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SOCIAL ORIGINS OF DISTINGUISHED NEGROES, 1770-1865

A study of the social origins of distinguished Negroes confronts at the outset the problem of identifying the race's heroes. The school textbooks in American history necessarily devote pages to the race as a whole but the individual flesh-and-blood creative Negro almost never appears,[1] and the same is true of the quarterly journals devoted to general American history in which historians publish their learned papers. That the obscurity of the individual Negro in the historical record derives from a calculated conspiracy of silence, however, does not follow. An alternative is the view that the Negro's contribution has, in all candor, not

[1] For documentation of the absence of Negro notables from this sort of literature, see a Columbia University doctoral dissertation by Marie Elizabeth Carpenter, published as *The Treatment of the Negro in American History School Textbooks* (n.p., 1941). The same is true of the history of Negro efforts in specialized areas. The development of Negro literature, for example, is not even faintly suggested in the standard textbooks and anthologies used in courses in American literature in most of the nation's high schools and colleges. John S. Lash, "Current Opinion on the Teaching of the Literature of the Negro," *Journal of Negro Education*, XIV (Winter, 1945), 18-27. *American Literature*, the professional quarterly wholly concerned with the "history, criticism, and bibliography of American Literature," has in the more than twenty years of its life published over four hundred articles (not counting reviews), of which not one deals with a Negro author.

been conspicuous in the total American context; and this, far from arguing a want of capacity or will on the Negro's part, testifies to the inferior role to which society assigned him from his earliest days here. Indeed, when the obstacles and hostilities, the taboos, prejudices and privations that thwarted Negroes at every turn are appreciated, the achievements of their prominent sons attest not only the immense potentials of the black race; they bear witness to the valor and creative power of the whole human race when even a little opportunity is vouchsafed them.[2]

A dispassionate scrutiny of the Negro notables of the past reveals a considerable number not conspicuous for talent or achievement, except when measured against opportunity; and that sort of heroism, no less real than the sort that chroniclers celebrate, does not find its way into the history books. The Negro people, uprooted from their native culture, cast upon the American continent and forcibly integrated into a slave economy, were in all essentials established here as a people without a culture. But, from the outset, the task of contriving a new order went forward under the laws of social development that students of society describe better than they explain.

A central tendency in the evolution of American society, bearing down late or soon the obstacles that contested its advance, has been the shaping of an order in which status was a function of achievement, not a thing ascribed by birth or caste. The person of color, segregated as the Great Exception, was to prove in time to be no exception at all, for the relentless logic of the unfolding American order—the steady self-assertion by an achievement-society against the affirmations of an ascription-society—in time ripped out in fearful combat between white men the major institutional form of that segregation. Then followed the agoniz-

[2] A brief, penetrating statement of the crushing disabilities laid upon the Negroes of the period, both slave and free, and the consequences for their personal and social development is in Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen; The Negro in America* (New York, 1947).

ing, century-long task of picking out the surviving devious and snarled strands so long woven through the underside of the American social fabric. Barred at the beginning from participation in the established American order by a rigid line of caste over which no achievement could hoist a man, the Negroes had had no choice but to build their own culture on their own side of the color line and await the day when the line might be expunged. There began the slow emergence of a Negro counterpart, a makeshift black replica of American society. That a people in bondage, wanting the requisite material resources and cultural heritage even in the minimum essentials, should have been slow to accumulate them and to forge them into a Negro American culture was inherent in the premises. That the culture heroes who fashioned it would for long not take rank in the chronicles with the heroes of the model they copied need surprise no one.[3]

It is the Negroes who lived to achieve eminence of some sort who are the subjects of this paper, with special reference to some of the disabilities under which they labored. Formidable though the handicaps were, it must appear that the great mass of Negro folk were vastly more hard-favored than these—so much so that by contrast the typical

[3] It was not banishment alone that kept the Negro from appearing in the ranks of Americans who achieved the sort of prominence that biographical dictionaries celebrate. A catastrophic biological fact reinforced the bars. During the whole of the period this paper contemplates, and far beyond, the life expectancy of the Negro as compared with that of whites showed an appalling disparity. Even as late as 1900, when the gap had begun to narrow, the expectancy of Negro males was slightly over 32 years while that of white males was 48 years. More is involved here than a mere 50% differential. If it be granted that fame was rarely attained before the 35th year by the vast company of distinguished Americans in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and then if it be remembered that at 35 the typical Negro was *dead*, while the average white man had another dozen years in which to make his mark, it appears that the white man's chances for becoming notable were almost infinitely better than a Negro's, all other differences aside. Data on life expectancy are from E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (New York, 1949), 569.

prominent Negro was the fortunate possessor of advantages which, pitiful though they were, enabled him to raise himself above his fellows and set his feet upon a higher path.

A master fact in the social heritage of all classes of Negroes was the precarious structure of the family. The notoriously casual character of the marriage relationship among slave folk shrouds the facts about the parentage of individual Negroes. Even if it could have been expected that slaves should adopt in a generation or two the white man's centuries-old marriage pattern, the incidents of slavery would hardly allow it, for the usages must perforce be flexible enough to permit slaveowners to manage their chattels to their own advantage. Moreover, slaves and their descendants who entered the class of free Negroes, North or South, carried with them the marriage practices of the slave community. Negro marriages, whether of slaves or free Negroes, lacked the formality and deliberation that gave stability to the marriages of whites; they lacked the social and religious sanctions, the exact legal definition that marked the white man's marriage-ways, but which, if applied to the slave, would have cut athwart the white man's will.[4]

No less disruptive of stable patterns of marriage and

[4] This side of slave life is abundantly attested in the autobiographies of ex-slaves who published such works in the period here surveyed. William Wells Brown, who later became famous both as an antislavery leader and as a pioneer Negro historian, wrote that his mother had seven children, no two of whom were fathered by the same man. He added that most slaves did not know who their fathers were. "It is common for slaves to be married," he continued, ". . . but there is no such thing as slaves being lawfully married. There never yet was a case where a slave has been tried for bigamy. The man may have as many women as he wishes, and the women as many men; and the law takes no cognizance of such acts among slaves. And in fact some masters, when they have sold the husband from the wife, compel her to take another." William Wells Brown, *Narrative of William Wells Brown, a Fugitive Slave, Written by Himself* (Boston, 1847), 13, 88-89; and *idem., The Black Man, His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements* (New York, 1863), 86. Another wrote that "it is almost impossible

descent was the white man who took his pleasure with the Negro's women. The unendurable temptation to indulgence so freely available made the chastity of the comely slave girl an early casualty and the plantation an uneasy hell for the white male's wife and mother. A persistent surplus of white males over females in the South, and the absence of legal protections for the colored female further conspired to multiply these guilty unions and to create literally a new race in the space of a few decades. The absence of social sanctions against seduction and concubinage; the strong pressures to compliance that colored women could only with the utmost fortitude withstand; and, as a matter of cool calculaion, the high economic value of mulatto offspring converged to the same result.[5]

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for slaves to give a correct account of their male parentage," and that he had no knowledge of his father at all. "There is no legal marriage among the slaves of the South," he said; "I never saw or heard of such a thing in my life, and I have been through seven of the slave states. A slave marrying according to law, is a thing unknown in the history of American slavery." Henry Bibb, *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave, Written by Himself* (New York, 1849), 38. Frederick Douglass gave similar testimony and declared that he himself was no exception to the rule that "by far the larger part of the slaves know as little of their ages as horses do of theirs." He said he met his mother only a few times in his life after being separated from her in infancy, and "she left me without the slightest intimation of who my father was," *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave. Written by Himself* (Boston, 1845), 2-3. See also Linda Brent (pseud.), *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl. Written by Herself* (Boston, 1861), 217. That the same looseness of the maritial tie naturally moved with the Negro when he moved over into the free Negro caste in the North or South, and then persisted in significant measure to the twentieth century is made clear in James W. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland*, 1634-1860 (vol. XCVII, no. 3, in *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, New York, 1921), 242-244; Edward Raymond Taylor, *The Negro in Pennsylvania; Slavery—Servitude—Freedom*, 1639-1861 (Washington, 1911), 46; William E. B. DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro; a Social Study* (*Publications of the University of Pennsylvania; Series in Political Economy and Public Law*, no. 14, Philadelphia, 1899), 66-72. See also E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago, 1939).

[5] See, e.g., Brent, *Slave Girl, passim.* For commentary on miscegenation

The rise of the mulatto population was a major element in the social origins of the distinguished Negroes upon whom this paper focusses, for the overwhelming majority of them were persons of mixed blood. No one of any considerable information believes any more that this phenomenon springs from an inherent physical, moral, and intellectual superiority of the white man over the Negro. One looks rather to such a social fact as the huge differential in the cultural inheritance, both immediate and remote, of the two races. One looks to the biological fact that the female progenitors of the mulatto stock have been, during the whole of the Negro's history in America, the choicest specimens of the race that the white man could bend to his lustful purpose; to the fact that this biological selection was reinforced by the tendency of mulattoes to draw away from blacks by marrying their own kind, and the tendency for the most highly favored and successful blacks to marry into the mulatto group.[6] One looks also to the fact that the Negro of lighter skin, in slavery and in freedom, was always afforded more indulgence by the white man than his

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as a dominant feature of the slave order, see such diverse sources as the narratives, previously cited, of Bibb, Douglass, Brown, and Brent; and special studies like Edward B. Reuter, *Race Mixture; Studies in Intermarriage and Miscegenation* (New York, 1931); E. Franklin Franzier, *Negro Family;* and Otto Klingberg, ed., *Characteristics of the American Negro* (New York, 1944). These elements did not dissolve with the end of the slave era. Old usage persisted, though in diminishing measure, far beyond the period under scrutiny. The colored race was still subordinated to the white man, still labored under enormous necessities to court his favor and suffered grievous penalties for braving his frown. As of old, the white seducer still enjoyed his immunities; indeed the law encouraged him to repeat his offense for it forbade him to marry the colored mother of his child. So rapid was the growth of the mulatto group that by 1850 they accounted for at least a ninth of the Negro people and a century later perhaps three-fourths. After 1860 the increase came less and less from direct infusion of Caucasian blood and more from the marriage of "pure" Negroes with mulattoes. Gunnar Myrdal, ed., *An American Dilemma* (2 vols., New York, 1944), I: 133. See also Melville J. Herskovits, *The American Negro; a Study in Racial Crossing* (New York, 1928), 3-17.

[6] Reuter, *Race Mixture,* 160-161.

darker kinsman was, and that the Negro himself, under the urging of his social environment, tended to defer to his half-white cousin.[7]

The prominent Negroes in the century preceding 1865 had been born in a social context in which these forces were fully operative. Many were born in slavery and grew up under the crushing handicap of its family instability and want of responsible direction, and nearly all the rest were at most a few generations removed from it and not beyond its influence. Such eminence as was achieved, however, was with few exceptions won in freedom, not in chains. It was, chiefly, the Negro who was born free, or the fugitive, or the slave who was manumitted, purchased, or snatched into freedom, or at last emancipated by law, who could make his name remembered while his less-

[7] The social advantages that lighter skin conferred upon a Negro, free or slave, are frequently stressed in the writings of Negroes from that day to the present. See Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.*, 53-58, 273-305, and the following (most of them cited by Frazier): memoirs of Bibb, Douglass, Brent, previously cited; Austin Steward, *Twenty-two Years a Slave and Forty Years a Freeman . . .* (Rochester, 2nd edition, 1859); Francis Frederick, *Autobiography of Francis Frederick of Virginia* (Baltimore, 1869); Robert Anderson, *From Slavery to Affluence* (Hemingsford, Neb., 1927); James W. C. Pennington, *The Fugitive Blacksmith; or Events in the History of James W. C. Pennington* (London, 1850). See also Herskovits, *American Negro*, 51-66; Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, II, chap. 32 and p. 1390; Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York, 1856), 421. Lighter-skinned Negroes were almost invariably preferred over blacks as house servants, a station that carried with it incalculable social advantages over that of the field hand. It was from the mulatto class too that masters selected young Negroes for training in trades with an eye to hiring them out (or even permitting them to hire their own time) to city employers, who greatly preferred light-skinned Negroes in their homes and shops. In those cases, by no means rare, where the mulatto was the natural child of the master himself an understandable indulgence was often shown either from natural affection or as a corollary of the doctrine of white superiority. Sometimes it worked quite the other way, if only to appease an outraged wife. On the very real hardships that the filial relation sometimes imposed upon slaves, see Brent, *Slave Girl*, 85; Douglass, *Narrative* (1845), 4; and Ruth Reddick, "J. W. Loguen," *Negro History Bulletin*, V (November, 1941), 40. (Cited hereafter as *NHB*.) See also Moses Roper, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Escape of Moses Roper, from American Slavery* (Philadelphia, 1838), 9-10.

favored kinsfolk, often literally without family name, would live and die in deeply shadowed obscurity.[8] They would, with few exceptions, be folk who had contrived somehow to appropriate some of the white man's education and a great deal of his religion, to learn the use of his social instruments, and to work with him sometimes for common goals.

Successful flight seemed a remote hope, especially before 1830, for the organized assistance to fugitives by Northerners had at that date seen only a modest beginning. Voluntary manumission was hardly likely to be often opened as a door to liberty. The cash value of slaves and the investment that past years of maintenance represented gave even tender consciences pause; some scrupled owners were loath to turn blacks loose in a social order that had not yet made a secure place for free Negroes without means; still others were as debtors legally estopped from dispersing their assets. Failing escape or liberation, self-purchase seemed the bondmen's best hope but few could have reasonable expectation of realizing it. It depended on the owner's willingness to sell and the slave's opportunity to earn the money it required. If the Negro succeeded in building his little fortune, everything depended on the good faith and the ability of the owner to carry out his

[8] The advantage of being born free was usually great but it should be stressed that a considerable fraction of the most prominent Negroes of the slave period were themselves born in bondage. It should be noted also that the plane of living of the average free Negro, even in the North, was not conspicuously above that of the average slave. Indeed, not a few slaves enjoyed a higher degree of physical well-being and even better opportunity for acquiring some education than many freemen did. See Wright, *Free Negro in Maryland*, 259f. The difference in condition and opportunity between slaves on the same plantation was often greater than the difference between the mean of the condition and opportunity of the generality of slaves and that of the freemen in the same county or state. Even so, many a slave would doubtless have agreed with the exclamation of one of their number who said "I would ten thousand times rather that my children should be half-starved paupers of Ireland than to be the most pampered among the slaves of America." Brent, *Slave Girl*, 49.

bargain. Sometimes the latter withdrew the offer altogether, even confiscating his chattel's savings; sometimes he cruelly raised the price after the original sum had been saved; sometimes he died before the bargain was completed and his heirs refused to be bound by it. And always the slave's power to make contracts was so narrowly hedged about as to make these transactions a precarious business at best.[9]

II

For the period from 1770 to the fateful year 1831, some 26 names may be listed as pre-eminent among those most frequently mentioned in the Negro Americans' annals. Their chronology begins with Crispus Attucks (1723?-1770), hero of the Boston Massacre and a favorite of Ne-

[9] The existence of a body of free Negroes was always regarded, doubtless with good reason, by the friends of slavery as a threat to the institution, and even before the American Colonization Society was created as one means of ridding the country of its free Negroes, state legislation to curb manumission by owners, whether free or compensated, was already appearing in the statute books. In Maryland, for example, the power to manumit by last will and testament was virtually abolished in the Revolutionary period; by 1800 penalties were laid upon masters who allowed their Negroes to go about working for wages on their own account. In 1832 an act forbade manumission except when accompanied by removal from the state, and by 1860 the law forbade manumission on any conditions whatever. Wright, *Free Negro in Maryland*, 325. Arrangements permitting the hiring out of slaves who might then be allowed part of their earnings, or permitting slaves to hire their own time and then seek employment on their own behalf, were far more common in or near urban areas than in the deeper interior of the plantation country. Here too the slave who lived in the more favored areas—particularly if he was a mulatto—had a decisive advantage over others. Among slaves included in the list of prominent Negroes in subsequent pages who enjoyed such arrangements were Lunsford Lane, Frederick Douglass, Richard Allen, Andrew Bryan, Lott Cary, James Derham, Absalom Jones, William Wells Brown, Anthony Burns, George M. Horton, James W. C. Pennington. Again, slaves employed as helpers in and about public conveyances and accommodations (for which also mulattoes were preferred) received tips that could be saved and compounded into a freedom fund. For an illuminating paper on slaves' purchase of their liberty, see Herbert Aptheker, *To Be Free; Studies in American Negro History* (New York, 1948), 31-40.

groes because of his dramatic identification with the cause of American liberty. Nothing is known of his life beyond the presumption that he was a mulatto former slave of one Browne of Framingham, Massachusetts.[10] More celebrated is Benjamin Banneker (1731-1806), mathematician and astronomer. His father was a slave and his mother a free woman who had purchased her husband's liberty and was herself the daughter of an English indentured serving girl said to have been deported to America for a trifling misdeed. The latter became in time the owner of land and two slaves and married the free Negro who later became the ancestor of Benjamin Banneker. Benjamin gained a scanty education from an obscure country school for free Negroes and was assisted in scientific studies by George Ellicott, a Quaker and Maryland planter of broad learning and humanitarian interests.[11]

James Derham (1762- ?), the first recognized Negro physician, was born a slave of mulatto parentage and was taught reading, writing and the Christian religion as a child. He early became the property of a succession of physicians who trained and employed him as an assistant. His last owner enabled him to purchase his freedom on liberal terms and helped him establish a medical practice which was soon yielding him an annual income of $3,000.[12]

[10] Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (20 vols. and index, New York, 1928-1936), I, 415. This work is cited hereafter as *DAB*. See also Brown, *Black Man*, 106-110. Salem Poor and Peter Salem are usually singled out in Negro histories as colored heroes of the battle of Bunker Hill, but nothing further is known of their lives.

[11] Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History* (Washington, 7th edition, 1941), 137-140; Vernon Loggins, *The Negro Author; His Development in America* (New York, 1931), 37-40; Brown, *Black Man*, 51-58; Henry Baker, "Benjamin Banneker, the Negro Mathematician and Astronomer," *Journal of Negro History*, III (April, 1918), 99-118. (This journal is cited hereafter as *JNH*.) See also the series of articles by William B. Settle, "The Real Benjamin Banneker," in *NHB*, XVI (Jan., Feb., Mar., Apr., 1953), 90-91, 129-135, 153-158.

[12] Kelly Miller, "The Historic Background of the Negro Physician," *JNH*, I (Apr., 1916), 99-109.

The period to 1831 saw eleven religious leaders noted in Negro social history. Richard Allen (1760-1831), founder and first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born of mulatto slave parents in Philadelphia and sold as a boy to a farmer in Delaware. Embracing religion in his youth, Allen quickly became a religious worker encouraged by his master to hold services in the latter's home. Self-educated, with some guidance from whites, he had no formal training at all. His owner granted young Allen and his brother their freedom for $2,000 in depreciated Revolutionary currency earned by hauling salt, cutting cordwood, and working in a brickyard.[13]

Absalom Jones (1746?-1817?), an early associate of Allen and later the first to establish Negro Protestant Episcopal churches, was born an unmixed black in bondage in Delaware. As a child he was encouraged to learn to read and to purchase books with the pennies that a favored young slave was able to save. At sixteen he was taken to Philadelphia to work as a handyman in his master's store and there a clerk taught him to write. Subsequent instruction at an evening school completed his formal education. He married a young slave and then bought her freedom with funds the couple were able to earn by working in the evenings. Their industry enabled them to purchase a home in the city and then Jones's own liberty. They continued to work for their former master, acquiring two more houses to rent.[14]

Another early co-worker of Allen in the AME Church was Daniel Coker (d. 1825?), who also directed a school

[13] *DAB*, I, 204; Richard Allen, *Life, Experiences and Gospel Labors of the Rt. Rev. Richard Allen. . . .* (n.p., n.d.); *Loggins, Negro Author*, 56-61; Charles H. Wesley, *Richard Allen, Apostle of Freedom* (Washington, 1935); Herbert Aptheker, *The Negro in the Abolitionist Movement* (New York, 1941), 30.

[14] Carter G. Woodson, *History of the Negro Church* (Washington, 1921), 74-75; "The Negro in Pennsylvania," *NHB*, V (Dec., 1941), 52-58; Wesley, *Richard Allen*, 51-53, 59-66, 99-111.

for free Negroes maintained by his church in Baltimore, and later went to Africa as a missionary and a promoter of colonization. He was born in slavery of an English indentured serving girl and a slave of the same master. His owner's young son to whom he was assigned as a servant refused to go to school unattended by his playmate, so that Daniel contrived to overhear a basic education. Living in Maryland gave him an opportunity, not readily available to slaves farther South, to run away to New York. He joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, was quickly ordained a deacon by Bishop Asbury himself, and returned to Baltimore, concealing his identity until he had been redeemed and formally manumitted.[15]

George Liele (1751?- ?) and Andrew Bryan (1737-1812), pioneer Baptist leaders, were Southern slaves. Both of them are believed to have been mulattoes, and nothing is known of their education. Liele was licensed after a trial sermon before a quarterly meeting of white ministers and then, while a local pastor, continued for some years as a slave before his pious master freed him. Like many an early Negro pastor, Liele was long unsalaried and supported himself by hiring out his labor. Bryan bought his wife's freedom several years after their marriage but for many years remained himself legally the property of an indulgent master who aided him in the organization of churches and defended him against the aggressions of hostile whites already alarmed over the rise of Negro churches. Late in life Bryan purchased manumission from his late owner's estate for £50.[16] Lott Cary (1780?-1828), a pioneer

[15] Wesley, *Richard Allen*, 127-131, 141-142, 170-171; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 62-63; Charles Henry Huberich, *The Political and Legislative History of Liberia* (2 vols., New York, 1947), I, 144; Wright, *Free Negro in Maryland*, 203-205, 217. Like other church leaders in the South in his day Coker was silenced by the repression following the Vesey plot. Coker's boyhood name was Isaac Wright.

[16] John W. Davis, "George Liele and Andrew Bryan, Pioneer Negro Baptist Preachers," *JNH*, III (Apr., 1918), 119-127. See also Woodson, *Negro Church*, 42-53. Liele is sometimes called George Sharpe.

Baptist missionary to Africa identified with the founding of Liberia, was born a slave of unmixed Negro blood in Virginia. The young Cary was hired out to a Richmond tobacco warehouse where he was permitted to keep earnings from labor after hours selling tobacco scraps and waste. He learned to read by his own efforts and bought his own person and his two children (his wife having died) for $850. Soon thereafter he was licensed to preach by the First Baptist Church of Richmond.[17]

In addition to these who transcended the handicap of slavery, there were five others who besides personal freedom enjoyed additional modest advantages. Morris Brown (1770-1849), who ultimately succeeded Allen as presiding bishop of the AME Church, owed his opportunity to his birth in the class of free people of color in Charleston whose close associations and physical kinship with the leading white families rendered them to all intents exempt from restrictions commonly laid upon Negroes. These folk were permitted to maintain their own schools and churches in this early period, and Brown secured what was for that time a good elementary education. Licensed to preach as soon as he professed religion, he became an important influence about Charleston though at one time he was imprisoned for manifesting too much sympathy for slaves. When the Vesey plot (1822) stiffened the whites' attitude, all Negroes of influence came under suspicion. Public belief that the AME Church was connected with plots of insurrection induced Brown to escape to Philadelphia, and there he rapidly moved to front rank as a leader in every major Negro movement.[18]

Far less is known of James Varick (1750?-1828), a founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church,

[17] Miles Mark Fisher, "Lott Cary, the Colonizing Missionary," *JNH*, VII (Oct., 1922), 380-418; *DAB*, III, 555; Huberich, *History of Liberia*, I, 374-375.

[18] *DAB*, III, 145.

and its first bishop. He was born near Newburgh, New York, and as a youth became a zealous adherent of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He and his associates were authorized by Bishop Asbury to hold meetings by themselves between services conducted for them by white ministers. Three years later, having rented a house as a place of worship, the group organized a church which in 1820 seceded from the Methodist Episcopal Church and with similar congregations formed the new African Methodist Episcopal Zion denomination.[19]

Prince Hall (1748- ?), an early champion of Negro rights best remembered as the founder of Negro Masonry, was born in Barbados of an English father and a mother of mixed French and Negro blood. He was apprenticed as a leather worker but came to America at seventeen and settled in Boston, working at sundry employments. For ten years he studied privately in the evening, obtaining by these efforts a substantial education. He served in the Continental Army, acquired property, became a voter, and rose to the pastorate of a Methodist Church in Cambridge.[20]

The career of John Chavis (1763?-1838) sprang from a fortunate coincidence of talent and opportunity. Born a full-blooded Negro free man, perhaps in North Carolina, he was sent to Princeton to study privately under President Witherspoon, to demonstrate, it is said, whether a Negro could assimilate higher learning. He later passed through a regular course at Washington Academy (later Washington and Lee), and became a Presbyterian clergyman preaching to both white and colored folk. In addition he established a school where he prepared for college the sons of many of North Carolina's most distinguished families. Like many of the Negro religious and educational leaders

[19] *DAB*, XIX, 225.

[20] Harry E. Davis, "Documents Relating to Negro Masonry," *JNH*, XXI (Oct., 1936); 411-432; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 53, 83-85; Aptheker, *Negro in Abolitionist Movement*, 29.

in the South, he was silenced by legislation enacted after the Turner revolt of 1831.[21]

Lemuel Haynes is a hero to Negroes because he succeeded in identifying himself fully with the white community. His father was an unmixed Negro and his mother a white woman of respected New England family, the hired girl of the Connecticut farmer whose neighbor was the owner of Lemuel's father. The child took the name of neither parent but of the family in whose home the birth evidently occurred. The hapless girl abandoned the baby in a few days and Haynes, to spare her family, gave the child his own name and that of Lemuel, "consecrated unto the Lord." When still an infant the child was bound out to a pious deacon of Granville, Massachusetts, in whose home he lived for over thirty years. The indenture stipulated that the child was to have the usual district school education, and after absorbing what the poor backwoods school had to offer, Lemuel continued his education by private study, encouraged by his employer and borrowing books where he could. After serving in the Continental Army he returned to the Haynes home, apparently was enrolled for a time at Dartmouth, and then studied theology under a preacher in Canaan, Connecticut, laboring in his fields for room, board, and tuition. He married a white woman and his whole ministerial career was in white Congregational churches in Connecticut and Vermont.[22]

Three names dominate the literary history of the race during this period. Jupiter Hammon (1720-1800), first Negro poet in America, was so favorably situated in slavery that he preferred to retain that status. As a bondman of

[21] *DAB*, IV, 44; W. Sherman Savage, "The Influence of John Chavis and Lunsford Lane on the History of North Carolina," *JNH*, XXV (Jan., 1940), 14-24; John Spencer Bassett, *Slavery in North Carolina* (*Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, series XIII, no. 7-8, Baltimore, 1899), 73-76.

[22] W. H. Morse, "Lemuel Haynes," *JNH*, IV (Jan., 1919), 22-32; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 117-126.

the Lloyd household of Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, he was evidently given extensive religious instruction and the fundamentals of an elementary education by his white folk who also helped him get his works published and placed before the public.[23]

The more gifted Phillis Wheatley (1753-1784) was a pure black who had been kidnapped from Africa in childhood, brought in a slave ship to Boston, and purchased by a prosperous tailor as a personal servant for his wife. The family taught her reading and writing and conducted her through Greek and Roman History, mythology, and the English poets. She was warmly encouraged in her literary efforts, was introduced to the company of Boston intellectuals, and when her health faltered she was taken to England by her master's son and enjoyed an extraordinary popularity there. A free woman after her benefactors died, she contracted an unfortunate marriage and before her early death was reduced to earning her keep by drudgery in a cheap boarding house. Like Hammon's, her writing was greatly preoccupied with religious themes.[24]

Gustavus Vassa (1748?1801?), the author of an autobiography that afforded a moving protest against slavery, was, like Miss Wheatley, kidnaped from Africa as a child. After a short time as a slave in Virginia he became the attendant of a British officer and then the property of a

[23] *DAB*, VIII, 201; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 9-16; Benjamin G. Brawley, *Early American Negro Writers* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 21-22. In 1786 Hammon wrote in an address to his fellow slaves: "I have good reason to be thankful that my lot is so much better than most of you who are slaves have ever known, and I believe more than many white people have enjoyed." Liberty for the race, he conceded, might be desirable, but, he concluded, "for my own part I do not wish to be free; for many of us who are grown up slaves, and have always had masters to take care of us, should hardly know how to take care of themselves; and it may be for our own comfort to remain as we are. (*An Address to the Negroes in the State of New York*, 1787), 6. Cited in Loggins, *Negro Author*, 10, 15.

[24] *DAB*, XX, 36; Edward D. Seeber, "Phillis Wheatley," *JNH*, XXIV (July, 1939), 259-262; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 16-29; Brawley, *Early Writers*, 31-36; Brown, *Black Man*, 138-142.

Philadelphia merchant who took him as a helper on trips to the West Indies and helped him purchase his freedom. He had in the meantime become highly literate and a devoted Methodist. After achieving his freedom he settled in England and engaged in antislavery work there.[25]

Several of the foregoing were effective campaigners for the rights of Negroes, but there remain to be considered the half-dozen individuals whose note rests directly upon their hostility to slavery and the disabilities of free Negroes and upon their dedication to affirmative efforts to eradicate these evils. Most dramatic, if least successful, were the leaders of slave revolts like Denmark Vesey (1767?-1822) and Nat Turner (1800-1831). Vesey was an epileptic mulatto who because of his intelligence and comeliness was retained as a sort of protege by a Captain Vesey, a Charleston slaver. After shipping with Vesey for twenty years, Denmark won $1500 in a lottery and with this sum purchased his own liberty for $600, set himself up as a carpenter, accumulated more property, and became "the reputed autocrat of several wives and numerous progeny." Goaded by his children's inheritance of their mother's slave status, and his imagination fired by events in Santo Domingo, he matured his famous plot. A thoroughly literate man, he associated himself with the AME Church, and gained a considerable influence as a lay religious teacher greatly given to dwelling on the analogy between Negro slaves and another oppressed people led at last out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. He quoted scripture with telling effect and was able, as a free Negro, to carry his message over a large area.[26] As a plantation Negro, Nat Turner had few advantages. His mother was a native of Africa as yet scarcely civilized and his father

[25] Benjamin G. Brawley, *The Negro Genius* (New York, 1940), 28-30; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 40-47; Gustavus Vassa, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Oloudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa* (2 vols., London, 1789).

[26] *DAB*, XIX, 258; William J. Simmons, *Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive and Rising* (Cleveland, 1887), 231-233; Brown, *Black Man*, 142-148.

deserted his family, fleeing from his bonds to Africa. Nat was a precocious child and was given some instruction in literacy by his owner's son. Though probably not a preacher, he was passionately religious, believing himself called of God to liberate slaves and taking his cues from signs in the heavens and voices that he heard in the air.[27]

Though not associated with an uprising, David Walker (1785-1830) perhaps, with his militant pamphlet, *Walker's Appeal in Four Articles,* struck as much terror into Southern hearts as did armed insurgents. He was a posthumous son of a slave father and of a free mulatto mother and himself free. He traveled extensively through the South in his youth and became an antislavery enthusiast. In early middle age he removed to Boston where he supported himself by operating a second-hand clothing store, and, after learning to read and write, steeped himself in the historical literature of slavery before penning his explosive broadside.[28]

Far different was Elijah Johnson (1780-1849) who sought the Negro's social redemption in emigration to Africa. He was evidently born free in New Jersey, and nothing is known of his parents except that at least one of of them had white ancestors. He obtained what one authority calls "a good education" and served in the War of 1812. He studied briefly for the Baptist ministry, but

[27] *DAB,* XIX, 69; John Cromwell, "The Aftermath of Nat Turner's Insurrection," *JNH,* V (Apr., 1920), 208-234; Simmons, *Men of Mark,* 1035-1039; Brown, *Black Man,* 59-75. A third most prominently mentioned rebel was Gabriel Prosser, a young Virginia slave who plotted a revolt in 1800. Data about his life are wanting but the ingenious plans he contrived suggest high native intelligence and literacy. Like Vesey and Turner, he was skilled in the interpretation of scripture to fit his need and believed himself divinely led. See Benjamin G. Brawley, *A Social History of the American Negro* (New York, 1921), 86-87; and Herbert Aptheker, *Negro Slave Revolts in the United States,* 1526-1860 (Washington, 1939), 27-31.

[28] *DAB,* XIX, 340; Loggins, *Negro Author,* 85-90. Three months after the third and most militant edition of Walker's *Appeal* appeared in 1830, he died in circumstances that suggest poisoning, and the speculation that he was murdered (which still persists) added to his fame.

shifted his interest to the colonization of free Negroes and went to Africa with one of the earliest emigrant companies sponsored by the American Colonization Society.[29] Paul Cuffe (1759-1817), also noted as an organizer of efforts to re-settle free Negroes in African colonies and as a champion of civil rights for free Negroes in Massachusetts, was one of ten children of a Massachusetts Negro who had been born in Africa and had bought his liberty and married an Indian woman. Born on one of the Elizabeth Islands near New Bedford, Paul was at thirteen still scarcely able to read and write. He went to sea on a whaling vessel while still a boy, and after his capture and release by the British during the Revolution engaged in farming at Westport, studied arithmetic and navigation and, after a few initial failures, became a successful shipowner. Like his father, he married an Indian girl, and, now a prosperous citizen, established a school and was received as a member of the Society of Friends.[30]

The last of this group was James Forten (1766-1842), a wealthy Pennsylvania sail-maker who devoted his time and means to a wide range of humanitarian causes and became the most important Negro abolitionist of his day and a major influence in the subsequent careers of William Lloyd Garrison and Theodore Dwight Weld. He was born in Philadelphia of free mulatto parents whose forebears had lived in the city for several generations. As a boy he attended the school of the Quaker abolitionist, Anthony Benezet, but was obliged to give it up and work to support his widowed mother before he was ten years old. At fourteen he served in the American Navy until captured and exchanged by the British and then was apprenticed to a

[29] *DAB*, X, 87; Huberich, *History of Liberia*, I, 225-226.

[30] *DAB*, IV, 585; H. N. Sherwood, "Paul Cuffe," *JNH, VIII* (Apr., 1923), 153-229; Simmons, *Men of Mark*, 336-339; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 48-49, 82-84.

Philadelphia sailmaker. He soon became the owner of a sail loft and amassed a fortune of $100,000.[31]

III

The opening of the 1830's marks a watershed in Negro social history. The attack on slavery and discrimination was intensified by their victims and critics, and firmer counter-measures were advanced by defenders of these institutions. Now came also a sharp increase in the feeling against the free Negro in the North. The rising tempo of the antislavery debate and the social progress exemplified by the leaders discussed in the foregoing pages gave rise to fears and misgivings that found expression in mounting prejudice and even in hostility to the education of the Northern free Negro.[32] The year 1830 was the year that saw the birth of the important Convention Movement whose annual national meetings of the free persons of color, supplemented by countless local conventions, gave that class a powerful instrument for concerted action.[33] In 1831 the South was enraged by the launching of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, and the revolt of Nat Turner and the establishment of Garrison's *Liberator*. Now came rigorous stiffening of the Black Codes to keep individual Negroes ignorant and cowed and their society primitively atomized.

[31] *DAB*, VI, 536; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 63-66; Ray Allen Billington, "James Forten, Forgotten Abolitionist," *NHB*, XIII (Nov., 1949), 31-36, 45.

[32] Taylor, *Negro in Pennsylvania*, 148. By 1840 the feeling was crystallized that there was no real place for the free Negro and since he could not rise it was better not to educate him. James Forten, the richest and most honored Philadelphia Negro was now unable to obtain any advancement for his two well-educated sons.

[33] Howard H. Bell, "The Negro Convention Movement, 1830-1860: New Perspectives," *NHB*, XIV (Feb., 1951), 103-105, 114; Frazier, 79ff. The central place of organized religion and the clergy in Negro uplift efforts in the early period is indicated by the fact that the first of these great conventions (1830) was held in the Bethel Church of the AME denomination—the "mother church"—in Philadelphia and that Bishop Allen was the first to be chosen president of this movement over which Frederick Douglass later presided.

Small wonder that of the 37 names most frequently encountered in this study for the period 1831-1865 no less than 28 were those of persons principally remembered as Negro-rights or antislavery heroes, and that the 37 should include only five in the South.

The five Southerners are quickly explained. One was Dred Scott, the illiterate, good-natured, shiftless slave whose successive moves about the country furnished the pretext for litigation that he never understood.[34] A second was John Miflin Brown (1817-1893) who came to genuine prominence only in 1864 when he became editor of the *Christian Recorder,* organ of the AME Church and today the oldest Negro newspaper in the country. Brown is the only person on the list of notables for this period who was distinguished primarily as a religious leader, an extraordinary contrast with the periods just preceding and following this generation.[35]

The third of these celebrities who made their contribution in the South was Lunsford Lane (1800?- ?) whose heroic effort to purchase his freedom in the face of heartbreaking obstacles provided the basis for his fame, though the immediate instrument of it was a brief autobiography and a short lecture tour by which his story was circulated in the North under the auspices of abolitionists quick to

[34] *DAB,* XVI, 488. Irving Dillard, in "Dred Scott Eulogized," *JNH,* XXVI (Jan., 1941), 1-11, gives a different estimate.

[35] *DAB,* III, 138. He soon gave up this office to become director of the missionary activities of the denomination, and by 1868 was advanced to the highest post in the Church. The next 25 years were the really important ones in his career, but they lie outside this study. He had begun his rise to eminence before the Civil War, but all of this occurred in the North. He had been born a free mulatto in Delaware. As a boy he lived with a Quaker family in Wilmington who gave him religious instruction and sent him to a private school. He next found friends in Philadelphia where he lived in the home of benefactors who continued his education. In 1836 he united with the Bethel AME Church where he attended an evening school and began preparation for the ministry. Then after being denied entrance elsewhere because of his color, he entered Wesleyan Academy at Wilbraham, Massachusetts, and after two years there studied for a time at Oberlin.

sense its moving appeal.[36] A fourth was Norbert Rillieux (fl. 1850), a New Orleans inventor the circumstances of whose life are now completely obscure. He seems to have belonged to the caste of French-Negro folk peculiar to the Creole culture of Louisiana whose light-skinned Negro element enjoyed a status superior to that of Negroes elsewhere.[37] The remaining Southern celebrity was George M. Horton (1797-1883), a poet of greater gifts than attainment and more celebrated for the circumstances of his career than for the merit of his verse. He was a full-blooded black and remained a slave in North Carolina until the institution was abolished. His owner found him unprofitable as a farm hand and permitted him to hire his time for a small rental and to take employment at the state university as a janitor's assistant. During thirty years there he added to his meager earnings by writing rhymed *billets doux* to order for college boys. Wholly self-taught (he learned reading by studying hymn books), he showed in his best work a remarkable talent that might have issued in far greater verse had it not been thwarted by the shiftless life that his social situation did little to discourage. His poems were sometimes published in antislavery papers to show what slavery was stifling.[38]

Two other writers may be mentioned here though they are rarely grouped with American Negro authors: Victor Sejour (1817-1874), a playwright, and Camille Thierry

[36] The absorbing story of Lunsford Lane should be read for an understanding of the difficulties in the way of self-purchase and also as an illustration of the growing hostility to the free Negro class. It may be found in John Spencer Bassett, *Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina* (*Johns Hopkins University Studies*, series XVI, no. 6, Baltimore, 1898), 60-74; Lunsford Lane, *The Narrative of Lunsford Lane, Formerly of Raleigh, N. C. . . .* (Boston, 1842); William G. Hawkins, *Lunsford Lane; or, Another Helper from North Carolina* (Boston, 1863). See also Savage, "Influence of John Chavis and Lunsford Lane," *JNH*, XXV (Jan., 1940), 14-24.

[37] Henry E. Baker, "The Negro in the Field of Invention," *JNH*, II (Jan., 1917), 21-36.

[38] Brawley, *Early Writers*, 110-112; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 107-117.

(1814-1875), a poet. Both belonged to the Latin-Negro Creole folk of New Orleans, already alluded to. Because they found the country beyond New Orleans unsympathetic to writers of color and because French was their mother tongue, both took up residence in France, made their careers there, and wrote only in French. Séjour was born in New Orleans the natural son of a native of San Marcos and a New Orleans quadroon, and Thierry was born in the same city, the son of a Frenchman from Bordeaux and his octoroon mistress. The elder Séjour owned a dry-cleaning establishment and was prosperous enough to send his son first to a local French academy and then to college in Paris. Before removing to that city permanently, Séjour formed one of the liaisons so common to the Creole quarter and took his mistress with him to France. After preparing to enter college in Paris, Thierry inherited his late father's small fortune, which he squandered in Paris.[39]

There is little further to record of superior literary production in this period. Those Negroes whose talents might have enabled them to make notable contributions in letters lent their gifts instead to the antislavery-Negro-rights crusade, preferring for the emergency polemics and pamphleteering to the literary graces. Even the three persons most prominently mentioned in connection with pure literature were largely preoccupied with those themes. Frances Ellen Watkins (Harper) (1825-1911) was the most popular poet of the era but her principal eminence derived from her role as an antislavery worker and the verse that entitles her to consideration as a serious literary artist did not come until after the Civil War. James M. Whitfield (?-1858?), a barber by occupation, was so engrossed in the colonization

[39] It is notable that Professor Loggins whose thorough volume on Negro writers considers virtually every Negro who published at all before 1900 does not mention either of them. On Séjour, see *DAB*, XVI, 565; A. E. Perkins, "Victor Séjour and his Times," *NHB*, V (April, 1942), 163-166; T. A. Daley, "Victor Séjour," *Phylon*, IV (1st Quarter, 1943), 5-16. On Thierry, consult *DAB*, XVIII, 417.

movement and other reform efforts that his reputation as a distinguished Negro poet must rest on a single volume of poems; and George B. Vashon was primarily a teacher and lawyer, who only rarely found time and leisure to produce verse of high merit, closely modeled on Byron and Scott.[40]

The generation preceding 1865 saw the first two Negro artists to achieve more than local distinction, Ira Aldridge (1805-1867), a Shakespearean actor, and Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield (1809-1876) a concert singer. The former is believed to have been born a mulatto, perhaps near Balti-

[40] Brawley, *Early Writers*, 228, 261-263, 290-292; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 235-248; Brown, *Black Man*, 152, 160, 223-227; William Still, *The Underground Rail Road. A Record of Facts, Authentic Narratives, Letters, &c., Narrating the Hardships Hair-breadth Escapes and Death Struggles of the Slaves in their Efforts for Freedom, as Related by Themselves and Others, or Witnessed by the Author. . . .* (Philadelphia, 1872), 755-780. Miss Watkins was born in Baltimore of free parents, orphaned at an early age, cared for by an aunt, and attended an uncle's school for colored children until she was obliged to work for a living at the age of thirteen. About 1850 she removed to Ohio and taught domestic science for a time at a seminary. By 1853 she was in Pennsylvania actively associated with the Underground Railroad and soon thereafter was employed as a full-time lecturer by the Maine Anti-Slavery Society. Her booklets of poetry (largely concerned with anti-slavery and biblical themes) sold in large numbers, chiefly because of her fame as an abolitionist lecturer and because she circulated her books among her lecture audiences just as the Negro authors of "slave narratives" distributed their booklets from the platform.

Whitfield was born in Boston, moved to Buffalo as a young man and was employed as a barber there. The preface of his book describes him as "uneducated, not entirely, but substantially." He was a promoter of plans for the colonization of free Negroes in Central America, but died while en route to that place to explore the possibilities for a settlement. Vashon was a native of Pittsburgh, of mulatto parentage, and the holder of two degrees from Oberlin College (A.B., 1848, A.M., 1889). For a time he was one of three Negroes (with Charles Reason and William G. Allen) employed by New York Central College as a teacher. The college had been established by abolitionists. He also taught for a time in a college in Haiti and in a school for Negro children in Pittsburgh before becoming a lawyer. His legal training he secured under a future Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. Barred from practice in Pittsburgh because of his color, he established his practice in Washington, D. C., where he also served on the faculty of Howard University.

more. His origins are now obscure. His father is sometimes described as an African chieftain who had been brought to America and settled as a pastor of a Negro church after learning to read and write. Ira was presumably educated at a school in Schenectady and attended college in Glasgow, Scotland. As a personal attendant and protege of Edward Kean, the English actor, his dramatic talent was nourished by professional training and he quickly became a popular success in England and Ireland. Later failure to win an audience in Baltimore persuaded him that his countrymen were not ready to recognize a colored dramatic artist. He returned to England as his permanent home, resuming his success there and on the Continent, honored as one of the foremost interpreters of Shakespeare of his day. He maintained a palatial home near London and married an English woman and, after the latter's death, a Swedish lady of distinguished family. Miss Taylor was born in slavery in Natchez but passed as an infant to the care of a Quaker woman of Philadelphia who reared her and brought her to the attention of friends who gave her elementary instruction in singing. She was later befriended by an army officer's wife who aided her for some years. Critics were impressed by the range of her voice, and brief concert tours in the Northern states and in England brought more praise from critics than support from the public. After returning to Philadelphia she became a music teacher.[41]

It has been noted that 28 of 37 most prominent Negroes of this period are known primarily for identification with the cause of the race's liberation for full participation in the American order. Three have already been noted—Scott and Lane, the Southern slaves, and James Whitfield,

[41] On Aldridge, see *DAB*, I, 160; Brown, *Black Man*, 118-124; Brawley, *Negro Genius*, 90-93; Simmons, *Men of Mark*, 733-739; *Opportunity*, III (March, 1925), 88-90. For Miss Greenfield, see Brawley, *Negro Genius*, 96-99; and *idem.*, *Social History of the American Negro*, 251.

classified in this paper as a poet. Twenty-five others remain to be considered. Five of these may be grouped together because of their common commitment to the emigration movement which, though warmly supported by a few colored champions of the race's advance, was fervently denounced by the majority. One, Prince Saunders (d. 1839), is often dismissed as a self-seeker bent only on adventure in Haiti that brought him for a time into the tents of the mighty there. He had been reared in Vermont, studied in a charity school at Dartmouth briefly and then became a teacher in a school for colored children in Boston. After a trip to England to represent the Negro Masons of America he went to Haiti where he spent most of the rest of his life. Joseph J. Roberts (1809-1876) and Edward James Roye (1815-1872), first and fifth presidents of Liberia, were obscure when they left the United States and came to prominence only in Africa. Roberts was born of free parents in Petersburg, Virginia, at least seven-eighths white and as a youth migrated to Liberia. According to one authority he had secured a liberal education in Virginia. Roye was born in Ohio, educated in public schools there, and employed as a teacher for a few years in Chillicothe. He next worked as a sheep-trader and shopkeeper in the Middlewest but on the death of his mother in 1840 considered removing to some foreign land to escape race prejudice. He studied French briefly at Oberlin with a view to migrating to Haiti, but changed his mind and went to Liberia as a merchant. He became the richest man in the republic and his political rise was rapid.[42]

John B. Russwurm first came before the public as a founder and editor of *Freedom's Journal,* one of the first Negro newspapers in the country and a vigorous abolition-

[42] For Saunders, see *DAB,* XVI, 382; Loggins, *Negro Author,* 70-72. On Roberts, see *DAB,* XVI, 10; Huberich, *History of Liberia,* I, 770-771; Brown, *Black Man,* 163-165. On Roye, see *DAB,* XVI, 212; Huberich, *History of Liberia,* II, 1258. The latter says that Roye prepared for college at an Ohio high school and was an undergraduate in "the University of Athens, Ohio."

ist journal opposed to emigration schemes. Assiduously sought out by colonizationists eager to attach to their cause one of the best-trained Negroes in the nation, he finally capitulated, declaring that he considered it vain "to talk of ever enjoying citizenship in this country." He was denounced as a traitor by his former friends but was soon out of earshot of their aspersions, for he migrated to Liberia in 1829 to become superintendent of public schools. His rise there and in the Maryland Colony at Cape Palmas was steady. He was born in Jamaica, the son of a white American and a Negro woman. When his father left the island he put the boy (whom he called John Brown) in school in Canada and married a woman in Maine. She, upon learning of the boy, not only insisted that he join the family and assume his father's name but also continued after the latter's death and her own remarriage to mother him. The lad was sent to school in Maine and entered Bowdoin College, graduating in 1826, the first Negro known to take a degree in a standard American college.[43]

Martin R. Delany (1812-1885) was briefly an advocate of migration to Central America and then recanted. Born in Charleston, (West) Virginia, of free parents who were themselves the children of slaves, he received his first instruction from book peddlers. When persecution impelled the family to leave the South they went first to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, where Martin and his brothers enjoyed a period of schooling. At the age of 19 Martin went to Pittsburgh and studied under a clergyman employed as a teacher by a society of free Negroes, and three years later he began to study medicine under a private physician. A growing family moved him to begin work as a journalist, first on his own small paper and then for two years on

[43] *DAB*, XVI, 253; Huberich, *History of Liberia*, I, 438; Guichard Parris, "John B. Russwurm," *NHB*, V (Nov., 1941), 38; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 78-79; William M. Brewer, "John B. Russwurm," *JNH*, XIII (Oct., 1928), 413-422; Bella Gross, "Freedom's Journal and the Rights of All," *JNH*, (July, 1932), 241-286.

Douglass's *North Star*. At 37 he resumed the study of medicine at Harvard after being denied entrance to the University of Pennsylvania and medical schools in New York. During the Civil War he was an examining surgeon and the first Negro major in the United States Army.[44]

The remaining 20 crusaders saw in the abolition of slavery and in the elevation of the free Negro at home, rather than in colonization, the surer means to the improvement they sought. They vary significantly in their social origins but attest in common the intrepidity of the human spirit when animated by a high resolve. Two of the most celebrated were unlettered women: Sojourner Truth (1797-1883) and Harriet Tubman (1821-1913). The former was born a slave in New York, a near-black, and one of twelve children. She was owned by a succession of masters and early separated from her kinfolk. She was forced to marry a man not of her choosing and became the mother of five children, but the family was dispersed by sales. After slavery was extinguished by law in New York (1827) she became a half-legendary "sojourner," preaching and championing abolitionism and other reforms at gatherings, faithfully persuaded that she was inspired by God. Though illiterate, she had the reputation of an oracle. Harriet Tubman as a slave in Maryland was a field hand in her youth and at 23 was compelled to marry a faithless wretch named John Tubman. Years later she found a more suitable spouse. When she was about 28 she fled to the North, guided only by the North Star, and embarked on an incredible career of forays into the South to lead fugitives (the number eventually exceeded 300) to freedom. Though illiterate, the extraordinary skill with which she conducted

[44] *DAB*, V, 219; Simmons, *Men of Mark*, 1007-1015; Brown, *Black Man*, 174-175; Frank A. Rollins, *Life and Public Services of Martin R. Delany* (Boston, 1883). Simmons and Rollins say he was a pure black. He was a prolific writer, the author of numerous pamphlets and published speeches, a novel, and *Principia of Ethnology: the Origin of Race and Color* (1879). Loggins, *Negro Author*, 129, 182-187.

her hazardous enterprise bespeaks great shrewdness. Like so many prophets of liberation, she believed herself led by God's hand.[45]

Besides Tubman and Truth, eight more of this group began as slaves: William Wells Brown (1816?-1884), Anthony Burns (1834-1862), Frederick Douglass (1817?-1895), Henry Highland Garnet (1815-1882), Josiah Henson (1789-1883), Jermain Loguen (1813-1872), James W. C. Pennington (1809-1870), and Samuel Ringgold Ward (1817-1866?).[46] Three-fourths of these were or had been preach-

[45] Sojourner Truth's story has been frequently told since the publication in 1850 by Olive Gilbert of the *Narrative of Sojourner Truth, Northern Slave, Emancipated from Bodily Servitude by the State of New York, in 1828* (Boston, 1850). See Arthur Huff Fauset, *Sojourner Truth; God's Faithful Pilgrim* (Chapel Hill, 1938); Mary Derby, "Sojourner Truth," *Opportunity*, XVIII (June, 1940), 167-169; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 219-222. On Harriet Tubman see *DAB*, XIX, 27; Earl Conrad, *Harriet Tubman* (Washington, 1943). See also Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1898), 185-189. Siebert's is still the leading work on the organized slave-rescue effort.

[46] Brown was a pioneer Negro historian, novelist, playwright, and a reformer associated with a wide range of causes. His chief contributions to the antislavery cause were his slave-rescue work, lecturing for antislavery societies, and his writings. See Brown, *Narrative*, and *idem.*, *Black Man*, both previously cited. See also *DAB*, III, 161; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 156-173; Woodson, *Negro in our History*, 268. On Anthony Burns, see *DAB*, III, 308. He eventually fell into the hands of a kindly owner who sold him to some citizens of Boston interested in liberating him. Thereafter friendly whites supported him in Oberlin College and he later went to Canada as a Baptist preacher. Frederick Douglass was active in nearly every phase of antislavery work and was perhaps the most famous Negro in the country from the appearance of his *Narrative* in 1845 until his death. See any of the editions of his autobiography: *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave. Written by Himself* (Boston, 1845); *My Bondage and my Freedom* (New York and Auburn, 1855); *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, Written by Himself. . . .* (Hartford, 1881). See also Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass* (Washington, 1948); Brawley, *Negro Genius*, 51-58; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 134-156, and *passim;* Charles W. Chestnut, *Frederick Douglass* (Boston, 1899). Garnet was an educator and clergyman whose association with the antislavery movement as a speaker, writer, and organizer of conventions came to an early end in 1845 when a fiery speech at that year's national convention of free Negroes made him appear too radical. He was also active in the Underground Railroad for a time. See *DAB*, VII, 154; Brown, *Black*

ers, the exceptions being Douglass and Brown. All became free, but, in notable contrast with the preceding generation, not one of them by voluntary manumission or self-purchase. Indeed, the multiplying obstacles in those roads to freedom are suggested by the fact that of the 14 slave-born individuals among the total of 37 celebrities listed for this period, two (Scott and Horton) remained in slavery, not one was freed voluntarily, one (Truth) was tardily released months after the laws of her state required it. Only one (Lane) was self-purchased, and he in such circumstances as to provide others with an admonition not to attempt it. All the rest gained freedom by flight; all, that is, except Anthony Burns, who was returned from Boston to his

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Man, 149-151; Loggins, *Negro Author,* 191-195; William M. Brewer, "Henry Highland Garnet," *JNH,* XIII (Jan., 1928), 36-52; Simmons, *Men of Mark,* 656-661. Henson, the reputed original of Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom," served the cause occasionally as a lecturer and helped in the rescue of scores of Negroes who fled to Canada. See *DAB,* VIII, 564; Loggins, *Negro Author,* 215-217; Brawley, *Early Writers,* 160-161; W. B. Hartgrove, "The Story of Josiah Henson," *JNH,* III (Jan., 1918), 1-21. See also Josiah Henson, *The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada, as Narrated by Himself* (Boston, 1849); and *idem., Truth Stranger Than Fiction: Father Henson's Story of His Own Life: With an Introduction by Mrs. H. B. Stowe* (Boston, 1858). Loguen was important to the cause chiefly as a conductor of the Underground Railroad. He is said to have helped 1500 persons to freedom. See *DAB,* XI, 368; Ruth Reddick, "J. W. Loguen," *NHB,* V (Nov., 1941), 40. See also an anonymous biography, *The Rev. J. W. Loguen as a Slave and as a Freeman* (Syracuse, 1859). Pennington, a teacher, preacher, and author, was especially conspicuous for leadership in the free Negro Convention Movement and as an antislavery orator. See *DAB,* XIV, 441; *NHB,* V (Nov., 1941), 31; Brown, *Black Man,* 276-278; Simmons, *Men of Mark,* 913-915; Loggins, *Negro Author,* 195-197; James W. C. Pennington, *The Fugitive Blacksmith; or Events in the life of James W. C. Pennington.* . . . London, 1849). Samuel Ringgold Ward was a Congregational clergyman, for a time pastor of a white congregation in Courtland, New York. His antislavery work included extensive speech-making in the United States, Canada, and England, as an agent of antislavery societies. He was also active in assisting fugitives. See *DAB,* XIX, 440; Samuel Ringgold Ward, *The Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: His Anti-Slavery Labours in the United States, Canada, and England* (London, 1855); Loggins, *Negro Author,* 173-175; James Egert Allen, "Samuel Ringgold Ward," *NHB,* V (Nov., 1941), 41; Brown, *Black Man,* 284-285.

owner at a cost to the United States Government that probably reached $100,000. It is instructive to note that all nine fugitives in this generation's roster of antislavery crusaders had geographical advantages closed to millions of their fellows. Burns, whose unusual flight was in a sense successful, was hired out in Richmond and found opportunity to escape on a vessel on which he had a friend. All the others fled from border states: five from Maryland, one from Missouri, one from Kentucky, and one from Tennessee.

Once on free soil, the fugitive was pursued by the fear of recapture, and not the least heroic acts of these hundred apostles of Negro rights were their individual decisions to join the crusade rather than lie low in prudent anonymity. Ward, snatched to freedom by his runaway parents in 1820 while a toddler of three, did not learn until he was 24 that he had begun life as a slave, so fearful were his parents that an incautious word might lead to their recapture. He later carried the campaign to the lecture platforms of every state of the North, though he felt compelled during the excitement following the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act to change his base temporarily to Canada and England.[47]

The "family backgrounds" of these eleven ex-slaves eloquently document the irregularity and instability of

[47] Pennington closely kept the secret, even from his wife, that he was a runaway, and at the passage of the act of 1850 sought safety in England while a friend negotiated for the purchase of a deed of manumission. Similar precautions were taken by Douglass who had also been warned five years earlier to burn the manuscript of his *Narrative* rather than publish it, lest it lead to his recapture. Loguen, who with his mother had been sold by his own father to a notoriously cruel tyrant, finally made a harrowing but successful escape. When the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was enacted he dropped his Underground Railroad work and fled for refuge to Canada. Henson sought security by escaping to Canada in the first place though he sometimes recrossed the border to engage in lecture tours and assist in the work of the Underground. Brown was in England for a short lecture tour when the law of 1850 was passed and then remained for five years before venturing to return.

family life that marked the slave community. Only two are usually described as pure blacks (Henson and Tubman). Pennington and Truth and Ward apparently had so small an admixture of non-Negro blood as to permit their listing with unmixed blacks. The other six were descended from irregular unions. Brown was presumed to be the son of a white slaveowner named Higgins, Douglass of an unknown white father and Loguen of a white planter who later sold him. The white ancestors of Pennington, Burns, Lane, and Garnet were a generation or two more remote. As was typical of many slaves, several did not inherit stable family names, for the family pattern was not regular enough to permit it. Sojourner Truth, known simply as Isabella in her youth to distinguish her from eleven brothers and sisters, chose later in life the name by which she was to be remembered. Harriet Tubman's name changed twice in her youth, and Loguen, whose mother was known only as Cherry, assumed the name of his white father. William Wells Brown took the name of the Quaker who sheltered him on his flight to freedom. He inscribed his *Narrative* to Wells Brown: "Even a name by which to be known among men, slavery had denied me. You bestowed upon me your own." Douglass was at first known as Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey. Some, like Truth and Tubman, were partners in forced, makeshift marriages, and several were separated at an early age from their families and lived without parental direction. Douglass considered himself extremely fortunate to live in the same household with his maternal grandmother and several of her daughters, but his mother was not among them.

Several had the good fortune to be in the class of household servants in their youth or were hired out to urban employers or to themselves. Such advantages placed a slave in a better position to acquire some education, though by no means always with the aid or consent of the master class. Douglass, Burns, and Lane as house Negroes man-

aged to pick up the basis for later self-education from the white children about the Great House and even some half-hearted aid from grown-ups. Brown found opportunity for learning when he was hired out as a steward on steamboats and later as a helper for Elijah P. Lovejoy, then editor of the St. Louis *Times,* and after his escape to the North had further training from sympathetic whites. Others could begin their modest education only in maturer years after their escape. Loguen had no schooling at all before he reached Canada. At the age of 22 he learned to read and then after two years as a hotel porter in Rochester he secured the whole of his schooling during a brief stay at Green's Oneida Institute. Henson learned reading from his own son (who was in school) in Canada where the family were fugitives. Pennington's terrifying childhood had at least the redeeming grace of rescuing him from the anonymity of a field hand. He was hired out to a stonecutter and then trained as a blacksmith, a trade he followed on the plantation until he was about 21. It was then that he made his perilous break for freedom and was welcomed for six months into the home of the Pennsylvania Quaker who gave him the foundations of literacy to which were added, years later, a Heidelberg D.D. degree.[48]

The two whose parents carried them to freedom in childhood spent early years in New York City and found there a chance for education that few of their fellows had

[48] For examples of the pains taken to prevent slaves from learning to read, see Douglass, *Narrative* (1845), 36ff; Lane, *Narrative,* 7; Horace M. Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York, 1934), 175ff. On the schools available to free Negroes, both in the North and the South, during the period of this study, see *ibid.*, and Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (New York, 1915). They included schools established by churches (like that of the Bethel AME Church of Baltimore), by manumission societies, abolitionists, and societies of free Negroes, and separate public schools like those in Boston and New York. For a brief account of the New York schools, see James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (New York, 1930), 20ff; and on schools for free Negroes in the South maintained by churches, see Wright, *Free Negro in Maryland,* 198-208.

as yet enjoyed, for that city had already established its African Free Schools. Ward, after attending the African Free School No. 1 on Mulberry Street, was enabled through gifts of Gerrit Smith to pursue classical studies and to enroll at Oneida. Garnet, also a product of Free School No. 1, was Ward's schoolmate a second time at Oneida where he matriculated after a disastrous attempt to study at an academy established by abolitionists in Canaan, New Hampshire. At the latter Garnet and two other Negro youths, incurred the hostility of townsfolk when they participated in the speechmaking at a local Fourth of July celebration. The aroused patriots, doubtless supposing themselves true sons of Revolution, hitched forty-five yoke of oxen to the school building, dragged it to a swamp, and fired a parting salute to the Negro boys, who rode off to New York atop a stage coach.

It has been noted that half of these ex-slave antislavery leaders were preachers. Some depended on this calling to support them but sometimes this income was supplemented by school-teaching and by fees from serving as agents of antislavery societies. Loguen became a bishop of the AMEZ Church. Douglass as an antislavery leader was able to earn a living in the role of lecturer, editor, and organizer for antislavery interests. Brown after his escape resumed his old employment as steamboat steward for a time, but now on Lake Erie and from that vantage point assisted a great number of slaves to freedom. He was also a lecturer for antislavery societies and is believed to have delivered, in addition to countless speeches in the North, more than a thousand addresses during his five-year stay in England. In time his historical and other writings also yielded him some income, for their circulation was considerable, thanks to abolitionists who gave him unstinted praise and pushed the distribution of his works.

The remaining colored antislavery leaders in the three decades preceding the abolition of the institution were

themselves free-born, and only one of them, Alexander Crummell[49] (1819-1898), easily the most learned, accomplished, and eloquent of them, was a pure black. Some—Samuel Cornish (1793-1858), James Madison Bell (1826-1902), David Ruggles (1810-1849)[50]—are said to have been of mixed blood but almost nothing further is now known of their ancestry or birth. William Cooper Nell (1816-1874), born in Boston, was the son of a tailor who had been a steward on shipboard in the War of 1812. Robert Purvis (1810-1898), a native of Charleston, was the son of an English merchant who had prospered in that city, and of the daughter of a German-Jewish flour merchant by a Moorish girl who had been kidnaped from Morocco as a child and sold into slavery. Charles Bennett Ray (1807-1886), born in Falmouth, Massachusetts, was proud of his descent from aboriginal Indians, English white settlers and some of the first Negroes brought to New England; and Charles Remond (1810-1873) was born in Massachusetts of a father who had come from the West Indies and settled in Salem as a hairdresser. Both of the parents of James McCune Smith (1813-1865) were of mixed blood; he was born in New York City of a father who had been emanci-

[49] Crummell was a distinguished clergyman, orator, and outspoken champion of Negro advance whose career extended several decades beyond the period of this study. See Brawley, *Early Writers,* 299-301; Loggins, *Negro Author,* 199-209, 299, 301; William E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago, 1903), 215-227; Brown, *Black Man,* 165-169.

[50] Cornish served the Negro rights movement as a journalist and as a high official in the American Anti-Slavery Society. See L. D. Reddick, "Samuel Cornish," *NHB,* V (Nov., 1941) 38; Bella Gross, "Freedom's Journal and the Rights of All," *JNH,* XVII (July, 1932), 241-286. Bell, remembered also as a poet, was a radical antislavery lecturer and is believed to have assisted John Brown in assembling men for the raid on Harper's Ferry. See *DAB,* II, 156; Brawley, *Negro Genius,* 87-89; Loggins, *Negro Author,* 334-335. Ruggles was another fiery agitator who worked for the cause as a lecturer, as a promoter of the abolitionist press, and in slave-rescue work. See Frazier, *Negro in the U. S.,* 495; Dorothy B. Porter, "David Ruggles, an Apostle of Human Rights, *JNH,* XXVIII (Jan., 1943), 23-50; Helen Boardman, "David Ruggles," *NHB,* V (Nov., 1941), 39-40; Loggins, *Negro Author,* 78-82.

pated by state law and his mother had been self-redeemed. William Still (1821-1902) was the son of a former Maryland slave who had bought his liberty and was later rejoined by his wife and children (who had been captured by slavehunters on their first attempt to escape but succeeded in their second). It was while they were living under altered names and in great obscurity to avoid recapture that William was born, the youngest of eighteen children.[51]

Of the early circumstances of Cornish nothing at all is known. James Madison Bell was born in Gallipolis, Ohio, and at the age of sixteen went to live with a brother-in-law in Cincinnati where he studied the plasterer's trade. He married early and then removed to Canada in 1854, remaining there until 1860. William Still as a boy worked on his father's modest farm in New Jersey to help support a family of 20 souls, and grew up virtually without education. At 20 he launched out for himself and three years later settled in Philadelphia where he married, became a clerk in the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery and was soon the central figure in the Underground

[51] The major contribution of Nell as a Negro rights advocate was as a writer, historian, and journalist. See *DAB*, XIII, 413; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 177-179; Brown, *Black Man*, 238-241. Robert Purvis was a leader of the American Anti-Slavery Society and the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, and active in the work of the Underground Railroad as well as a major organizer of the Convention Movement. He also supplied funds for abolitionist literature and for legal aid for fugitives and free Negroes. See Brown, *Black Man*, 253-259; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 66-69; Pauline C. Johnson, "Robert Purvis," *NHB*, V (Dec., 1941), 65-66; Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 711. Ray, a clergyman, is remembered chiefly as an anti-slavery journalist and a worker on the Underground. See *DAB*, XV, 403; Monroe N. Work, "The Life of Charles B. Ray," *JNH*, IX (Oct., 1919), 361-371. Charles L. Remond was a tireless lecturer and orator in the cause. See *DAB*, XV (Oct., 1941), 17. Smith was a physician, important to the abolition crusade chiefly for his writings. *DAB*, XVII, 288; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 179-182; Brown, *Black Man*, 205-207. The name of William Still is associated with the Underground Railway which he served as an indefatigable conductor, custodian of records, and as its historian. *DAB*, XVIII, 22; Brown, *Black Man*, 211-213; Frances Waters Mitchell, "William Still," *NHB*, V (Dec., 1941), 50-51; Loggins, *Negro Author*, 273-274.

Railroad in that city. Ray's father was a mail carrier between Falmouth and Martha's Vineyard and his mother a deeply religious woman who read extensively and passed some of her attainments on to Charles, the eldest of her seven children, and then had the satisfaction of seeing him through the public schools and academies of Falmouth. Ray then worked for five years on a farm of his grandfather in Rhode Island, learned the shoemaker's trade, and then decided to prepare for the ministry. He studied at Wesleyan Seminary, Wilbraham, Massachusetts, then at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut. Next he went to New York where he opened a boot and shoe store and plunged into antislavery work with means furnished him by Lewis Tappan and others.

Like other Northern antislavery leaders, Charles Remond was a mulatto who never saw anything of slavery but was painfully sensitive to racial discrimination and worked as passionately for the abolition of slavery as for the improvement of the lot of free colored people, conscious that the elevation of the latter was in large measure dependent on the liberation of the bondmen. His father had been admitted to citizenship in Essex County court and Charles attended local schools, acquiring, it is said, an excellent education.

The Boston childhood of William Cooper Nell included a fair education in the primary schools established for Negro children, but the discriminations he suffered on account of his color in the school system later made him a zealous advocate in the cause of opening the city's regular schools to Negro children—a cause which, with no little thanks to Still, triumphed in 1855. As a young man Still read law for a time in a lawyer's office. The basic education of Ruggles was provided in his native Norwich, Connecticut, by the public schools founded there by manumission societies. When he was 17 he removed to New York to operate a grocery business for the next three years, a

venture which he abandoned to become a traveling agent for the *Emancipator,* a New York antislavery paper. To supplement his small income as a Negro-rights worker, he opened a bookstore for the sale of antislavery literature and stationery, and in his last years enjoyed some reputation as a "hydropathist" in his own water-cure establishment at Northampton, Massachusetts.

Robert Purvis's father left him a comfortable competence and enabled him to live a life of comparative affluence, for which he was sometimes unfairly taunted by rival leaders with fewer advantages.[52] His complexion was light enough to enable him to cross over into the white race but he preferred to devote his energies and his means to the cause of the Negro race. After a good basic education he attended Amherst for a time without graduating. The most highly educated men of this group were James McCune Smith and Alexander Crummell. Both were born in New York City, both were pupils of the African Free Schools there and both earned degrees abroad. Smith took the A.B., A.M., and M.D. degrees at the University of Glasgow, Scotland, and returned to New York to practice medicine and to establish the first pharmacy to be operated by a Negro in America. After the rude expulsion from Canaan, New Hampshire, whose humiliation he had shared with Ward, Crummell found a more hospitable reception at Oneida and from there went to a seminary in Boston to prepare for the ministry. When he was 28 he went to England to solicit funds for the erection of a Protestant Episcopal Church for Negroes in New York and remained to take an A.B. degree in Queen's College, Cambridge,

[52] Frederick Douglass, always sensitive to rival claimants to his title as the country's most famous Negro, taunted Purvis for his "blood-soaked riches," implying that his father had wrung his wealth from Negro slaves. Purvis's father was, as a matter of fact, never connected with the slave interest and was, moreover, an opponent of the institution. Purvis defended himself against the charge in print, branding his celebrated calumniator as "this meanly ambitious and foul-mouthed slanderer." *Liberator*, September 16, 1853.

thanks to the assistance of a number of distinguished liberals, men of letters, and clergymen there who were impressed by his ability and promise. Though both are thought of principally as champions of Negro rights, they were eminently successful in their respective professions and drew comfortable livings from them.

The end of the Civil War and the collapse of the Southern slave economy marks a watershed not only in the history of the Negro in America but of the nation itself. The country at large entered upon an era of fabulous economic expansion bringing in its train a business civilization that quickly transformed the social and political climate of the nation. With politics venal and bankrupt, a mere arm of the business community, and with the earlier reform enthusiasms fading now into nostalgic memories of the country's sunlit youth, new forces dominated the American scene. The Negroes' sudden inheritance of political power in the South found them unready for the responsibility; and the race at large, at last free from legal slavery, found themselves increasingly deserted by their former white allies who had provided leadership in the crusade for the Negro's social redemption. The race's accommodation to the new environment was at first cautious and prudent. A few might revel in new found political power (some might even equal the white man's rascality in state and local politics), but the roll of the Negro notables in the generation immediately following 1865 is largely one of leaders dedicated to the intellectual and moral edification of their people to the end that they might rise to the responsibilities and opportunities with which the law now clothed them.

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