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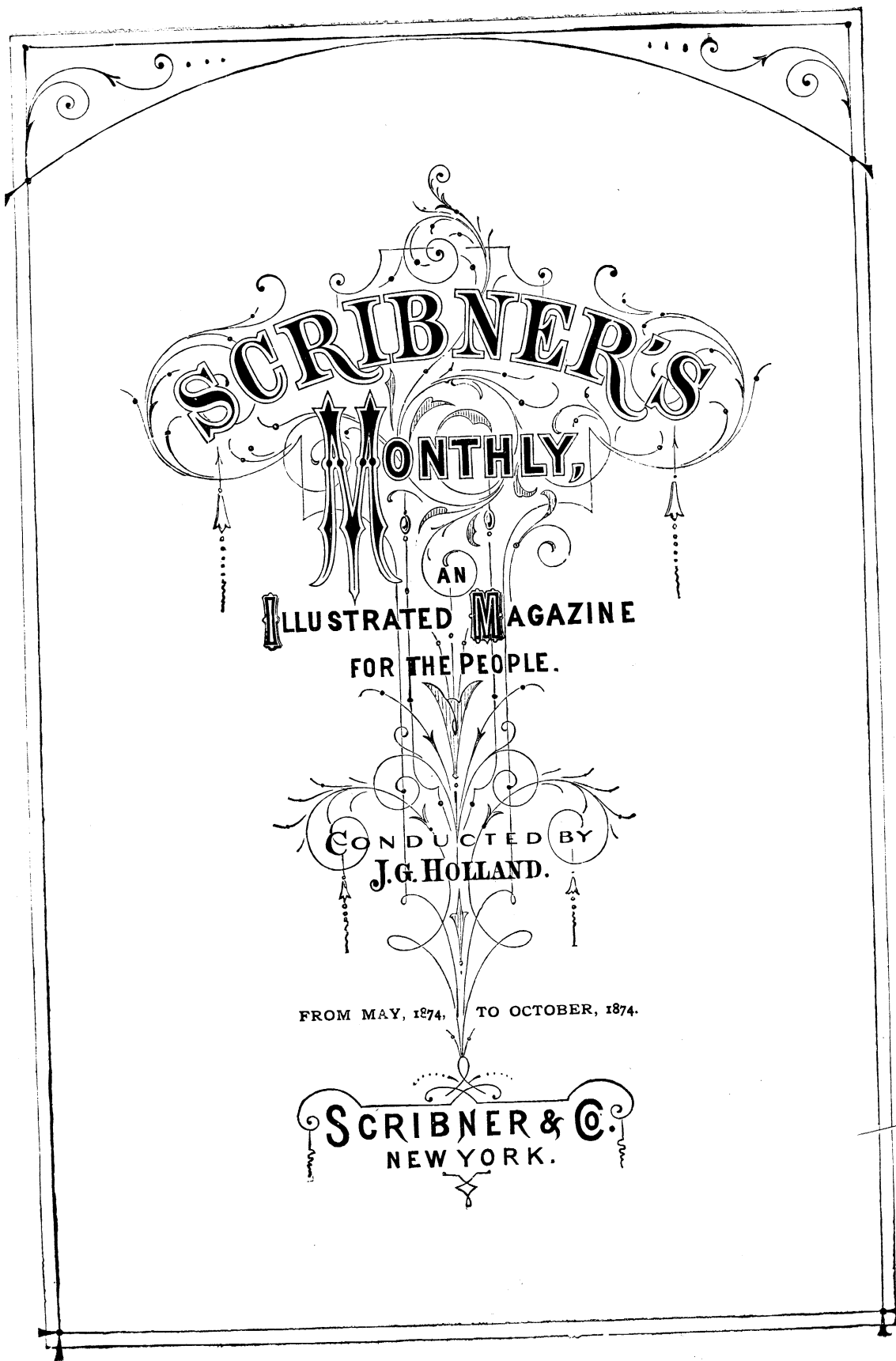
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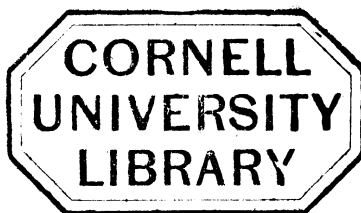
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One day, after they had left their place for a brisk walk along the deck, and I was gathering up the shawl and chess-board and camp-stool to take below for them, I found, among half a dozen novels from the ship's locker, the half of an old *Atlantic Magazine*—the half that held a charming little love-dream of a poem. It was what Fred had just been reading to Nelly,—he read with an exceeding taste,—and he had marked the last verse, doubtless for her own eyes and heart to read after him; and I am sure her heart had read it after him, as a holy response; for there grew, in a day, so much of the woman upon the girl, in her face and ways; and besides, after she had deposited her confidences with Mrs. Johns,

that judicious woman transferred the deposits promptly to myself for safe-keeping. The betrothal ring awaited only parental consent and an order to the artiste in the Rue de la Paix.

At Havre, our little group of the saloon parted, but with promises to meet again. The sweethearts started at once for Paris in company with Nelly's friends, who had met her on the wharf, and with the authoress also, who was to stop at Rouen, to visit the cathedral. Mrs. Johns and myself remained a day or two in Havre, to rest ourselves at the fresh, well-kept Frascati, and to visit the fine aquarium—an arrangement which we benevolently commend to everybody else.

THE CO-EDUCATION OF THE WHITE AND COLORED RACES.

AN Act of Congress requiring the South poles of all magnets to attract each other, would not be a whit more absurd than one requiring education to be conducted on a race-mixture in the late slave states. Will politicians never learn that social laws are laws of nature, and hence invariable and inflexible, as well as physical laws? "Civil Rights," in any proper sense of the phrase, being conventional, may be made or unmade by arbitrary power; but natural laws being inherent and divine, can be controlled only by being obeyed. Power may destroy slavery, but it cannot destroy the social inequality which attended slavery, and which was founded not only upon an inequality of condition but upon subjective differences equally great. These subjective differences are not simply the class differences in moral, intellectual, and social culture, which are commonly seen where slavery exists, and which are very serious, as will presently be shown. Masters and slaves might be equal in those respects; indeed the slaves might possibly be superior, and yet a great psychological difference would still exist, which would place the two classes widely apart. The respective peculiarities of the two classes form a curious subject of study. But whether one studies the philosophy of the facts, or the facts without their philosophy, he is forced to see that the widest social abyss known among men is that created by

slavery, that this abyss yawns for generations after the repelling force has ceased to act, and that it can be filled only by the disintegrating work of time.

A difference of race widens the chasm, but it is by no means essential to it. Ishmael and Isaac were of the same race, yet their posterity have been mutually estranged for 4,000 years. "The son of the bond woman shall not be heir with the son of the free woman," is a natural law divinely announced, and it covers every form of inheritance. Could any possible circumstance enable society to forget the chains or disregard the collar-marks of servitude, the circumstances of various periods and particularly of the post-Augustan age of Rome would have sufficed. For while the masters gave themselves to sensuality, they turned over education, business, and even the fine arts to their slaves. With an eye to profit, the special talents of slaves were cultivated to the highest degree, and often brought their masters very large hire. Cassagnac tells us that Lucius Appulius, an eminent grammarian, brought his owner 40,000 sesterces *per annum*—about sixteen hundred dollars! Many of the most eminent poets, philologists, authors, orators, rhetoricians, musicians, artists and teachers, were slaves. Plutarch and Xenophon testify that throughout Greece and Italy education was entirely in the hands of slaves. And

Mommsen tells us that the leading branches of business, even custom-houses, banks and counting houses, were largely carried on by slaves.

With this moral and intellectual superiority of the slaves over their masters, existed in most cases identity of race, and prevailed the leveling doctrines of Christianity. Philemon the master, and Onesimus the slave, became brothers in Christ. The rights of man were boldly asserted, and so generally accepted as to occasion an amount of voluntary manumission such as has never been known in any other age, and as really to destroy the prevalence of slavery. Never, never in all history were circumstances so favorable as then for the extinguishment of the odium of slavery, and for the social recognition of freedmen!

But was it so? Far from it. While in slavery, and as long as the fact of an enslaved ancestry was remembered, the slaves and their posterity were denied social equality, whatever eminence individuals might have reached. Although Æsop was called the preceptor of Greece; Terence, the most elegant writer of Italy; Plato, the profoundest of philosophers; Plautus, Phædras and Horace, immortal poets: yet all being slaves, or the sons of slaves, they felt the brand deeply. Plato himself flung at his own brethren those verses of Homer which declare that "a slave has but half a human soul:" and Horace cast into the face of his fellow-sufferers the sneer—"Money cannot change the race!" Long after the slaves had slipped their collars, "their necks remained with the hair rubbed off, like the dog in the fable." Diocletian became emperor, but his contemporaries hurled in his teeth—"You were a slave!" and so to emperor Pertinax they said—"Your father was a freedman!"

While a few freedmen, by their superiority and success, enforced a limited social recognition in the higher circles, the great mass of them were denied any standing whatsoever, and if Cassagnac is to be believed, they were at all periods forced, like lepers, to live apart from the rest of mankind, and became the great feeders, as they had been the founders, of the detested *proletariat*, whose filthy stream has defiled and burdened European society ever since.

Undoubtedly this treatment of ancient freedmen was a blunder and a wrong, from the effects of which European nations have been suffering ever since, and are suffering

to-day, in the forms of pauperism, crime, and communistic rebellions. And a similar course toward the freedman of America would produce similar results. But these facts are mentioned not to be adjudged, but to be considered as illustrations of the deep, inherent and universal social repugnance existing between the free-born and free-made classes of society: and similar illustrations might be drawn from every nation where these two classes have existed.

And the fact should be noted that in our day there are circumstances calculated to aggravate this repugnance. Prominent among these is the difference in race. With some small exceptions, the Africans are lowest in the scale of races, while the white Americans rank with the highest; and these Africans are everywhere thought of as the great slave-race of the earth. Wheresoever they are found away from Africa, they are either slaves or the children of slaves, and in their own land they enslave and sell one another as a prominent occupation. So that in this country the freedman carries in his face the history of his family, and the fact of his connection with a race whose history for 2,000 years is unrelieved by a single heroic passage, or even by an average degree of virtue, ability, or attainment of any sort. Then add to this the fact of recent emancipation, and that under the violence of a long and bitter war, which was occasioned by the negro; and then to all, add the facts of reconstruction and the political scourging under which many sections of the South are now suffering; and altogether we have almost every conceivable reason to expect a most aggravated case of social aversion on the part of the whites toward the colored races in our Southern States.

Much need not be said as to the social relations of the two races in the Northern States. Several generations having passed since the abolition of slavery in those States, there would naturally be an abatement of the feelings described above; and the recent contest between the sections, while widening this social gulf at the South, tended to lessen it at the North. In order to stimulate opposition to slavery, it was thought proper to exaggerate the doctrines of human liberty, equality and fraternity, to such an extent, that the negro became the pet of a large class of the people, and the leveling influence of these sentiments was felt extensively. This tendency

progressed the more readily, because the negro was not recognized as a power in Northern society. He was in nobody's way. He competed for nothing, formed no combinations, and controlled no state or city. But in spite of all this, the social repugnance between the races has not been obliterated anywhere, and is so strong even in the city of New York, that the negro children on their way to school are (or until very lately were) stoned in the streets by the white boys; and they could no more be mixed in its public schools than they could in the schools of Richmond. In Boston the mixture is barely tolerated, and the schools wherein it practically exists are avoided by large classes of the people. And as for promiscuous social intercourse, it is to be found nowhere on the continent.

It was no part of the plan of this paper to discuss the propriety of the aversion which the whites feel to intimate association with the blacks. But as was intimated in the beginning, it is not simply a matter of prejudice, of pride, or of taste. If all these could be overcome, there is *a moral reason* which of itself prevents co-education everywhere that negroes are numerous. They move on a far lower moral plane than the whites, as a class. Without going into particulars, it is enough to say that the average character and habits of these people render it highly proper in the whites to refuse to associate their children with them in the intimate relations of a school. It is only in kindness to an amiable people, that I refrain from giving revolting details.

It is well known that the promiscuous association of moral as well as social grades of children, constitutes the most objectionable feature in the public school idea, and school boards are compelled to shape their districts, particularly in cities, so as to separate the fouler classes as far as practicable from the more decent: but even under the best arrangements, it has been found impossible to make the public school system anywhere acceptable to all the people in any community. In the late slave states difficulties of this sort are peculiarly troublesome because of the influence of slavery in creating wide social differences, which at best disincline an influential part of the Southern people to support any general school system. If to this be added well founded moral objections, to say nothing of physical peculiarities, the

attempt to mix the races, which might otherwise be considered vain and foolish, should be regarded as base and malicious.

While it is true that public schools may possibly be made propagating houses for advanced social and political ideas, it is also true that just so far as they are so used, they are perverted and weakened, and may readily, and, in some cases, properly be destroyed by the operation. The object of schools is to instruct the children in certain branches of knowledge, and all school arrangements should be designed so as to contribute to this special result, and should be flexible so that they may be adjusted according to local circumstances. It is well known to school authorities that there are many established doctrines in education which cannot be carried out in all places. Theoretically, for example, all schools should be graded, but even where the numbers are sufficient for a graded organization, the previous habits of the people may render the scheme inoperative. In most communities school economy is greatly promoted by the teaching of boys and girls together: but if the local sentiment is so set against co-education of the sexes that they will not allow their children to attend a school where it is practised, it must not be attempted, except in a very cautious and gradual way. And yet there are always zealots clamoring for the enforcement of sound theories irrespective of circumstances.

No doubt we shall soon have a war against the separation of the sexes in education. We already hear that such separation is an insult to the understanding and feelings of the female sex, just as we hear that it is an insult to the negroes to separate them from the whites: the hobbyists not seeing that the champions of the male sex might reverse the statement, just as the champions of the white race might do. The mere fact of separation in either case means nothing but common sense school economy, which employs the most effective methods of educating the people of both sexes and of both races; just as railroad contractors put Corkonians and Far-downers on different parts of the work, because if put together they bruise each other, instead of building the railroad.

And just here we see in a moment the absurdity of the doctrine that the separation of races in education is an infringement of the civil rights of either race—for if it infringes upon the rights of either,

it does so on the rights of both equally. To admit such an idea is to break down all the distinctive arrangements of school economy. It would pronounce unlawful, not only the refusal to admit boys into a girls' school, and *vice versa*, but also the gradation of pupils according to advancement, and the refusal to admit or retain pupils who do not comply with the regulations. For the matter of separate schools for the races does not differ essentially from other school regulations intended to facilitate the educational object aimed at.

With far less reason during the late war there were colored regiments, and even German, Irish and Scotch regiments. In truth, when any great object is earnestly sought, there is none of this prating about liberty and equality. Men are classified to facilitate the result. Prejudice is a power which wise men utilize, and never unnecessarily offend. The English managed the Sepoy regiments until they ordered the men to bite the greasy cartridges, but then the Sepoys rebelled, and enormous mischief followed a wholly unnecessary disregard of superstitious prejudices.

This much the negroes may justly claim,—and that is enough,—that the public schools provided for them shall *be equal* in all respects to those provided for the whites. In order that these separate schools may be maintained there must be incurred a heavy extra expense, which will be borne chiefly by the whites; and as long as the whites are willing to do this, it is sufficient evidence that the co-education of the races is impracticable.

What then would be the practical result, as respects education, of the so-called Civil Rights' Bill, as originally introduced into Congress by Gen. Butler? Would it secure the co-education of the races? Impossible! Would education be facilitated in any way? It would inevitably be destroyed, as a public affair. Every State in the Union now has a school system for both races supported at public expense. How long would such a school system be maintained in the fifteen ex-Slave States? Just as long as would be required to go through the forms of law needed to destroy it! and no longer, except in those wretched states where the negroes and their allies dominate over the property therein. In those States some sort of system would be maintained for the benefit of the negroes, or at least money would ostensibly be raised for the purpose. As to this being

the practical result, there is no difference of opinion among men acquainted with the state of the case in these states. Everybody knows it, black and white; and, therefore, the blacks do not desire mixed schools, and the real friends of universal education do not desire it whatever may be their political theories. There are now more than a million and a half of children, white and black, in the public schools of the fifteen ex-Slave States. What would be the subsequent reputation of any statesman who would aid in passing a law, the only practical effect of which would be to turn these school children out of doors?

But what of the great future? Are we forever to go on thus? There is no need for us to solve social and economical problems for unborn generations. We have our hands full with the present. Do not let us spoil *our* work from the fear of setting bad precedents. Our children will be sufficiently progressive. The prejudices which disturb us now will run their natural course, and, so far as they are merely prejudices, will end. The tidal wave which may be omnipotent in its pride, sinks exhausted at last on the bosom of the deep. Unquestionably the tendency of mankind is toward the obliteration of race-distinctions, and it is seen in the brightest centers of civilization, as well as among the lately secluded peoples of the East. Some of the most cultivated Caucasians have declared their *preference* for a mottled society—or as an eloquent orator expressed it, for “a rainbow of colors on the social sky.” And in the most polished courts of Europe, not only has the Turk, the Japanese, the Chinaman and the Persian received the highest social recognition, but the same has been accorded to the despised African.

Hence, in arguing for the policy advocated in this paper, it is not done in ignorance of the tendencies of the race at large, or with any vain expectation that we can anchor here. Still less is there a disposition to deny to the negro equality before the law, or equal means of improvement with the whites. Nor is there a disposition to disparage the intellect of the negro, or to discourage him in his aspirations. Those who have chosen to trace back the Ethiopian race into the remote past, know that it too has had its heroic age; in which it led the civilization of the world. And those who have studied the remote causes out of which have grown the diversities in the human race, and the influences which

gradually depress or elevate any particular race or class of men, know that there is nothing in either the history or the present condition of the African race to preclude the idea, that in the great future it may possibly (though not probably) attain an equal rank in all respects with the foremost of the other races.

But the fullest admission of such facts and possibilities as these does not affect the truth of the declaration, that at least during the present generation the attempt to mix the white and colored races in the schools of fifteen States of this Union, is not only as impossible as to equalize socially the Brahmins and Pariahs of Hindoostan, but, if forcibly pressed, would defeat the general education of both races.

The true policy in this matter is to cul-

tivate with the negroes the pride of race; to teach them that no promotion is real, which does not come from merit and achievements, and that while the contention for equality of rights is ennobling, every form of social presumption is contemptible and debasing. The history of the Jewish people from the beginning until now illustrates the peculiar power of race-segregation, and also its harmlessness. And the peculiarities of the negro mind and character fit the race for a special development of rare interest. Is it too much to hope that profound thinkers may yet rebuke the vulgar spirit of miscegenation in all its forms, and evolve a scheme for preserving and improving the separate races of man in their purity?

AT LAST.

THE sun was setting behind the little port, and all the softened splendor of his rays was diffusing in a rosy gush across the sea whose great waves weltered lazily in that August night, their ruby masses breaking in lines of silver on the beach. Just vanishing in the purple bank of the horizon some sails had caught the warm flush and were glowing in it a moment ere they turned to the shadow; and a full moon was slowly swinging up the rim of her shield of silver in the east, to complete the calm brilliance of the scene.

But the group that clustered at a window looking out upon this view, was not much in accordance with its sweet and tranquil spell,—a group full of the small rancors and acrimonies of earth, except for young Tom, into whose nature had been strained something sweeter than was to be found in the ordinary Waite blood.

“A silly simpleton!” said Sister Waite, snapping her knitting-needles till they might have struck sparks, while she talked over young Tom’s strange news. “And that’s what she is!”

“A consumed old fool,” said Mr. Waite, as if his language were a corrective to his wife’s weaker English.

“And there’s no fool like an old fool, as I’ve often heard you say,” simpered Miss Amelia, while she looked down the shore

and twisted her long false curl into which that morning she had, by a singular inversion of the fashion, artistically sewed some gray hairs plucked from her own head. “I declare,” she cried, “I declare it makes me sick!” And there was so much of the green and yellow in Miss Amelia’s face that nobody would have doubted her.

“Poor thing! Poor thing!” cried old Abby Morse. “Her wits have been wool-gathering ever since Earl Warwick went away, I guess. I’ll never forget that day she fainted in the choir when he came home from the wreck—such a slit as I made in my challis, and you know how that tears, criss-cross and quaternary cornered like a blind man’s walk! There’s no such pretty goods to be had now. But there,—just fancy it,—at her time of life! It’s a sleeveless errand, a sleeveless errand, poor thing!” And she shook her head, as though she looked down a woful perspective.

“Well,” said Mrs. Waite, emphatically, “I wash my hands of her, and she’ll sup sorrow, if ever any one did. It’s nothing but her money, and you needn’t say a word, Tom! Land sakes!—there they come! I shall give up! Just look at her face! Oh it’s all John Anderson, my Jo, John. Married last night—well, I hope she wont repent it!” concluded Mrs. Waite