

ington, "while the white man came to America despite a very vigorous protest on the part of the aborigines, the Negro came having had a very pressing invitation and his passage paid. Under such circumstances, leaving the question of practicability aside, it were decidedly ungrateful on his part to leave." Nor would he treat with seriousness the suggestion that the negro should be isolated in some region of America, wherein to work out his own salvation. One huge wall would have to be constructed about that state "to keep the Negro in," and five huger walls "to keep the Yankee out." Nor can any hope be placed in ultimate racial intermixture, in the ultimate absorption of African by European. One drop of Negro blood in one hundred will leave a man a Negro. The white man will never make such a sacrifice.

Natural inferiority in the blacks causes a prejudice, a contempt, an antipathy in the whites which will endure so long as the cause endures. Moral elevation will ensue upon intellectual advancement; but neither will appear unless efforts are first directed towards the education, particularly the industrial education, of the Negro race. The Negro must be taught the dignity of labor. Two hundred years of slavery divested him of whatever ability, energy or efficiency may have been innate in him. Under that institution what incentive had he for the development of his native individuality? He has enjoyed only forty years of freedom. Little wonder that at his emancipation he was morally debased and utterly inefficient for all intellectual or physical effort. He had seen too much of work while in slavery, and only the darker side of it. He must now be taught the dignity, beauty and sacredness of honest toil; must learn to put brains and skill into his labor; must be made to realize that by the sweat of his brow he can work out his own salvation, elevate himself to a position of respect, and, ultimately, do much to mitigate the evils of the race problem in the United States.

Booker Washington has put his theory into practice. Having, by dint of superior mental endowments and indomitable perseverance, raised himself from the condition of an emancipated slave, and secured for himself an education, he became principal of an institute founded in the town of Tuskegee, Ala., for the education of the Negro. This Tuskegee Institute, which to-day comprises some fifty buildings, most of them constructed by the hands of the students themselves, has aimed primarily at giving the Negro a thorough technical and industrial training, and has sent out through the Southern States over 5,000 graduates, who, under its able direction and from the constant inculcation of the views of Mr. Washington, have learned that honest labor is indeed a thing dignified and sacred, and that it alone is a sure stepping-stone to progress in every direction. Some of the 1,300 students to-day in attendance at the Tuskegee Institute are being instructed in scientific agriculture on an 800-acre farm belonging to the institution. They will go forth into the country efficient workmen, impregnated with, and resolved to propagate, the convictions of their great leader. In every branch of industrial education this work is being carried on, and graduate disciples are being sent all over the South. Mr. Washington and the institute are regenerating the Negro from indifference and incompetence to sincerity and efficiency.

When, he asks, will the prejudice of the white man against the Negro abate? Just so soon as, and no sooner than, the Negro begins to excel in industrial pursuits, shows himself a valuable member of our economic organization, and renders association and intercourse mutually

profitable. It is a platitude that material progress will open the door to moral and intellectual advancement. Respect will supersede contempt; social incompatibility will yield place to harmony and contentment.

Can we believe that Mr. Washington's hopes are well founded? During the forty years in which the Negro has enjoyed freedom he has risen from being himself only a piece of property in the eye of the law, to the position of owner of a considerable portion of the assessed property in the Southern States. Mr. Washington is not only the earnest advocate of the efficacy of his propaganda; he is also the living proof of the justifiableness of his hopes. Born a negro slave, he is respected to-day by the whole civilized world. What white man in the Southern States would refuse to ride in the same railroad coach with him? He has dined with the President of the United States. And as men respect him, so will they respect the whole Negro race when it will have comprehended the wisdom of his plans, and will have attained to the position and condition which will inevitably result.

But in the meantime, while this transformation, which can be the work only of many years, is being wrought, is the ignorant, the disreputable and lazy Negro to retain the political equality given him by the Civil War? It is well known that in the South this political equality is only nominal, and is a prolific source of race quarrels, of riots and general lawlessness. I am one of those who believe that the franchise in the States of the American Union is too liberal, that a practically universal suffrage is a detriment to national prosperity and political purity. I believe that intellectual, moral and economic equality should be conditions precedent to political equality. I am convinced that there is a great mass of voters in this country unworthy of the franchise, incapable of using it intelligently for the purposes it is intended, and proving nothing but a source of political corruption and instability so long as they retain the suffrage. The opinion is gaining adherents in every State (in Alabama it has resulted in appropriate legislation), that the franchise is too liberal, and should be made more exclusive by the enactment of both educational and property qualifications. Otherwise, corruption and "boss rule" will hold sway throughout the country, and in the South the race problem will continue in all its severity. Several Southern States are clamoring for laws, not to exclude the Negro from the franchise, but to exclude the ignorant and the irresponsible good-for-nothing, be he black or white. To exclude the ignorant Negro as such would be unconstitutional, unjust and unwise; but to bar the ignorant white man as well as the ignorant Negro from exercising the privileges of the franchise, by enacting general educational and property qualifications, appeals to me as being as just and wise as it has been decided to be constitutional. In the South it would certainly remove a source of many difficulties; throughout the country it would do much to purify politics and steady government. To the Negro who chances to be ignorant and a pauper, it would provide an additional incentive to follow the path marked out for him by Booker T. Washington.

It seems to me, therefore, that the policy of every patriotic American, with reference to the race problem, should be to further by every available means the plans of the great Negro leader, and to advocate the enactment of educational and property qualifications for the franchise. Thereby an evil will be ameliorated, which, I fear, will never be entirely removed.

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