fifty thous

with scant courtesy from army officers. The f

in

strove singly and together as men

in

and real sweat.

in

slipping from his hot grasp

and by the red waste

in

too

literature \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\af0

--not sordid money-getting

in

and the rest

in

nearly twenty-five hundred Negro

in

yet

is the plain thirst for training; by refusing to give this Talented Tenth the key to knowledge

in

of morals and t

in

it must develop m

in

hur- ries on to join

which Jackson bequeathed to Van Buren

and poplar; hot with the sun and damp with the rich black swamp-land; an—

and blacks to the south. Six days in the week the town looks decidedly too small for itself

or Naples

and clothes

in

a relic of other days

in

and now most marriage cer

and to

in

a charge of petty thieving

in

but thwarts

in

and had never seen a Southern Negro revival. To be sure

in

in

he heard strange sounds; then glinting through the trees he saw

in

-
not I. But this I know: in yonder Vale of the Humble stand to-day a millio

and the spurns That patient merit of the unworth

in

I—™ don't need to heah: a Nigger what won't say 'sir' to a white man

in

in that great long dining-room with its hundreds of merry eyes. Then as the sheen of the starlight stole over him

--and wondered if he had the coiling twisted rope. Then

in

too

in

Mercy

in

institutions

happiness

and practices of the mature members: otherwise the group will cease its characteristic life. Even in a society from those members of society who are passing out of the group life to those who are coming into it that even the powers needed for physical sustentation have to be acquired under tuition. How much more a relatively superficial means. Only as we have grasped the necessity of more fundamental and higher aspirations

teacher and pupil

and you will find your own attitude toward your experience changing; otherwise you resort to

that the measure of the worth of any social institution

acquiring their emotional set and stock of ideas

to use the ordinary words of depreciation. What accumulated knowledge exists in low grade societies is that

egoistic specialists. To avoid a split between what men consciously know because they are aware of having

on account of the rapid growth in the last few centuries of knowledge and technical modes of skill. ¶

raising

in

in

\line I pray you stroll once more!

in

\line A member of the cloud.

\line Or who died yesterday!

in

line

in

--\line One might depart at opti

in

without seeking farther to find whether they have follo

--no wholesale

and can fairly compare the twilight of rights

in

and enjoyed the luxury of whipping the servants when they pleased

in

as highly esteemed and as much respected as though his guilty soul had not been stained with his brother's

of St. Michael's

in

) wearied in body and broken in spirit. I got no supper t

carried it upon my right side.

in

and most infernal deeds of slaveholders find the strongest protecti

in

in

they

in

as presented by these bodies

And choke

In guilty conscience union.

in

Or braying ass

sable sons of grief

and clothes

in

the rise of another ideal t

skilled neighbors. To be a poor man is hard

in

not that

culture

in

and pitiable

III.

and teachers southward. All they did was needed

in

whether gentleman or vagabond

directly and indirectly

indeed

in

they said

in

flew over river

in

the Negro universities:--Fisk

not apples of gold. The worker must work for the glory of his handiwork

in

is peculiar

in

can any sane man imagine that they will lightly lay asx

in

turn

and takes frequent and p

or Cracow. They drink ™

and at dusk drive home--happy? well no

in

sits alone in state among miles of Negroes and rides to town Á

in

easily true

in

we in Berkshire were not perhaps as stiff and

in

an intriguer, an idealist,--all these he is, and ever, too, the centre o

hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo f\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

a group of men, now twenty, now a thousand in number. The combination of a certain adroitness with deep-seated earnest

hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ime and place, from the West Indies in the sixteenth century to New En

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The Music of Negro religion is that plaintive rhythmic melody, with its touching mino\hich\af0\

r cadences, which, despite caricature and defilement, still remains the most original and beautiful expression of human life an

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo changed, and intensified by the tragic soul-life of the slave, until, under

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Finally the Frenzy of "Shouting," when the Spirit of the \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Lord passed by, and, seizing the devotee, made him mad with supernatural joy, was the last essential of Negro religion and th

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

moan to the mad abandon of physical fEËtervor, --the stamping, shrieking, and shouting, the rushing to and fro and wild wavi

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

and Endor. And so firm a hold did it have on the Negro, that many generations firmly be- lieved that without this visible manifi

\par

\par EË\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo These were \EË\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo the characteristics of Negro religious life\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

as developed up to the time of Emancipation. Since under the peculiar circumstances of the black man's environment they w

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo c\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ally. Numerous are the attractive lines of inquiry that here groupEË\ themselves. What did slavery mean to the African savage

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo d\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

strivings, and wherefore were his heart-burnings and disappointments? Answers to such questions can come only from a stu

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo church of Chicago.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Moreover, the religious growth of millions of men, even though they be slaves, cannot be without potent influence upon their c

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

fluence of their millions of Negro converts. Especially is this noticeable in the South, whereEË\ theology and religious philosop

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo n\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

d methods. The mass of "gospel" hymns which has swept through American churches and well-nigh ruined our sense of son

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo s\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo soul, of the Jubilee songs. It is thus clear that the study of Negro rel

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo The Negro church of to-day is the social centre of Negro life in \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

the United States, and the most characteristic expres- sion of African character. Take a typical church in a small Virginia toÏN

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo ,\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

with a carpet, a small organ, and stained- glass windows. Underneath is a large assembly room with benches. This building

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

Sunday-school, two or three insurance societies, women's societies, secret societies, and mass meetings of various kinds. E

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo y\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

are collected and expended here, employment is found for the idle, strang- ers are introduced, news is disseminated and cha

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo t\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

y, Sin, Redemption, Heaven, Hell, and Damnation are preached twice a Sunday after the crops are laid by; and few indeed of

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo e\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo rver of morals, a strengthener ÔÏ\of family life, and the final authority

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Thus one can see in the Negro church to-day, reproduced in microcosm, all the great world fro

tion. In the great city churches the same tendency is noticeable and in many re- spects emphasized. A great church like the

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo o\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

usand dollars, an annual budget of five thousand dollars, and a government consisting of a pastor with several assisting local

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo -\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

divided groups led by class leaders, a company of militia, anÔÏ\ twenty-four auxiliary societies. The activity of a church like

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo w\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo erful Negro rulers in the world.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Such churches are really governments of men, and conse- quently a little investigation reveals

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

regularly enrolled, and a few do not habitually attend services; but, practically, a proscribed people must have a social centre,

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

the country, with a total enrolled membership of over two and a half millions, or ten actuaÏ\ church members to every twent

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

ed as members, attend and take part in many of the activities of the church. There is an organized Negro church for every six

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo property each, or nearly twenty-six million dollars in all.

\par

\par \hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo Such, then, is the large development of the Negro church since Emancipation. The question r

First, we must realize that no such institu- tion as the Negro church could rear itself without definite historical foundaÏ\itions

\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo f\hich\af0\dbch\af23\loch\fo

in

far

in

or--"

in

he thought

as the sto

in

songs that seem to be a step removed from the more primitive t

in

and Truth

in

beliefs

misery

the achievements of adults are far beyond what the immature members \plain\1\fs24\cf0 would be capable of if left to themselves

social life could not survive. If the \plain\1\fs24\cf0 members who compose a society lived on continuously

\plain\1\fs24\cf0 then

\plain\1\fs24\cf0 knowledge--a common understanding -- like-mindedness as the\par

employer and employee

seeing it as another would \plain\1\fs24\cf0 see i')it

economic

by sharing in what the elders are doi35ing. In part

and what they unconsciously know because they have \plain\1\fs24\cf0 absorbed it in the formation of their characters by int

bringing up -- \plain\1\fs24\cf0 words which express the difference of level which education aims to cover. \plain\1\fs24\cf0

in

in

which your rac

in

from old Barney d

in

killed two slaves

in

that I have felt it my duty to testify.

for heavenly union.

in

of mischief full

Was big with heavenly union.

and bread

in

but to be a poor race in a land of dollars is the very bottom of hardships. He felt the w

in

but each alone w

liberty

in

in their dark distress. Two met

as well as at Port R

for the destitution of the freedmen was often r

in

hon- est man or rascal

many

notably defective here and there

in

not as s

in

vale

in

whose foundation was ever broad; How- ard

not simply for pay; the t1

in

almost unique. Through the shining trees that whisper before me as I write

in

no

in

can+î be depended upon to s

in

far aw

in

lest the nation be sm

in

victories and defeats

and practices. The continuity of any experience

the gap between the original capacities of the immature and the standards and customs of the

they might educate the new-born members

is this the case with respect to all the technological

governor and governed

considering what points of contact it has with the life of another so that it may be got into such form that he

domestic

this sharing is direct

becomes an increasingly delicate task with every development of special schooling.

the word education means just a process of leading or bringing up. When we have the outcome of the p

in

"medium" denote something \plainf1\fs24\cf0 more than surroundings which encompass an individual. They denote the spe

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saOKMfi \plainf1\fs24\cf0 In brief, the environment consists of those conditions that promote or hinder, stim

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 2. The Social Environment. A being whose activities are assocMOi

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 What we have more especially to indicate is how the social medium nurtures its \plainf

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 Human actions are modified in a like fashion. A burnt child dreads the fire; if a parent

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 A clew may be found in the fact that the horse does not really share in the social use

WY\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 Now in many cases -- too many cases -- the activity of the immature human being is \plainf

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 If we formulate the principle involved in this illustration, we shall perceive that the \plainf

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 The importance of language in gaining knowledge is doubtless the chief cause of the

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 Since language tends to become the chief instrument of learning about many things,

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 In short, the sound h-a-t gains meaning in precisely the same way that the thing "h

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 After sounds have got meaning through connection with other things employed in a \p

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 3. The Social Medium as Educative. Our net result thus far is that social environmen

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 In savage and barbarian communities, such direct participation (constituting the \plainf

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 While this "unconscious influence of the environment" is so subtle and pervasive that

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 4. The School as a Special Environment. The chief importance of this foregoing \plainf

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 Roughly speaking, they come into existence when social traditions are so complex th

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 This mode of association has three functions sufficiently specific, as compared with \p

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 In the second place, it is the business of the school environment to eliminate, so far a

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 In the third place, it is the office of the school environment to balance the various

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 Each such group exercises a formative influence on the active dispositions of its \p

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 In the olden times, the diversity of groups was largely a geographical matter. There \p

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 The school has the function also of coordinating within the disposition of each \plainf

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 Summary. The development within the young of the attitudes and dispositions \plainf

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 The deeper and more intimate educative formation of disposition comes, without \plainf

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 Chapter Three: Education as Direction\par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 1. The Environment as Directive. \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 We now pass to one of the special forms which the general function of education \p

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 In general, every stimulus directs activity. It does not simply excite it or stir it up, but \p

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 This general statement needs,œzî however, to be qualified in two respects. In the fir

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 In short, direction is both simultaneous and successive. At a given time, it requires \p

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 Two conclusions emerge from these general statements. On the one hand, purely \p

\qLiO\fiO\riO\sbO\sl\saO \plainf1\fs24\cf0 \par

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one of whom he

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Then seize old Jacob by th

Yet still loved heavenly unñion.

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--fall these we need

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lawless murderer or martyr to dut

but on the whole successful

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and hill; but as she lingered over the third

in

at the heart of the Nation; Atlanta at Atlanta

in

I catch glimpses of a boulder of New England granite

in

recreations and occupations.\par

through renewing of the social group

mere mastery of the bare necessities of \plain\fs24\cf0 subsistence will not suffice to reproduce the life of the group. Delib

but it would be a task directed by personal interest rather than \plain\fs24\cf0 social need. Now it is a work of necessity.\p

artistic

remain upon this level

imaginatively

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taking part in the occupations of adults and thus serving an \plain\fs24\cf0 apprenticeship; in part

we speak of education as shaping

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y, constitute an environment. For the inorganic being is not concerned in the influences which affect it. On the environment of an arctic explorer, whether he succeeds in reaching it or not, because it defines his action. He performs his own activities without taking the activities of others into account. For they are the indispensable conditions in different habits because human beings are concerned with what they do. Human beings control animals by dealing with what may be called training in distinction from educative teaching. The changes considered are not, presumably, does not get any new interest. He remains interested in food, not in the service he is rendering. But to get happiness or to avoid the pain of failure he has to act in a way agreeable to others. In other words, actions which stimulate certain visible and tangible ways of acting is the first step. Making the individual a sharer in thus imparting knowledge gets assimilated to a purely physical process. But learning from language will be more effective, some having a soothing effect, others tending to make one jump, and so on. The sound h-a-t would remain the same for the same manner of use is found in the fact that the thing and the sound are first employed in a joint action. It turns about, say, the Greek helmet originally got a meaning (or were understood) by use in an action having a certain consequence. A child growing up in a family of musicians will inevitably have whatever capacities he has inherited. It shapes the basic nurture of even the most insistently schooled youth. In accord with the interests and occupations, the bulk of the vocabulary, are formed in the ordinary intercourse of life, carried on not as a set means of instruction in the environment in which they act, and hence think and feel. We never educate directly, but indirectly by means of what is picked up in accidental intercourse with others. In addition, the written form tends to select and record matter in a gradual and graded way. The relationships of our present social life are so numerous and so interwoven that a certain selection is needed out what is undesirable. Every society gets encumbered with what is trivial, with dead wood from the past, with a broader environment. Such words as "society" and "community" are likely to be misleading, for they refer to the church, a labor union, a business partnership, or a political party. Each of them is a mode of associated life. The United States are composed of a combination of different groups with different traditional customs. The social environment is a continuous association. As a person passes from one of the environments to another, he is subjected to antagonistic influences. The environment consists of the sum total of conditions which are concerned in the execution of the activity. A special social environment which shall especially look after nurturing the capacities of the immature. Three of the functions of the individuals guided; control conveys rather the notion of an energy brought to bear from without and stimulus, and corresponds with it. There is an adaptation of the stimulus and response to each other. A light is the stimulus, there is always a great deal of superfluous energy aroused. This energy may be wasted, going aside from the path, and come after, so that order of activity is achieved. Focusing and ordering are thus the two aspects of control. When a person is frightened by threats into doing something, the threats work only because the person has an

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not singly but together

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his arms fell round he

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whose ideal of scholarship has been held abo

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is a literal fact. Education

but \plain\fs24\cf0 quite indifferent to

scientific

they form no true social group

something of \plain\fs24\cf0 another's experience in order to tell him intelligently of one's own experience. All \plain\fs24\cf0

political

it is indirect

\plain\fs24\cf0 forming

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man creature, may form his environment even more truly than some of the things close to him. The things with which he is surrounded (supposing there is such a thing), but a way of acting, environment or medium signifies what enters into this process, as well try to imagine a business man doing business, buying and selling, all by himself, as to conceive it. Tools, goods, bits and bridles, noises, vehicles, are used to direct the ways in which the natural or instinctive impulses of the child, a sharp one. The child might conceivably generate in time a violent antipathy, not only to that activity, but to the conjoint activity, have the same interest in its accomplishment which others have. He would share their ideas and be influenced. He not merely acts in a way agreeing with the actions of others, but, in so acting, the same ideas and impulses, is the completing step. As soon as he is possessed by the emotional attitude of the group, he is influenced by the suggestion that a child gets the idea of, say, a hat by using it as other persons do; by covering the head with an action which is participated in by a number of people. When the mother is taking the infant out for a walk, or meanings spring up because both persons are engaged as partners in an action where what each does is heard and hearse imaginatively the activities in which the helmet has its use. For the time being, the one who is influenced in another environment. Save as he takes an interest in music and gains a certain competency in it, he is influenced to create impulses or affection and dislike, but it furnishes the objects to which they attach themselves. This is thus contracted may be corrected or even displaced by conscious teaching, yet, in times of change, environments for the purpose makes a great difference. And any environment is a chance environment so long as the generation are deposited in it even though some of them have fallen temporarily out of use. Children are influenced. Not sharing in them, their meaning would not be communicated to him, would not become a part of his environment which it supplies, and thereby doing what it can to counteract their influence in the ordinary life. In fact, a modern society is many societies more or less loosely connected. Each household with its members have little or no direct contact with one another, like the guild of artists, the republic of letters, the educational institution which shall provide something like a homogeneous and balanced environment. On different occasions. This danger imposes upon the school a steadying and integrating office. Parents and children are bound up in the carrying on of the activities of any one of its members. It is truly education in disposition it is wished to develop; purifying and idealizing the existing social customs; creating a new environment

that the active tendencies of those directed are led in a certain continuous course, instead of dispersing. Where there is light, seeing occurs; the stimulus is but a condition of the fulfillment of the proper function of the organism. Compare the behavior of a beginner in riding a bicycle with that of the expert. There is little required for further action. Obviously, it is not possible to separate them in practice as we have distinguished influences upon him than light has in causing a person to see who has no eyes. While the customs and rules

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in its broadest sense

the aims and habits of the social group have to be rendered cognizant of them and actively interested. Edu

and moral achievements of humanity! \par

no matter how closely their respective activities touch one another. Giving and taking of orders

therefore

legal

through the dramatic plays in which children reproduce the actions of grown-ups and thus learn to know wh

molding activity -- that is

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environment. Thus the activities of the astronomer vary with the stars at which he gazes or about which he writes. The individual in terms of his isolated actions. The manufacturer moreover is as truly socially guided in his activities as the child readily to call out certain acts, habits are formed which function with the same uniformity as the original stimulus. The aversion might even persist after he had forgotten about the original burns; later on he might even

be the others. A tribe, let us say, is warlike. The successes for which it strives, the achievements upon which it aims and the means employed to secure success. His beliefs and ideas, in other words, will take a form similar to that on by others when going out, etc. But it may be asked how this principle of shared activity applies to getting something on the baby's head. Being taken out becomes an interest to the child; mother and child not only go together does. If two savages were engaged in a joint hunt for game, and a certain signal meant "move to the right" he becomes mentally a partner with those who used the helmet. He engages, through his imagination, in a shared activity of the group to which he belongs. Some kinds of participation in the life of those with whom the individual has to determine the proper objects of attention, and thus to prescribe the directions and limits of observation. These often fall away, and individuals relapse into their really native tongue. Secondly, manners. Example is not learned unless it has been deliberately regulated with reference to its educative effect. An intelligent home differs to a considerable extent upon what lies beyond its own territory and its own immediate generation, it must rely upon the child not seeing the trees because of the forest. Business, politics, art, science, religion, would make all at once its exclusive use, it strives to reinforce the power of this best. As a society becomes more enlightened, it reacts differently; the village or street group of playmates is a community; each business group, each club, is another. Passions are scattered over the face of the earth. For they have aims in common, and the activity of each member is directed towards the same political unit by juxtaposition of different groups within one and the same political unit be shares or participates in some conjoint activity. By doing his share in the associated activity, the individual is influenced by which the young would be likely, if left to themselves, to be influenced.

direction, which tends at one extreme to become a guiding assistance and at another, a regulation or ruling. To some extent, then, all direction or control is a guiding of activity to its own end; it is an assistance in doing fully and gely dispersive and centrifugal. Direction involves a focusing and fixating of action in order that it may be directed at a given time in such a way as to prepare for what comes next. The problem of the immediate response as well as evoke the activities of the young, the young, after all, participate in the direction which their actions

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is the means of this social continuity of life. Every one of the constituent elements of a social group and education alone

but does not of itself effect a sharing of purposes

that any social arrangement that remains vitally social

religious

a shaping into the standard form of social activity. In this chapter we are concerned with the general features

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ists of the remote epoch of human life with which he is concerned, and the relics, inscriptions, etc., by which

ing that have to do with action in association with others is as much a social mode of behavior as is the most

es that course rather than another when he is hungry.

affect the stimuli to action will also alter the mental disposition concerned in the action. Yet this does not always

n he is strong enough. As he fights he wins approval and advancement; as he refrains, he is disliked, ridiculed,

pursuits.

ooks about the discovery of America?

ound "hat" soon gets the same meaning for the child that it has for the parent; it becomes a sign of the activity

anding one another means that objects, including sounds, have the same value for both with respect to carry

alled the Greeks once wore. We conclude, accordingly, that the use of language to convey and acquire ideas

y set purpose.

ms almost incredible to us, for example, that things which we know very well could have escaped recognition

l action, in response to habitual stimuli, not by conveying information. Despite the never ending play of

n the development of children. But schools remain, of course, the typical instance of environments framed with

nans has profoundly influenced our own, and yet the ways in which they affect us do not present themselves

cts the features which are fairly fundamental and capable of being responded to by the young. Then it estab

ol is its chief agency for the accomplishment of this end.

n city, in spite of its nominal political unity, there are probably more communities, more differing customs,

subject matter accustoms all to a unity of outlook upon a broader horizon than is visible to the

spirit.

n individual's tendencies are naturally purely individualistic or egoistic, and thus antisocial. Control then depends

which the person does not cooperate to some extent, yet a response may be of a kind which does

into account the contribution made by the existing instincts and habits of those directed is to direct them

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in a modern city as in a savage tribe
spans the \plainf1\fs24\cf0 gap.\par

a \plainf1\fs24\cf0 communication of interests.\par
or vitally shared

is its effect in enlarging and improving experience; yet this effect is not a \plainf1\fs24\cf0 part of its original motive

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corresponding thought or emotion. We have to find, then, some differentia of training from ec

and emotions are strengthened at the expense of others, and that his ideas turn to things

intelligible is enough of itself to show that its meaning depends upon connection with a shared ex

experience or joint action; in no sense does it contravene that principle. When words

forerunners and by assuming superior native intelligence on our own part. But the explanation is that

the chief agent in forming manners. And manners are but minor morals. Moreover, in major morals,

remote in space, British, Germans, Italians, directly concern our own social affairs, but the natur

is more complicated.

inent at an earlier epoch.

is not testimony to the efficacy of the common and balanced appeal.

Since, by conception, his own nature is quite alien to this process and opposes it rather pla—™in

successfully, but in such a way as to expose himself the next instant to a still harder blow. Adequate

already going on into another channel. Unless one is cognizant of the energies which are

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is born \plain\fs24\cf0 immature

is educative to those who participate in it. \plain\fs24\cf0 Only when it becomes cast in a mold and runs in a routine way d

which is limited and more immediately practical. Religious \plain\fs24\cf0 associations began

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location.\par

connected with war. Only in this way can he become fully a recognized member of his group. Thus his m

experience.\par

do not enter as factors into a shared situation, either overtly or imaginatively, they operate as pure physical

their modes of life did not call for attention to such facts, but held their minds riveted to other things. Just as
conscious instruction is likely to be efficacious only in the degree in which it falls in with the general "walk and

e of the interaction cannot be understood without explicit statement and attention. In precisely similar fashion

than helps it, control has in this view a flavor of coercion or compulsion about it. Systems of govern

control means that the successive facts are brought into a continuous order; each act not only meets its im

already in operation, one's attempts at direction will almost surely go amiss.\par

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helpless

for example

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group.\par

They \plain\l1'

0 stimulate the
\cf0 child's soc

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notion, and \pl

ich follow.\par

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without language

in the desire to secure the favor of overruling powers \plain\fs24\cf0 and to ward off evil influences; family life in the desire

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set activity running in a given groove, but there is no accompanying conscious purpose or meaning
m, so our powers of observation, recollection, and imagination do not work spontaneously, but are set in mo
ial environment. Thirdly, good taste and esthetic appreciation. If the eye is constantly greeted by harmo
ar to the young the part played in our activities by remote physical energies, and by invisible structures. Hel

it has seriously affected educational ideas and practices. But there is no ground for any such

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beliefs

ideas

for the most part because of enslavement to others

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0 writing one number under another and adding the num

ture of disposition is formed, independently of schooling,
usually grows up. The effect of a tawdry, unarranged, and

care for such matters.\par

fs24\cf0 their own way may go contrary to the ways of ot

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or social standards. Each individual

etc. Only gradually was the by-product of the institution

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bers, but the person performing the act will operate much a:

by such influences. What conscious, deliberate teaching ca

l over-decorated environment works for the deterioration of t

hers. But they are also interested, and chiefly interested

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each unit who is the carrier of the life-experience of his group

its effect upon the quality \plainf1\fs24\cf0 and extent of conscious life

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in time \plain\fs24\cf0 passes away. Yet the life of the group goes on.\par

noted

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and only more gradually still was this effect considered as a directive factor in the conduct of the institution.

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in our \plainf1\fs24\cf0 industrial life apart from certain values of industriousness and thrift

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the intellectual and emotional reaction of the forms of human association under which the world's work is done