

hand, all this talk about the impossibility of civilizing the weaker races is misleading, having grown out of misconception and the unwillingness to discriminate, then the Saxon is warranted, for the advancement of mankind, in going everywhere and in trying to impart whatever good or advantage he possesses: that is, believing in the possibility of civilizing he must civilize.

The alleged incapacity, which I have ventured to challenge, is sought to be established by proving the failure of education to elevate the negro. His case, however, is not to be taken as exceptional, for, as I have shown, the argument of the *North American* applies with equal force to other dark-skinned peoples. We, may, however, for various reasons, confine ourselves in the main to the children of Africa on our soil. The professor at the outset seemed to confuse education with "a sudden effort on the part of a superior people to lift up inferiors at a single stroke." He rightly says that such efforts must fail. But that very process enlightened publicists are not favoring. As there is no royal road to knowledge, so there is no short cut to education. Scholarly teachers see that no constitutional amendments, and no mere change in external conditions can civilize. For that reason they plead for the slow and difficult process of education. Never once has it been supposed that the negro or Asiatic could be developed in any other way than the Saxon has—by the steady, persistent growth through long ages. And part of this process is to make him self-reliant, to charge him with responsibility, and compel him to struggle for existence. It is implied in the articles I am incidentally reviewing that the people of

Tasmania and New Zealand, as well as our own Indians, perished because they were called on to share the obligations and burdens of citizenship. This sudden call to the franchise, and to the cares of political duty, is supposed to have been too much for them. But the facts do not bear out the implication. These tribes were rather adopted as wards. They were in tutelage. They became servants to vigorous masters—the theory being that they must be educated to self-government by being governed. But the Saxon was never developed in this way. We are now assured by competent observers that England's occupation of Egypt has not fitted the Egyptians to rule themselves, and the same is said of Austria's paternalism over Bosnia and Herzegovina. I hold, and I think facts warrant the conviction, that the so-called inferior races perish because the superior races undertake to do for them what they ought to be compelled to do for themselves. The Saxon had to struggle for his own side by side with the Norman, more cultivated, more commanding, more resourceful in wealth, and more expert in war, and he survived the contact. So, in all essential respects, the negro must fight his way. He is not to be helped by taking from him his vote, or by changing his political status, but by holding him accountable for his acts, while affording him all the means for mental and moral discipline. The process, we grant, is slow. But it is the only one. We who believe in education have never expected a sudden success, and when a contrary impression is undertaken to be made, neither the logic nor the candor is above reproach.

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(To be continued.)