

railway was filling in a viaduct along the water front. It is now a fine property, but the railway stole it from the Government and it was a word in all the beer houses "to take the viaduct route." I think 2,300 men took that route that winter and threw themselves into the lake—men who did not have a place to turn, college men, men that had got into trouble at home and had tried to lose themselves out in the west and had failed. This man under the doorway started up Van Buren Street for the viaduct with his heart broke. No underclothing, no socks on his feet, hardly any boots, and his clothing it was simply terrible. You cannot picture a human being so miserable, so bad in appearance in every way as he was. Some other bums going into the mission left the door open a little way and he caught the words of the song, "Throw Out the Life Line." Now outside of all missions, those that are good ones, there are "boosters," and when he stopped to listen to the song they boosted him in. It was a fatal stop for the devil when he stopped to listen. He was very tired and after the singing he went to sleep. When the preaching was over they began to sing again and, in his half drunken way on the verge of delirium tremens, he tried to join in. Then there were testimonies and he saw other men who had been bums like himself testify how Christ had saved them from the power of sin. And that night that poor, nervous, trembling bum went forward and gave his heart to God and Jesus saved him and has kept him ever since. That was nine years ago last Friday night, and that man was me.

Mr. Alexander said: My work at this meeting is over. I have a warm place in my heart for every man in this room. I thank you for allowing my friend Trotter to talk. If you ever saw a monument of God's power and love that's the man. Don't forget us. We love you more than ever. We are going to pray for you. Good-bye.

By request the meeting was closed by the singing of the "Glory Song," Mr. Butler singing the last verse and the audience joining in the chorus.

(February 5th, 1906.)

The Work at Tuskegee.

BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

Mr. Booker T. Washington, President of the Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, addressed the Club as follows:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Canadian Club,—I thank you most sincerely for your kindly greeting and for your generous welcome into your city. I find myself somewhat puzzled, however, in one direction. I recall that it was only four or five years ago when I had the

privilege of addressing this Club, and to-night I am not quite sure that I have any new message other than the one which I delivered on that occasion. I do not like, however, to repeat in whole or even in part my address. Sir, not very long ago I got a lesson in my own county in Alabama in the direction of repeating one's address which I said that I would try to put into practice wherever I might go in the future. A little church composed of a number of colored people not very far from our institution had got into some difficulty—churches there get into trouble as I suppose they do here once in a while—and the minister came to me on several occasions and related his troubles, and I soon found out, as the old man would talk to me, that the trouble was in the direction of the congregation not paying his salary, either promptly or generously, and after he had come to me on so many different occasions I finally told him that I should go out into his county and try to assist in straightening out the difficulty as much as I could. And so I went out there, and he called his little congregation together, and I began speaking to them as earnestly as I possibly could, telling them that it was their duty to pay their pastor's salary as promptly as possible, and to be as generous as possible in the use of their purses, and I thought when I looked over the congregation that I had made a pretty good impression. But I noticed one fellow back in the corner on whom my words seemed to have no effect. He kept his hat between my eyes and his during the greater part of the time, and as I would talk over in his direction once in a while he would duck his eyes behind his hat and mumble out: "We're not going to pay him any more salary this year."

Finally, I said, "Now, brother, I wish you would be perfectly frank and tell me what the trouble is." He says, "We have paid him for them same sermons last year."

Now, before I am through with my remarks I am very much afraid that you will find the same fault with me. When I was a slave boy, living upon a plantation in the State of Virginia, I remember that once a week the children upon our plantation were made to feel very happy, and that was on Sunday morning when each boy and girl was given a tablespoonful of molasses. And I shall never forget how, when it came my turn to receive my portion of molasses, that I used to take my little tin plate and stand up in front of the individual whose duty it was to distribute the food, and after my portion of molasses had been poured upon my plate I would tip it to the right and then I would tip it to the left, and then forward and then toward me, in order to spread the molasses over the entire surface of the plate; in a word, in that way to produce more molasses. And I do not believe there is a mathematician in this room to-night who would be able to convince me that there is not more molasses in a plate when it covers the entire surface than when confined in one spot—that is, it lasts a great deal longer at any rate.

Now, to-night, while I am going to repeat—to cover perhaps a good deal of surface in my remarks, I wish to assure you in the beginning that I am going to try to condense my remarks within a short length of time, as I take it that your time is valuable. (Voices, "Not to-night," and "Take all the time you want.") Speaking of the value of time, I am reminded of another experience in Alabama. Now, this story has no application whatever. (Laughter.) I am simply telling it for the sake of consuming time while I am thinking of something to say. Now, in my own country in Alabama there was an old colored farmer out early one morning feeding his pigs, and while he was engaged in doing so, an agricultural professor—that is, a professor in the agricultural college, which was near by—went by on the road, and he saw the old colored farmer feeding his pigs. He would put his hands into the bag and take out a few grains of shelled corn and scatter them out to his pigs. And the professor, hoping to be of some service, said to him, "now, uncle Joe, did you ever think to wet that corn before feeding it to your pigs?" The old man said, "No, boss, I never thought of that." The professor said, "Uncle Joe, you will find if you will wet that corn that it will digest in half the time." The old man said, "Well, boss, will you tell one how much a pig's time is worth." Now, I said to you a moment ago that I am going to detain you a short time only, because your time is very valuable.

We have in this country, and on this continent a great many unsettled and perplexing questions and problems. And among them there is what is known as the race problem—more directly, the negro problem—in the southern part of the United States. And it is not only a national problem; greater than that, it is a continental problem. So that you in this country have an interest in its proper, wise and just solution, the same as the people living in the United States. For no one set of people on this continent can be down without every section of our people living upon this continent, whether in the United States or in Canada, feeling the effect of the life of those people who are down. (Hear, Hear.) We have in the United States about 10,000,000 of black people—a number larger than the entire population of the Dominion of Canada. We have a number which is nearly equal to the entire population of the Republic of Mexico. In the United States we have a population of black people that is larger than the combined population of Holland and Belgium.

Now, there have been very serious suggestions and very serious discussions going on in all parts of this continent concerning the final and proper and just solution of what is termed this racial problem. It has been suggested over and over again that the proper solution would consist in putting the negro aside somewhere upon a vacant island somewhere in a vacant territory where he could grow to be a separate and

distinct race or nation by himself. In my opinion, that will constitute no solution. In the first place you would have to build a wall about any territory to keep the black men in it, and you would have to build three or four walls about it to keep the white men out of it. And, my friends, you know that every problem that has grown out of the presence and influence of the black man has been created by reason of the white man's forcing the black man into his presence, as is illustrated in the case of American slavery, or by reason of the fact that the white man has forced himself into the presence of the black man, as is illustrated in the conditions existing in South Africa to-day. So that, you cannot keep the two races apart. The white man will go to the black man or he will compel the black man to come to him. Wherever there is the hope or the chance of gain by reason of contact you will find that the two races come together. So that, in my opinion, all solutions that have their ultimate aim in separating the races physically are ideal and visionary. And, so far as I can discern the ambitions, so far as I can discern the activities of my race, in my opinion the race has made up its mind definitely, permanently, that it is going to remain where it is, a part of the citizenship of the United States, mainly in the southern States, and the one vital, practical and pressing question is, "since they are going to remain a permanent part of our citizenship, shall they be among the worst citizens, or shall they be among the best?"

In 1881, when I had finished my course of training at the Hampton Institute in Virginia, I went into the State of Alabama, into what is known as "the black belt" of that State; that is, into the midst of a section of our country where my race, in some of those counties, outnumber the white race as high as six, eight and even ten to one; in some of those counties the colored people outnumber the whites by fifteen and eighteen to one. It was in that section of the country that I went in 1881 from Virginia and resolved to contribute my mite to the uplifting of my people. I went near the little town of Tuskegee, Alabama, and opened what is known as the Tuskegee Normal and Technical Institute. It was started at that time with one teacher and thirty students in a little shanty. And since then it has grown until at the present time we have there 1,500 men and women who have come to us this year from 36 States and from seven foreign countries. In all of our departments, industrial, academic, moral and religious, we have 156 instructors and teachers of various capacities. From that little shanty the institution has gradually grown in property until our trustees own and control at the present time 2,300 acres of land, and upon these acres, counting large and small, there are 86 buildings of various characters, used for residential purposes, for class-rooms, and industrial teaching, and I think I may safely say that this property in buildings and in personal holdings is valued at quite \$850,000. And if I add to that our endowment fund, which is now \$1,200,000, I am safe in saying that the entire

property owned and controlled by our trustees is over \$2,000,000. The annual expense of carrying on this work is about \$190,000.

Now, we have not only emphasized industrial education, but academic, moral and religious training in as thorough manner as we possibly could. But from the first, at Tuskegee, I have placed the principal emphasis upon agricultural, mechanical and domestic training. Not because we did not fully appreciate the fact that our race needs men thoroughly trained in colleges, in universities, for professional life, but we believe at the same time it needs a large number thoroughly grounded in these fundamental industries which in a large degree constitute the foundation for the civilization and the prosperity of any race of people. Now, you can easily understand that it was not an easy task to get the race to appreciate and to understand the idea of industrial education. At Tuskegee, as well as the Hampton Institute where I was educated, we began emphasizing industrial education, for the reason, in the first place, that we were dealing with a race that had no necessity of laboring before it came to America, and after it was brought to America, for 250 years, it was forced to labor under circumstances that were calculated to do anything but give that race a love for labor with the hands. For 250 years it saw daily the object lesson of one race escaping labor and the other race forced to labor; hence logically it decided that if labor was a good thing to escape from for one race, it was a good thing for the other race to escape, and naturally it came into freedom with the idea that we are through with laboring with the hands. And it was very important, fundamentally important, that just as soon as possible that some system of training be organized by which the race would be taught that so far from labor with the hands being degrading, that it was of the highest degree civilizing and Christianizing.

And so I remember in my early experience at Tuskegee that soon after the institution began to get somewhat organized and we began to let it be noised abroad that in addition to the book that we were going to teach agriculture, farming, dairying, fruit growing, mechanics and all that, I remember parents objected, students objected, and for months and months there was a perfect flood of objections pouring in upon us. People said that they had been working for 250 years as slaves, and now that they were free they thought they ought to have an opportunity of resting. In answer to these objections we said to them: "It is true the race has been worked for 250 years in slavery, but the great lesson which it wants to learn in freedom is to work." We said to them there was a vast difference between being worked and working. We said to them that being worked meant degradation and working meant civilization. (Applause.) We said to them that every man who was worked was a slave and every man who works is a free man. And we have gone on from that day until this teaching the difference between being worked and working, until I am glad to say that the idea of indus-

trial education has become so popular among the entire race that at Tuskegee this year, as during the past half dozen years, we have been compelled to refuse admission to equally as many students as we were able to admit, so anxious were they to receive this technical education. What is true of that is true of the other large educational centres of the south where industrial as well as academic education has been emphasized. So that that battle has been fought and it has been won.

I have referred to the growth of the Tuskegee Institute within itself. We have not only built up an institution, but equally important and equally interesting to me, has been the growing up of a village, of a town about us, where we have our own streets, pretty well looked after by a village association. If you were to go through those streets I do not believe you would find any more pieces of waste paper than you would find in your streets here. We have our own waterworks plant, looked after by these students, our own electric lighting plant, operated by the students. We have our own postoffice, and we have a black postmaster. We have our own little bank. There is not a great deal of money in it, but it serves to teach the blessings of thrift, of economy, so necessary to our people; and within the past few months we have put in our own little railway. It is true that that railway is only a mile long, but it is just as wide as the New York Central. (Laughter.) In that respect at least we are equal, and you will agree with me that it is just as important for a road to have width as it is to have length.

Now, in all these directions, we have been trying to teach the lesson of self-help, the lesson of self-direction, the lesson of self-control. I have referred to our 86 buildings. Excepting four, these buildings are almost wholly the creation of these students themselves, guided and directed by our instructors. They have manufactured the bricks, have done the masonry, carpenter work, the plastering, painting, etc. Almost everything from the drawing of the plans to the putting in of the electric fixtures in connection with the completion of these large buildings is now done by our students under the direction of their teachers. While they were doing that kind of work they have been taught the best method of performing that kind of service.

When I went into Alabama I found that our people were living in one-roomed, broken-down log shanties; that one of their greatest needs was houses in which to live; and I said to my fellow-helpers that it seemed to me that if education was worth anything for a people in that condition it should teach people who have got houses to build houses, and I said, "We can begin with nothing better than to teach them to build better houses and then let them go out and carry that same lesson among their fellows wherever they go in the different parts of the south.

And we found the people largely without proper food upon which to live. If they were raising cotton they would sell that cotton for cash, and the money would soon be gone—that is, the portion of it that the

man who held the mortgage upon their crop did not get. And I found them living upon corn bread and bacon; they got that three times a day when they got anything. We said, these people need food, plenty of good, sensible, nourishing food, and I said again that we could teach that lesson in no better way than by beginning right here at Tuskegee on our farm, not by talking about it, but actually doing the thing, keeping the object lesson of a first-class farm, well-equipped farm, constantly before these men and women, so that with these ideas and with this practical knowledge they will go out and show their fellows how to produce first-class food and plenty of it on a good farm in every section of the south. And now we are cultivating by the labor of our students at Tuskegee over 900 acres of land every year, and these students are just as happy when it comes their turn to work on the farm, or in the harness shop or in the brick yard as when it comes their turn to take their place in the history class, the algebra class or in any department of academic education. (Applause.) And in a very large degree we are dove-tailing the one kind of education into the other kind of education.

I remember that when I was a boy in school that we were required to commit to memory long tables—yards, furlongs, rods and acres, and when I got through I did not know whether an acre was a piece of land half the size of this room or ten times the size. I had no tangible idea as to what it meant. The students now not only study about acres, but they go out and measure them. They make an estimate of the cost of planting an acre in a crop, of working it and of harvesting it and lay it before the teacher, or get up on a platform and recite it. It is all most interesting, because the student knows what he is talking about. In contrast with what used to be the dry bones of education, we feel that at Tuskegee in a large degree we have put living, tangible life and interest in the work.

But above all and beyond all we have taught the dignity and beauty of labor. We have taught the race that labor by the hands is no longer degrading, is no longer something to be escaped, but something to be loved and sought. But you ask—and that is the test of all this, and as I speak as I do, my friends, I wish you to understand that I thoroughly appreciate all the weak points in connection with my race. We are not perfect any more than yours is.

I have never been the one to withhold the telling of my race about their weak points and their difficulties. I have always spoken as frankly to them as I speak to you. The test of all this work at Hampton and Tuskegee and elsewhere is in what is being accomplished by the men and women who receive this training. To erect buildings, to multiply acres of land, to gather students, to teach industries and all that would mean something in the working out of this problem, but very little except

as we were able to imbue each one of these men and women with whom we come into contact that it is not to get that education to help himself merely, to enrich and surround himself with comforts and luxuries, but it is to get it and then give himself in the lifting up of somebody else. And to me the most beautiful and satisfactory thing in connection with this work at Tuskegee is to note the unselfish missionary spirit which our men and women are constantly exhibiting. And, my friends, the longer I live, the more experience I have in the world, the more I am convinced that after all the one thing that is worth living for and worth striving for is the opportunity of making some human being more happy and more useful, and when you take that privilege out of life there is not very much left. That is the spirit we are constantly seeking to put into these men and women at Tuskegee.

In all, counting those who have finished a full course, together with those who have finished a partial course to the extent that they are able to do reasonably efficient work, we have sent out into the world since this institution began quite 6,000 men and women. They are at work as farmers, as teachers in smaller institutes or in the public schools; they are at work as mechanics; they are at work in domestic life, a few are at work in professional life. You would be surprised to find the demand that there is for members of my race trained at this institution and others like it that comes not only from the colored people themselves, but the equally present demand that comes from among the southern white people that ask for them to take charge of farms, dairies and various industrial plants. I remember that a few summers ago we sent out some six hundred of our men to spend their vacation in various parts of the south. After they had gone I asked a professor to make an analysis to find out where and how these men were spending their vacation. It showed that two-thirds of these students were employed by southern white men. It showed further that they were receiving an average wage that was three times as high as the wage paid to the average unskilled ignorant black man of the south. That is better than words. One southern man himself says little. My friends, I judge people very largely by what they do, not what they talk. These men were average southern white men, and they said by their actions that the educated negro has an economic value that is three times as high as the value which he places upon the unskilled black man. And so long as this is true, my friends, I shall feel greatly encouraged concerning the future of my race.

Now, in the broader sense, these men and women go out where they find our people in debt; they find them mortgaging their crops in these plantations, cotton raising districts, living from hand to mouth. They go among them as teachers, as leaders, and they take them as if they were so many children and show them how to save their money, how to cease mortgaging their crops, how to stop spending their money for

whiskey and snuff and cheap jewellery. That is one of their sins. They like to spend money for jewellery. Some of this jewellery is manufactured in New England or somewhere up this way and sold for four or five dollars a bushel. (Laughter.) That is the kind that finds its way among my people on the plantations. I remember one time taking dinner on a plantation. As we sat down at the table there was only one fork on the table for the five of us to use, but in the other corner of that room there was an organ for which those people had paid \$60—one fork and a \$60 organ; how are you going to solve a problem like this? It is not impossible. In the first place, the colored man, with all his weak points, has this strong point; he wants education. He is different from any race of people in the same relative stage of civilization. He wants education. Wherever you open a school-house he is going to fill it, and you open another, he is going to fill that. He does not run from civilization.

I was out in Indian Territory some weeks ago. I looked all over the territory and I found about a dozen Indians. You say, where are the Indians gone? To the wilds. Wherever you whitewash a fence an Indian runs away. The black man is just the opposite. Wherever you whitewash a fence the black man is drawn to that whitewashed fence; and he is drawn to the schoolhouse. The black man wants education. And, again, a black man works. He is different in that respect. The problem created thus is different from the problem created in South Africa—I won't say created by him in South Africa; I will say created by you—different from the problems created by you in South Africa. There are some 5,000,000 black people in South Africa, and notwithstanding the presence of 5,000,000 of negroes they go elsewhere for labor, and their many industries refuse to prosper because the negroes do not work. They do not believe in it because they have never been brought into contact through the medium of the church, the Sunday school or the day school, with civilization in the way that the black man has in the south; they have not had their wants increased or multiplied as they have in the south by reason of education, where they want a bigger house, they want papers and they want an organ, an education for which the black man in the south is willing to work five or six days in the week, while the black man in South Africa, with his wants not increased, with his mind unawakened without any contact with the higher civilization can satisfy his wants by working one or two days in the week and wonders what in the dickens is the use working any longer. That is the difference between the problem in Africa and in the southern States. We have the black man there. I know, that lags around railroad stations, around bar-rooms and street corners, but you must not judge any race of people by its loafers. Suppose I was to come to Toronto and go into certain sections of your city in which certain dens of sin and misery exist and say that this represents the civiliza-

tion of Toronto. I judge by your higher types, not by your lowest. You should judge the negro by his best types and not by his lowest. That is the only proper way to judge of any race.

The black man works, but here is the trouble. By reason of his lack of education, his lack of experience, his lack of skill he does everything in the most costly manner, and he does not know how to use the results of his labor. Most of it gets away from him after the manner that I have tried to describe when he has made and sold his crop in the fall of the year. What Tuskegee is gradually doing is to place in every centre of negro population in just as many communities as possible a man who is wise enough, unselfish enough to lead or guide them in these directions. I remember that nine years ago I sent into one of these communities a young man just out of his course at Tuskegee. He went there and worked for three years; when he had not received as much as \$12 a month in teaching, while in another kind of service he could have earned three times as much. Still, because of his interest in the race and love for it he wanted to go and give his life in this manner. He taught them to build school-houses, taught them to save their money, and some of them began to buy land, put up houses with three or four rooms, and later to get out of debt. And, my friends, if you were to go into that community you would find well-equipped farm houses with three or four rooms, either painted or whitewashed, in fact a complete revolution has come about in the civilization of that community. I could stand here for an hour—but I am not going to do that—and give you example after example, showing how these brave, common-sense young men and women are going out from Tuskegee, going out from the score or more of other institutions in the south of similar character, and instilling among our people wherever they get the opportunity and wherever we can send them the spirit and intelligence which is enabling those communities to get upon their feet.

Now, the black race in the south, while an ignorant race, is not a degraded race. There is a great difference between dealing with a degradation and simple pure ignorance. It is a problem of ignorance that we have to deal with among my people, not a people who have been up and gotten down, but people who have never been up and are trying to get up.

But in the larger, more important sense, what has been accomplished through education? You have heard for the last forty years a great deal in this country about the education of the millions of negroes in the south. You in a way have contributed as individuals towards the lifting up of the black men of the south. The people in the New England and middle States have been large and generous contributors. The southern States themselves through taxation have helped in the education of the black men. And what has been the result of it all? Does it amount to anything? Is the effort and money thrown away, or have we any-

thing to show as results that would encourage us to make still further endeavor in the lifting up of these masses? Let us consider, first, the material prosperity that has taken place in the south among my people. Let us take one State, that is of Virginia, for example. And I take that because you can go to Richmond, the capital, and go into the auditor's office and verify my statements in regard to the progress made in that State, which has been very largely accomplished through the work of these educated men and women who have gone up there from these industrial schools and colleges during the last four or five years.

You will agree with me, for example, that the black man in Virginia forty years ago began life in complete poverty, scarcely owning his clothes, not owning the little shanty that sheltered his family. The year before last the auditor's office in Virginia showed that the colored people in that commonwealth owned and paid taxes upon one-twenty-sixth of all the land in the State of Virginia. (Applause.) In a county east of the Blue Ridge Mountains they paid taxes upon one-tenth of the land and in another county one-seventh and in still another upon one-sixth of all the land. Let us go further south. Take Georgia for example. Even in Atlanta you will find that the colored people the year before last—and this leaves out what they owned in the form of town and city lots the year before last they paid taxes upon over \$18,000,000 worth of property. And in the entire nation they paid taxes in the year before last, at a conservative figure, upon over \$300,000,000 worth of property. (Applause.) My friends, you must remember in that connection that the black man is learning the lesson perhaps from the white men not to give in his property for taxation purposes at its full value. So that, I suppose, if the average black man used the average white man's conscience when placing a valuation on his property for taxation purposes that \$18,000,000 really means \$30,000,000.

I was in the State of South Carolina some days ago looking through the work being done by some of our graduates in a community there, and after I had gone into their school-house I went out into the community. And, my friends, within a radius of a mile and a half I counted fifty-three neat, comfortable cottages that had been bought or were being bought by members of my race. And what name do you suppose they had given to this village? Now, usually where colored people live in large groups they call it "Bug Hollow" or "Little Africa." My friends, they called this village Columbia Heights. Just think of it, the impudence of it all, the impudence of a race only forty years out of slavery already living on Columbia Heights! Some white families have been trying to get on Columbia Heights for centuries and are not there yet, and the black man already there. (Laughter.)

Why, some time ago I met an old man near our institutions in Tuskegee on the road, in his waggon. I said: "Where are you going, Uncle Jake?" "Gwine to the camp meeting," he replied. "Do you

think you are able to go to the camp meeting," I asked. "Eight years ago," he replied, "I heard you teach our people to buy land and put money in the bank, and I have been trying to follow your advice for eight years, and now I am gwine to the camp meeting. I have done bought fifty acres of land and paid the last dollar. I got a pretty nice house, four rooms, painted inside and out, so got ready to go this year to the camp meeting. This is Jake's waggon that I bought a year ago, but I found you have to ride in a waggon before you can ride in a buggy. I have paid the last cent on the waggon, so I am ready to go to the camp meeting. These two girls are Jake's girls. Do you see their dresses? I bought the cloth for them and they made the dresses. Do you see that corn bread and bacon. I raised the pigs and the old woman cooked the meat. I raised the corn and the old woman cooked the bread. We's all gwine to camp meetin', gwine to shout because we have got money in our pocket and religion in our heart."

Well, my friends, that illustration represents a type of man that we are gradually reaching and lifting up in every part of the south, and if people ask me why I am so hopeful regarding the future of my race, why I never become disheartened, it is because I know that that represents thousands and thousands of our people who are gradually laying, surely but slowly this economic foundation, the same kind of foundation in cultivating the soil, the same kind of foundation in owning a house and having a bank account, that is behind the civilization and the prosperity of the human race and all races that have got upon their feet. That process of civilization is constantly going on. And, my friends, there is no power on earth which can stop the progress of a race that is getting that kind of foundation.

Now, in another direction, I believe that the black race in the south has justified every dollar that has been spent upon it; every effort that has been put forth in its behalf. In getting rid of this mantle of darkness I believe that we have justified all that has been done for us. You will agree with me that after centuries of freedom and of liberty that today thirty per cent. and more of the Italians, as we find them in their native country, are completely ignorant so far as a book is concerned; you will agree with me further that in Spain that more than sixty per cent. of the people are illiterate; seventy-two per cent. at least of the Russians are wholly illiterate, and if you go into the average South American country you will find that at least eighty per cent. of those peoples are wholly ignorant. With only forty years of freedom only forty-four per cent. of the American negro to-day are illiterate. My friends, do you know any progress in all history that can begin to compare with that? But some people will assert that the negro can secure property, he can acquire a trade, he can imbibe knowledge of books, but after all the weak point is in reference to his moral life, that in proportion as he gets education he goes back from a moral point of view.

And I am sorry to see that a high State official not very long ago in one of our Southern States—not many, I am glad to say, would do that—said, in a message to the State Legislature that the negroes became more criminal in proportion as they got education. Now, the logic of that remark is this: An ignorant negro is perfect, without education he is perfect. Give him a little education and he becomes a little criminal, more education and he becomes more criminal. He goes to the public school, more criminal; to the high school, yet more criminal; to the college, still more criminal. And that would lead you to conclude that if a black man graduated at Harvard or Yale he would go straight to the penitentiary. That is the logic of that kind of reasoning.

Now, it is easy for a man in any school of life to make general assertions that require no research. It requires no statesmanship in any direction to make a general assertion about a race or about an individual. Now, what are the proven facts regarding the careers and the results of the educated negro. I make this general assertion: You cannot find to-day in a single penitentiary in the United States a single man or a woman who holds a diploma from the Tuskegee Institute of Alabama. Within the past three years I have made careful examination into the records of the graduates from our fifteen industrial schools and colleges in the South, and I find that during the entire period of the existence of these fifteen institutions that only six, or less than six of their graduates have been sentenced to the State Penitentiary. My friends, it is not the educated black man that is guilty of crime. It is the man who has never had a chance; weighed down in ignorance and poverty and superstition. And your duty and my duty, whether we live in the north or the south, will not have been completed as Christians or gentlemen until either by our money or our service or sympathy we reach away down and take these most unfortunate people by the hand and lift them up and give them a chance to be helpful citizens. That is the kind of work to which I have devoted my life.

Do you know, my friends, that from the moral point of view the ownership of homes among a race, in a very large degree, determines their moral status? The census of 1890 showed that 71 per cent. of the American white people owned the houses that they occupied. The same census figures showed that 18 per cent. of the black people owned the houses that they occupied. And so we are already beginning to organize a home life and to get possession of property and inject that moral power and influence among us.

Now, I have referred to the progress of my people. And this has been accomplished not without effort on their part; not without tremendous sacrifices. Why, my friends, do you know that in one of our Southern States, year before last, where less than one-fourth of the negro children that were able to attend any kind of a public school, that one-fourth was in school for only about four months during the year. The

government had spent on them for their entire education during that period \$1.89 from the public fund. In some of the northern states, New York in particular, the white children there had spent upon them—public school children had spent upon them—\$20.00 and more for their education. Now, that kind of thing is unfair to the white race, unfair to the human race. If I were a stranger coming here and were to show a statement such as that, showing that it cost \$1.89 to educate a black boy in one part of the country, and \$20.00 and more to educate a white boy in another part of the country, I would reason that that must mean that this negro was naturally so bright and so intelligent that you could educate him for \$1.89, while the white boy was naturally so dull and stupid and so far back that you have to spend \$20.00 and more in order to educate him—(laughter and applause). Now, we want to see that kind of thing changed, and we want to see the thing levelled up or levelled down, and the education that we are trying to give at Tuskegee is helping to accomplish that result.

There is another problem. We have not only to lift up the black man, but we have the double effort and the more complicated task of trying to articulate the black man's life so that there will be peace, prosperity and harmony between the two races. Now, I may be in doubt about a good many phases of this subject, but on one question I have no doubt whatever. That is, that ignorance and race prejudice never solved a single problem on earth—(applause). And so long as we go on giving the people more light, more intelligence, more skill, we can feel absolutely sure that we are treading upon safe and steady ground. And wherever I go I see my race unable to yield to the temptation of hating any other race by reason of its color or by reason of its nationality. I say, whenever I get the chance, that if others would be little, we must be great; if others would push us down, we must help push them up; and in the last analysis the race or the individual that helps up is the one that will stand instead of the one that helps to push down.

Now, there is a great deal that is wrong, a great deal that is unjust, a great deal that is unjustified that is existing in the South, and I do not attempt in any way to cover that over or to minimize that. And so far in reference to the problem as it exists between the races, it is one of the most serious, most complicated, most far-reaching that any nation ever had before them for solution. But I do believe in the Providence of God that we have found a right method. Solving that problem will not occur in a few days, or in my generation, or in yours, but the solution will come. I believe the proper education of the black man and the education of the white man at the same time in a very large degree will assist the proper solution of this problem. In a word, I teach my people to make themselves useful whenever they can. I do think that usefulness will constitute their most lasting and potent pro-

tection; to make themselves so useful in the community where they live that that community will feel that it cannot dispense with their services or presence. And wherever any man, black or white, has learned to do a common thing in an uncommon manner, wherever any man has learned to do something so well that nobody can improve upon what he has done, that individual, no matter what his color or race, has solved all of these problems.

Now, I find that just in proportion as we can gradually go on putting these men of education and refinement in among the people in the South, so that these southern white men can actually see from day to day tangible, feasible results of the negro's education, then he does change his mind concerning the effect of education on the negro. You hear from the southern white man who does not believe in negro's education. You don't, however, often hear from the one who does believe in it. Some years ago one of our men began there the experiment of seeing how many bushels of seed potatoes he could produce on a single acre of land. He got to the point where he produced 266 bushels on one acre. The average production in the community had been 49 bushels to the acre. Yet the black man produced 266 bushels. You ought to have seen the southern white farmers coming there to see how that negro had done that! They forgot all about the color of his skin, didn't have a bit of prejudice against him. There was a man who by reason of his knowledge of the chemistry of the soil, knowledge of improved methods of agriculture, had been able to produce five or six times as many potatoes as they had produced, and they were willing to take off their hats to him. If one man lays his foundation in that direction others will follow and their children will rise still higher. This economic foundation must be laid by the race. I remember that two summers ago we took 1,900 bushels of peaches off a few acres of land for which we paid about one dollar an acre some years ago. You could not get an acre of land anywhere near that to-day for \$50.00 an acre. There was scarcely a day when those peaches were being harvested that there was not from one to half a dozen white farmers in that orchard who had come there to see how negroes could raise peaches so successfully in a climate where they had failed to do so. They don't draw any color line on peaches when the black man can help them to get dollars out of it.

Do you know there are seventeen banks in the southern states that are owned and controlled by black people? It is not bad for a race just out of slavery to have bank presidents.—(Laughter.) And there are black cashiers, too. You must remember that while there are strange and unjustifiable relations existing between the races in many respects in the South, in business and commercial relations the black man has a chance in the South which is not given him anywhere else in this or any other country. If he has goods to sell or groceries to buy he can

sell goods to whites as well as blacks and get just as good terms from the wholesaler as the white merchant. He can borrow money at the bank as quickly as the white man on an equal security. I was in a city in Alabama a few days ago where there is a colored bank 14 years old, with 6,000 depositors. A few days before that their banking house burned. Before 9 o'clock next morning three white banks sent their agents to this colored president and asked him if they could not have the privilege of furnishing them cash with which to start their day's business, for fear that by reason of this fire their vault had got so hot it could not be opened.

In these commercial and industrial directions the black man has his chance; in these directions he has his future, and the two races more and more are beginning to realize that the one is necessary to the success of the other. And, my friends, if you want to realize how much the southern white man thinks of the black man you can go through the south and start a crusade with the object in view of removing the black man out of that country, and you will have a problem on your hands very soon.

Now, I have not said very much about the moral and religious growth of my race, except to say that it is taking place. At the same time I have realized for years that it is a mighty hard thing to make a good Christian of a hungry man. And in proportion as our people have this economic development into homes, and also in bank accounts, their moral and religious life does grow higher and better.

You have heard a great deal in recent months about the lynchings in the South. I am sorry that they have existed. They are a disgrace to our civilization. These lynchings have existed, have taken place, and I have condemned them there as I condemn them here. In this respect, however, the education of the black man, this proper articulation into the life between the educated white man and the educated negro, is manifesting itself within the last few years. Public sentiment has been created in many directions against lynching. The result is that 15 years ago we had 235 lynchings in the United States. During the past 12 months we have only had 66 of these lynchings. And in the states where the negroes have had the greatest opportunity for education we have had the fewest of these lynchings. In Alabama during the last 12 months only three of these lynchings occurred; in Tennessee, three; in Virginia, only one. We have got a public sentiment started among black and white people that will result, in a few years, in the complete blotting out of these disgraceful crimes.

And, my friends, as we go on more and more, we are becoming proud of ourselves as a race of people. We feel that if the Irishman can be proud of his race, the Chinaman proud of his race, the Japanese proud of his race—and you know they say the Japanese are a white race now—the black man ought to be equally proud of his race—as

we are—(applause). I am sometimes asked if I don't grow disheartened and discouraged concerning the future of my people. Wherever I am asked that I think of two instances. I remember that when I went to Tuskegee as a young man and began this work I said: "We are going to put up our own buildings." People said: "That can't be done." I have never been interested in any men who tell me how not to do a thing. I said we would do it. I got a pick and shovel and started out to find some brick clay, and after working some hours we found clay that would make brick, as we thought. So we went to work—some of the students went out—got 40,000 bricks moulded—we called them bricks. We got them about half built in the kiln and then the kiln fell. I said: "We will try it again." Next time we had 50,000 moulded, a little better quality, and got the kiln nearly completed when it fell. Next time we got more bricks and the kiln nearly half burned, and I remember in the middle of the night that kiln fell down. When that third kiln fell I didn't have a single cent of money. Making bricks without straw is no harder than making them without money. I had a watch which a friend had given me, and I went to a pawnbroker with that watch and put the money I got on it into making a fourth brick kiln, and we succeeded, and since that our students have manufactured more than 2,000,000 of bricks, and they are as good bricks as you have in this city. I learned from that incident never to get discouraged concerning the future of our institution at Tuskegee, never to get discouraged concerning the future of my race.

During the late civil war in the United States a colored man was wounded upon the battle-field, and after he was shot down a doctor went to him and felt his pulse and listened to his heart beat, and then he reported to the chaplain that Sergeant Jones was fast passing away. The good chaplain went to the colored soldier and said: "Sergeant, you are passing away. Isn't there some token, aren't there some words you want me to convey to your loved ones at home before you pass?" He said: "Chaplain, put your arms about my neck and lift me up a little." That was done. Then the sergeant said: "Chaplain, put your hand in my coat pocket and take out a little black book and you will find a five-dollar bill in that book. Hold it before my eyes." That was done, and then the sergeant says, "Chaplain, move me up a little higher," and then he glanced at that five-dollar bill, and with his eyes straight in the eyes of the chaplain, he said: "Chaplain, I will bet you five dollars I will get well."

Judging by my experience and my work with my race, on this continent, I will bet the people of the Dominion of Canada five dollars that the black race will get well.—(Applause.) We are getting—going to get—well in body, well in mind, well in spirit, because out of Hampton and Tuskegee and scores of industrial centres we are sending the doctors who are going to make them strong, helpful and useful citizens.