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THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION: ILLITERACY AND TEST BIAS

Dr. Mary Hoover*

Black people have long considered education to be a major solution to the problems of discrimination, oppression, poverty and unemployment which consistently plague the Black community.¹ DuBois felt that education was the lever to uplift the people;² Malcolm X considered it "our passport to the future."³

The major criticisms of education have not been attacks on education itself but on the way it's propagated in the schools for Blacks. Carter G. Woodson was highly critical of education in the thirties as not only inferior but damaging to the Black race because of its lack of emphasis on Black achievement and its promulgation of the alleged inferiority of the Negro.⁴ DuBois thought the schools in the thirties were producing students weak in the mastery of those essential tools to human learning that he felt were necessary.⁵

In Ellison's classic novel *Invisible Man*,⁶ the value of Black education is questioned. The veil hovering over the slave's eyes in the statue of the founder on a Black college campus in that novel gives an ambivalent message: Is the founder putting the veil over the slave's eyes thus blinding him or is he removing it? In other words, is Black education an asset or a hindrance?⁷ The rest of the book suggests that Ellison's answer would probably be in the negative. Paper as a symbol of education keeps the protagonist, the invisible man, constantly in trouble. For example, the speech he prepares as a high school student must be read to racists who not only ridicule the speech but force him to go through a humiliating scene where he must fight another Black youth to the accompaniment of the onlookers' taunts.⁸

The rewards attached to education are also ironically revealed by Ellison in *Invisible Man*. The veteran in that novel pursues the highest level of education in France where he's prepared to be a surgeon. His "reward" for his achievement is that he is placed in an insane asylum after he uses his skills to save a white woman hovering near death.⁹ Trueblood in the novel, on the

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1. See generally E.F. FRAZIER, *THE FREE NEGRO FAMILY* 15 (1932); C.G. WOODSON, *THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO PRIOR TO 1861* (2d ed. 1919); see also *NEGROES ASK FOR EQUAL EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES 1787, I A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES* 19 (H. Aptheker, ed. 1969).

2. W.E.B. DuBois, *THE EDUCATION OF BLACK PEOPLE* 32 (1973).

3. MALCOLM X, *BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY* 43 (1970).

4. C.G. WOODSON, *THE MISEDUCATION OF THE NEGRO* xxxii (1968).

5. W.E.B. DuBois, *supra* note 2, at 107.

6. R. ELLISON, *INVISIBLE MAN* (1952).

7. *Id.* at 37-38.

8. *Id.* at 21-31.

9. *Id.* at 83-86.

other hand, a peasant farmer, is richly rewarded by whites for telling the story of how he unwittingly commits incest with his daughter making both his wife and daughter pregnant at the same time.¹⁰

What has education's benefit been to Blacks? Has it delivered on its promise? Is it capable of delivering on its promise? I'd like to take a very brief look at a few movements in education.

I. AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Historically, vocational education in Black colleges in the 1870's and '80's was financed by white philanthropists. It was primarily financed, according to some sources, to secure docile, easily managed laborers who were willing to focus on vocational education and "lay down their buckets where they were," as opposed to organizing and unionizing Black workers in the North.

General Armstrong, a white administrator at Hampton Institute,¹¹ had a student whose name was Booker T. Washington who made his "cast down your buckets where you are" speech in 1895.¹² *Plessy v. Ferguson*¹³ followed in 1896. Washington advocated a special education for Blacks. They didn't need higher level math, just computation. They didn't need advanced writing skills, just enough to get by. We'll see the same story repeated over and over again.

Progressive education in the twenties and thirties came around through the efforts of John Dewey. This philosophy was instituted to last for more than half a century. It was characterized by an attempt to adjust the school to the needs of the children. Tracking systems prepared lower class children for lower level jobs through the same industrial education, a special education. Moreover, upper class children were prepared for upper level responsibilities.

Characteristic of this era were the postponement in the teaching of reading and general relaxation of expectations. Blacks and other low income students continued to fail.¹⁴ Just a couple of quotes from this era: One principal stated, "At least a third of the entire secondary school population...is incapable of mastering the stock tools of learning well enough to profit from text

10. *Id.* at 53-63.

11. Armstrong, who founded the Hampton Institute, advocated training schools for Negro teachers. His attitude is illustrative of the extent to which racial prejudice, malicious or otherwise, influenced decisions about what type of education would be appropriate for Blacks. He endorsed a "special education" stating that:

[The Black man] is capable of acquiring knowledge to any degree, and, go to a certain age, at least, with about the same facility as white children, but lacks the power to assimilate and digest it. The Negro matures sooner than the white, but does not have his steady development of mental strength up to the advanced years. He is a child of the tropics, and the differentiation of races goes deeper than the skin.

H. BULLOCK, A HISTORY OF NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH 76 (1970).

12. Washington was also Hampton's secretary and the founder of Tuskegee Institute. He supported the concept of industrial education for Blacks.

13. 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

14. Stephenie Coontz states:

Failure in U.S. schools is remarkably uniform. Despite the great expansion of schooling, the increase in total knowledge, changes in methods of instruction, [and] improved educational materials, . . . the same percentage of students fail today as at the turn of the century. Moreover, the same types of students fail — the poorest groups, and especially those against whom racism is most virulent.

Coontz, *The Failure of American Education*, INT'L SOCIALIST REV., July- Aug. 1974, at 6, 32.

book instructions.”¹⁵ Another one stated, “We’ve said that [literacy was] for everybody—rich and poor, brilliant and not-so-mentally endowed. . . . We shall some day accept the thought that it is just as illogical that everybody must be able to read as it is that each one must be able to perform on a violin.”¹⁶ These are quotes from principals during the era.¹⁷

In the sixties cultural deprivation became a new reason for the lack of reading achievement of Black and other low income students. This theory held that the alleged culture of the deprived disadvantaged child—homes with no books, no food, no intellectual stimulation—was responsible for the failure of the schools to teach children literacy.¹⁸ Under the cultural deprivation rubric, a massive attempt to rectify the failure of education for low income students was devised under the title of “Compensatory Education.” A typical explanation from educators during this period was as follows: “With no known exception, studies of three to five-year-old children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds have shown them to be retarded or below average in every intellectual ability.”¹⁹ Programs established as a result of that philosophy were largely geared toward motivation [and] social adjustment, with a lack of emphasis on cognitive or academic concerns—again, a special education.²⁰

In the early seventies, “Cultural Differences” became the largest philosophy. The main contention underlying this philosophy was that Black children are not deficient; they’re just different. Their culture is highly “soulful,” stressing music, art, dancing and oral literature. Public school programs established as a result of this philosophy centered around multi-cultural curricula, with a lack of emphasis, generally, on cognitive or academic skills.

A couple of quotes from this era: “There’s some question about the degree to which English can be taught to the ghetto child in the classroom at all.”²¹ And another one: “It is unreasonable to expect disadvantaged Black children to read a variety of English they do not speak.”²²

15. M. MATHEWS, *TEACHING TO READ HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED* 146 (1966).

16. *Id.* at 147.

17. These reasons for the failure of low-income students to acquire literacy reflect the era’s need for a stratified labor force with workers who were more like “extensions of the machinery than autonomous human beings.” BOWLES, *UNEQUAL EDUCATION AND THE REPRODUCTION OF THE SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOR IN SCHOOLING IN A CORPORATE SOCIETY* 45 (M. Carnoy ed. 1972).

18. Many were led to place the blame for this failure on the child’s culture because of the 1966 Coleman report which asserted that the “human resources” children bring to school seem to have more effect on their different rates of learning than the school’s resources. See J. COLEMAN, E. CAMPBELL, C. HOBSON, J. MCPARTLAND, A. MOON, F. WEINFELD & R. YORK, *EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY* 325 (1966). Thus the assumption was that culturally deprived children were operating at a cognitive disadvantage.

19. C. BEREITER & S. ENGELMANN, *TEACHING DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN IN THE PRE-SCHOOL 3-4*, 31 (1966). They continue: “[The Black child’s] cognitive uses of language are severely restricted . . . the disadvantaged child usually does have a language, even though an immature and nonstandard one. . . .”*Id.*

20. S. YETTE, *THE CHOICE: THE ISSUE OF BLACK SURVIVAL IN AMERICA* 36 (1971). The philosophy and programs also reflected the socio-political climate of the era in that impressive explanations were necessary to justify the massive expenditures for programs for the “culturally deprived.” As Yette so skillfully describes, these programs often benefitted only the top ten percent of the minority group population, and allowed the giant corporations generous write-offs for obsolete educational equipment and supplies.

21. A. GARTNER, C. GREER & F. RIESSMAN, *THE NEW ASSAULT ON EQUALITY* 2 (1984).

22. Johnson, *When Should Standard English Be Taught to Speakers of Nonstandard Negro Dialect?*, *LANGUAGE LEARNING*, June 1970, at 20, 27.

Today we have "Back to Basics," the new move with another solution. Will Blacks benefit from this movement? No group needs it more than Blacks. As Professor Crockett has outlined,²³ the literacy situation is bleak. Though there have been some gains for Blacks at elementary levels, the gaps between Black and white children are still huge. The National Assessment of Education Progress found that thirteen percent of all seventeen-year-olds in this country are functionally illiterate, but the proportion of illiterate minorities runs as high as forty-seven percent.²⁴ This has been duplicated also by the Adult Performance Level and in other studies, but it's unlikely that "Back to Basics" will make a difference either. The plethora of educational studies appears to be focusing on high school reform, but as DuBois stated many years ago, "The . . . essential difficulty with [Black] education lies in the elementary school."²⁵

II. MYTHS ABOUT BLACK EDUCATION

There is a very dismal picture of Black education today. Many myths abound regarding the question of why this dismal picture exists. I'm going to make this as brief as possible—just an outline of some of these myths that continue to prevail and cloud the picture of why this is an ongoing situation.

Myth number one: The educational picture is bleak because very few models of Black education exist; we must find a model. This is a very popular myth yet voluminous research has existed since 1968, demonstrating that where Blacks are taught using nine simple characteristics they learn and test at and above grade level on standardized tests.²⁶ I'd like to repeat that: Research has existed for over fifteen years demonstrating that Black children can learn if taught. Yet educators consistently attempt to reinvent the wheel searching for the solution to Black education. In most fields where there's a problem the first step is to go to the research—What's happened before? What's worked before?—before beginning a new program. Yet educators consistently refuse to do so.

These studies—by Gene Chall in 1968,²⁷ Weber in 1972,²⁸ my own article in 1978,²⁹ Ron Edmunds in 1979,³⁰ Rudolph Flesch in 1981³¹—have consistently demonstrated that, again, nine simple characteristics which can be duplicated by any school or program can be used to teach Blacks to learn. These characteristics include: a principal who knows something about instruction; a reading approach which includes the decoding approach to reading; sufficient time to teach reading; a motivating group-oriented philosophy that permeates the school; high expectations held by the faculty and staff that the children can

23. Presentation by Ulysses S. Crockett, *Black Law Journal* Symposium, (February, 1984).

24. Omang, *The Secret Handicap: Millions of American Adults Can't Read* Washington Post, Nov. 25, 1982, at A29, col. 1; see also O. GADWAY, *FUNCTIONAL LITERACY: BASIC READING PERFORMANCE* (1976).

25. W.E.B. DuBois, *supra* note 2, at 107.

26. See Hoover, *Characteristics of Black Schools at Grade Level: A Description*, 31 *READING TEACHER* 757 (1978).

27. J. CHALL, *LEARNING TO READ: THE GREAT DEBATE* (1968).

28. G. WEBER, *INNERCITY CHILDREN CAN BE TAUGHT TO READ* (1972).

29. Hoover, *supra* note 26.

30. Edmunds, *Effective Schools for the Urban Poor*, 37 *EDUC. LEADERSHIP* 15 (1979).

31. R. FLESCHE, *WHY JOHNNY STILL CAN'T READ* (1981)

learn; a firm approach to discipline; and teacher training.³²

These are very simple things, wouldn't you say, to duplicate wherever minority children are located and solve the problem overnight. Yet, again researchers continue to ignore these solutions and dwell on the problem. One of the characteristics, the use of a decoding approach to reading, has continually been ignored. Eighty-five percent of the students in public schools still learn to read using the so-called look-say or eclectic approach to reading — a method demonstrated over and over again to be unsuccessful in teaching minorities.³³

What is doubly ironic is that not only are these successful schools not recognized after fifteen years, but other schools where students are not achieving academic excellence are singled out as successful. Ribault School in Jacksonville, Florida has been singled out as a successful school where, though discipline has improved, students are still scoring low. To define a school as successful merely because its students are well disciplined in an era where academic achievement is critical appears to be saying, once again, that Blacks ought to be relegated to a special and inferior education.

Myth Two: The major reason Blacks are not learning is that the parents do not care. You hear this over and over again: the community doesn't care, the parents don't care. Though it's true that the participation of Black parents could only help, the fact of the matter is that parental involvement in the schools I have described is not a factor. Children can learn only where those who are paid for teaching them—the teachers and the administrators—do their jobs and use the methods mentioned.

Another myth: the minimum competency testing movement is good—Blacks should be able to pass these tests just like anyone else. On the surface anyone who believes in the ability of Blacks to learn would have to agree. A problem with most tests, however, is that most have never been examined for cultural, linguistic or political bias. I have selected just a couple of items here to demonstrate linguistic bias.

There are certain formats in reading tests which constitute a kind of syntactical bias. The reading portion of the Florida Teachers Certification Exam, and this was also on the SAT, uses a modified clause format in which one word in a sentence is left out. The test taker must supply the missing word. According to Carroll,³⁴ the clause format depends heavily on inference, more so than other multiple choice comprehension formats.³⁵ Thus, socio-cultural factors can constitute a kind of bias. A testee can fail an item because he's totally unfamiliar with the information, has a slightly different variation or interpretation of the item, or has another piece of information. One example

32. The other characteristics are a strong focus on language through assemblies with a heavy emphasis on poetry reading and speaking, and some group-oriented teaching techniques.

33. See J. Chall, *supra* note 27; R. Flesch, *supra* note 31.

34. J. CARROLL, LANGUAGE COMPREHENSION AND THE ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE (1972).

35. Interview with John Carroll, Professor of Psychology University of North Carolina Chapel Hill (Aug. 10, 1983). Students from a culture in which inference is often couched in proverbial usage based on an African-oriented world view Alleyne calls "inversion" may not be as familiar with European styles of inference as white students. See Alleyne, *The Linguistic Continuity of Africa in the Caribbean*, 1 BLACK ACAD. REV., Winter 1970, at 3. A format less subject to bias and guesswork should be selected for standardized tests.

is a question such as, "Are trains the only things that run on tracks?" Some urban dwellers may say, "No," since streetcars and trolleys also run on tracks. Yet a rural testee may presume that the answer is yes.

There's a general cultural bias in terms of the scene and subject matter of the comprehension and vocabulary sections of many reading tests. For example, on one comprehension subtest—and I analyzed quite a few of these—students are asked to respond to the following: If a person does something against the law he is: an ambassador, offender, official or officer. The answer could not only be "offender" but also "officer" for a working class child who may be familiar with the brutality, graft and corruption characteristic of some police departments.

Let me give you another—my favorite example of test bias, particularly in the area of cultural bias and vocabulary. It's an item on a test. A gentleman has on a suit and he's carrying a briefcase. Black children and white children are both asked, "Where is this gentleman going?" White children will say, "He's going to work. He's dressed in a suit and he's carrying a briefcase. He's going to work." Black children are asked the same question and what do you think they say? "Church. He's dressed in a suit. He's going to church." Both of them are correct. Economically, because ninety percent of Blacks are not white collar workers, that is a correct answer. If he's got on his suit he's going to church. Yet if a white child says the correct answer is work, the white child would get the I.Q. score necessary to stay in a regular class and achieve. On the other hand, the Black child who answers "church" will be marked down—each of those items is worth two or three percent—and perhaps spend the rest of his school career in a mentally retarded class.

That's just one example. There is a sort of general ambiguity in many of the reading tests which make it easy to resolve for children of the same cultural background of the testors but difficult for the children of a different one. I have to skip most of these in the interest of time. Just one example is the College Level Academic Skills Test (CLAST) in Florida which is given to all sophomores, who must pass this test before becoming juniors. In the word usage section of one of these tests, students must choose the best definition of an outline among the following: "essence," "major idea," "basic essentials," and "fundamental ingredient." All of the above could be correct.

In the sentence structure section of the same test the student is asked to select the correct answer or the best answer among the following:

A. After falling down the steps, misplacing his mail, and failing his English test, John went to bed.

B. John decided to go to bed because he fell down the steps, misplaced his mail and failed his English test.

"A" is allegedly the best answer, but both would appear correct to a student, however literate, who had learned standard English as a second language. Yet students will be penalized and not allowed to go to the junior year of college in Florida based on such ridiculous items as this.

There's also what we might call political bias. The earliest tests were used to sort people. They were developed in the twenties with support from corporate foundations. They were I.Q. tests based on the early Army Alpha Test used to assign soldiers to different tasks. They were used again to select out individuals having certain values, moralities, skills and so forth. The same

type of sorting is what's going on with testing today. An example of political bias is the use of tests for placement of students in reading groups in elementary schools. This placement amounts to a kind of tracking system in which lower income children are effectively typed for life as slow readers. Children labeled slow in kindergarten often stay in that category for the rest of their school careers.³⁶

Another example is the use of tests for the disadvantage of the group and the advantage of others. Looking at the literacy test that Professor Crockett mentioned,³⁷ here you have an educational enterprise involving several groups: teachers, administrators and students. The school fails in one of its endeavors to teach the students literacy skills. Of the groups involved in the failure, one group is singled out for penalty. Not the group which failed to teach in spite of the voluminous research demonstrating how simple it is to teach reading; not the group which failed to administer a successful school program (and again we have voluminous research showing that a principal who knows something about instruction is a basic characteristic of one of these schools). No, the group singled out to suffer for the failure [of schools to educate Blacks] is the group which had the least responsibility for the situation—the students. Of the 2,400 students who failed that literacy test that Professor Crockett mentioned, approximately half of them were Black.

There's another kind of political bias involved in this type of sorting: the use of the same test for two groups, one which has been educated with methodology successful in teaching them and one which has not. As long as Black children are so systematically denied access to the simple characteristics successful in teaching them, why should they be expected to achieve at the same level as children who are taught with successful methodology. It's like teaching one child basket weaving, teaching another child trigonometry and then testing them both on trigonometry. This is why the defeat of the students in the recent court case of *Debra P. v. Turlington*³⁸ in which a high school literacy test was challenged was seen as most unfair. The case never mentioned the fact that the reason Blacks should not be penalized by the denial of a real diploma (and again more than half of the students were Black who were denied the diploma) was that they were not taught by a successful methodology, a methodology which would have been easy to institute. The old look-say methods are still used in the majority of Florida districts.

A final problem is that tests often are not valid. That is, they do not measure what is required on the job. Title VII, for example, requires that such a connection be established. Two deans of a law school in Antioch have stated that minority students who do poorly on written tests do quite well in practical situations. And, in a study conducted by the Temple University Medical School, it was found that minorities scoring below the median on objective

36. See generally Rist, *Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations*, in *CHALLENGING THE MYTHS: THE SCHOOLS, THE BLACKS AND THE POOR* (1971). Because teachers use scores as self-fulfilling, these children are typically classified as slow readers and may never be taught adequately. Denied basic reading skills, these children grow up into adults who are functional illiterates, unable to pass employment or college entrance tests, and are thus channelled into the ranks of the unemployed. Minority groups make up an obviously disproportionate percentage of the chronically unemployed.

37. Florida State Student Assessment Test, Part II (SSAT II), reprinted in, *Debra P. v. Turlington*, 474 F. Supp. 244, 259 n. 22 (1978).

38. 474 F. Supp. 244 (M.D. Fla. 1979), modified, 644 F.2d 397 (5th Cir. 1981).

tests in pathology were performing above the average on a clinical test in pathology designed by the same instructors.³⁹

A final myth is that there's nothing we can do. It is true that education usually plays a traditional role of propagating the goals and objectives of a society, so when young capitalism needed fairly literate workers our schools adequately trained armies of immigrants in literacy skills. Today perhaps capitalism only needs the "Talented Tenth" at the top to run its companies and produce its technology. But I do believe there's much that we can do, which leads to my recommendations and conclusions.

III. WHAT WE CAN DO

It is clear from this brief history and commentary regarding myths affecting Black education, that education has not delivered on its promise. We cannot say that it can't deliver on its promise, however, because Black education, the superior Black education that DuBois recommended, that Carter G. Woodson endorsed, that the administrators of these schools that work consistently advocate, has never been tried for the masses of Black and other minority children. If tried it might truly be the vehicle for change in the conditions of Blacks in this country, particularly if coupled with an attempt to organize people around this issue. There are several steps that concerned students and other community people can take.

Perhaps only students care enough about education to do something about it. I say this because twenty years of advocating simple literacy for Blacks and attempting to carry that message everywhere has identified those who might make a difference. We have lobbied The National Institute of Education, the Department of Education, and the Congressional Black Caucus. Our conclusion is that no one else really cares about the education of the masses of Black people.

Law students and lawyers have a particular role to play. The law has probably made more contributions to the struggle for literacy than any other field. *Brown v. Board of Education*⁴⁰ succeeded in giving Blacks the right to the same educational resources that whites have.

Parents should be encouraged to hold schools accountable for the mis-education of their children. When parents must spend additional funds to correct the failure of schools to educate their children, lawyers should help them seek refunds from the public school district for the money they had to spend at the private clinics which taught their children to read. Schools should and must be held accountable for the literacy of children. States should be sued by those who demand that the education code insure appropriate literacy instruction for all children. If education codes can decree that children spend "x" amount of time sitting in an English class, they can also decree that the student be taught during that period of time using a methodology proven to be successful. If the elementary schools are held accountable for simple literacy education, most of our educational problems would be solved.

High schools are now being required by most states to upgrade their

39. W. Raspberry, *Giving a Bourgeois View to Black Law Students* Washington Post, June 10, 1977, at A27, col. 6.

40. 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

courses in social science, English, math and science. Once literate high school students are produced, we will have many more students entering college and, of course, there would be larger numbers of students in the graduate and professional schools. And, once students are taught the simple process of reading, we won't have a testing problem. As Gertrude Wilks, the founder of the Nairobi Day School in East Palo Alto where I learned most of what I know about teaching students and training teachers, has stated, "When we get through with a fellow he can pass your test, his test, anybody's test."

That school still exists. It doesn't get the publicity the Marva Collins School gets because it teaches these literacy skills in a Black perspective. Yet it still goes on and guarantees a refund to any parent whose child is not given a literacy education.

Secondly, we need a campaign to convince our own people that literacy is possible, and to organize for general political power. We should demand our share of the funds that the Department of Education is currently giving to adult white students in white colleges across the country to educate adult illiterates. This is the irony of ironies, to deprive Blacks of simple literacy, then give the same people responsible for training those who practice this mal-education the money to continue the process at the adult level. Some of this would be funny if it were not so tragic.

A union of Black college students and unemployed young literate adults organized to effectively teach adult illiterates would help to alleviate unemployment as well as provide an outlet for young idealists who want to make a difference. Such a group could be a powerful force among young people, comparable to the student movement in the sixties and seventies.

In conclusion, we can make a difference. We turned around segregation with the law and organized protests. We turned around the myth of the docile Sambo by organized protests. Organized protest in the form of literacy teams could turn the sad state of literacy around and provide employment and a meaningful outlet for young adults and assist us in organizing people around a critical goal.

I leave you with the words of Frederick Douglass. He said,

Let me give you a [word] about the philosophy of reform. . . . Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want the rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its mighty waters.

This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, and it may be both moral and physical, but [there] must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. [Show me how much a] people will quietly submit to and [I will show you] the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be [heaped] upon them. . . .⁴¹

Let us remember these words that were spoken in the 1850's as we move into the twenty-first century. Let us remember them as we press for education as the solution that it can be.

Thank you.

41. FREDERICK DOUGLASS: SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS 61 (P. Foner ed. 1945), reprinted in 2 THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FREDRICK DOUGLASS 437 (P. Foner ed. 1950).